CAUSES OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN AMERICA 1550-1640.

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PREFACE .

In his monumental work, Mr. Toynbee advances the idea that all great movements in history have their inception in the hardships which the human race is forced to endure. In other words, it is adverse conditions which produce the stimulus which is necessary to set men on the road to great achievements. The expansionist movement in which England engaged during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offers an interesting example of Mr. Toynbee's hypothesis. The obstacles which were placed in the path of English commerce by the continental powers served only to spur the English on to greater activity, just as the Spanish monopoly of the New World did. The troubles from which the lower classes suffered were not meekly received by the many who left their native land to seek a better life beyond the shores of the Atlantic. England met the challenge and in doing so was successful in laying the foundations of the greatest colonial empire in the world. This thesis is not concerned with the story of the actual development of those colonies; rather I have attempted to portray the development of the conditions in England which convinced the men of those times that colonization was the answer to their problems.

It is my pleasant duty to extend my sincerest appreciation to Professor E. R. Adair for his invaluable aid in the preparation of this thesis. Also my thanks are owing to my family who helped most patiently in the proof-reading, and to Mrs. R. G. Pratt for her assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

Montreal,
August 22, 1947.

CHAPTER ONE.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

> "For the Lord had said unto Abram, get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy Father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee. And I will make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing." (Genesis XII; 1-3)

One of the factors which runs like a thread through the whole fabric of history is man's inborn desire to seek the unknown, whether it be new fields of knowledge or a virgin land where never before the foot of man has trod. Abram felt the call in that distant time and in compliance with his God's request, set Jewry upon the long and arduous journey which was to lead it to the Promised Land. Down through the years, succeeding generations have also heeded the impulse that has impelled them to seek out the green, exotic fields which would guarantee them a better existence. To this endless ebb and flow of humanity, we apply the term emigration; and when these emigrants set up a community separate from the parent state, common usage has come to denote it as a colony.

That great French authority on colonization, M. Leroy-Beaulieu, has said that colonization began with the world,[1] and the history of early migrations would seem to bear out his statement. "La premier homme peut", he writes, "à quelques égards, être considéré comme un colon: l'émigration à suivi de près la formation de la première famille humaine; la terre ne s'est peuplée que successivement de proche en

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1. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, " Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes", Vol. I, p. XXV.

proche, grâce à cette force d'expansion que possède toute société, si petite et si primitive qu'elle soit grâce aussi à cet instinct naturel, très developpé chez certains individus, qui pousse l'homme à l'inconnu et à l'aventure."[2]

The universality of the term colonization is illustrated by the fact that it has historical, sociological, political and even biological connotations. It may be used to describe the small communities set up by early peoples of history or it may be employed in connection with a body of organisms living or growing together divorced from the organism which gave them birth. Keller has described it in its present-day political implications when he writes: "A group of emigrants in a foreign land may become a colony by the extension of political power over them, their possessions and interests, on the part of the state of which they are citizens; and on the other hand, a state-acquired domain or mere sphere of influence may become a colony through settlement by non-official members of the state's population."[3]

Politically speaking this may be correct, but historically it would not always apply. The trading posts of the Phoenicians, such as Carthage, have some claim to the title of colony for they were peopled by Phoenicians who were driven there either by the exigencies of trade or the hardships of life in an over-populated country; yet there were only the most tenuous bonds between the colonies and the parent state. Also, the early Greecian colonies maintained no political allegiance to their mother states. Suffice it to say, therefore, that a colony is a community, set up by citizens of a state, which is geographically separate from the mother country. It thus follows that emigration is the movement of these citizens from the old community to the new.

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2. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, "Colonisation Chez les Peuples Modernes", Vol.I,p.xxv.
3. A. G. Keller, "Colonization", p. 2

Every movement, no matter how small, must be precipitated by certain stimuli, and in the field of emigration and colonization many diversified stimuli are at work. No man will leave his hearth-stone without a good deal of reflection before he breaks the bonds which tether him to all that is familiar. When an intense dissatisfaction with environment is present, or an abounding desire for self-betterment is felt by the individual, emigration provides a welcome solution. The prospect of a fresh start in life in some new land may often hold forth the promise of a brighter future. In this vein, Leroy-Beaulieu wrote; "Une nation fonde ordinairement des colonies, quand sa population croissent se trouve à l'étroit dans son vieux territoire, ou quand les persécutions religieuses ou politiques en bannissent certaines classes d'habitants; ce sont là les seuls motifs qui aient porté les anciens à la colonisation, et ce sont, de nos jours encore, les deux causes principales de l'émigration européene".[4]

In regarding this most important phase of colonization, it is necessary to keep another factor in mind. Governments, ever desirous of extending their influence, very often use colonization as a vehicle for expansion. Capitalizing upon the desire of its citizens to emigrate, a country may direct this inclination of its people into channels which will further the ends of the state. This has been done not only through the use of astute propaganda, but also by means of government agencies, organized to expedite the flow of colonists overseas. Without such promotion colonization upon a grand scale is impossible, but it adds a further ramification to the colonial scene. Colonization must not be regarded solely as a normal out-growth of internal economic, social, and religious conditions; it is also a

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4. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, "Colonisation Chez les Peuples Modernes", Vol.I,

weapon used to gain international prestige and as such has been aided and abetted by the state. We must remember, therefore, that emigration comes not only as a result of desires within individuals, but also as the outcome of government policy; it is when these parallel forces unite that the great confluence of large-scale emigration comes into being.

Down through the course of history, nation after nation has witnessed an exodus of large groups of its citizens. Colonial empires have waxed and waned, but the motives upon which they were built remained much the same with varying degrees of emphasis laid upon first one and then another. In spite of this, a certain continuity is evident, as the basic motives remain to appeal to an unchanging human nature. A brief study of the colonizing activities of the nations of the past may provide us with some clues concerning the motives which have consistently led men to emigrate from their native countries.

The earliest nation to attain anything which approaches the modern idea of a colonial empire was Phoenicia. By 800 B.C., the intrepid traders of Tyre and Sidon had skirted the islands of the Aegean and had founded their trading post at Carthage on the north African coast. With the aid of her outposts, Phoenicia maintained her supremacy over the south-eastern Mediterranean for many years. Actually, this loosely-formed commercial hegemony could never be termed an empire in the modern sense of the word; Phoenicia never had a centralized government, therefore it was impossible for her to extend any political influence abroad. Difficulties in communication made it impossible for her to direct the affairs of her settlements, the relation between Carthage and Phoenicia was on a sisterly basis

rather than that of parent and child.

In regarding the causes of Phoenician emigration, we find that they conform to the general pattern we have already set forth. The movement started first as one of trade; later the population began to emigrate to the colonies. The primary reason for this emigration may be traced to adverse social and economic conditions arising from over-population in the home-land. Phoenicia did not extend more than two-hundred miles along the Mediterranean coast, nor more than thirty miles inland. The soil was poor and hardly suited to provide the proper hinterland for such cities as Tyre and Sidon. Prosperity had caused the population to increase immensely. Added to this there was no small measure of political discontent. Phoenicia was frequently the scene of struggles arising from Egyptian and Assyrian rivalry and there was always danger that she might be swallowed up by her more powerful neighbors, factors which could hardly be calculated to enhance a sense of security among her citizens. It was inevitable that in time the Phoenicians should seek relief beyond the sea. They were the first of the Western peoples to organize new settlements away from home, preserving their native customs and traditions, their speech and individuality. With their natural apptitude for commerce, combined with their adaptability, it is not surprising that they should make such a success of their colonizing enterprises. From small and inauspicious beginnings, the Phoenicians made themselves a factor to be reckoned with in the Ancient World.

During the early days of Greece, what emigration there was came more or less in the guise of folk-movements which were the outcome of over-population. Greece has been cursed with a mountainous terrain and a poor soil; but in spite of this she has always been primarily

an agricultural nation. It was inevitable, therefore, that early in her history, Greece should find herself inadequately equipped to support a growing population. As soon as they acquired a sufficient knowledge of navigation, many Greeks began to move out to the near-by Aegean isles, and by the second half of the second millenium B.C. they had reached the western coast of Asia Minor.

As time went on, the single stimulus of over-population became but one motive among several for colonization. The Greeks, now at home upon the sea, began to develop a lively trade with the East. Commercial interests lead to an extension of political power and the growth of a real empire. When political factions began to evolve within the city-states dissident groups also sprung up, and many of these malcontents sought refuge in the colonies, thereby swelling the stream of emigration. "But the primary motives remained rooted in the conditions of pressure of numbers and in the opening prospects of commercial gain through imitation of the Phoenicians and their methods."[5]

Although the Greeks copied Phoenician trading methods, they did not ape them in the field of colonization, for the various city-states kept a close rein upon the activities of their daughter states. Directors were appointed to organize institutions patterned after those of the parent community as well as to supervize the settlement of the new land. The fact that this official was appointed by the mother state is testimony enough to the amount of control which the mother state exercised over her colonies. In this respect, the Greeks were more fortunate than the Phoenicians, for improved communications and an improved governmental system allowed them to do that which had been well-nigh impossible for their predecessors.

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5. A. G. Keller, Op. Cit. p. 41

In turning to the colonizing motives of the Romans, we realize that their colonial structure was entirely different from that of the two preceding nations. Italy itself was never over-populated to the point where emigration was necessary, and Rome never possessed a commercial spirit akin to that of Greece or Phoenicia; hence the old, stock motives were non-existent. Wrote Keller;

> "All other motives were merged in the political and imperial one of group-aggrandizement, - the extension and confirmation of the authority of the Roman rule; the history of Roman colonization was thus one of many governmental expedients in the struggle for empire; the colonies were part of the machinery of conquest and subjugation. They did not precede the state and impel its extension to cover already existing national interests, but followed it, and, as outposts, secured its successive advances. Thus they formed, from one aspect, part of the machinery of provincial administration; they were, in short, a series of garrisons, and in both the earlier and later periods were intended to be "non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula imperii". They marked the growth of Roman dominion as rings mark the annual growth of a tree." 6

In Latin parlance, the word "colonia" carried a somewhat different connotation from our word "colonial". When Rome first began to establish her dominion over the rest of the Italian peninsula, she set up groups of her citizens (usually soldiers), in each subjugated town. These soldiers were paid off in confiscated land, and it became a part of their duty to provide the garrison with their produce. In addition, the coloniae took a large measure of the burden of poor relief from the shoulders of the state in an effort to follow out the designs of the younger Gracchus who wished to re-establish an independent peasantry. Thus the colonies were the product of official planning, not of individual initiative; it was the kings, the consuls, and the emperors who created the colonies, not the citizens of Rome. "The colonies were", said Keller, "far from representing the tentative

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6. A. G. Keller, "Colonization", p. 51.

efforts of a growing people to expand into new habitats, or to "tap" a virgin region of trade; they were the guardians, and at times the buffers, of the empire, the last links between Rome and her dependencies, the object of gradual incorporation."[7]

It is quite apparent, therefore, that Roman colonization was different from anything which preceded or came after it. In the endless tide of human emigration, it is something unique and peculiarly Roman, by its very nature incapable of being reproduced by any other people. "The essential of the colonia", wrote Keller, is the conception of a garrison-society, maintaining itself by industry, and to a certain extent producing its kind, on the borders of the empire, and exercising a moral restraint rather than an actual coercion upon the surrounding population."[8]

The colonizing activities of the Mediaeval Italian states conformed more to the general pattern of emigration. The primary motive for the foundation of the Venetian and Genoese outposts was that of trade; conquest played only a secondary part. Venice was the first of the city-states to reach political maturity, and with her excellent location an incalculable aid to commerce, it was not long before she had built up a large trade with the Levant. The Crusades had helped to turn the attentions of Italy toward that part of the world so rich in opportunity, and by the thirteenth century the fleets of Venice, the "Queen of the Adriatic", were in virtual control of most of the Mediterranean.

During the following years, however, Genoa and Pisa also established themselves in the Levant, and although Genoa soon rose to a position where she seriously threatened Venice's supremacy, Pisa

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7. A. G. Keller, "Colonization", p. 52.

8. A. G. Keller, Op. Cit., p. 53.

always remained in a secondary position. In any event, the Mediaeval Italian colonies were brought into being almost solely by trade, reasons of conquest ran second; others were non-existent.

From what has already been said, it is easily seen that in most cases, commerce was the primary factor in the foundation of the early colonies with the notable exception of Rome. Excluding the over-population of Greece, economic ills played little part in sending men to the colonies; emigration came as the result of the desire for self-betterment rather than as an escape from economic evils. Political dissatisfaction was found among the motives of the Phoenician and Greek emigrants while religious discontent was seldom of a nature to cause emigration.

Then, toward the end of the fifteenth century, an event of world-wide importance took place when Columbus reached the New World with his three frail caravels. The reaction which men of that time experienced when they realized the full import of this voyage could only be comparable to our own feelings if scientists should journey to Mars and find it habitable. Men of vision were not long in seeing the boundless opportunities which America had to offer. Perhaps, because their peninsula jutted out into the Atlantic like the prow of a great ship, coupled with the fact that they enjoyed a newly-acquired political unity, the people of Spain were the first to take advantage of these opportunities.

During the final years of the fifteenth century, the inhabitants of the Peninsula completed a long and costly war with the Moors, ending in the expulsion of the latter from Granada in 1492. The Spanish emerged from the struggle with a political and religious unity which was rare in those times. The monarchy had been strengthened through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella - a wedding which had joined the

states of Aragon and Castile as well as their rulers. The years of intrigue and strife which had brought about national cohesion had also created a spirit of adventure appropriate to the foundation of over-seas empire. Leroy-Beaulieu said in writing of this period;

> "Ces buttes héroiques qui avaient occupé, pendant plusiers siècles, tout ce qu'il y avait dans la Péninsule d'esprits ardents et de caractères vigoureux, venant à cesser tout à coup, mettaient en disponibilité une foule d'aventuriers, impatients des loisirs de la paix et des perspectives bornées du travail. La découverte de l'Amerique, en leur offrant des pays lointains, vierges de toute civilisation européenne, pleins de richesses et de promesses plus séduisantes encore, leur oubrait un débouché inespéré vers lequel ils s'élancèrent à l'envi. C'étaient des soldats qui coursient à une conquête. ... La Catholique Espagne, qui venait d'achiver sa longue croisade contre les Maures, dans l'exaltation de l'esprit religieux, avait appris à confondre en un sentiment unique le zèle pour la foi et l'amour de la patrie, toute conquête pour la couronne devait être aussi une conquête pour la Chrétienté. La propaganda religieuse fut dès l'origine l'un des motifs principaux des établissements d'outremer. Dans l'esprit mystique de Colomb, dans l'âme pieuse d'Isabèlle, comme dans les imaginations plus rudes et plus incultes des Cortez et des Pizarre, l'idée de proselytisme catholique ne cessa de s'allier à l'ambition terrestre." [9]

This adventurous and avaricious frame of mind prevalent among the Spaniards of that day lent itself to exploitation rather than colonization of a sober type. In the beginning the government regarded its overseas dominions solely as sources of metallic wealth, but after a time they began to see the folly of their ways and made a tardy attempt to correct this mistake by legislation designed to encourage permanent settlement in America.[10] However, a "get rich quick" attitude regarding America had already taken a firm hold upon the people of Spain. With this end in view, many Spaniards migrated to America, acquired a fortune, and promptly returned to the mother country. New Spain was looked upon as a treasure-house, seldom as a potential home. This sort of thing led to emigration of the worst type, and in order to counter-act the flow of undesirables to the New World, the government

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9. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, "Colonisation Chez les Peuples Modernes", Vol.I,pp.3-4.
10. A. G. Keller, "Colonization", p.210.

passed certain restrictions. "No-one could go to the Indies without the express permission of the crown, and then for only a stated time; and whoever sought permission had not merely to furnish a sufficient reason, but to present in addition satisfactory proofs regarding his morals and especially that neither he nor his ancestors for two generations had been punished by the Inquisition".[11] While these regulations doubtless sprang from the most admirable of motives, they nevertheless served to check an emigration which was at best a mere trickle. There was never any large-scale migration of Spaniards to the New World. "Dans un pareil système", wrote Leroy-Beaulieu, "on concoit que si la conquête fut rapide, le peuplement fut lent. On ne voit pas que pendant tout le siècle qui suivit la découverte de l'Amerique, il u eut une large émigration de la métropole. ... Benzoni ne croit pas qu'en 1550 il y eût plus de 15,000 Espagnols dans tout le nouveau monde".[12] According to an official census taken in 1574 there were some two hundred towns and cities in New Spain containing, together with stock-farms and plantations, about 160,000 Spaniards.[13] In other words, after almost three quarters of a century of occupation, Spain had sent far less than 200,000 people to the New World. We must also bear in mind that the figures of the census were probably exaggerated, and a certain portion of the population was the product not of emigration but of natural increase.

To swell the meagre flow of emigrants, Ferdinand ordered the commutation of death and mutilation sentences to deportation to the colonies. When this failed to produce notable results, new measures

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11. A. G. Keller, "Colonization", p. 168.
12. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, Op.Cit. Vol.I, p. 5.
13. A. G. Keller, Op.Cit, p. 213.

were taken. "In 1518 most liberal offers were made in the hope of inducing workers to go to the New World and help take the pressure off the natives: free passage and living on shipboard; lands and livestock on arrival; relief for twenty years from the alcabala (sales tax) and nearly all other taxes; premiums for production, etc. ... But this proposition ran counter to the prevailing impulse to steer straight for the mines - no tiresome industry could compete with the visions of a Potsi".[14]

It is plain that the government was fighting a losing battle. This was partly owing to the fact that at no period in her history was Spain ever over-populated, and the social maladjustments resulting from population pressures were never felt there. The Spaniard, somewhat languid of nature in any case, felt no need to desert the salubrious climate of his peninsula for the uncertainties of a colonial life. The women were even more disinclined to travel across the water than the men. As it was not the family type of man who usually emigrated, the gentler sex was left in the home country. Those ladies of easy virtue who might have wished to emigrate were wisely forbidden to do so by the restrictions afore-mentioned. The privilege of going to the Indies was denied all single women; and it was even difficult to return to Spain and bring over a wife who had been left behind. Hence Spanish women were largely absent and the inevitable result was the mixed racial strains of present-day Latin America. Notable among those who came to the New World were the clerics. The spirit of Catholic crusade gripped the Spanish ecclesiastics, and men of the stamp of Las Casas gave their all for the conversion of the native. The missions of the better type did much to alleviate the suffering

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14. A. G. Keller, Op. Cit. p. 214-215.

and slavery which was imposed upon many of the natives by their Spanish masters. The missionaries not only taught the Christian Gospel, but also tutored the Indians in the art of agriculture as well. The work of these priests provides one of the few bright spots in the Spanish colonial picture.

One final factor should be mentioned in regard to Spanish colonization. It has already been pointed out that the emigrants did not as a rule indulge in agriculture, but instead settled in the towns where greater opportunity for making a fortune rapidly presented itself. This as Leroy-Beaulieu notes, is a most unhealthy sign.

> "Quand dans un pays neuf on voit la population refleur tout entière vers les villes, on peur être sûr que la production y est faible, que la majorité des colons sont des oisifs, des spéculateurs ou des fonctionnaires, non des travailleurs, et qu'il y a au-dessous d'eux un people vaincu exploité au profit de la class victorieuse." [15]

In summing up, it would appear that Spanish emigration was conditioned by two things. First there was the fact that Spain suffered from none of the social ills which result from over-population, and consequently her citizens had no burning desire to leave her shores for a foreign clime. Secondly, those who were dissatisfied with religious or political conditions and would have emigrated to escape them were prevented from doing so by governmental restrictions. These facts narrowed the current of emigration to those adventurers whose only desire it was to exploit New Spain for their own enrichment with no thought of the welfare of their country or her empire. Deserving of our commendation, however, were those ecclesiastics who went out to the colonies in a spirit of selfless devotion to the Catholic cause, often giving their lives for the conversion of the native and founding

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15. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, Op.Cit. Vol. I, p. 7.

the great missions which, in many instances, stand today a tribute to the faith by which they were reared.

France was impelled to enter the colonial scene through her desire to partake of the many commercial opportunities which were presenting themselves, and secondly, to check the rigid Spanish monopoly over the New World. The Company of Canada and Acadia was formed in 1599, and in 1600 the Company of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas. The founders of these companies, wrote Leroy- Beaulieu, "n'avaient pas d'autre objet que la récolte immediate des produits des pays lointains: ils faissaient en Orient la cueillette des épices et en Occident ils troquaient avec les sauvages pour se procurer des pelleteries; il était réservé à la couronne et à la pensée politique d'Henri IV de voir les choses de plus haut et de plus loin et de jeter les vraies bases de la colonisation française."[16]

Henri IV was indeed well aware of the possibilities which colonies had to offer. He was extremely desirous of founding permanent settlements along the banks of the St. Lawrence in order to maintain a strong hold over the area. It was his wish to see a New France rise upon the other shores of the Atlantic. Understanding his subjects better, perhaps, than any other French king, he realized full well that they could be induced to emigrate to the colonies only with great difficulty; therefore he granted a monopoly to the merchants with the understanding that they would undertake the task of transporting a given number of colonists to New France over a certain period of time.

A tiny settlement was set up at St. Croix; later it was moved to Port Royale. By the spring of 1606, it was virtually impossible to get anyone to settle there. Those few who had gone out returned after

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16. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, Op.Cit., Vol. I, p. 143.

having endured the rigors of one winter in New France and the stories which they took back with them were scarcely designed to encourage prospective emigrants. Tales of inclement weather, food and fuel shortages, scurvy and other ills resolved more than one faint heart to stay in sunny France.[17] During the period from 1608 to 1640, less than three hundred immigrants had come to New France. It must be added that this mere trickle of immigration was not owing wholly to the disinclination on the part of the people to migrate; there was also the fact that the merchants were unwilling to spend large sums of money requisite for transporting colonists.[18] Their eyes were fixed too firmly upon the more immediate profits of the fur and fishing trades.

In 1619 there were but two families settled permanently in New France, the Viennes and the Heberts. Louis Hebert, the Parisian chemist, was the first man to volunteer his services as a colonist, and in 1617 he and his family came to Quebec. Before being allowed to emigrate he was forced to sign a most outrageous agreement with Champlain's company. He would probably not have done this if he had not already sold his house in Paris and made all his plans to go. The agreement stipulated that Hebert must serve the company for three years and during that time he could clear his land and build his house only when his services were not required by the company. At the end of three years, he might plant tobacco, wheat or other grains but must sell his products to the company only and at their own price. In return for this Hebert was to receive the sum of one hundred crown annually for three years.[19] This is

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17. H. P. Biggar, "The Early Trading Companies of New France", p. 61.

18. E. R. Adair, "France and the Beginnings of New France", Canadian Hist. Rev. Sept.1944. P.247

19. H. P. Biggar, Op.Cit., p. 104

typical of the harsh manner in which the early company treated colonists, for it was their plan thereby to discourage all prospective immigrants unless they were willing to come as virtual slaves. The shareholders, too, were unwilling to make any large investment for colonizing purposes as the affairs of the colony were none too stable owing to the continual changing of viceroys.

In 1627, the Company of New France was created; in the articles of the new company it was stipulated that only Frenchmen of the Roman Catholic faith would be allowed to emigrate. It has been claimed that this restriction impeded the growth of New France in that it cut off a large source of potential emigrants, most particularly the Huguenots.[20] The fact is, however, that this was not so at the time. The Huguenots were doing very well under the liberal provisions of the Edict of Nantes and had very little desire to forsake their native country for thecrude life of New France.[21] With their natural apptitude for commerce, they were quite content to invest in the various trading companies and to reap the ensuing harvest without undergoing the discomforts of colonial life. When the religious persecutions began in 1665, culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the situation quite naturally took a different turn. From then on, the Huguenots left France in large numbers, taking refuge in other countries where more tolerant religious policies were pursued. If it had not been for the restrictive rulings on emigration to the colonies, many of these religious dissenters in all probability would have come to New France. Thus, through her intolerance France lost her golden opportunity to provide her colonies with a large and industrious population. One might argue that if there had

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20. F. X. Garneau, "Histoire du Canada", Vol. I, p. 155.

21. E. R. Adair, "France and the Beginnings of New France", Canadian Historical Review, Sept.1944, p.246.

been no intolerance in the first place, the Huguenots would never have left their homes, much less have gone to the colonies; but the fact remains that France lost much and gained nothing through her short-sighted action. This religious pre-occupation is explained largely by the fact that France was undergoing a Catholic revival. This semi-mystical movement was enjoying great popularity at that time and was responsible for the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement which was in turn responsible for the foundation of the settlement at Montreal. It had been the pious hope of the Compagnie that the French could be persuaded to emigrate to Montreal for religious reasons; but this wish proved to be unfounded since the canny peasant desired more positive gains than the Kingdom of Heaven if he were to give up his home. The majority of the colonists who came to New France for religious reasons were those ecclesiastics who came with the purpose of converting the Indian and thus laying the corner-stone of a large Catholic population in French America. These clerics risked torture, or worse still, death at the hands of those Indians whom they would convert, but their proselytizing spirit was strong. As one of them wrote; "The joy one feels when one has baptized a savage, who dies shortly after and flies straight to heaven to become an angel, is a joy that surpasses all imagination".[22] The only other French who came to America for religious reasons were those Huguenots who sought sanctuary in the Carolinas.

In summing up it is worthy to note that the absence of metallic wealth in Canada excluded many adventurers in search of wealth who otherwise might have emigrated. The fishing and fur trade (neither of which is conducive to permanent settlement) were practically Canada's sole attractions. The average colonist who came to build a home, came only when he was promised something definite, such as land, and even this

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22. André Maurois, "The Miracle of America", p. 40.

failed to attract large numbers of emigrants. The French preferred to take their chances in an over-populated homeland rather than trust the unknown in New France.[23]

Among the lesser European powers active in the field of colonization was Sweden. This Scandinavian country occupied a place of far greater eminence during the seventeenth century than she does today. Her political situation was most favourable; although the monarchy was strong, it was an enlightened and progressive one. A large majority of the peasantry was composed of small, free farmers.[24] Insofar as religion was concerned, the whole country was preponderantly Lutheran then, as it is today, owing to the thorough work of the Reformation.[25] In short, in the seventeenth century, Sweden was almost completely free from social, political and economic troubles - hence there was no real cause for dissatisfaction among the people and no real need for emigration. When the fact that Sweden was under-populated is also taken into account, it would appear that she would have been better off if she had kept her people at home to develop her own natural resources. Her commerce was controlled by the Dutch, the English, and the Hanseatic cities, and as a producer of raw materials only (iron ore, timber, dairy products), she could not furnish her colonies with the manufactured goods they so vitally needed.[26] Although a trading company was founded, lack of free capital kept it weak. Consequently, as C. DeLannoy wrote; "Sweden's colonial enterprises failed because a nation cannot colonize with prospects of success unless its geographical position allows it to devote an important

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23. E.R. Adair, Op.Cit., p. 248.

24. C. DeLannoy, "A History of Swedish Colonial Expansion", p. 13.

25. C. DeLannoy, Ibid, p. 13.

26. C. DeLannoy, Ibid, p. 11.

part of its resources to its overseas domains, and unless its economic condition corresponds to the nature, needs, and developments of the dependencies it acquires."[27]

The situation in Holland was somewhat analagous to that of Sweden. The population was generally prosperous and held a high degree of political and religious freedom for that time, a fact which enticed the persecuted of other lands to take refuge in the Netherlands. These refugees brought their trades with them, thereby adding to the general prosperity of the country. As this was also a time when Holland was making great strides in art and culture, the seventeenth century has been called her "Golden Age". The chief difference between the Netherlands and Sweden lay in the fact that Holland was far more powerful in the commercial world than was her northern neighbor.

It was this genius for commerce which led the Dutch to found their colony in North America and their trading posts in the East Indies. The trade motive was, in fact, the dominant and almost the sole consideration. As it was in the case of the Phoenicians, the government, with the exception of a few cases, simply followed in the wake of the exigencies of commerce, playing a subordinant role to that of the great trading concerns. The laws for the New Netherlands were usually made by the West India Company in Amsterdam and administered by the company's Director General of the colony with the aid of a five-man council appointed in Amsterdam. There was nothing of what might be termed self-government in the New Netherlands. Another example of the pre-eminence of commerce is demonstrated by the fact that the vast majority of the early emigrants to New Amsterdam engaged in the fur and liquor trades rather than agriculture.[28]

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27. C. DeLannoy, Ibid., Preface.

28. H. B. Wabeke, "Dutch Emigration to North America", p. 19.

The chief agents of colonial expansion, moreover, were interested in trade rather than the founding of new settlements since the latter did not hold out such hope of immediate gain. It seems apparent that with such a policy, the colonizing activities of the Dutch could never be of more than a most superficial nature.

During the early 1630's the Dutch began to regard the great influx of colonists into New England with a somewhat anxious eye. The realization began to dawn that if they were to keep their colony, they must people it. In an apologetic remonstrance, issued in 1633, the West India Company stated that; "the peopling of such wild and uncleared lands demands more inhabitants than our own country can supply; not so much for want of population, with which our provinces swarm, as because all those who will labor in any way here, can easily obtain support, and therefore are disinclined to go far from home on an uncertainty."[29]

If conditions had not been so good in the homeland, colonists would doubtless have come to New Amsterdam most willingly, but as it was, the West India Company knew it was fighting an uphill battle in attempting to induce settlers to emigrate to America. However, to encourage agriculture and to create permanent homes, the Company issued its charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" in 1629. According to the charter, any member of the Company who brought fifty adults to the New Netherlands within the next four years, settled them in homes upon the banks of the Hudson and paid for clearing the land, should receive the title of "patroon", and a grant of land sixteen miles along the river bank and as far inland as feasible. The colonists were not allowed to move from one estate to another, and although they were exempt from all taxes for a ten year period they were still in a position of virtual

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29. H. B. Wabeke, Ibid, p. 14.

serfdom. This agreement was entered into on an entirely voluntary basis, however, and the system was simply the manifestation of the sound idea of the Company to discourage drifting and encourage permanent settlement.

In 1639, new inducements to emigration were set forth. Any farmer who wished to settle in the New Netherlands was brought over free of charge; he was provided with a farm, house and barn, four horses, four cows, and various tools. In return for this he was charged a fairly moderate yearly rent.[30] The effect was felt almost immediately, for large groups of citizens made their way to America to take advantage of the new offers, and even foreigners who were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the States General and the Prince of Orange came in large numbers.[31]

Thus, by 1664 when the English took over the New Netherlands there was a population of over ten thousand.[32] However, it had taken a good many very attractive offers on the part of the West India Company to build up the population to this number as there was no natural inclination upon the part of the Dutch to leave their comfortable country for the more adventurous life of the colonies. Whenever it is necessary for a Government to make attractive inducements in order to stimulate colonization, the emigrant usually accepts them not because he is badly off at home, but because he might be better off in the colonies. This was the case as far as the Dutch were concerned.

And so we arrive at the end of our journey which has led us from Phoenicia to New Amsterdam, from 800 B.C. to the seventeenth century. Time has not served to change men's reasons for leaving their homes to seek a better life in a foreign clime. Some have sought fortunes

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30. John Fiske, "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America", p. 171.

31. John Fiske, Ibid, p. 172.

32. H. B. Wabeke, Ibid, p. 19.

through mining or trade, others have gone hoping to find security from want or fear of religious or political persecution, while still another group has emigrated not because of any deprivation in the homeland, but because the colonies seemed to offer more opportunities for self-betterment. As far as motives went on a national scale (keeping in mind the dichotomy between personal and national motives), Phoenicia accented trade; Greece, trade and economic aggrandizement; Rome, the political and military advantages of colonies. The Mediaeval Italian cities colonized for trading purposes; Spain, for exploitation and the propagation of the Catholic Church; France, primarily for trade and international prestige; and Holland and Sweden largely for commercial benefits. Each of the fore-going countries illustrated one or more parts of the colonial scene; it remains for England to represent all phases of and reasons for colonial development within the confines of one country.

CHAPTER TWO .

THE COLONIAL PROPAGANDISTS .

> "Man's imagination is limited by the horizon of his experience. When he attempts by guesswork to outgo the bounds assigned, his frailty and ignorance stand apparent; he is like a child explaining the world by its doll's house. The irremovable boundaries of knowledge are the same for every age; human sense if feeble, human reason whimsical and vain, human life short and troubled. But every now and then, in the long history of the race, there is a rift in the cloud, or a new prospect gained by climbing. These are the great ages of the world. Creation widens on the view, and the air is alive with a sense of promise and expectancy. So it was in the age of Elizabeth." [1]

As the waves of the Renaissance lapped over Europe, bearing upon them the tide of New Learning, they left in their wake the ruins of a decadent and fast-disappearing Feudalism, and uncovered in its stead the firm foundation of the new structure - Naticnalism. It was not the Renaissance alone that produced the welter of new European countries, for time and increase in the authority of central governments also served to produce the great nation-states from the congeries of minor feudal states. The path of history since the beginning of modern times has led mankind to the formation of larger and larger political units; and as Feudalism gave way to Nationalism, so Nationalism soon became but a stopping-place along the road to Imperialism.

It has been said that imperialism is national pride, seeking to express itself in the establishment of its dominion over less highly organized peoples.[2] It is true that the new nations - Portugal, Spain, England, the Netherlands and France,-upon achieving national unity each made their bid for the supremacy of Europe and for overseas empire.

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1. Walter Raleigh, "English Voyages in the Sixteenth Century", p. 152

2. Ramsey Muir, "Expansion of Europe", p. 7.

Each nation, convinced that it was the elect of God, has tried to force its own superior way of life upon less fortunate beings in order to create a sort of reflection of its own ego. Colonial empire thus became a prerequisite for national prestige.

It was not until the peoples of Europe began to give less and less of their allegiance to Rome that they began to look about them for an alternative object for veneration. The rise of nationalism might have been much more difficult without the Reformation and the resultant state religions. The bonds that tied men of Mediaeval times to Rome would never have permitted the formation of an all-powerful state, for in those times Caesar and God were one, and the Pope his earthly representative and the wielder of his power. The coming of the Reformation allowed the transference of that power from Rome to the national capitals. Spain, who founded her colonial empire when she was still closely allied with the Vatican, carried out her colonizing activities more in the spirit of a religious crusade than did any of the subsequent colonizing powers who carried out their activities more for commercial and national profit, as well as the extension of their national religions.

England, with its moat "which serves it in the office of a wall", never felt the same allegiance to the papacy which the continental countries had. Matthew Paris, the English monk-historian illustrated this fact, for whenever a question of English rights was involved, he gave the papacy a back seat. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, England, with its own Anglican Church, distinctive culture, and strongly centralized monarchy, was on the brink of one of her greatest periods of national achievement. She was on the verge of what has been called the "Elizabethan Renaissance"; and it is with those men who gave

voice to the ideals of this new age that this chapter concerns itself.

There is an old adage that maintains the pen is mightier than the sword. Trite though it is, it is often applicable, and never more so than in speaking of that large group of men who turned out pamphlet after pamphlet with patriotic fervor for the promotion of English colonization. They had their part in building the foundation of the empire that was to come just as surely as did the seamen and colonizers who put the theories they advanced to the test. The large legacy of printed material which they left behind provides many interesting clues as to why England, long an insular power, should launch herself upon a career of colonial expansion.

It is a familiar story that the desire to obtain a direct access to the luxury products of the East was the primary and original cause for the early voyages of exploration. The new nation-states of Europe, in their race to secure control of the sources of these goods, however, uncovered new areas awaiting exploitation, and in order to stake out a permanent claim to these virgin territories, men of vision began to advocate the foundation of colonies. But it was not merely for the commercial preferment which would ensue from colonial activity that caused these men to urge the course they did. There as also the proselytizing spirit of a new nation, eager to spread its religion, customs and government as manifestations of what has been referred to earlier as national pride. No nation in Europe had a more articulate group of colonial propagandists than did England.

The earliest propagandists worked against a background of abortive attempts at colonization. To Sir Humphrey Gilbert goes the honor of initiating England's colonial activities. It was his desire to found a permanent settlement in Newfoundland which would sustain itself

through fishing and agriculture, and he hoped to create a great estate for himself in the wilderness. Along with other English aristocrats, he wanted to make America into a proprietary dominion which would duplicate the prevailing features of life in the homeland at that time. The crown granted him a patent with wide territories and large jurisdictions and powers.

Gilbert's first expedition came to naught, but in 1583, he made a second effort. Only two of his five original ships arrived in Newfoundland. The survivors were disheartened by adverse climatical conditions and poor food rations, so Gilbert turned back after a brief stay. His ship went down on the return voyage.

Two years later, following in the footsteps of his illustrious half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped a fleet of seven ships to take possession of Virginia. Raleigh believed that larger revenues must be obtained if England were to defeat Spain and in order to obtain these revenues it would be necessary to found a colony in American where there was a rich store of precious metals. He also hoped to be able to divert a goodly portion of Spanish bullion to Elizabeth's coffers and a colony would provide a convenient base of operations for piratical activity. All this was contained in Hakluyt's tract, to which we will refer later, written to promote the venture.

The story of the tragic failure of this early colony is almost too familiar to bear repetition. Suffice it to say that the attempt was ill-fated as was the subsequent effort of 1587, better known as the "Lost Colony of Roanoke". This latter settlement met an unhappy end and has been the subject of much romantic speculation; but undoubtedly those colonists who were not absorbed by the neighboring Indian tribes were massacred. The true fate of the colony has never been established.

The best that one can say about Raleigh's colonizing efforts is that in some respects he showed that he had profited from the mistakes made by Gilbert. The most important thing which he learned was that one needs a steady type of man, willing to stay in one place and work. He also realized that a more propitious climate than that of Newfoundland would contribute more toward a colony's success.

As men of action rather than theorists, Gilbert and Raleigh do not actually belong in the ranks of the propagandists; but since their efforts exerted great influence upon subsequent writers, their inclusion at this time does not seem unwarranted.

The first Englishman to write of the new lands beyond the seas was a certain Richard Eden, one of Lord Burleigh's private secretaries. Although he wrote before a consciousness of the possibilities of colonies had penetrated the English mind, we cannot afford to overlook him since in many respects he was the spiritual antecedant of the later propagandists. As Hakluyt was to Purchas, so Eden was to Hakluyt. Each one blazed the trail beyond the point where his predecessor left off until the full story of the Age of Exploration was told.

"The First Three English Books on America", Eden's work, is composed chiefly of translations of the writings of Peter Martyr, an early Protestant divine who occupied the chair of theology at Oxford. The compilation, published in 1555, contains not only Eden's translation of Martyr's "Decades", but also his translations of the works of other authors of the time who recorded the voyages of men such as Cabot, Columbus, Balboa, and other explorers of the day. The theme which gives unity to this somewhat heterogeneous collection is that of discovery of new lands and voyages undertaken in a spirit of almost religious awe and zeal. The content has to do almost exclusively with the activities of the Spaniards and Portugese, the purpose being to inspire the English to do

likewise.[3]

The work which Eden initiated was brought to a fuller fruition by that greatest of all colonial propagandists, Richard Hakluyt. "The Preacher", as he calls himself, provides the foundation upon which must rest all accounts of English expansion. For many years, after an initial popularity, his monumental compilation of all the English voyages down to his time was neglected and ignored. It was not until the early years of the nineteenth century, when a new edition of his work was produced, that an interest in Hakluyt was re-awakened. In 1846, the Hakluyt Society was founded, and during the past one hundred years has produced some excellent material on geography and history, worthy of its patron. The world, tardily, it is true, has become aware of the importance of this modest man.

Very little is known of Hakluyt's life. The man who chronicled the activities of so many others in so indefagitable a manner was noticeably reticent in speaking of himself. It is believed that he was born around 1553 in London. While still a small boy, he lost both his father and mother, and was subsequently adopted by a cousin, also called Richard Hakluyt. He received his early education at Westminster School, proceeding to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574 and that of Master of Arts in 1577. [4]

Upon one of the few occasions when Hakluyt permits himself to write in a reminiscitory vein he tells us of a visit he once paid his cousin at his rooms in the Middle Temple. Noticing the very keen interest with which young Hakluyt regarded a map spread out on a table, Master Hakluyt took it upon him to initiate his young cousin into the mysteries

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3. Richard Eden, "The First Three English Books on America", Preface, p. XII.

4. Walter Raleigh, "English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century", p. 124.

of geography, explaining to him the many recent discoveries in the art of map-making. The boy was so impressed that years later he was moved to write, in the dedication to the first volume of his great work; "I do remember that being a youth, and one of Her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentlemen of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you,[5] at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universal Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, and better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straightes, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and territories of each part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, and particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 and 24 verses, where I read that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deepe, etc. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yonge nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me".[6]

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5. Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom the work was dedicated.

6. R. Hakluyt, Epistle Dedicatorie, "Principal Voyages", Vol. I, p. 8

For a short time after his graduation, Hakluyt lectured in the common schools, always keeping up his studies in the field of geography. In 1582, he published his first book, "Divers vogages touching the discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons." The work is mainly a collection of tracts relating to early discoveries in the New World. In the Epistle Dedicatorie, we find evidence of Hakluyt's concern over England's lack of colonial endeavour. "I marvuale not a little", he wrote, "that since the first discoverie of America (which is nowe full fourescore and tenne yeeres), after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniardes and Portingales there, that wee of Englande could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed of them. But againe, when I consider that there is a time for all men, and see the Portingales time to be out of date, and that the nakednesse of the Spainiards and their long hidden secretes are nowe at length espied, whereby they went about to delude the worlde,[7] I conceive great hope that the time approcheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if wee will our selves), both with the Spaniarde and the Portingale, in part of America and other regions, as yet undiscovered." As he continues, we are provided with substantial clues as to why Hakluyt desired the foundation of colonies. "And surely", he writes, "if there were in us that desire to advaunce and honour our countrie which ought to bee in every good man, wee woulde not all this while have foreslowne -(forborne)- the possessing of those landes, whiche of equitie and right appertaine unto us, as by the discourses that followe shall appeare most plainely." Stressing the social benefits which would accrue from the

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7. Hakluyt here refers to a general belief held by Englishmen of that time that the Spaniards enslaved and exploited the natives under pretense of converting them to Christianity. "Divers Voyages to America", published by Hakluyt Society, 1850, Footnote p. 8.

foundation of colonies, Hakluyt goes on to say; "Yea, if wee would beholde with the eye of pitie how al our Prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their Countrie, which for small roberies are dayly hanged up in great numbers, even twentie at a clappe, out of one iayle (as was seene at the last assizes at Rochester), wee woulde hasten and further every man to his power the deducting -(conveying)- of some Colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile partes of America, which, being within sixe weekes sayling of England are yet unpossessed by any Christians; and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching neerer unto her Maiesties Dominions then to any other part of Europe."[8]

In conclusion, Hakluyt set forth one last benefit to be gained by acquiring possessions in the New World, that of control of the Northwest Passage which explorers still hoped to find. "Wee might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also, in short space, by God's grade, finde out that shorte and easie passage by the Northwest, which we have hetherto so long desired, and whereof wee have many good and more then probable coniectures."[9] It is interesting to note that Hakluyt held the same belief that Gilbert had earlier set forth concerning the law forbidding Spaniards to seek the Passage. He too, believed that the Spanish feared if once the passage were discovered, they would surely lose their monopoly over the New World.

Speaking from an ecclesiastic's point of view, Hakluyt says; "Certes, if hetherto in our owne discoveries we had not beene led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie, I assure my self that our labour had taken farre better effecte. But wee forgotte

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8. R. Hakluyt, (Epistle Dedicatorie) "Diver Voyages to America",pp.8-9.

9. R. Hakluyt, "Divers Voyages to America", pp. 10-11

that Godlinesse is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God all other thinges will be given unto us, and that as the light accompanieth the sunne, and the heate the fire, so lasting riches do waite upon them that are zealous for the advancement of the kingdome of Christ and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell; as it is sayde, I will honour them that honour mee. I trust that nowe, being taught by their manifolde losses, our men will take a more godly course, and use some part of their goods to his glorie: if not, he will turn even their covetousnes to serve him, as he has done the pride and avarice of the Spaniards and Portingales, who, pretending in glorious words that they made their discoveries chiefly to convert Infidelles to our most holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth, sought not them but their goods and riches.[10]

The chronicler of so many voyages never accompanied one. He considered going with Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his ill-fated expedition to Newfoundland in 1583, but in that same year was appointed chaplain to the English Ambassador at Paris. Hakluyt spent the next five years in France, devoting all the time he could to the collection of material for his study of all the English voyages down to his own time. Returning to England in 1588, he continued his research whenever his ecclesiastical duties permitted. He was indefagitable when it came to tracking down information; sometimes he would travel as far as two hundred miles to talk with some seaman who had made an exceptional voyage. His facility with languages stood him in good stead, for he read many manuscripts in the original Greek, Italian, Latin, French and Spanish. At last, in 1598, 1599, and 1600, respectively, he published the three volumes of "The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English

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10. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. pp. 13-14.

Nation", made by sea or over land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time with in compasse of these 1600 yeeres."

The remainder of Hakluyt's life seems to have been spent in quiet semi-obscurity; he became prebendary at Westminster in 1602 and archdeacon in 1603. He died on the twenty third of November, 1616, Most of his unpublished material went to Samuel Purchas, who used it in his "Purchas, His Pilgrimes, or Hakluytus Posthumus."

Later generations indeed owe a profound debt of gratitude to "the Preacher" for his untiring industry and the zeal with which he attacked his project. He often grew weary, for he once wrote; "What restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travelled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, etc., I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entered; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what fair opportunities of private gain, preferment and ease I have neglected; albeit thyself canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do find and feel, and some of my entire friends can sufficiently testify".[11]

Nevertheless, Hakluyt's persistance held true and he did not swerve from his purpose. England's age of inactivity had passed, now was the time for her to consolidate the gains which she had made in the arts of navigation and exploration. Hakluyt was the prophet of this new age, and he constantly averred that the best way to insure the permanency of these new gains was through English colonization in the New World. Although he never travelled to America, he took an active part in the founding of colonies, for in 1606, he was one of the four London

11. R. Hakluyt. "Principall Navigations", quoted from W.Raleigh's, "English Voyages of the 16th Century". p. 135

patentees in the first Virginia Company. Previous to that time, Hakluyt had been instrumental in organizing the East India Company, and in the year before he died, he became a charter member of the Northwest Passage Company.

Hakluyt's works came at a propitious moment. Although a small number of Englishmen were convinced of the importance of overseas colonies, the public at large had very little conception of the potential benefits which colonies might bring. The "Principall Navigations"caught the imaginations of Englishmen; it is not an overstatement to say that they were inspired by the achievements of their forebears to go out and restore England's reputation, or rather, to establish a greater one than she had ever known.

One of the most convincing of Hakluyt's efforts was a tract entitled "The Discourse of Western Planting". Within its pages may be found a summation of Hakluyt's reasons for desiring English colonies in America clearly and concisely set forth. This tract previously mentioned, was written in 1584 at the behest of Sir Walter Raleigh who wished to gain the approbation of the Queen and others in authority for his venture in Virginia. Although the tract was never printed until the Maine Historical Society published it in 1877, four copies of it were made at the time it was written. One of them went to the Queen, a second to Sir Francis Walsingham, another to Sir Walter Raleigh, and the final copy was possibly retained by Hakluyt. In spite of this limited circulation the work had great influence owing to high authority of the people through whose hands it passed. Its purpose was to prove to Her Majesty that the best way to serve the cause of England and Protestantism was through colonization in the New World. The power of Spain was reaching its zenith, the Protestant cause was receiving setbacks everywhere on the continent, Catholic intrigue was doing its utmost to hamper English

policy; the time had arrived to take some counteraction against these forces. It was Sir Walter Raleigh's belief that the best place to strike at Spain was in America where she appeared to be the weakest. The establishment of strong English settlements in North America would ensure England military outposts in time of need. In time of peace they could be used as bases of operations for raids against the Spanish treasure fleets. All this is set forth in Hakluyt's treatise for Elizabeth's edification.

In the opening chapter, Hakluyt declares that it is the Queen's duty to spread the gospel in the newly-discovered lands. Since the English rulers hold the title of Defenders of the Faith, "they are not only chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advaunce the same. Neither oughte this to be their laste worke but rather the principall and chefe of all others".[12]

Continuing, Hakluyt deplores the fact that English merchants, trading in the Spanish dominions, are required to "flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forsweare their Relligion and conscience".[13] To add insult to injury, these traders are forced to attend mass when they are on Spanish soil. All this would be ended if England possessed her own colonies in America where commerce could be pursued untrammelled by papist impositions. What a great thing for England, he writes, if this expansion is carried out; what luxurious commodities of the Indies, what abundance of fish from Newfoundland would fall into English hands. It is his contention that great quantities of idle and mischievious citizens would be provided with employment thus removing a burden from the state.

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12. R. Hakluyt. "Discourse concerning Western Planting," printed in collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol.III.p.8.

13. R. Hakluyt, Ibid. p. 3.

In his concluding chapter, Hakluyt reiterates once more the possibility of checking Spain. "This enterprise", he writes,"maye staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America yf wee seate and plante there in time, in time I say, and wee by plantinge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that now his navies by ordinarie courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the Kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by planting at Norumbega."[14]

The "Discourse" is most typical of the arguments set forth by the expansionist propagandists of the day. There is all the old hatred of Spain with her Catholicism and her New World monopoly within its pages. Hakluyt's guiding philosophy, the expansion of English political and commercial influence along with the extension of the Protestant religion, becomes almost a panacea for all ills as expressed in this tract. There can be no doubting the sincerity or essential high-mindedness of his creed.

Representative of the works included in the "Principall Navigations", is Sir George Peckham's "A Discourse of the necessitie and commoditie of planting English Colonies upon the North Partes of America". The author of this tract was one of the most prominent Catholic laymen in England at the time, and although he does not state the fact in his dissertation, he doubtless hoped that colonies could be used as places of refuge for his co-religionists. The tract, published a few years previous to the

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14. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. p. 154.

"Discourse on Westerne Planting", is noteworthy for its many points of similarity to Hakluyt's work.

Referring to Raleigh's first venture, Peckham begins;

"I will endevour my selfe and doe stand in good hope ... to prove that the Voiage lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Savages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie." The religious motive comes to the fore as he continues; "And lastly, (which is most of all) a thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of almightie God. And for the lawfulnesse to plant in those Countreyes in some mens judgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulnesse of trade, traffique and planting".[15]

Setting out to prove the legality of colonial activity upon England's part, Peckham writes; "and first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully travell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Savages may not justly impugne and forbidde in respect to the mutual society and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations. ... For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to trade and traffique with Infidels or Savages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?"[16]

Speaking of the question of the savage and his relation to the colony, Peckham says that two courses may be followed. "The first, when

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15. George Peckham, A Discourse of the necessitie and commoditie of planting English colonies upon the North Partes of America, printed in Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, Vol. VIII, p. 96

16. R. Hakluyt Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 97

Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Savages, are admitted by them to quiet possession. The second, when Christians being unjustly repulsed, doe seek to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come. And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion eyther of both may be lawfully and justly exercised. ... Yet doe I wish that before the second be put in practise, a proofe may be made of the first; saving that for thier safetie as well against the Savages, as all other forreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselves: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and every other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence. As letting them to understand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieving them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes."[17]

Peckham then proceeds to tell how the goodwill of the natives may be gained through gifts of "pettie merchandizes and triffles". Kindness and forbearance must be demonstrated; "But if these good and fayre meanes used, the Savages neverthelesse will not be herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence either in repelling the Christians from their Ports and safe landings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enjoy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they have adventured themselves thither: Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to doe whatsoever is necessarie for the atteining of their safetie: For it is allowable by the Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase

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17. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol. VIII, p.98.

their strength by building of Forts and avoyding the extremitie of injurious dealing."[18]

The claims of England upon America were irrefutable, said Peckham, Not only had the Cabots established English rights by their voyages of discovery; there was also a second claim which appears rather humorous to us. It was Peckham's contention that in ancient times a certain Welsh prince, Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, emigrated from his homeland, possibly to America. Since Montezuma, the Aztec emperor, claimed that his ancestors came from beyond the seas (a practise common enough for native potentates of that day) Peckham seized upon this as evidence that Gwyneth was the first white settler in America and the founder of Montezuma's family. Thus, in a triumph of rationalizing, Queen Elizabeth's title to the New World is established beyond the shadow of a doubt.[19]

Nautical science and the improvement of the English navy and mercantile marine were projects near to Packham's heart. If England possessed overseas colonies, not only could they be used as bases, but more ships would be constructed to accommodate the increased flow of trade and travel. In regard to the improvement of the fishing trade, he writes; "And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships have beene built and set forth of late dayes for the trade of fishing onely: yet not withstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els bought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatness of fish, is for that they have no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts.

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18. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol.VIII, p. 100

19. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol.VIII, p. 108

But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their coming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof David Ingram (who travelled in those countryes as aforesayd) sayeth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth give great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might be as well made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abudance."[20]

In speaking of the benefits which would arise from trade in America, Peckham says: "For I my selfe have heard this report made sundry times by divers of our countrymen, who have dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelve yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people of those parts are easily reduced to civility both in manners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent, - (clothiers, woolmen, carders, drapers weavers, spinners, etc.) - I do leave to the judgement of such as are discreet. And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both have beene, and now are utterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessively then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our navy, and the maintenance of our navigation."[21]

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20. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol.VIII, p.110.
21. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol.VIII, p.111.

Peckham goes on to tell of further opportunities which present themselves in the New World. He informs all gentlemen that they can set up great estates there and that the fertile soil and abundance of game will aid them. In conclusion, he appeals once more to the sense of religious duty when he writes; "By Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowned memorie, and leave unto our posteritie a divine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: ... Then shal her Majesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles justly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme utterly banished, divers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now live in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolocall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished. All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Saviour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations."[22]

In a final burst of patiotism, Sir George asserts that it is indeed the destiny of the English, God's "chosen people", to accomplish all these momentous tasks, for he writes; "Which good worke I trust is reserved for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not dismayed: for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the love that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. ... Let us therefore with cheerefull mindes and couragious

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22. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol.VIII, pp. 130-131

hearts, give the attempt and leave the sequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against us?"[23]

Samuel Purchas fills a place in history as Hakluyt's most prominent disciple. When the great chronicler died, Purchas fell heir to his vast collection of unpublished documents. These papers, together with some of his own, Purchas edited and published under the title of "Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims." Much of the editing was poorly done; much to the exasperation of later historians, Purchas deleted portions of the material which might have been of great value. However, half a loaf is better than none, and Purchas is deserving of our appreciation for his preservation of much of Hakluyt's material which otherwise might well have been lost. His work, when printed in 1621, ran into four enormous folio volumes, attesting to the enthusiasm, if not the sagacity with which Purchas attacked his task. Although the scope of the work was broad, it lacked the influence of Hakluyt's publication for Purchas never possessed the conscious purpose which drove Hakluyt on, the creation of a greater and more prosperous England.

Turning from the massive compilations of Hakluyt and Purchas, we find a lucid and convincing little essay by a man whose versatility has brought him fame in many fields, Sir Francis Bacon. Although his "Of Plantations" was not designed to influence men to undertake colonial planting, but rather to advise them how to do so, it is nonetheless valuable to us in that it presents the views of men of influence and learning upon the subject. The essay, written in 1625, contains all that sharp good sense for which its author was noted. A somewhat pronounced bias against the merchant class, whom he feels are incapable of unselfish administration, is evident. "Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth", he writes, "but upon a temperate number; and let those be

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23. R. Hakluyt, op.cit. Vol.VIII, p. 131

rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain."[24] Remembering the example set by Sir Richark Grenville in Virginia, we would be somewhat reluctant to accept this part of Bacon's advice. In speaking of economic matters, however, he is more sound. "Let there be freedom from custom", he continues, "till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather harken how they waste, and send supplies proportionately; but so as the number may live well in the planation, and not by surcharge be in penury. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most planations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years."[25] The early history of Virginia would have been happier if those in authority had listened to Bacon, especially when he said; "It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further."

Speaking sharply against the practice of soliciting colonists from the indigent and criminal strata of society, Bacon says; "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, ... with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks and bakers."[26]

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24. Francis Bacon, "Of Plantations", printed in "The Works of Francis Bacon" edited by Spedding, Ellis and Heath, Vol.XII, p.197.
25. Francis Bacon, Ibid, Vol.XII, p. 197.
26. Francis Bacon, op.cit. Vol. XII, p. 195.

In selecting the site of the plantation, care must be taken in regard to soil, climate and location. "Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the planatation, (so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business), as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth, but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth."[27]

When the plantation has grown strong, writes Bacon, "then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without, It is the sinfullest thing in the world", he concludes, "to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for besides the dishonor, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons."[28] This last warning was possibly addressed to Raleigh, partly through whose neglect the colony of Roanoke was lost. Bacon's incisive mind penetrated some of the more obvious but none the less vexing problems of colonial organization in his little essay.

One of the most intriguing figures to preach colonization was the redoubtable Captain John Smith. If we were to accept his writings as gospel truth we should indeed be asked to believe many remarkable and incredible things. The fact is, that although much of the Captain's chronicles may be written off as sheer fancy, there is just enough truth in some of them to make it dangerous to discard all. One of his more veracious works is called "A Description of New England". He does not refer to the geographical unit which we know today as New England, but

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27. Francis Bacon, op.cit. Vol. XII, p. 196.
28. Francis Bacon, op.cit. Vol. XII, p. 198.

rather, he meant all of England's North American possessions, particularly Virginia. The tract was written while he was held captive by a group of French pirates in 1615. In it, he sets forth in glowing terms the many resources of the region. He states that although many mariners have sailed the coasts, much of it remains to be explored. It was his most earnest desire, and here we can take stock of what he says, that the domains of the king should be enlarged. What better way to do so than by settlement of this vast and uninhabited land? The whole tract is written in a blunt and forthright manner; just what we would expect from an old campaigner. Smith leaves no doubt in the course of the work that he is speaking for a project that is dear to his heart; his message is one of sincerity.

With the foundation of the first permanent English settlement in the New World at Jamestown in 1607 and the subsequent increase in colonial activity during the next twenty five years and after, fewer tracts promoting colonization were published. The theorists seemed to realize that their day was drawing to a close, and that the time had come for the men of action to put their theories into practice. A new phase in colonial development had set in.

One of the last propagandists of the old school was Robert Johnson, whose tract "Nova Britannia" was published in 1609, two years after the founding of Jamestown. Thepamphlet follows the orthodox pattern laid down by Halkuyt and Peckham, the only difference resting on the fact that Johnson was urging the support of a colonly already in its early stages of development. In soliciting support for the infant settlement, he writes;

"So I wish and intreat all well affected subjects, some in their persons, others in their purses, cheerfully to adventure, and joyntly

take in hand this high and acceptable worke, tending to advance and spread the kingdome of God, and the knowledge of the truth, among so many millions of men and women, Savage and blind, that never yet saw the true light shine before their eyes to enlighten their minds and comfort their soules, as also for the honor of our King, and enlarging of his kingdome, and for preservation and defence of that small number our friends and countrymen already planted, least for want of more supplies we become a scorne to the world subjecting our former adventures to apparent spoile and hazard, and our people (as a prey) to be sackt and puld out of possession, as were the French out of "Nova Francia", not many yeares ago, and which is the lest and last respect (yet usually preferred) for the singular good and benefits that will undoubtedly arise to this whole nation and to every one of us in particular, that will adventure therein, as by true relation (God willing) I shall make it manifestly appeare to all."[29]

After the usual sentiments expressing how colonization will further the cause of Christianity and the English state,[30] Johnson sets out to prove how it will aid the country in other respects. "Now it followes", he writes, "how it -(colonization)- can be good for this commonwealth: which is likewise most apparent many waies. First, if we consider what strength of shipping may be raysed and maintained thence, in furnishing our owne wants of sundrie kindes, and the wants of other nations too, in such needfull things arising thence which can hardly now be obtained from any other part of the world, as planck and tymber for shipping, with Deale and Wainscot, pipestaves and alabbard, with store of Sope ashes, whereof there grow the best woods to make them in great aboundance, all which we

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29. R. Johnson, "Nova Brittannia", Printed in the "Tracts and other Papers Relating principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North America", collected by Peter Force, Vol.I, p.6.

30. P. Force, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 10.

may there have, the wood for the cutting and the ashes for the burning, which though they be grosse commodities, yet no Marchandize is better requested, nor will sooner yeelde golde or silver in any our bordering Nations." [31]

In speaking of the advantages in controlling your own source of supply, Johnson says; "England and Holland alone, spend about 300,000 poundes sterling every yeare. We may transport hether (from the colonies) or unto Hampsborough, Holland, or other places, fifty per centum better cheape, then from Prusia or Polonia, from whence they are onaly now to be had, where also the woods are so spent and wasted, that from the place where the wood is cut and the ashes burnt, they are brought by land at least 200 miles to ship." [32]

The concern which Englishmen felt at having to use their depleted supply of timber in the smelting of iron instead of for the building of ships is illustrated when Johnson writes; "And from thence we have Iron and copper also in great quantitie, about which the expense and waste of woode, as also for building of Shippes, will be no hurt, but great service to that countrey; the great superfluity whereof, the continuall cutting downe, in manie hundred yeares, will not be able to overcome, whereby will likewise grow a greater benefite to this land, in preserving our woodes and tymber at home, so infinitely and without measure, upon these occasions cutte downe, and falne to such a sicknesse and wasting consumption, as all the physick in England cannot cure." [33]

The desire to make England economically independent becomes increasingly clear when Johnson says; "Experience hath lately taught us by some of our neighbour Provinces, how exceedingly it mounts the State of a Commonwealth, to put forth Navigation (if it were possible) into all

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31. P. Force, op.cit. Vol.I. p.16
32. P. Force, op.cit. Vol.I. p.16
33. P. Force. op.cit. Vol.I. p.17

parts and corners of the world, to furnish our owne wants, and also to supply from one Kingdome to another, such severall needfull things, as for want of shipping and other meanes they cannot furnish of themselves, for this will raise experience, and men of skill, as also strength at Sea and land, with honour, wealth, and riches returning still to the heads and fountaines, from whence their first occasions grew."[34]

"Two things are especially required herein, "wrote Johnson, "people to make the plantation, and money to furnish our present provisions and shippings now in hand: For the first wee neede not doubt, our land abounding with swarmes of idle persons, which having no meanes of labour to releeve their misery, doe likewise swarme in lewd and naughtie practises, so that if we seeke not some waies for their forreine employment, we must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions, for it fares with populous common weales, as with plants and trees that bee too frolicke, which not able to sustaine and feede their multiple of branches, doe admit an engrafting of their buds and sciences into some other soile, accounting it a benefite for preservation of their kind, and a disburdening their stocke of those superfluous twigs that suck away their nourishment". Reiterating Bacon's advice concerning the type of people needed for colonization, Johnson qualifies his preceding statement, somewhat, when he writes, "Yet I doe not meane, that none but such unsound members, and such poore as want their bread, are fittest for this imployment: for we intend to have of every trade and profession, both honest, wise and painefull men, whereof our land and Citie is able to spare, and furnish many (as we had experience in our last sending thither) which will be glad to goe, and plant themselves so happily, and their children after them, to holde and keepe conformitie, with the lawes, language and religion of England for ever."[35]

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34. P. Force, op.cit., Vol. I. p.17
35. P. Force, op.cit., Vol. I. p.19

Turning to the second requirement, that of money, Johnson writes; "Wee call those Planters that goe in their persons to dwell there: and those Adventurers that adventure their money and go not in person, and both doe make the members of one Colonie. We do account twelve pound ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will go and dwell there, and every childe about tenne yeares, that shall be carried thither to remaine, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had adventured twelve pounds ten shillings in money. ... All charges of setling and maintaining the Plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in a joint stock of adventurers for seven yeares after the date of our new enlargement: during which time there shall be no adventure, nor goods returned in private from thence, neytheir by Master, marriner, Planter, nor Passenger, they shall be restrained by bond and search, that as we supplie from thence to the Planters at our owne charge all necessaries for food and apparel, for fortifying and building of houses in a joynt stock, so they are also to returne from thence the encrease and fruits of their labours for the use and advancement of the same joynt stocke."[36] The tract concludes with a final appeal for support of the colony.

It must be said that the colonial propagandists wrote their tracts to bring the English to a realization of what they might do in emulation of what Spain had already done. They wrote with the honest conviction that they had a mission to perform; the creation of a greater England beyond the seas, the establishment of the Protestant Church within these newly discovered lands, and the supremacy of English commerce. Those objects were first and foremost in their minds; the arguments which they advanced concerning the improvement of the conditions among the poorer

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36. P. Force, op.cit. Vol. I. pp. 23-24.

classes which would be wrought by colonization were secondary. One has the impression that they occurred to the writers simply as by-products of their original and more grandiose scheme. While their works, noticeably in the case of Hakluyt, had a wide effect upon the soldiers, statesmen, and merchants, the common people remained untouched by this flow of rhetoric. When it came time for them to leave their country's shores, they went for personal self-betterment, not for reasons of state.

There were, as Henry Morris wrote in his "History of Colonization", those people who desired adventure and easy profits; to them the New World offered an opening. There was likewise another class, he wrote, "to which these recently found lands offered at least a brighter hope. The reign of Queen Elizabeth, outwardly brilliant and prosperous, was in fact an era of serious internal troubles. The transformation occurring in agriculture, - pasturage replacing tillage, - the rapid depreciation in values occasioned by the introduction of vast quantities of precious metals from South America into Spain, as well as the disturbance of manufacturers for want of supplies and markets, were creating a formidable economic crisis. As in all ages and countries, under similar circumstances, the lower grades of society suffered the most. Thus the necessity of radical relief was urgent. ... Supplementary to this main motive - the struggle for life - strongly cherished differences of religious opinion contributed not a little to the disposition to separate from the native land."[37]

It was to the New World that the common people looked for redress of their ills. Thither they took their way, often aided and abetted by the state, upon the oldest of human quests - the search for a better

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37. Henry Morris, "The History of Colonization", Vol. II. p. 12

life. Although they were doing that which was asked of them by the colonial propagandists, they did it for private motives and not for the altruistic ones promulgated by the theorists. "We hope to plant a nation where none before hath stood,"[38] wrote Robert Rich. That may have been the hope of the state; the desire of the individual was the simple wish to plant a new home, better than the last.

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38. R. Rich, "Newes from Virginia", printed in Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States", Vol. I. p. 424.

CHAPTER THREE.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION.

PART ONE.

It has been cited previously that large scale colonial enterprise is usually the outcome of private initiative, growing out of dissatisfaction with local environment, guided by governmental action along channels which serve public ends. This was especially true of the English settlements in North America. Since it would be difficult and, indeed, undesirable to avoid this dichotemy in the field of economic causes of colonization, the subject has been broken into two parts. The first deals with the development of economic conditions in England during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the opening years of the seventeenth which were conducive to colonization, and the second part with governmental reasons for and policy in fostering such colonization, and with the agencies that carried it out.

During the reign of Elizabeth, England was passing through an economic crisis of no small intensity, a crisis occasioned to a large extent by the transition from a mediaeval economy to a more modern one. This change had begun during the reign of Henry VII and as time progressed the disintegrating institutions of mediaeval times were replaced by their modern counterparts. With the arrival of the Renaissance, England began to play a more important role in European commerce; this caused the accumulation of large private fortunes and in turn led the new elite to search for lucrative investments. The Middle Ages had been a time of "corporatism" and

self-sufficiency, and it was inevitable that this type of economy, with the arrival of modern times, should give way to one of individualism and capitalistic private enterprise. A new and powerful mercantile class was evolving, a class which was increasingly demanding and receiving royal support. Henry had been wise enough to see that in aiding English commerce to expand he would render his country increasingly influential in the new European diplomatic alignments. He also realized that if affairs in England ever led to a show of strength between the crown and the nobility, his strongest means of support would come from the new middle class which was reliant upon the crown for the preservation of order and the support of industry.

Consequently Henry utilized every possible opportunity to negotiate commercial treaties which would be favorable to the English merchants. The early regulated companies such as the Merchant Adventurers, received governmental protection and encouragement. Heavy duties were placed upon exported wool and a light duty upon exported woolens, thus aiding the woolen industry and the Merchant Adventurers. The Merchant Staplers, already a powerful organization when Henry came to the throne, continued to enjoy their previously-won advantages.

Very marked evidence of economic change is evident in the transition from the gild system to the domestic system. Under the newer method the worker carried on his trade in his home, usually receiving his raw materials from the merchant capitalist and selling exclusively to him. The domestic worker was, in a sense, often a small capitalist. He usually owned his tools of production and might employ his family or neighbors in the processing of the wool. The middlemen, who bought from the producer and sold to the consumer, became a new

feature in society. Thus the decline of the gilds was complete. It had begun back in 1504 when they virtually came under royal control as a decree was then passed stating that no ordinance subsequently decreed by the gilds should be binding unless it had been duly approved by certain of the King's ministers or judges. Hence, by Elizabeth's time, with the onslaught of the domestic system, the day of the artisan who both made and sold had begun to pass into its twilight.

The organization of large-scale industry also passed through many changes during the second half of the sixteenth century. Large plants, often run by water power, were set up in the paper, gunpowder, sugar, saltpeter, textile and brass industries, as well as large cannon foundries. While these innovations provided work for many unskilled laborers, (at extremely low wages), new labor-saving devices, such as the blast furnace operated by a bellows driven by water power, threw others out of work. Also, the old, skilled artisans suffered from this nascent large-scale production.[1] It took time to learn new skills, and while these new industries were the exception rather than the rule in England at that time, their introduction caused hardship and in many cases a lower rather than a higher standard of living among the laboring classes. The inequitable distribution of this new wealth helped to make the rich more covetous while the poor grew more necessitous.

Revolutionary changes in the field of agriculture had also started during and before the time of Henry VII. The practice of enclosing arable land for pasturage had been introduced early in the fifteenth century, and had become increasingly common as time went on. Enclosures were sometimes carried out in order to obtain a large amount of land to be used as a hunting and game preserve. More commonly

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1. W. E. Lunt, "History of England", p. 365.

however, many small tenant farms were combined into one large unit because the growing demand for wool made the raising of sheep more profitable than the cultivation of the soil. By the latter part of the sixteenth century the movement was reaching its height. Thousands of peasants were driven from their homes to seek refuge in the towns or on the highways. One or two shepherds were sufficient to look after flocks which grazed upon land that had previously employed as many as twenty agricultural laborers.[2] The absorption of this new class of unemployed into the new industries was extremely slow, and in any event, these industries were still too much in their infancy to be able to take care of the many who had been thrown out of work.[3]

By 1607, the amount of enclosed land made up slightly less than three percent of the total area of England, however, in proportion to the amount of land under cultivation, the enclosed land was in a ratio of more than one to twenty. In the Midland counties, where enclosure was heaviest, the ratio of enclosed land to that under cultivation was even higher.[4] Since this region was the great wheat-producing area of Tudor and Stuart times, enclosure meant gradual depopulation and the decay of villages. Goldsmith's famous poem, it will be recalled, was written about a village which had been abandoned for this reason during the eighteenth century.

Although enclosures continued down into the nineteenth century, the force of the movement gradually abated after 1600. By that time, there was an over-production of wool and a consequent decrease in the profit of sheep-raising.[5] As time went on, the value of wheat began to

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2. Godfrey Davies, "The Early Stuarts", p. 276
3. Godfrey Davies, Ibid, p. 276
4. Godfrey Davies, op.cit., p. 276
5. H.D.Traill and J.S.Mann, "Social England, Vol. III, p.346.

rise and its cultivation once again became profitable.

In spite of the hardships which ensued from this agrarian transition, there is no startling evidence of great violence or riot as a direct result.[6] The outbreak of 1536 known as the Pilgrimage of Grace was doubtless the partial outcome of economic difficulties growing out of the dissolution of the monasteries and enclosures. The majority of the participants, however, seem to have been more concerned with the new religious innovations as their demands for Cromwell's dismissal and the restitution of the old faith would seem to bear out.[7] In any case, it was not until 1607 that a purely agrarian revolt took place.

Three years previously Sir Edward Montague had presented the complaints of the people of the Midlands to Parliament. Nothing whatever had been done to alleviate the situation and by 1607 enclosures in the Midlands had wrought sufficient havoc to incite open rebellion. A rise in corn prices also contributed at this particular time to popular unrest. Rioting broke out in Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Bedfordshire.[8] When the situation proved more than the local authorities could contend with, a Royal proclamation was issued permitting the use of force in quelling the disorder. The revolt was soon crushed and the Privy Council, realizing that there was a real wrong to be redressed, ordered the chief enclosers to be brought before it. Although a commission was organized to make inquiries into the matter, it came to naught.[9] No further government action was taken and the situation remained as it was before.

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6. R. H. Tawney, "The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century", p. 402.
7. E. F. Gay, "The Midlands Revolt", printed in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series, Vol.18, p.198.
8. E. F. Gay, op.cit., Vol.18, p.215.
9. E. F. Gay, op.cit,, Vol.18, p.217

Insofar as the topic under discussion is concerned, the importance of the Midlands Revolt lies in the fact that it registered the growing dissatisfaction of the agricultural laboring class. Not only did this stratum of society suffer from enclosures; other ills preyed upon it as well. There was a rapid rise in the price of agricultural produce which benefited the landowners exclusively. Prices soon began to rise sharply for other commodities as well. This caused increasing hardship as the wages of labor were fixed in a most arbitrary manner by statute at rates established during the early sixteenth century when prices had been lower. The purchasing power of money, which will be dealt with later on in this chapter, decreased. A table, prepared by Thorold Rogers, shows graphically what the situation was during the first half of the sixteenth century. It will be noted how wages remained virtually static in relation to prices which had already begun to rise.

WAGES.

	1511-1520	1541-1550
Unskilled Labor (daily)	$3\frac{3}{4}$ d.	$4\frac{3}{4}$ d.
Mason (daily)	6	$6\frac{3}{4}$
Plumber (daily)	6	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Carpenter (daily)	$6\frac{1}{4}$	7

PRICES.

	1511-1520			1541-1550		
	L.	S.	d.	L.	S.	d.
Wheat (quarter)	0	6	$8\frac{3}{4}$	0	10	8
Barley (quarter)	0	4	$0\frac{1}{4}$	0	6	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Oats (quarter)	0	2	2	0	4	$0\frac{1}{4}$

(table continued)

	1511-1520			1541-1550		
	L.	S.	d.	L.	S.	d.
Oxen (average)	1	3	2	2	2	3¼
Sheep (average)	0	2	5¾	0	4	11½
Candles (doz.lb.)	0	1	2½	0	1	7¼
Butter (doz. lb.)	0	1	6	0	2	0
Table Linen (doz.ells)	0	7	2	0	12	0¼
Shirtings	0	6	5¾	0	8	10
Paper (doz.quires)	0	2	3	0	3	3
Iron, raw, (cwt.)	0	4	8¼	0	5	3
Hay (load)	0	3	5	0	5	7
Straw (load)	0	1	7¾	0	2	4½
Wool (tod)	0	6	7¼	1	0	8

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By 1564, the agricultural laborer was receiving approximately 7d. per day during the summer and 6d. per day during the winter. The ordinary artisan was receiving 9d. per day in the summer and 8d. per day during the winter. A survey of conditions in 1610 reveals that wages in these two groups had not risen one whit, while the price of wheat, during the same period, had risen from 19s.9¾d. per quarter to 2L. 4d., and prices generally, by more than fifty per cent! [11]

By 1613, barley was selling at 19s.5d., per quarter; oats at 11s.10¾d. per quarter; iron at 1L.12s.8d. per cwt.; and the average price of sheep was 9s.½d. In comparing these prices with those of one

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10. H. Traill and J. Mann, "Social England", Vol.III,p.168,quoted from Thorold Rogers "History of Agriculture and Prices". Although Thorold Rogers has been questioned insofar as his interpretation of the facts which he accumulated is concerned, the veracity of the facts themselves has been generally accepted.
11. H. Traill and J. Mann, Ibid, Vol.III., p.774.

hundred years previous, some idea can be gained of their sharp increase. While the wage of the ordinary artisan had risen to about 5s. per week around the middle of the sixteenth century, it remained substantially the same, as we have previously noted, down to the opening years of the seventeenth century.[12] The carpenter, for instance, made slightly less than 4s. per week in 1511; by 1583 his weekly wage had risen to 5s.11½d., and in 1610 he was making approximately 6s.½d. each week.[13] For a period of one hundred years, this is a pitifully small increase, especially when one bears in mind the fact that prices had generally more than doubled and in some cases tripled during the same period. In balancing the picture, it must be said that the greatest rise was in the field of luxury goods; nevertheless, the increase in the price of the staple commodities vital to the lower classes was sufficient to cause hardship. While employment was generally steadier as time went on, it was not enough to equalize the decrease in the purchasing power of money.[14]

The rise in prices was brought about by several new developments. Possibly what started it was the fact that protective restrictions were applied to the importation of foreign goods during the reign of Henry VII. This could have helped to increase prices not only on the imported goods but also upon competing goods manufactured in England. Also, there was the buying-up processes of the "bodgers" in the corn market. It was the practice of the "bodgers" to meet the farmer before he arrived in town where he planned to sell his corn, buy up the total supply, and then sell it to the townsmen at

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12. H. Traill and J. Mann, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 746-748.
13. H. Traill and J. Mann, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 746-748.
14. H. Traill and J. Mann, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 748.

their own price. As a consequence, the price of corn rose erratically on more than one occasion.

The greatest single factor which contributed to the price rise was the decline in the value of money. Inflationary practices were initiated by Henry VIII as an easy manner in which to make money. During the fifteenth century the ratio of the silver penny had been 1/12 alloy and 11/12 silver. Before Henry died it was 2/3 alloy and 1/3 silver. This caused the lower classes to suffer severely because they were forced to accept payment for their services at the face value of the coinage and to buy their commodities at the real value. Debasement continued through the reign of Edward VI; it was not until the time of Elizabeth that drastic counter-measures were taken. In 1560 all the debased silver coins were called in to a special mint which had been established for the purpose of recoinage. There they were melted down and recast into coins of standard fineness. Each person received in new coins only the real value of those which he had turned in.[15]

Although recoinage helped somewhat to alleviate the situation, prices still continued their upward trend. The underlying cause of this, although it was not realized for some time, was the influx of precious metals from the New World. Gold and silver had been discovered in large quantities by Spain and it was not long before it was pouring in from the colonies. In time, Spain had little else to export and soon this bullion had found its way over most of the continent. Substantial amounts of it came into England and caused severe depreciation of the coinage. Prices rose correspondingly and the worker found that a wage which previously had been barely sufficient was scarcely adequate.[16] In an effort to stabilize the situation,

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15. W.E.Lunt, "History of England", p. 358
16. W.E.Lunt, Ibid, p. 323

the Justices of the Peace set wages based upon the current price of wheat, a commodity which was felt to be more stable than gold, the value of which was fluctuating in an alarming manner. It is extremely doubtful whether this practice improved the situation to any noticeable degree, for prices continued to be high and wages remained virtually static.

There is nothing strange in this picture of domestic turbulence in England during the sixteenth century. It was inevitable that this period of change should set in. The fact that hardship would follow in the wake of this transition was equally inescapable. The laboring classes, as was noted previously, bore the brunt of the suffering. Today, if the worker is not satisfied with his wages, he has recourse to the right to strike; in those times the Justices of the Peace, members of the country gentry, set the wages. If the laborer were dissatisfied and refused to work, the justices could have him arrested and sent to jail; he had no choice in the matter.[17]

The middle and upper classes, however, profited generally by this price rise. This included landowners, large and small, shopkeepers, and capitalistic entrepreneurs. "Those who buy to sell again, whether what they sell is in the same form as when they bought, or worked up by their own industry, or the forces of Nature, obviously gain something more than the natural fruit of their industry if prices rise between the time when they buy and the time they sell."[18] Consequently, the middle and upper classes enjoyed abundant prosperity throughout most of Elizabeth's reign.

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17. Edward Channing, "History of the United States", P. 146.
18. H. Traill and J. Mann, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 750.

Let us look at the other side of the ledger, however, to discern just what form the hardships of the lower classes took. It is there that we shall see how these economic developments came to produce an environment so adverse that emigration from the homeland seemed a promising escape from well-nigh overwhelming difficulties.

We have already seen from the writings of the colonial propagandists that there was much acute social dislocation in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sir Gerald Peckham wrote of those who "doe now live here idly to the common annoy of the whole state",[19] and Hakluyt, Bacon and all the others spoke with varying degrees of vehemence upon the matter. The amount of literature which was devoted to the problem testifies to the extent to which thinking men were concerned with the many ills attendent upon the changing times.

"Look seriously into the land", said William Symonds in a sermon preached at Whitechapel in 1609, "and see whether there bee not just cause, if not necessity to seek abroad. The people, blessed be God, doe swarme in the land as young bees in a hive in June, insomuch that there is very hardly roome for one man to live by another. The mightier like old strong bees thrust the weeker, as younger, out of their hives." After describing the over-crowded condition of all the industries in England at that time, Symonds urged "the younger bees to swarme and hive themselves elsewhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers, which indeede bring all the honey to the hive, God may so blesse you, that the Proverbe may be true of you, that A May swarme ~~is worth~~ is worth a King's ransome."[20]

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19. R. Hakluyt, "Principell Navigations", Vol. VIII, p. 111.

20. A. Brown, "Genesis of the United States", Vol. I, p. 288, taken from "Virginia Brittania", by William Symonds.

As far back as 1576, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had written concerning the problem of pauperism; "Also we might inhabite some part of those countryes, (North America) and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the commonwealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallows."[21]

Further evidence of the alarm with which far-sighted men viewed the danger of pauperism is found in a tract called "Good Speed to Virginia", by one Robert Gray, published in 1609. He wrote, "There is nothing more dangerous for the estate of Commonwealths than when the people do increase to a greater multitude and number than may justly parallel with the largeness of the place and countrey; for hereupon comes oppression, and, diverse kindes of wrongs, mutinies, sedition, commotion and rebellion, scarcitie, dearth, povertie, and sundrie sorts of calamities, which either breed conversion or eversion of cities and commonwealths."[22]

The extent of pauperism may be only partially discerned from these writings. The problem had its roots in the agrarian dislocations occasioned by enclosures and in the commercial and industrial changes which were being effected. Enclosures in particular had driven thousands of agricultural laborers from the rural districts to the towns where they took refuge. There it was often impossible for them to obtain employment owing to the fact that the handicraft industries were still virtually closed corporations, controlled by a long-established hierarchy of artisans.[23] The supply of common labor exceeded the demand, forcing the large residue of unemployed either

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21. R. Hakluyt, Ibid, Vol.VIII, p. 286.
22. Robert Gray, "Good Speed to Virginia", printed in Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States", Vol.I, p. 298.
23. S.E.Morrison, "Founders of the Bay Colony", p.23

to take to the roads or swarm in the towns. According to a Proclamation of Elizabeth, issued in 1602,[24] there were in the poorer quarters of London, "great numbers of people inhabiting in small rooms ... heaped up together and in a sort smothered", who "must live by begging or worse means".

In connection with pauperism, there was the problem of excess population. Actually, it is somewhat difficult to establish the true extent of over-population during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although England, to all external appearances, might seem to be over-populated, the opposite was true. A country which supports a population of forty millions today could certainly provide for the four million souls which dwelt there during the latter part of Elizabeth's time, even when one discounts the manifold improvements in production which have been introduced since that era. It was only the existence of large numbers of paupers, something new on the English scene, at least to such a great extent, that made people conscious of the armies of unemployed and lead them to the conclusion that the productive capacity of their country was not sufficient to take care of the people. The fact that most of these indigent beggars congregated in the towns and larger cities, where there was often less danger of arrest, brought the problem of pauperism home to the townsmen much more forcibly than if the paupers had been disseminated over a wider area. It does not seem surprising that people should begin to believe that the burden of population was too great for the country to bear. Although the two are closely allied, it would seem that England suffered from pauperism rather than over-population.

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24. H. Traill and J. Mann, "Social England", Vol.IV, p.197.

The first and primary remedy for this unhappy situation was the Poor Law. Legislation had been passed in 1563 ordering the civil authorities to solicit weekly alms for the poor from those of their brethren more blest with worldly goods. By 1601 a series of acts had been codified in a law which served England down to 1834.[25]

Under the provisions of this law, only those who were destitute and incapable of work qualified for aid. Those who were able to work and refused to do so were punished and kept in houses of correction. Overseers of the poor, usually the Justices of the Peace, were vested with the authority to levy a local tax on the owners of property in order to provide the funds with which to implement the law.[26]

Vagabondism spread in spite of the Poor Law which often did not function as well as it might have owing to the laxity of the Justices of the Peace. As time went on, the statutes affecting labor were combined and the tendency was toward an increasing centralization in the field of poor relief.[27] The Justices were ordered to convene once between the general sessions of the peace, in order to look after the execution of statutes concerning laborers, alehouses and tipplers, "the assize of bread and ale, rogues, setting the poor on work, and apprenticing their children."[28] In London, affairs became so bad that the Lord Mayor took matters into his own hands, determining to remedy an ugly situation. He provided relief for those who could not work, but the others were put to work in Bridewell, "not punishing any for begging, but setting them on work, which was worse than death to them."[29]

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25. W. E. Lunt, "History of England", p. 359
26. W. E. Lunt, Ibid, p. 359
27. H. Traill and J. Mann, "Social England", Vol. IV, p. 197
28. H. Traill and J. Mann, Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 197
29. H. Traill and J. Mann, Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 198

In 1629 the government decided to act, and Orders in Council were issued appointing certain Commissioners with unusual powers. These new officials were empowered to look after the administration of "all and every such lawes and statutes nowe in force as any waye concerns the reliefe of impotent poor people, and bindinge out of apprentices, and settinge to worke of poore children and such other poore people as being able to worke have no stocke or meanes to employ themselvês, the compellinge and inforcing of such lazie and idle persons to worke as being of bodies able and strong do nevertheless refuse to labour, the maintenance, government and well ordering of houses of correction, hospitalls and other places for the reliefe of the poore ... people."[30]

Still pauperism persisted in spite of these measures. The years 1622-3 and 1630-1 were especially hard, not only for the poor laborers but for the artisan class and small landowners as well.[31] People began to seek a way out of their troubles; government legislation did not seem to be the panacea for their many social ills. The advice of Hakluyt and Raleigh was still fresh in the memory of many, and there were others who kept repeating the imprecations of "The Preacher" and his disciples. The New World was abundant in land and promise; the old theory of a second chance, a fresh start in life, seemed particularly alluring when one considered the increasing burden of existence in the homeland.

While there were ever-growing numbers of the poor who desired to emigrate to America, there was also a fairly considerable group which looked upon emigration with extreme distaste. The death rate in the New World was high; of five hundred settlers in

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30. H. Traill and J. Mann, op.cit, Vol.IV, p.200
31. H. Traill and J. Mann, op.cit.,Vol.IV, p.196

Virginia in 1609, by the following year there were only fifty.[32] In 1624, there were one thousand and one hundred Europeans in the same colony - the residue of five thousand and six hundred who were known to have immigrated there.[33] Even taking into account those who left the colony to go back to England or elsewhere, the death-rate was still high. Those who did return to the Mother Country circulated wild stories about the terrifying dangers of ocean travel and life in the New World. These blood-curdling tales most certainly acted as a deterring factor in promoting the idea of colonization as a remedy for domestic ills. However, much of this gossip was so obviously nothing more than "old wives' tales", that one feels that the type of person who would allow himself to be influenced by such talk was not made of the proper stuff to be a good colonist in any event.

There were still a great many who wished to seek refuge in the New World, and a substantial percentage of them were so destitute that the 20 Pounds,which was the approximate cost of emigration, was out of the question.[34] Not only was there passage money to be considered, the wherewithal must be obtained with which to set up a home in the wilderness. Consequently, many necessitous laborers and artisans who desired to emigrate to the New World had no other alternative than to become indentured servants in the colonies. Very often a peasant would indenture himself to his squire who was also bound for the colonies, but the majority had to be contented with indenture to a complete stranger, trusting that the new master would not be any more harsh than the old. According to C. M. MacInnes, "economic

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32. C. M. MacInnes, Introduction to "Economic History of the British Empire", p.19.
33. C. M. MacInnes, Ibid, p. 20.
34. G. L. Beer, "British Colonial System", 1578-1660", p.50

necessity, and frequently the inclination of workmen in town and country to follow those whom they had always regarded as their natural leaders, sent thousands during this period to the West Indies or to the Continental Colonies. Without such compelling necessity of traditional loyalty, such people would never, of their own volition, have faced a complete breach with the past and the difficulties and tribulations of a new life in a strange, distant and barbarous land."[35]

Still, in spite of the crushing poverty which much of the lower classes had to bear, many remained reluctant to make the great change, pull up stakes, and go to America. Sir Richard Saltonstall wrote in 1632, that he found it strange that "the meaner soart of people" should be so backward in emigrating, and that "the better soart of people should not help ye poorer with meanes to transport them."[36] To overcome this difficulty, the City of London paid for transporting some of its paupers to America. Also, as we shall see in the following chapter, the government pardoned criminals and delinquents if they would go to America and settle.[37]

Discounting those timorous souls who allowed themselves to be swayed by tales of the horrors of life in America or those too timid to brave unknown difficulties in the colonies, there still remained an increasing number of people, from the upper classes of society as well as the lower, who arrived at the decision that emigration was the only solution to the problem of existence. The position of the lesser country gentry was deteriorating during the reign of James I, causing many members of that class to seek abroad to repair their fortunes. Profits from land were decreasing sharply,[38] rents were, in many cases,

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35. C.M.MacInnes, Introduction to the "Economic History of the British Empire", p.21
36. G.L.Beer, Ibid, p.47 (Saltonstall to Downing, Feb.4,1632,Coke MSS)
37. G.L.Beer, op.cit. p.47.
38. C.M.Andrews, "Colonial Period of American History", Vol.I, p.53

either falling or stationary. This was largely owing to the fact that agricultural prices were fluctuating badly; the over-production of wool had caused a decline in the profit of sheep raising, and the condition of the people was such that they were quite unable to pay high or even moderate rents.[39]

In the year 1630 therewas a poor harvest[40]and conditions were especially bad. Although we know the great Puritan migration of that year to Massachusetts was largely the outcome of religious developments, we may feel safe in surmising that the fact that affairs seemed to be at their lowest ebb doubtless had something to do with such large-scale emigration. John Winthrop, one of the leaders of the movement, was a member of the large group of English country gentry. Just what extent the economic factor played a part in Winthrop's motive in going to the New World is not readily discernible. We do know his fortune was somewhat impaired through falling rents and his having conferred about half of his estate upon his three sons.[41] The growing luxury of the upper classes with its subsequent immorality was thoroughly repugnant to him, and he probably felt a keen desire to remove himself and his family from the scene of these iniquities. Personal ambition also played its part in Winthrop's decision to emigrate.[42] But if one were gifted with powers to see into a man's mind and discern the various considerations which lead him to make a decision, in the case of Winthrop, the set-backs which he had received owing to the changing economic system most certainly were influential factors in sending him to the New World. Evidence of his dissatisfaction

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39. H. C. Morris, "The History of Colonization", Vol.II, p.12
40. H. Traill and J. Mann, "Social England", Vol.IV, p.196
41. S. E. Morrison, "Builders of the Bay Colony", p. 68
42 S. E. Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony", p. 67

with the way things were going in England is found in his journal, where he wrote; "The whole earthe is the Lordes garden: and he hathe given it to the sons of men to be tilld and improved by them: why then should we stand striving heere for places of habitation, etc. (many men spending as muche labor and cost to recover or keepe sometyme an acre or two of lande, as would procure him many C - (hundred) - acres of good or better in another place) and in the mene tyme suffer whole countrys as fruitfull and convenient for the use of man, to lye waste without any improvement?"[43]

Many of the great land-owning families, in somewhat straightened circumstances, were unable to provide for their younger sons as Winthrop had done. These young men, in search of lucrative adventure, often engaged in piracy upon the high seas, raiding the Spanish treasure ships, thereby not only serving their country, but also lining their pockets in the process.[44] With the cessation of hostilities with Spain early in the reign of James I, this exciting and profitable pastime was largely brought to a stop, and the young English bloods, faced with a dull and often penurious existence at home, (not an unusual fate for younger sons of that time) sought elsewhere for their adventure and fortune. The seventeenth century version of Horace Greely's "Go west young man",was "Westward Ho", to the New World where fortune awaited all. America beckoned to all who wished not only to make their fortune but to those who wanted to improve it. There were many who came to the colonies with the idea of amassing enough money to repair the condition of their estates.

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43. J. Winthrop, "Winthrop Papers", Vol.II, p.115, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.
44. Godfrey Davies, "The Early Stuarts", p. 317.

Usually such men came to America with no idea of making a home here; their intentions were to return to England as soon as they felt it propitious to do so. Very often, however, they came to stay, and frequently those who had not intended to become colonials remained on this side of the Atlantic.

One man who came to Virginia to improve his lot was one Robert Evelyn. In a letter written in 1610, he said; "I am going to the sea, a long and dangerous voyage with other men, to make me to be able to pay my debts, and to restore my decayed estate again; which, I beseech God of His mercy to grant it, may be made prosperous unto me to His honour, and my comfort in this world and in the world to come; and I beseech you, if I do die, that you would be good unto my poor wife and children, which, God knows, I shall leave very poor and very mean, if my friends be not good unto them, for my sins have deserved these punishments and far greater at God's hands, which I humbly beseech God of His mercy to pardon".[45]

In 1611, one year after Evelyn came to America, a certain Mr. Spelman made the trip to Virginia, setting forth his reason for doing so in his "Relation". "Being in displeasuer of my friends", he wrote, "and desirous to see other countryes, after three months (some weekes) sayle we cum with prosperous winds in sight of Virginia..."[46] One cannot help wondering what caused Mr. Spelman to be in "displeasuer" of his friends; perchance he had gone into debt and deemed it wiser to seek a foreign clime for awhile. That, at any rate, might be a likely possibility. In any event, Spelman and Evelyn illustrate in their

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45. A. Brown, "Genesis of the United States", Vol.I, p.441, Taken from "The Evelyns in America", Oxford, 1881, pp.62-65.
46. A. Brown, Ibid. Vol.I, p.484, taken from Spelman's "Relation", (1611)

reasons for going to America, the troubles of the upper classes which led them to emigrate.

As it is with most movements in history, however, the mass of the emigrants was made up of the lower classes, the agricultural laborers, the artisans, and the small farmers. They, as we have previously seen, suffered most heavily in the new economic organization. They had experienced the difficulties which the government had encountered in putting into practice legislation for the aid of the poor; legislation which at best could only alleviate and not correct the evils of the society in which they dwelt. In emigrating to the New World they were but following in the wake of that ever-increasing stream of human beings who, down through the course of history, have sought to find a better life in a new land. Emigration, as Toynbee might put it, was their response to the challenge of the well-nigh overwhelming evils of their old environment.

Why, one might ask, if these economic troubles had their beginning in the sixteenth century, was their no large-scale emigration until the seventeenth? Although this question will be dealt with in the following chapter, a word here might not be amiss. Down to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, colonization was left largely in the province of private enterprise. After the government began to take a more active interest in the overseas projects, emigration was increased as the policy of the government gradually became one of stimulation and encouragement of emigration as a corrective measure for the evils of pauperism and social dislocation. Also, as time went on and the colonies became increasingly stable and permanent, the people felt that they were taking less of a chance in transplanting

themselves in America. One must bear in mind that there was no permanent English colony in America until the settlement at Jamestown in 1607. From then on, the trickle of emigration grew to a sizable stream.

In 1634, Joseph Ker wrote to Thomas Leviston in Massachusetts Bay that he would be glad to hear from him concerning the success of the plantation of New England, "for there be many here that incline to that country".[47] Many there were indeed, who were willing to follow the example of the Phoenicians and the countless others who, during the course of time have found that life in a new and unknown country is preferrable to the evils and hardships of the old environment.

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47. Calendar State Papers, Colonial, 1634, Vol. III May 8, p. 178, Salt preston -(Preston-Pans)-

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION.

PART TWO.

In the course of the last chapter we have discussed the developments in England during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the opening years of the seventeenth century which led to acute economic and social dislocations. We have seen how these troubles in turn lead to overseas colonization as a remedy for the well-nigh overwhelming ills. It is our purpose, in the present chapter, to study the role of the various colonizing agencies which were formed during the early years of the seventeenth century to promote colonization, both to ease the difficult situation at home and to increase the power of English commerce abroad. Without these agencies, needless to say, the great English colonies in America would never have been developed and the unfortunate indigents would doubtless never have left England's shores.

Following the Crusades, the demand for the products which over-seas trade brought, increased; and consequently the demand for capital with which to carry on this trade also increased. The wealth of the nobility was almost wholly tied up in land, and "it was not until a flexible capital came into being, capable of adapting itself to all kinds of business enterprise, that trade and commerce could be undertaken on a profit-making scale."[1] With the coming of the Renaissance, the great banking houses of Europe first entered the

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1. C. M. Andrews, "The Colonial Period of American History" Vol.I, p.3.

picture, beginning with the bankers of the Italian cities and progressing to the Fuggers and Welsers of Germany. Money was loaned on security, and it was not long before interest, which had been frowned upon by the Roman Catholic Church, was charged upon loans, not only by Jewish money lenders, but by Christian ones as well. The modern techniques of financial enterprise evolved as captialistic enterprise grew. The idea of producing only enough for present need was replaced by that of producing a surplus which could be sold at a profit.[2]

In those days when the modern conception of nationhood was in the process of being more clearly defined, the new European states were exceedingly jealous and suspicious of one another. Although countries regard each other in much the same light today, one might hopefully conjecture that the idea that cooperation is the highest form of self-interest is slowly penetrating the minds of Europe's statesmen; during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in the field of commerce, this was not so.

The commercial policy which England followed was extremely slow in its development,[3] and as it was designed more or less to meet the exigencies of the varying situations in which it found itself, it could never be called a rigid policy. As C. M. Andrews wrote, "In its (the policy's) relation to the colonies in America, it never was an exact system, except in a few fundamental particulars. Rather was it a "modus operandi" for the purpose of meeting the needs of a growing and expanding state. It followed rather than directed commercial enterprise, and as the nation grew in stature it adapted itself

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2. C. M. Andrews, Ibid, Vol. I. p.4.
3. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol.IV. p.2.

to that nation's changing needs. Mercantilism, as this commercial policy came to be called, was not a theory but a condition, an expression in practical form of the experience of those concerned directly with trade and commerce, and indirectly with coinage, credit, interest, and exchange, with banks, customs and excise, with the naturalization of aliens and the treatment of the poor, the vagrant, and the criminal, that is, with all that had to do with the agricultural, commercial, financial, and social life of the realm. It was the inevitable accompaniment of a state of society in which foreign trade and commerce were rapidly attaining an ascendancy and were determining that attitude of statesman and merchant alike toward the other material interests of the nation."[4]

A mercantilist policy, such as England adopted during the seventeenth century, has as its primary motive the possession of precious metals.[5] This fact is illustrated by the doctrine advanced by a Mr. Malynes in his work "The Center of the Circle of Commerce", published in London in 1623. "Since Moneys have obtained the title of the sinewes of war, and the life of commerce: I hope that the accumulating thereof may properly be called The Praeheminent study of Princes, when the same is procured by Trade: which is the sole peaceable instrument to inrich Kingdomes and common-weales."[6]

The mercantilist of those days put such stress upon the possession of wealth because money was necessary for the actual transaction of business. Credit was seldom if ever used, hence money was not regarded then simply as a medium of exchange and hence desirable for the commodities which it would purchase; the precious metals themselves

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4. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. IV, pp. 2-3.
5. G. L. Beer, "British Colonial System, 1578-1660". p.53.
6. J. Malynes, "The Center of the Circle of Commerce", preface, pp.A2,3.

constituted the wealth of nations.[7] It followed that trade was regulated in a manner calculated to bring more specie into the country than the amount which left it. In order to obtain this goal, it was necessary for a nation to sell more to other nations than it bought from them. "To sell more to strangers yearly than we consume of theirs in value",[8] was indeed the guiding principle of mercantilism.

If this was to be the aim of England's commercial policy, it became necessary for the state to control manufactures to insure an abundance of goods for export. Although state control was minimized during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when mercantilism became more clearly defined during the eighteenth century the government played an ever-increasing role in the regulation of commerce. Even in the age of Elizabeth, a certain amount of control through the levying of duties and prohibitions, the granting of monopolies and the regulation of quality and measures was necessary.[9] Such control was relatively simple as the bulk of trade was in the hands of the various companies; the Russia Company controlled the Russian trade, the Eastland Company monopolized the Baltic trade, the Merchant Adventurers the North German and Dutch trade, the Levant Company controlled the trade with the Near East, the East India Company had the traffic with the Indian and Spice Islands, and the Virginia Company monopolized the American trade.[10]

The colonies fitted very neatly into this mercantilist scheme of things. England's first concern with her early colonies was thus more of a commercial than political nature.[11] She wished to gain control over some part of the source of the mineral wealth of the New

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7. W. E. Lunt, "History of England", p.364.
8. Thomas Mun, "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade", p. 7.
9. Godfrey Davies, "The Early Stuarts", p. 315.
10. Godfrey Davies, op.cit., p. 315.
11. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. IV. p. 5.

World to increase her small supply of precious metals. She also desired, as the advice of Sir George Peckham bears out,[12] to enlarge her supply of raw materials by procuring them from her own dependencies in America, thus eliminating the necessity of obtaining them from the Dutch or Hanseatic merchants. Control over one's source of raw materials was a matter of great concern to statesmen of the seventeenth century as it insured a cheaper price in time of peace and a steady supply in time of war. The place of the colony in the policy of the state pursuing a mercantilist policy is defined by C. M. Andrews as follows: "First, that colonial interests and advantages were to be subordinated to those of the mother state. Secondly, that every state had a right to restrict the trade of its colony to its own subjects. Thirdly, that the surplus commodities of a colony should be sent, as a rule, to the mother country only. And, lastly, that the entire trade and resources of a colony should be kept out of the hands of competing rivals."[13] The colonies were to be simply a rough extension of English commerce and industry, supplying its demands which the mother country could not supply, supplementing and complementing the English economy.

The three main principles then, which governed England's general commercial activities during the seventeenth century, were the[14] establishment of a favorable balance of trade, the building up of a carrying trade of her own, and the implementation of a high protective tariff in order to protect her industries against foreign rivals and also to increase her returns from the customs. Everything was aimed at

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12. See page 47, Chapter II.
13. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol.IV. p. 7.
14. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. IV. pp. 8,9.

exploitation; the New World and the Orient in particular were thus regarded as vast sources of potential wealth, ready to be tapped. The voyages of discovery conducted during the sixteenth century familiarized the English merchants with the possibilities of the newly-discovered areas and by the time of Elizabeth they were anxious to take advantage of these new opportunities.

The long period of domestic tranquillity which England had enjoyed under the Tudors had engendered the growth of private wealth. This accumulation of capital had also been aided by the policies of the government in aiding commercial and industrial development. Hence, toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, men of means were looking about them in search of profitable opportunities to invest their newly-acquired wealth. Much of this new investment was placed in the ventures of the joint-stock companies. The high cost of colonial enterprise had been brought home disastrously to such men as Sir Walter Raleigh who had tried to finance his colony from private means. Such failures as Roanoke served to show that the price of financing colonial ventures was far too great for private individuals.[15] The expense was also prohibitive for the somewhat limited treasuries of Elizabeth and James. Consequently, the joint-stock companies came as a blessing and constituted the sole means of financing these expensive enterprises at that time.

The principle of these joint-stock companies was simply that of "division of risk". They had evolved during an earlier period when the perils of overseas trade had ruined more than one individual trader. The obvious solution had been the pooling of resources and the

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15. C. M. MacInnes, Introduction to the "Economic History of the British Empire", p. 15.

division of profits according to the amount which the individual trader had invested. At first the joint-ventures were of a temporary nature, organized only for the duration of a single trading voyage. As time went on, however, a measure of permanency began to enter into the arrangements and instead of dividing the profits at the end of each voyage and so ending the venture, the organization was kept functioning upon a permanent basis. Soon the joint-stock form of investment became popular as it enabled many people to invest, the majority of whom took no other active part in the proceedings of the company. The denomination of the stocks was small and they were capable of subdivision, allowing men of modest means to invest. This also enabled promoters to get their hands on large amounts of capital spread among the people.

The fact that many who did subscribe to these companies failed to pay in full often placed the success of the ventures in jeopardy. Down to 1619, of the sixty-seven thousand pounds originally subscribed for the Virginia Company, only thirty-six thousand six hundred and twenty-four pounds was actually paid, and at that the cost had exceeded the amount that had been subscribed.[16] This graphically illustrates the large amounts of money entailed and would seem to bear out the argument that such enterprises were beyond the means of most private individuals.

In time, it is true, the proprietary colonies would come to play an important role in America, but even they could not be classified as strictly the work of individuals. At any rate, cooperative initiative, in the form of the joint-stock companies, with the assistance of the state in the form of grants and charters was the instigator of

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16. C. M. MacInnes, op. cit. p.16.

all the early colonies.[17]

The first of the chartered companies to enter the field of colonization was the Virginia Company. There were actually two Virginia Companies, one for London and one for Plymouth, and the territory granted to them by royal patent in 1606 comprised all the land on the Atlantic seaboard from 34 degrees of northern latitude to 45 degrees latitude, including roughly that territory lying between and including the present states of Virginia and Maine.[18] The petitioners for the company had included such well-known men as Richard Hakluyt, Sir George Somers, Sir Thomas Gates, George Popham, Raleigh Gilbert and many others. The letters patent issued to these gentlemen by the Crown on April the tenth, 1606, gave them "full power and authority, ... and to the said several companies, plantations, and colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said voyage, and for and towards the said several plantations and colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said colonies and plantations, such and so many of our subjects, as shall willingly accompany them or any of them in the said voyages and plantations; with sufficient shipping, ... ahd all other things, necessary for the said plantations, and for their use and defence there. ... Also we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, declare, by these presents, that all and every the persons, being our subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several colonies and plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the limits and precincts of the said several colonies and plantations,

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17. C. M. Andrews, "Our Earliest Colonial Settlements", p. 2.
18. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. I. p.79.

shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities, within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England, or any other of our said dominions."[19] In viewing this final provision, one must be careful not to read into it any of our own latter-day conceptions concerning democratic principles. The word "liberty" had a definite legal meaning at that time; none of our more recent connotations had been added.

In order to further the project, a statement was drawn up to be presented to the King and to Parliament called "Reasons for Raising a Fund". One of the primary objects of this tract was to demonstrate the superiority of cooperative enterprise over private enterprise.[20] "It is honourable", they wrote, "for a state rather to back an exploite by a publique consent then by a private monopoly. Where collonies are fownded for a publique-well maye continewe in better obedience and become more industricus, then where private men are absolute signors of a voiage, for-as-much as better men of behaviour and qualitie will ingage themselves in a publique service, which carrieth more reputacon with it, then a private, which is for the most parte ignominious in the end, as being presumed to ayme at a lucre and is subject to emulation, fraude, and envie, and when it is at the greatest hight of fortune can hardly be tollerated by reason of the jelosie of state".[21] The petition also includes strong arguments for the construction of a strong English merchant navy to help "prepare a place

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19. A. Brown, "Genesis of the United States", Vol. I. pp.58-61.
20. A. Brown, Ibid, Vol. I, p.36.
21. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol.I. p.38.

fit for the vent of our wares and so set our marriners on worke".[22]

The control of the enterprise was to be centered largely in the hands of the king. He was to have the authority to appoint the members of the general governing body located in England. Subordinate to this supreme council, there was to be a council of thirteen members resident in each one of the colonies, the members of which were to be appointed by the company.[23] In spite of the king's close connection with this enterprise, it must be stressed that it was not an undertaking of the state. While it had state support in the form of cooperation, the encouragement which the government rendered was definitely not of a pecuniary nature. The time had not yet arrived when the government would take an active part in undertaking the financial risk of planting colonies.[24]

Shortly after the formation of the new company, the newly-formed Royal Council for Virginia issued a circular letter setting forth the ostensible purposes of the venture. "The eyes of all Europe", the letter ran, "are looking upon our endevors to spread the Gospell among the Heathen people of Virginia, to plant our English nation there, and to settle at in those parts which may be peculiar to our nation, so that we may thereby be secured from being eaten out of all proffits of trade, by our more industrious neighbors. We cannot doubt but that the eyes, also, of our best judgements and affections are fixed no less upon a design of so great consequence".[25] In spite of these altruistic and pious sentiments, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that

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22. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I. p.38
23. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p.84.
24. Herbert Osgood, "American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century", p.3
25 A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 436.

the venture was irst and foremost of a commercial nature. The instructions of the council bear this out for they are largely taken up with directions for the carrying over of adventurers, rather than clerics, and the search for mines and the coining of money rather than the establishment of churches and missions.[26] "Corporations are interested in profits, not in saving souls."[27] At the same time, there were some who were attracted to the venture by the ethical nature of the religious motive. But we must remember, as W. F. Craven reminds us, that the company "was primarily a business organization with large sums of capital invested by adventurers whose chief interest lay in the returns expected from their investment. Their motives were not entirely selfish; their desire to render a public service is unquestionable. They intended to aid England in the solution of her economic and social problems by increasing her trade, by relieving her of a dependence upon other countries for certain necessary commodities, and by relieving her congested state of population".[28] It was thus that the enterprisers could serve England and themselves by a happy coincidence at one and the same time.

The company drew support from many strata of English society. There was, of course, the great merchants, probably the most important of all groups. There was also another smaller group led by the Earl of Warwick, active in adventure and piracy, although the end of the war with Spain had concluded what legalized basis there had been for piratical activity. The third and largest group drew its members from a cross-section of the people; it was comprised of the lesser merchants, the

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26. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 87
27. G. L. Beer, op.cit. p.29.
28. W. F. Craven, "The Dissolution of the Virginia Company", p.24.
29. C. M. Andrews, Vol. I. p.100.

country gentry, and the greater nobility, all of whom united to back the Virginia enterprise not only for what profit it would bring them, but also for the more altruistic motives of helping to correct England's economic and social dislocations at home while simultaneously extending her influence abroad.

On the twentieth of December, 1606, the Virginia Company of London sent out three vessels which arrived in Chesapeake Bay on April the twenty-sixth, 1607. In the following month the company started the erection of a fort which was to be the nucleus of the first permanent English settlement in America, the settlement of Jamestown. The early years of the colony were of exceedingly unhappy memory, for although the colonists soon gave up the idea of gaining easy wealth from mines or raids upon the Spanish treasure fleets, many erroneous ideas concerning colonization still persisted. The venture would never succeed until the great truth of colonial self-sufficiency was realized. It was only when the settlement was capable of producing its own produce thus making it independent of the supplies sent from home that it began to carry out its real purpose.[29] But in the beginning, plans for the colony were quite nebulous. There was no apparent idea of just what commodities should be raised; beyond the desire to produce naval stores there seemed to be no clear plan of production.

In the meantime, the Plymouth branch of the Virginia Company had sent out an expedition of two ships commanded by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert. The two vessels reached the coast of Maine in August, 1607. A settlement was erected at Sagadahoc. After an extremely hard winter, during which time half the settlement was burned, George Popham died. Shortly after, young Gilbert received word

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29. C. M. Andrews, Vol. I. p. 100.

that his elder brother, Sir John, had died and that he had fallen heir to the family estates. He therefore determined to return to the Mother Country to claim his inheritance. The colony was then abandoned and the residue of the colonists returned to England. Thus the colonizing efforts of the Plymouth Company of Virginia came to an end, after 1608 its activities were largely concerned with fishing ventures.

To return to the Jamestown settlement, things were not progressing in a satisfactory manner there. About the only positive accomplishment which this settlement had managed to achieve was that of keeping itself in existence. The company saw that if the project were to succeed certain changes would have to be initiated. Consequently, in 1609, a new corporation was established with a new charter. Under the terms of the new charter the head of the company was first nominated by the crown but later was elected by a majority vote of the members.[30]

The new company was to be called the "Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first colony of Virginia", a title which was soon to become simply the "Virginia Company". The company was to be a joint-stock venture, which it had not been under the provisions of the earlier charter, and the powers of government were to be lodged not with the company meeting as a whole in a general court, but with the treasurer (governor) and council.[31] It will be noted that the control was gradually moving out from under the royal surveillance, for the royal council resident in England was entirely abolished.

Each share of stock in the new company was to cost twelve pounds, ten shillings. In order to attract support, the Council of Virginia issued several "broadsides" designed to solicit aid. In luring prospective colonists, they were promised "houses to live in,

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30. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 103.
31. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 103.

vegetable gardens and orchards, and also food and clothing at the expense of the Company ... they will have a share of all the products, and the profits that may result from their labor, each in proportion, and they also secure a share in the division of the land for themselves and their heirs forever more. Likewise, if they should give anything to add to the funds that have been collected for that voyage, they will receive additional shares in the distribution of goods and land over there, in accordance with the amount they have given, - and in the same way, all who may desire to give one hundred "Philips" before the last day of March will be admitted as members in this Virginia Company and will receive a proportionate share of the profits and advantages of this amount, although they do not go in person on this voyage."[32] "Nova Britannia", the tract written by R. Johnson and cited earlier in Chapter Two, was written expressly to further this particular enterprise.

At last the Company collected eight ships and more than eight-hundred people and the expedition set sail on May 15, 1609. Sir Stephen Powles wrote of the departure in his dairy; "Our six ships lying at Blackwell weighed anchor and fell down to begin their voyage toward Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates being the deputy governor until the Lord De la Warr doth come thither, which is supposed shall be about two months hence. Captain Newport, Sir George Somers, and eight-hundred people of all sorts went in these six ships, besides two more that attend the fleet at Plymouth, and there be inhabitants already at Virginia about one-hundred and sixty. God bless them and guide them to his glory and our good."[33]

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32. A.Brown, "Genesis of the United States". Vol. I, p. 456.
33. Peter Force, "Tracts and Other Papers Relating principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North America." Vol. III, p. 9.

In spite of the pious hopes of Sir Stephen, the expedition was far from a success. The ship bearing Gates, Newport and Somers was wrecked off the coast of Bermuda, forcing those it carried to spend a year there. This was most unfortunate, as Gates had been designated as provisional governor until De la Warr should arrive. When Gates was at last able to make his way to Jamestown, arriving just seven weeks before De la Warr, he found the colony in a most deplorable state of affairs. Many of the buildings had fallen into disrepair, and owing to the fact that the settlement was located in a swamp, malaria and other ills were disturbingly prevalent.[34] The death-rate was high and the colony was barely able to exist, to say nothing of supplying the Mother Country with raw materials. It is apparent that there was but one way to learn how to colonize successfully, and that was by bitter experience.

The Company was determined not to desert Jamestown, and contributions were solicited. In order to promote generosity on the part of the contributors, "A True Relation of the Colony of Virginia", was prepared. The pamphlet is interesting to us chiefly because it is a re-statement and summation of aims. "The Principal and Maine Endes", it runs, "... were first to preach and baptize into Christian Religion, and by propagation of the Gospell, to recover out of the armes of the Divell, a number of poore and miserable soules, ... Secondly, to provide and build up for the publike Honour and safety of our gratious King and his Estates, ... some small Rampier of our owne, in this opportune and general summer of peace, by transplanting the ranknesse and multitude of increase in our people;... Lastly, the appearance and assurance of Private commodity to the particular undertakers, by

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34. C. M. Andrews, "The Colonial Period of American History", Vol.I, p.110

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34. C. M. Andrews, "The Colonial Period of American History", Vol.I, p.110

accepted, but onely such sufficient, honest and good artificers as Smiths, Shipwrights, Sturgeon-dressers, Joyners, Carpenters, Gardeners, Turners, Coopers, Salt-makers, Iron-men for Furnasse and hammer, ... Surgeons and Physitions for the body and learned Divines to instruct the colonie, and to teach the Infidels to Worship the true God."[37]

Many still held to the old idea, however, that the principal reason for the colony was to provide a home for those whom England did not want to support. We find so well-informed a person as Don Alonso de Velasco of the Spanish Embassy writing to his sovereign in 1611, "Their principal reason for colonizing these parts is to give an outlet to so many idle and wretched people as they have in England and thus to prevent the dangers that may be feared from them."[38] This was not so, as the "Broadside" previously quoted amply testifies. The authorities were beginning to learn; but they had of necessity to learn the hard way and often, to their sorrow, it seemed that only the dregs of society were available for colonists. In those early days of the settlement they felt that as many as possible should be poured into the colony in order to insure a permanent population, and if they were to have settlers in great numbers, they could not always afford to be as careful as they ought in the selection of prospective colonists.

Sir Thomas Dale, upon the completion of his afore-mentioned voyage to Virginia, was so disturbed about this problem that he was moved to write to Lord Salisbury; "Nor can I conceive how sutch people as we are inforced to bring over hither by peradventure and gathering them ip in sutch riotous, lasie and infected places can intertaine themselves with other thoughts or put on other behaviour then what

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37. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol.I. p. 354.
38. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 456.

accompanies sutch disordered persons, so prophane, so riotous, so full of mutenie and treasonable Intendments, as I am well to witness in a parcell of three hundred which I brought with me, of which well may I say not many give testimonie beside their names that they are Christians besides of sutch diseased and crased bodies as the Sea hither and this Clime here but a little searching them, render them so unhable, fainte, and desperate of recoverie as of three hundred not three score may be called forth or imploied upon any labour or service."[39] Lamenting bitterly about the unhappy state of the colony, Dale also writes; "Whereas now sutch is the universall disposition throughout our whole little Colonie (as by reason of some present want of our English provisions) as everie man allmost laments himself of being here, and murmurs at his present state, though haply he would not better it in England. ..."[40] As a remedy, Dale makes what might appear to be a rather surprising suggestion, the first time such a suggestion had been made in England. "And sithence (noble Lord) I know well the Colonie standing in sutch conditions and state as it doth how hard it is to procure so many men in so short a tyme I have ... conceived that if it will please his Majestie to banish hither all offenders condemned, betwixt this and then, to die, out of common Goales, and likewise so continue that grant for three yeres unto the colonie (and thus doth the Spaniard people his Indes) it would be a readie way to furnish us with men, and not allwayes with the worst kinde of men either for birth, spiritts or Bodie, and sutch who wold be right glad so to escape a just sentence to make this their new countrie and plant and

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39. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 507.
40. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 506.

inhabite therein with all diligence, cheerfulness and comfort."[41]

Although Dale's suggestion was not acted upon immediately, in 1617 the Privy Council issued a warrant which stated that; "Whereas it hath pleased his Majestie oute of his singular Clemencie and mercy to take into his princely Consideration the wretched estate of divers of his Subiectes who by the Lawes of the Realme are adiudged to dye for sondry offences thoughe henous in themselves, yet not of the highest nature, soe as his Majestie both out of his gracious Clemencye, as also for diverse weighty Considerations Could wishe they mighte be rather corrected then destroyed, and that in theire punishments some of them might live, and yealde a profitable Service to the Commonwealth in partes abroade, where it shall bee founde fitt to imploy them .... For which purpose his Majestie having directed his Commission ... to Reprive and stay from execution suche persons as now stand Convicted of any Robbery or Felony (willfull murther, Rape, witchcraft or Burglary onely excepted) who for strength of bodye or other abilityes shall be thought fitt to be imployed in forreine discoveryes or other Services beyond the Seaes, as shall be certifyed unto us in writing by any one or more of the Judges or Serjeantes at Lawe before whome suche felonyes have been tryed. ..."[42]

Such a policy was by no means a novel innovation, as Dale had written, the Spanish had employed the same means in attempting to people their colonies. It seemed to the authorities that the many criminals who were sentenced for the numerous crimes which were then punishable by death were being wasted and that they would be serving their country in helping to populate the Virginian settlement. It seems

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41. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 506
42. "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial". Vol. I. pp. 10, 11, No. 12.

not a little strange to us that the Virginia Company, which was objecting to the use as colonists of undesirables, apparently law-abiding, should allow and in fact request the government to transport criminals to the colony. This policy proved unwise, for in 1663 transported convicts engaged in a desperate conspiracy in Virginia. Seven years later transportation of criminals was prohibited by the Privy Council.

Records show that a fair number of convicted criminals were transported to Virginia, and some who petitioned to be sent out. We find in the State Papers Colonial a petition of a certain Henry Robinson, a prisoner in the Marshalsea, who was convicted of piracy and "prays that he may be delivered to one James Place, an English planter in Virginia, who is bound thither, Sir Henry Marten has certified to the truth of this petition, and that the King has expressed himself willing to grant a warrant for sending the petitioner to one of the plantations".[43] Typical also of the many such petitions, is one of a certain Elizabeth Cotterell, to the King, She was "convicted at the last verge, where she has been eighteen months, although reprived eight months since; is desirous of being transported to Virginia."[44] Thus England rid herself of these "black sheep", putting them to hard labor in the New World.

Criminals were not the only ones to be transported; noting the large amount of vagrants milling about in London's streets in utter destitution, ripe for all sorts of crime, the Privy Council decided to "ease the city and suburbs of a swarme of unecessary inmates, as a contynual cause of all the Plagues that happen in this Kingdome. ..."[45]

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43. "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial", 1635, (Vol.VIII) p.219, no.93.
44. "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial", 1638, (Vol. IX) p.281, no.125.
45. A. Brown, "Genesis of the United States", Vol. I. p. 252.

The Lord Mayor was advised to "make some volontary contribucon for their remove into the plantation of Virginia". This was done; just what opinions the Virginia Company harbored in receiving this "swarme of unecessary inmates" is not recorded. Many other cities and towns in England followed London's example and sent portions of their indigent population to Virginia at the civic expense.

Even large groups of children were sent out to Virginia to help ease the burden at home and swell the population of the colony. The city of London appointed one hundred children to be transported to Virginia to be bound as apprentices there. Trouble was encountered in this action for some of the ungrateful children, apparently oblivious to the many advantages which were the joy of apprentices' life in Virginia, declared their unwillingness to go. Therefor the "City wanting authority to deliver, and the Virginia Company to transport these children against their will", petitioned the Privy Council for the power to carry out the action. The Privy Council took prompt steps, for on the thirty-first of January, 1619/20, the following entry is recorded in the "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial", ...

"Wee have thought meete for the better furthance of so good a Worke, hereby to authorize and require, as well such of the City as take charge of that Service as the Virginia Company or any of them to deliver, receive and transporte into Virginia all and every foresaid children as shalbe most expedient, and if any of them shalbe found obstinat to resist or otherwise to disobey such directions as shalbe given in this behalf: We doe likewise hereby authorize such as shall have the charge of this Service to Imprison, punish, and dispose any of those children upon any disorder by them or any of them comitted, as cause shall require: and so to Shipp them out for Virginia, with as much

expedition as may stand with convenience, ffor which this shall be unto all persons whom the same may any way concerne a sufficient warrant."[46] It is quite evident that no nonsense was tolerated as far as transportation of this type was concerned. These young people were apprenticed to settlers in the colony and doubtless did have a chance to lead a more useful life in Virginia than they would have in the crowded slums of London.

In spite of these efforts upon the part of the Company and the Government, the population remained small. From 1619 to 1620 the population decreased from 1,000 to 867, and in March, 1621, the population numbered only 843, although 1,051 prospective colonists had been brought over during the preceding year.[47] In one year 1,075 had died. It does not seem strange that people were beginning to be reluctant to go to Virginia. Back in 1614, Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, had written to his king that "this colony is in such bad repute that not a human being can be found to go there in any way whatever. So much so that a person who was present, has told me how in a court of the Mayor - who is the "Corregidor" of London - when the case of two Moorish (black) thieves came up, the mayor told them, impressing upon them their offences, that they ought to be hanged; but that, taking pity upon them, he wished to pardon them with this condition, that they should go and serve the King and Queen in Virginia - and they replied at once, decidedly and with one accord, that they would rather die on the gallows here, and quickly, than to die slowly so many deaths as was the case in Virginia."[48] There is no doubt that Gondomar, in

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46. "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial", Vol. I, pp.28,29, No.42.
47. C. M. Andrews, "Colonial Period of American History", Vol.I, p.136.
48. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 737.

his desire to belittle England's colonial efforts painted a darker picture than actually existed; but the Virginia settlement was losing popularity and it was often difficult to persuade people to emigrate.

Nevertheless, in 1621, the Company carried through its plans to send eight hundred persons out to the New World. The money for this operation was obtained partly by advertising and partly through the contributions of friends of the Company. These people were almost all of the poorer classes, unable to pay for their voyage over but willing to take their chances on obtaining a better life in America.[49]

Following the year 1618, the Company began to pursue a more vigorous policy. Sir Edwin Sandys had been elected treasurer in that year succeeding Sir Thomas Smith. Sandys, an energetic man, was in many ways typical of the best type of Englishman who stood ready to serve his country. He regarded Virginia as a cog in the wheel of English commerce, and its success was to be measured in terms of how much it served English trade.[50] Although such men did not discount personal gain entirely as something to be attained, their first concern was the welfare of their country and the furtherance of her commerce.

The first duty of Sandys was to curb the excessive production of tobacco. Tobacco was first produced in 1612 by John Rolfe[51] and its cultivation had proved to be most profitable. It was not a commodity which fitted into the scheme of things, however, and was not regarded as useful to the national economy, hence the production of other things, such as naval stores, was to be encouraged. The public lands (lands which had been given to public institutions) were to be re-occupied as a further step in Virginian re-organization. The making of

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49. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 137.
50. W. F. Craven, "The Dissolution of the Virginia Company", p. 96.
51. C. M. Andrews, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 126.

salt, wine, hemp, and iron, as well as the production of naval stores, was to be encouraged to offset the over-production of tobacco. All this necessitated an increase in the labor supply which had led to the growing amount of transportation of colonists which has been previously described. Sandys also promoted the increasing amount of transportation of girls to Virginia. "It would be interesting to know", wrote Craven, "the origin of these first ladies of Virginia. Unfortunately, there are no records upon which to base any conclusions, but it may safely be assumed that they came from a not too elevated position in English society."[52]

Although the majority of those who emigrated to Virginia after 1616 went over at the expense of the Company, or occasionally at the expense of their city or town, there were many who emigrated at their own cost. Those who paid their own way received fifty acres and were required to pay a shilling quit-rent. Those who were sent out at the cost of the Company were required to serve on the Company's land for seven years and during their term of service they were allotted half the profit of their labor.[53] At the end of the seven years of service they were given a grant of fifty acres for the customary shilling's rent. In order to encourage craftsmen to emigrate they were promised a house with four acres of land to be held in fee simple as long as the craftsman, or his heirs, plied their trade in that particular house. A free rent of four pence was to be paid for this grant.[54]

A new innovation in 1618 was the establishment of private plantations formed by associated groups of adventurers within the Company. The associations were formed for the benefit of their members

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52. W. F. Craven, "The Dissolution of the Virginia Company," p.50.
53. W. F. Craven, Ibid, p. 56.
54. W. F. Craven, op.cit. p. 57.

and were not connected with the projects of the common joint-stock. They were an outgrowth of the Company's policy of paying off its stockholders in dividends of land.[55] The stockholders then could proceed to develop their own lands much to the delight of the Company, for it could not hope to develop such large areas on its own. Such a policy aided the growth of population and promoted the production of commodities which might be exported to England.[56] The individual landowners, however, seldom had the large amounts of capital requisite for the development of a large plantation, hence they pooled their land and capital in a cooperative enterprise or "association". The Company issued patents to these associations granting them land proportionate to the amount of stock which their members held in the Company. "Smith's Hundred" and "Martin's Hundred" are examples of these cooperative enterprises.

Another group of adventurers were those who took stock in the Company chiefly to take advantage of the land dividends. Large amounts of land could be amassed in this fashion, capable of being transformed into a profitable plantation if the adventurer possessed sufficient funds to conduct the enterprise on a private scale.[57] During the first four years of Sandys administration forty-four patents were issued for private plantations by the Company. A great number of the colonists who went to Virginia after 1619 went to these plantations run by individuals or associations and the financial troubles which the Company experienced were partly owing to the fact that so large a portion of the settlers were diverted from the projects of the Company itself to those of private individuals.

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55. W. F. Craven, op.cit., p. 57
56. W. F. Craven, op.cit., p. 58
57, W. F. Craven, op.cit., p. 58

During the years 1620 to 1622, the financial difficulties of the Virginia Company grew apace. It was becoming increasingly evident that the task of supporting a colony in America was far beyond the financial resources which it had at its command. As has been previously stated, not all the money that was subscribed was ever paid. Internal squabbles also broke out; Sandys was in eternal disagreement with the Earl of Warwick regarding administration policies. All this lead to shameful neglect of the plantation itself and the misery there was increased boundlessly by the Indian massacre of 1622 which cost the settlement about four hundred lives.[58] Complaints began to flow into England until their volume attested to the fact that things were definitely not well with Virginia. King James, who had always regarded the rather democratic organization of the Company with distaste, ordered the Privy Council to appoint a commission of inquiry in April 1623. The commission, headed by Sir William Jones, conducted an exhaustive inquiry into the affairs of the Company. Finally, on May 24, 1624, Chief Justice Ley declared the charter of the Company vacated, and Virginia became the first royal colony in the history of England.[59] Virginia was henceforth to be governed by a royal council in England together with a governor and council in America. The government carried on the emigration policy of the Company with few changes during the next ten years, soliciting colonists with promises of small grants of land. The infant industries of the colony were subsidised that they might better serve their original purpose - that of supplementing the English economy.

Another company prominent in the settlement of the New World was the Bermuda Company. The Bermuda or Somers Islands were discovered

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58. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. I., p. 215.
59. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. I., p. 462

by the Spanish and first attained prominence when Sir George Somers was ship-wrecked there on his way to Virginia in 1609. The islands were granted to the Virginia Company in 1612 and as that Company had allthat it could handle in Virginia it turned the business over to a subordinate group of its own members.[60] This latter group became known as the "Undertakers for the Plantation of the Somer Islands", a title which was later simplified to the "Bermuda Company". We shall not dwell upon the activities of this Company, for they closely resemble those of the parent Virginia Company. "In its origin and in many of the incidents of its early history, Bermuda resembled Virginia, both in policies adopted and in the staples produced. Both settlements were the outcome of the same movement in England and had behind them the same group of men, actuated by the same motives and using almost identical colonizing methods." The great difference between the two lay in the fact that generally the Bermuda Company was more efficiently run than the older concern was. This is illustrated by the fact that the Bermuda Company outlived the Virginia Company by more than fifty years. It was not until 1684 that the Bermuda Company was dissolved and the islands became a royal colony.

The third company upon whose activities we shall touch is the Massachusetts Bay Company. As the colony which this company founded was settled primarily for reasons of religion and not for trade,[61] we shall deal more fully with its activities in the following chapter, however, there are a few economic details which should be mentioned.

"This plantation -(Massachusetts)-", wrote Emmanuel Downing

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60. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. I, p.215.
61. C. M. Andrews, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 462.

to Sir John Coke in 1633, "went not forth upon the same reasons nor for the same end. Those of Virginia went only for profit. These went upon two other designs; some to satisfy their own curiosity in point of conscience, others (which was more general) to transport the Gospel to those heathen that never heard thereof".[62] While this statement should be taken only with some modification, the general impression which it conveys is true. Nevertheless, the roots from which New England grew were not entirely of a religious nature.

The precursor of the Massachusetts Bay Company was the short-lived Dorchester Company. This concern was formed primarily as a fishing and colonizing venture, and had been organized in the following manner. It had been the custom of the fishing-boats to sail for America double-manned, because the season's work was too heavy for a single crew. It was the idea of the Rev. John White, the chief promoter of the enterprise, to leave the extra men in America where they could raise enough produce to feed the fishermen and thus do away with the necessity of wasting valuable space on the ships with the extra crew as well as provisions. These colonists would also be on hand to aid in the drying of the fish, the repairing of gear and the performance of the multiple tasks which the fishing industry required.[63]

The Dorchester Company's venture into the realm of colonization was initiated with its settlement at Cape Ann in present-day Massachusetts. Fourteen men were left there late in the year 1623. But the Company learned to its sorrow that fishing and colonization do not mix, just as the French were to learn that the fur trade was no

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62. Historical Manuscripts Commission, "Twelth Report", Vol. II, p.38.
63. F. Rose-Troup, "John White, Patriarch of Dorchester", p.50.

inducement to colonization. White realized this fact, for he wrote in his "Planters Plea"; "no sure fishing place in the land is fit for planting nor any good place for planting found fit for fishing, at least neére the Shoare. And Secondly, rarely any Fisher-men will work at Land, neither are Husband-men fit for Fisher-men but with long use and experience."[64]

The Dorchester Company soon passed out of the picture and was succeeded by the New England Company which was founded as an unincorporated joint-stock company in 1628. The following year saw the transformation of this company into the Massachusetts Bay Company, an incorporated venture. Since the main purpose of this body was to construct in New England a "prosperous settlement as a center of religious activity and an overseas home for those of like mind with themselves", -(puritan)- we shallleave their story for the ensuing chapter.

Before bringing this chapter to a conclusion, we must mention one more English colony in America which attained prominence before 1640, the Leeward Islands. The first permanent English settlement in these islands was made 1624, when Thomas Warner brought a small group of colonists to St. Christopher. To further settlement there, Sir Thomas Courteen founded a joint-stock company in 1627. This company, following the practices of the Virginia Company, brought out settlers to the number of eighteen hundred people during the first two years of its existence.[65] The cultivation of tobacco was attempted, but proving to be unsuccessful it was soon displaced by sugar, a commodity of which the English economy stood in need. Since these islands were colonized for much the same motives and in much the same manner as Virginia, we shall

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64. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol.I, p.351, quoted from John White's "Planters Plea".

65. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol.II, p.245.

say no more of them.

This brings to an end the colonizing activities of the joint-stock companies down to 1640. It is readily seen that they fulfilled a deep need in the field of seventeenth century colonization. Often they did not prove successful, the greatest of them all, the Virginia Company, if measured in terms of actual achievement, was an abject failure. Still, the company served a most valuable purpose in stepping into the breach when no other agency seemed to be forthcoming. The government was not able, or willing, in the opening years of the seventeenth century to initiate colonizing activities upon a grand scale. The task seemed beyond the financial limits of even the wealthiest individuals. The joint-stock company, working on a cooperative basis, stood ready to found colonies, not only for the profit of those who would venture their money, but for the improvement of the English economic scene as well. The government was only too happy to offer any assistance possible for it realized the many advantages which would accrue from the colonies which the companies would found. As time went on, the government would displace both the companies and the proprietors, and the beginning of the eighteenth century would see all the American colonies under the royal control. But during those early years of the seventeenth century, by a happy coincidence of motives, the joint-stock companies were able to serve the government and themselves in the realm of colonial activity. Fortunate also, for the colonies, was the fact that owing to the unfortunate conditions prevailing among the lower classes in England, so many people stood ready to cooperate with the companies' campaigns in the soliciting of colonists. By this simultaneous occurence of these conditions, the far-sighted men of English commerce were ennabled to serve their government, their less fortunate fellow-countrymen, and last but not least, themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE.

RELIGIOUS CAUSES OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION.

In regarding the religious forces which arose in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and ultimately led to the foundation of New England and Maryland great caution must be exercised. Too often, from the vantage point of our more materialistic twentieth century, we tend to discount great deeds performed for the realm of the spirit. We cannot understand the extent to which religion was then a living, breathing force in the lives of men who dedicated themselves to a God quite far removed from our present-day deities of democracy, free-enterprise and socialism. We see men of the stamp of Mr. Hacker write our history in terms of "economic determinism", a school of thought which tells us that if we probe deep enough we shall find but one motive at the root of all human activity - the race for profits. This can only lead to erroneous conceptions, for it is impossible to study the past from the viewpoint of the present. In approaching the religious situation in England during the seventeenth century, we must remember that religion entered into almost all the facets of human existence and consequently the men of those times sturdily resented any curbs which would restrict their religious freedom. It was still an age of faith, an age possessed of many admirable qualities, but one whose passing should not be regretted too deeply for it nurtured within it many elements of superstition and intolerance. Once those who founded New England in order that they might maintain their freedom of conscience had reached the New World, they were just as capable of intolerance as was the Anglican Church which had driven them from their homeland. But their intolerance is an indication of the importance of

religion to them, for people who strongly believe in something are not very apt to view other beliefs in a tolerant manner.

It is just as possible to over-stress religion as a motive of colonization as it is not to give it sufficient importance. For example, in his "Religion and Empire", Mr. L. B. Wright states; "Religion was a motive of greater consequence in early British expansion than we have hitherto realized. Although we have overemphasized the desire for freedom of worship as a motive in the settlement of New England, we have forgotten or discounted the religious fervor which inspired some of the propaganda for earlier exploration and colonization. The need for converting the heathen to Protestant Christianity was a recurring theme in English discussions of colonization. The stress upon this high purpose did not diminish in the least the promise of rich material profits to be derived from foreign enterprise. Indeed, Tudor and Stuart Englishmen profoundly believed that a partnership with God was likely to provide a safe insurance against disaster and loss. Furthermore, a missionary purpose helped to enlist the favor of the preachers, the most active and articulate propagandists of the age, who forthwith became diligent spokesmen for all kinds of overseas ventures."[1]

In the first place, I would take issue with Mr. Wright when he says that the desire for freedom of worship has been over-emphasized in regard to the settlement of New England. John Winthrop was fairly representative of the type of man who was influential in the settlement of Massachusetts and his journals stand today as a constant reminder that the will to pursue salvation in the manner in which he saw fit was the will which carried him across the Atlantic to

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1. L. B. Wright, "Religion and Empire", pp. 5-6.

an unknown shore. In this respect, I do not believe that the religious motive has been overemphasized by historians. However, I believe that Mr. Wright is guilty of overemphasis when he writes that the need for the conversion of the heathen played an important part in colonizing the New World. It is true that clerics and laymen alike invariably spoke of bringing the heathen population of America into the Christian fold. That was always used as an argument in favor of early colonial ventures, but the fact remains that Englishmen never established large Christian missions in their colonies as did the French and the Spanish. Although such ideas were always included in tracts promoting colonization, and doubtless those writers who advanced them were often sincere in doing so, I think that such sentiments were prompted more to gain the support of the religiously-minded than they were by any deeply rooted desire to bring the heathens into a state of Christian blessedness. As Ramsay Muir wrote in his "Expansion of Europe"; "In English colonization, indeed, the missionary motive was never, until the nineteenth century, so strongly marked".[2] With the advanced development of the so-called "Non-conformist conscience" during the last century one finds a true missionary spirit among Englishmen and the subsequent establishment of large foreign missions. But in the seventeenth century if Englishmen had any great desire to propagate Protestantism it came partly from the purely negative wish to thwart Spain's plans for the Catholicizing of the entire North American continent. Therefore, I believe that Mr. Wright exaggerates when he says that conversion of the heathen was an important factor in promoting the English to colonize America. While it did help to obtain clerical

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2. Ramsay Muir, "Expansion of Europe", p. 9.

support for the venture, it most certainly did not serve to send large portions of the population to the New World. It was the desire for freedom of conscience which was by far the more important motive in the field of religious causation of colonization.

We have seen how England was radically changed economically with the coming of modern times following the Renaissance. Religious changes also occured in the form of the Reformation. The English movement differed from its counterparts upon the continent in that its initial stages were not brought about by the people but rather by the authority of the government. The first step merely involved the substitution of king for pope as head of the church. It was not until the reign of Edward VI that the Anglican Church became more truly Protestant in nature. In 1552, a prayer book was issued which was more distinctly Protestant than the preceding one had been. In the following year the Privy Council set forth forty-two articles which authorized many doctrinal changes. The new doctrine affirmed the idea of justification by faith and discarded transubstantiation as well as five of the seven mediaeval sacrements.[3] The drift toward Protestantism was temporarily abated by the reign of Mary when Roman Catholicism was once more installed as the state religion and the leadership of the pope was again recognized.

With the accession of Elizabeth the situation at the close of Henry VIII's reign was revived. Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy which repealed Mary's laws and declared the queen to be head of the church. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1559, defined church doctrine to some extent and re-established the prayer book of 1552 with a few modifications.[4] Soon after, thirty-nine articles were passed,

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3. W. E. Lunt, "History of England", p. 328.
4. W. E. Lunt, Ibid., p. 336

which to all intents and purposes were the same as the forty-two articles passed during the reign of Edward VI. Thus the Anglican Church at the outset of Elizabeth's rule was neither extreme Catholic nor extreme Protestant. It was a sort of middle-of-the-road affair designed to satisfy the moderate opinions of the majority of Englishmen.

In discussing the Anglican Church, Mr. Plooij writes; "The result -(of the English Reformation)- was a very peculiar form of church; in its dogma the Church of England approximated the Calvinistic convictions, especially in its creed; but in its ecclesiastical organization, continuing the episcopal system founded on divine sanction and apostolic succession, it resembled very much the Roman Catholic Church, from which, however, it differed fundamentally in its acknowledgment of the King as Head of the Church and in its definitely national and very exclusive character".[5]

Owing to the national character of the church, of which Mr. Plooij speaks, the Church of England contained many diverse elements; there were within it those who favored a more Catholic bias and at the other end of the scale were those who desired a more strictly Protestant organization. The radical Protestant ideas which many were beginning to espouse in England were not entirely of native origin but were mostly imported from the Continent. They were brought across the Channel during the sixteenth century by the many Protestants who fled to England from persecution in their own countries. Much of the intellectual element in England proved to be highly susceptible to these new ideas and many small sects came into being such as the Baptists, Anabaptists, and Brownists as well as Calvinists. Thus the Anglican Church was

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5. D. Plooij, "The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View", p.12

confronted with opposition from two sources; the surviving Roman Catholic factions upon the one side and the so-called "Reformists" upon the other. It was these two dissident groups which had a great deal to do with the colonizing of the Atlantic seaboard. Since the Reformists played a much more important part than did the Roman Catholics we shall deal with them first of all.

The Reformists have come to be known as the "Puritans". This term was first used about 1564 and was employed to denote any person who desired the purification of the church.[6] Fuller, in his "Church History", describes the term "Puritan" as follows: "A name which, in this notion, first began in this year; and the grief had not been great, if it had ended in the same. The philosopher banisheth the term (which is polysaemon) that is subject to several senses, out of the predicaments, as affording too much covert for cavill by the latitude thereof. On the same account could I wish that the word "Puritan" were banished common discourse, because so various is the acceptation thereof. We need not speak of the ancient Cathari or primitive Puritans sufficiently known by their heretical opinions. "Puritan" here was taken for the opposers of the hierarchy and church-service, as representing superstition. But profane mouths quickly improved this nickname, therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people: some of them so far from opposing the liturgy, that they endeavoured (according to the instructions thereof in the preparative to the Confession) "to accompany the minister with a "pure" heart", and laboured (as it is in the Absolution) "for a life "pure" and holy". We will, therefore, decline the word to prevent exceptions: which, if casually slipping from our pen, the

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6. H. H. Henson, "Puritanism in England", p. 7.

reader knoweth that only nonconformists are thereby intended".[7]

"Nonconformity" was a term which was bandied about as much as "puritan" was. There were varying degrees of nonconformity. Sometimes nonconformist denoted a person who objected to some part of the church ceremony, sometimes a person who disliked the episcopal organization of the church, and occasionally an individual who might wish to change some part of the doctrine of the Anglican Church. A nonconformist was, therefore, a person who did not conform with all the doctrines and organization of the established church but did not believe in separation.

English Puritanism was not the equivalent of Calvinism, although its theology was generally derived from that of the Geneva divine. The bedrock of Puritanism was the Bible. Puritans believed that the Bible constituted God's word to man in its entirety.[8] Consequently they desired the expurgation of all those ceremonies and forms which the Anglican Church employed for which there was no Biblical authority. Originally the term Puritan was applied only to those within the Anglican Church who wished to purify it in the manner specified above, but as time went on it was also applied to Separatists (such as the Pilgrims) who desired to find grace outside the Anglican Church.

From Calvinism, Puritanism borrowed its ideas concerning the elect. This doctrine decreed that only those who had been elected by God were eligible for salvation. This precluded the necessity of performing good works in order to obtain the favor of God. As Ernst Troeltsch wrote; "The Calvinist knows that his calling and election are sure, and that therefore he is free to give all his attention to the effort to mould the world and society according to the Will of God.

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7. H. H. Henson, Ibid, pp.8-9, quoted from Fuller's "Church History" Vol.II,p.474
8. S. E. Morison. "Builders of the Bay Colony", p. 54.

He does not need to cling to God lest he should lose Him; on the contrary, he knows that he himself is absolutely dependent upon God's sustaining grace. His duty, therefore, is not to preserve the "new creation" in its intimacy with God, but to reveal it."[9]

This desire to reveal the word of God gave to the Calvinists, and subsequently to the Puritans, a definate mission in life. They believed that it was their duty to bring about the Kingdom of God upon earth and therefore that their lives should be filled with a ceaseless activity directed always toward that goal. Life was to them an eternal struggle to maintain an existence ever governed by the word of God as revealed to man in the Bible. This was a struggle which became increasingly difficult for them in a world where natural man, to them, was an evil creature governed by corrupt passions and prone to sin. The profligacy of James's court seemed to bear ample testimony of their beliefs concerning the baseness of man. They regarded with distaste and alarm the growth of rampant luxury and immorality among all classes.

In Mediaeval times men as preoccupied with religion as the Puritans usually withdrew from the arena of life to seek solace and salvation within the safe confines of some secluded monastery. Withdrawal such as this was precisely what the Puritans did not want and did not intend to endure. They believed that it was possible to carry out God's word in the active affairs of every-day life. Puritanism, it has been written, "came to terms with this world".[10] There was to be no serving of God and Mammon at the same time, but the Puritans preached the doctrine that the businessman could serve God as well as the minister simply by carrying on his business according to Christian

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9. E. Troeltsch, "The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches", Vol.II, pp.588,589.
10. S. E. Morison, "The Puritan Pronaos", p.8.

principles. Thus in many respects, the movement attracted the rising class of English businessmen who were only too glad to adopt a way of life which preached that heaven was gained by doing one's allotted task to the best of one's ability, and that God could be served in the counting-house as well as in the pulpit. To say that Puritanism evolved simply to provide balm for the merchant's soul and as a justification for increasing profits for the glory of God, however, would be doing it an injustice. Men such as Troeltsch, whose writings carry this idea,[11] in so doing accuse the Puritans of hypocrisy, and hypocrites they were not. A people who were willing to risk all in setting up a community in the New World where they could bring God's word to a fuller fruition cannot be accused of duplicity and false piety. Rather, what appears to us today as a canting and hypocritical piety was in reality an over-preoccupation with salvation and an overwhelming desire to carry out the word of God. While this could be the strength of Puritanism, it could just as well be its weakness. The attempt to regulate one's life, down to the most minute detail, by the Scriptures could, and did, encounter a great deal of trouble. The Puritans' constant search for Scriptural authority in their actions becomes tiresome after a while. It seems as though they were trying to find a moral reason for everything they did, and they professed to do everything for moral reasons. The story is told of a group of Puritans in Connecticut which illustrates this point extremely well. Because their consciences were troubling them about some land which they had taken from the Indians, they called a town meeting. At the meeting the following resolutions were passed which served to allay any sense of guilt which they might have felt for dispossessing the Indians.

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11. S. E. Morison, Ibid, p. 8.

"1. The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. Voted.
2. The Lord can dispose of the earth to His saints. Voted.
3. We are His saints. Voted."[12]

Humorous as this may appear, and doubtful as it may be, it illustrates, I believe, Puritanism's strength and weakness. The sense of being the Lord's elect, chosen to carry out His will, could be a strong and sustaining factor in time of trouble. But moral rationalizing and Scriptural authoritarianism when implemented to carry out the Divine Will could lead in time to a perversion of motives and consequently the nineteenth century saw Puritanism in its last degenerate development.

"Whatever Puritanism may have come to mean in later ages", wrote S. E. Morison, "... it meant three hundred years ago, a high sincerity of purpose, an integrity of life, and an eager searching for the voice of God. The intellectual strength of the Puritan was his knowledge of the Bible; the moral strength of the Puritan was his direct approach to God. No Puritan ever said, as did the children of Israel when they heard the thunder and the trumpet blasts on Mount Sinai, "Let not God speak to us, lest we die". His home, his study, his meeting-house, were filled with the reverberations of the awful and gracious voice for which he listened. If he rejected the intercession of the saints, it was because he would meet God face to face. If he despised the ancient pageantry of worship, it was because he would have no false and sensual symbols between him and his Redeemer. Often, like the ancient Hebrews, he misunderstood the voice of God. Often he mistook it for the echo of his own wants and passions. But the desire to hear it, the sense that life consisted in hearing and obeying it, never left him".[13]

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12. L. B. Wright, "Religion and Empire", p. 158.
13. S. E. Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony". p. 53

So much has been said regarding Puritanism because its doctrines provide us with the clue as to why the Puritans emigrated. The fact was inescapable that people as strong in their faith as the Puritans were would sooner or later come into conflict with the authorities. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1563 to reform the Anglican Church from within, a number of Puritans withdrew from the church and began to hold meetings or "conventicles" where worship was conducted in a manner other than that prescribed by the Established Church.[14] Most of these Separatists associated themselves either with the Presbyterian movement or with the Independent (later Congregational) faction. Since both of these sects advanced rather democratic, or at least radical theories concerning ecclesiastical government, Elizabeth met these threats to her authority by issuing a proclamation against conventicles in 1573 and by demanding that her bishops enforce the Act of Uniformity with greater efficiency.[15] She might have tolerated some of the less offensive of the Puritanical doctrines, but she would put up with no infringement of the law insofar as her position as head of the church was concerned. The Separatists were aiming at a church where the minister was chosen either by the congregation itself or by a committee delegated by the congregation, and where church policy would be directed by the members themselves to a greater extent.[16] While many of these democratic trappings were cast aside in New England in favor of a more theocratic type of government, during the time when the sectaries remained in England they did attempt to maintain a more or less democratic form of church organization, and it was this that the Queen particularly opposed. To further her ecclesiastical authority,

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14. W. E. Lunt, "History of England", p. 356.
15. W. E. Lunt, Op.cit. p. 357.
16. D. Plooij, "The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View". p. 16.

Elizabeth formed the Court of High Commission[17] and as a final step against the Separatists, Parliament passed an act suppressing conventicles in 1593.[18] All who attended such meetings would be imprisoned for the first offense and banished for the second. A small number of Separatists went into voluntary exile as a result of this act[19] but generally things were quiescent for the remainder of Elizabeth's reign.

The religious situation in England at the accession of James to the throne saw the large majority of the Puritans still within the ranks of the Anglican Church. Before much time ensued, however, the policies of James drove "Puritanism into a state of dull resentment which was to grow into flaming opposition before his life was out".[20] Affairs were not long in reaching a climax. A petition signed by one thousand Puritan ministers was presented to James soon after his arrival in England. While it requested reforms in the church service, it advocated only minor changes in church government. James called a conference at Hampton Court where the various points of the petition might be debated upon by bishops and Puritan pastors. In the course of the conference, one of the Puritans had the temerity to advocate the restoration of modified prophesyings which had been banned during Elizabeth's reign. At that, James, who was present at the meeting, shouted, "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil". Turning to his bishops, he continued, "If once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy. No bishop, no king."[21] With this the King had set forth

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17. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 357.
18. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 357.
19. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 357.
20. W. K. Jordan, "Development of Religious Toleration in England", Vol.II. p.20.
21. W. K. Jordan, op.cit, Vol. II, pp.19-20.

the stand he was to take and had demonstrated how difficult it was going to be to arrive at a satisfactory compromise, if, indeed, compromise were at all possible.

In 1604, a church convocation codified the canons of the Anglican Church in which it was declared that the Book of Common Prayer was in complete accord with the Word of God.[22] Denial of this was to be punished by excommunication and all Puritan pastors who did not conform were to be dismissed from their livings. Church and government were to take a sterner view of nonconformity as time went on.

During the reign of Charles I, religious affairs became even more chaotic. In 1633, William Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury. It was Laud's great ambition to see absolute uniformity in religion imposed upon all the people of England. When he found that men were determined to reach their own conclusions regarding religion he decided that in order to gain his own ends he must have recourse to force.[23] After Laud became Archbishop, he asked Charles to order the bishops to "limit ordination to those persons who were about to receive a charge".[24] In this manner Laud designed to put a stop to the practice of the Puritans who were ordained and then preached as lecturers and not as pastors to avoid the necessity of using the Book of Common Prayer. In 1634, the Court of High Commission ordered the justices to bring before it all persons who congregated in private homes upon Sundays instead of frequenting the churches.[25] During the first four years of Laud's administration, he conducted visitations to the parishes to discern the strictness with which the pastors carried on the worship.[26]

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22. W. K. Jordan, op.cit. Vol. II, p.25
23. W. K.Jordan, "Development of Religious Toleration in England". Vol.II, p.133
24. W. K.Jordan, Ibid, Vol. II, p. 141.
25. W. K.Jordan, Ibid, Vol. II, p. 141.
26. W. E.Lunt, "History of England" p. 419.

While there appeared to be no danger of an actual return to Rome, more and more the church under Charles and Laud was drifting toward Catholic ceremonies.

As Laud's persecution of the Puritan's gained momentum, the opinion of the majority of Englishmen was rapidly being alienated as far as his policies were concerned. The intensity of popular feeling against Laud was illustrated by the wave of revulsion which swept the people when William Prynne was punished for his tract against bishops in 1637.[27] Wrote Jordan, "Laud's attempt to check the rising tide of disaffection by a sharp, bold, punishment of the worst offenders was not effective. Puritanism had gained martyrs and during the summer (1637) the attacks were vigorously renewed. Laud was now denounced as a man of blood. In desperation the Government resolved to tighten the control of the press even further. The number of licensed printers in London was reduced to twenty and every book, whether new or a reissue, was required to bear a licence."[28]

This was simply the culmination of this long period of religious persecution. By the 1630's, many Puritans had given up any hope of attaining a satisfactory settlement; emigration to America increased by the thousands.[29] Puritanism was determined to live on in spite of Laud's repressive measures, and when existence became too difficult in England it transplanted itself to a more auspicious clime. Those who emigrated followed in the wake of earlier exiles who had come to the New World. The first Englishmen to found a settlement in America for religious reasons were the Pilgrims.

The Pilgrims were members of the Brownist group which never numbered very many people at any time. They lived in Nottinghamshire,

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27. W. K. Jordan, Ibid, Vol. II, p. 160.
28. W. K. Jordan, op.cit. Vol. II. p. 161.
29. W. K. Jordan, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 163.

Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and there especially the Anglican bishops had repressed the conventicles with a heavy hand.[30] At length, in 1608, the persecution became so severe that the little group which held its meetings in Scrooby resolved to leave their native land. William Bradford describes how they reached this momentous decision in his "History of the Plymouth Plantation".

"But after these things", he wrote, "they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as fleabitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett and watcht night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were faine to flie and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelehood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therfore were the better prepared to bear them by assistance of Gods grace and spirite. Yet seeing them selves thus molested, and that ther was no hope of their continuance there, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into the Low-Countries wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men; and also how sundrie from London, and other parts of the land had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, and in other places of the land."[31]

Bradford later voiced the fears which the Pilgrims felt in venturing forth into a strange land, but expressed the confidence which they reposed in God. "But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), wher they must learne a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, and subjects to ye misseries

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30. C. M. Andrews, "Colonial Period of American History", Vol. I. p.250
31. William Bradford, "History of the Plymouth Plantation", Vol. I, p.32

of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misserie worse than death. Espetially seeing they were not aquainted with trads nor traffique, (by which that countrie doth subsiste,) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, and ye inocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on ye ways of God, and to enjoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence, and knew whom they had beleeved."[32]

It is impossible to read Bradford's account of the trial of the Separatists without a feeling of admiration for that little group, deprived of their civil as well as ecclesiastical rights in their own country but still determined to worship God in their own manner even if it meant emigration to a foreign country. Such determination was not to be stopped by the necessity of adaptation to the life of the Low Countries, and consequently the Scrooby Separatists left their homes and settled in Amsterdam and then in Leyden in 1608.

Although they could worship as they wished in their new homes, all was not quite satisfactory. Often the Separatists were relegated to the meaner types of employment. Every day they saw their children "getting", as Bradford wrote, "the raines off their necks and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far viages by sea; and others some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their soules, to the great grief of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted".[33]

It seemed that if they were to carry on in the manner which they wished, they must seek out some new land as a place of refuge.

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32. William Bradford, op.cit. Vol. I. p.33.
33. William Bradford, op.cit. Vol. I. p.35

Their minds turned toward the New World where Englishmen were in the process of establishing a permanent settlement at Jamestown. It will be remembered that about the year 1619, the Virginia Company was attempting to meet a financial crisis by creating subordinate and voluntary joint-stocks, and it was also offering patents to groups of undertakers who would take it upon themselves to send over tenants and set up private plantations. Under such an arrangement, it might be possible for the Leyden Separatists to organize a settlement of their own in Virginia. One of the leaders of the Leyden group was one William Brewster, Jr., and it so happened that he was acquainted with Sir Edwin Sandys who became treasurer of the Virginia Company in 1619. Through Sandys' influence, such a patent was obtained through one John Wyncop. King James would not promise to give the group official liberty of conscience, but he did promise not to molest them.[34] The Wyncop patent was not used because later a more attractive offer was made by John Pierce and Thomas Weston who had obtained a patent for land from the Virginia Company; it was under the auspices of this second patent that the Leyden Separatists, or as we know them better today, the Pilgrims, settled in this country.

By a freak of nature, their ship, the famous "Mayflower", was driven off its course and instead of landing in Virginia, as had originally been intended, first came within sight of land off Cape Cod. As it was mid-December, it was decided to remain there instead of continuing on south, and thus it was that the first permanent English settlement in New England came into being at Plymouth. A small enterprise, promoted by humble men, it was the first English settlement to be brought into being for religious reasons and its story is a constant

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34. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 257.

reminder of the determination of seventeenth century Englishmen to worship God in their own way, according to the dictates of their conscience.

Undoubtedly the most important of the English settlements to be founded for religious reasons was the colony at Massachusetts Bay. The moving force behind this venture was the Massachusetts Bay Company, the successor to the older Dorchester Company. We have already had occasion to speak of the Dorchester enterprise; it was not promoted solely for religious purposes but was founded partly as a fishing venture. While this industry was one of the primary causes for its inception, religion also played an important part. Over one sixth of the members of the Company were ministers with Puritan tendencies. Rev. John White, the founder, was extremely interested in the religious implications which the project carried.[35] Most of the members of the Company were Puritans who desired to stay within the communion of the Anglican Church, thus it is doubtful whether they intended to found their colony as a refuge from persecution at home. White's "Planter's Plea" speaks only of fishing, providing work for the needy and conversion of the Indians as motives for the enterprise. The fact is, as far as the last proposal is concerned, that no mission was ever founded at Cape Ann. In speculating as to the importance of religion in the Dorchester Company, S. E. Morison writes; "So we may call the Dorchester Adventurers a company of puritans, but not a puritanic company, in the same sense that we apply that term to the Massachusetts Bay corporation; for there is no evidence that its promoters intended to establish a puritan refuge in New England. We may infer that they did

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35. Frances Rose-Troup, "John White, Patriarch of Dorchester", p. 52.

not, since there were no need of such a refuge in 1623. And their avowed motive of evangelizing the natives was equally prominent in the inception of the Virginia Company and the writings of John Smith and William Morrell. The Dorchester Adventurers appear to have been a group of public-spirited men who wished to do something for their country, a little for the Indians, somewhat for the fishermen, and a good deal for themselves."[36]

Most certainly the Dorchester Company did not desire to make their colony a refuge for Separatists as some of their contemporaries accused them of doing. In answering this charge, White wrote, "I persuade myself there is not one Separatist known to the Governors, or if there be any, that it is so far from their purpose as it is from their safety to retain him amongst them".[37] To the very last White remained a staunch supporter of conformity and deplored those who left the ranks of the Established Church.

We have already seen that fishermen make poor colonizers, and the Dorchester enterprise was a dismal failure. In 1627 the settlement was abandoned. Two years later, the New England Company was formed with some of its members taken from those of the defunct Dorchester Company. In June, 1628, the new company sent out John Endecott with about forty others.[38] They settled near Cape Ann at Salem, or as they called it then, Naumkeag.

Since the New England Company was an unincorporated venture, it was deemed wise to obtain a secure legal status. Therefore, in 1629 the Company applied for a charter of incorporation from the king, and in March of that year it was granted. Under the charter, the New

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36. S. E. Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony", p.28
37. F. Rose-Troup, op.cit. p.210, Quoted from J. White's "Planter's Plea".
38. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p. 361

England Company became the Massachutsetts Bay Company, an incorporated body. This was a wise move as it insured them from any interference from Sir Fernando Gorges' Council for New England.[39]

Almost all the members of the new company were Puritans of one degree or another. Some were conforming Puritans, others were non-conformists; there were no actual Separatists. There were one hundred and ten members in the new company, whereas the mercantile members, those interested in profits, had been in the ascendancy in the New England Company, they were in a declining minority under the new charter.[40] As time went on religion came to be more and more the real purpose of the corporation.

There were in the Massachusetts Bay Company many very prominent members who wished to emigrate to New England. It is not known just how or by whom the idea was conceived, but the more these men talked of emigrating, the more they thought that it would be a good plan to transfer the government of the Company to New England along with themselves.[41] There the charter could be used as the basis for a Puritan commonwealth. This proved to be not so wild a dream as it might first appear to be. When the charter had been drawn up, the meeting-place of the Company's governing body had not been designated.[41] This omission was doubtless not intentional, but in the light of what ensued it proved to be a happy oversight: without the restriction of an appointed place of meeting the business of the company could legally be transacted at any chosen place. Therefore, on July 28, 1629, Matthew Cradock, Governor of the Company made certain proposals to transfer the government of the colony from London to the colony itself. The proposition was approved.

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39. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I. p.367
40. C. M. Andrews op.cit. Vol. I. p.370
41. James Truslow Adams. "The Founding of New England", p.139.

The reason for this step can only be surmised as there seems to be no actual record of why it was undertaken. It seems, however, that if Puritanism were to realize its goal of a state founded upon its own precepts, it must remove itself from England to a place where realization of that aim were possible. The transference of the Massachusetts Bay Company to New England was a highly significant move, for it marked an important step in the development of Puritanism. Down to this time, Puritans in general had recognized the Church of England as the true church. Although many of them were nonconformist in their beliefs, they had no desire to break away from the church as it had been established by Elizabeth. They looked with distaste upon such Separatists as the Pilgrims who broke with the Anglican Church, even though the Pilgrims, in their theology, were Calvinistic and Puritan.[42] Under the Stuarts, however, the lot of the Puritans became increasingly difficult and their thoughts turned to New England where a refuge might be found. The Puritan outlook in New England was to become quite different from what it had been in old England. The great emigration of 1630 marks the beginning of that change.

Representative of the type of man who emigrated in 1630 was John Winthrop. His reasons for leaving England at that time parallel those of the majority of the other emigrants. His income had been curtailed through the loss of his attorneyship and through the stationary or falling rents from which the small landed gentry were suffering at that time. Therefore, as we noted in Chapter Three, his decision to emigrate was influenced partly by economic adversity. More than this, he was disgusted with conditions in his homeland. This discontent was

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42. F. Rose-Troup, op.cit. p. 212.

voiced in a letter to his wife written in May, 1629, a letter which also contained the first hint that he was considering emigrating to New England.[43] Later that same year he also wrote; "This land grows wearye of her Inhabitantes, so as man which is the most pretious of all Creatures, is here more vile and base, then the earthe they treade upon: so as children, neighbors and freindes (especially if they be poore) are rated the greatest burdens, which if things were right, would be the cheifest earthly blessings".[44]

Further study of Winthrop's writings proves most fruitful for those who would discern the reasons for the Puritan migration. After he had decided to go to New England (probably sometime in 1629) he became the foremost advocate of emigration, championing the cause in the face of those who did not think well of going. A Mr. Ryece wrote Winthrop a letter in which he said that the English Puritans should stick together and that "The Church and Common Welthe here ... hath more neede of your beste abyllytie in these dangerous tymes then any remote plantation".[45] Winthrop answered such sentiments when he wrote: "What can be a better worke and more honorable and worthy a Christian then to helpe rayse and support a particular churche while it is in the infancye ... If such as are knowme to be godly and live in wealthe and prosperitye heere, shall forsake all this to ioine themselves to this churche, and to runne the hazard with them of a harde and meane condition, it wilbe an example of great use, bothe for removinge the schandale of wordly and sinister respectes to give more life to the Faithe of Godes people in their prayers for the plantation, and allso to incourage others to ioyne the more willingly in it."[46]

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43. John Winthrop, "Journal", Vol.I, p.8, (published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1911).
44. "Winthrop Papers" Vol. II, p.114 (published by the Mass. Hist. Soc.)
45. S. E. Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony" p. 67.
46. "Winthrop Papers", Vol. II, p.115.

The Puritan's sense of belonging to the elect gave him a feeling of superiority over his fellows. He regarded them all as ripe for perdition and quite honestly believed that through long association with them he too might become contaminated. He believed that it was becoming impossible to lead a Godly life. Winthrop illustrated this feature of Puritanism when he wrote; "We are growne to that height of Intemperance in all excesse of Ryot, as no mans estate all most will suffice to keepe sayle with his equalls: and he that fayes in it, must live in scorn and contempt: hence it comes, that all artes and tradés are carried in that deceiptfull and unrighteous course, as it is all-most impossible for a good and upright man to maintaine his charge and live comfortably in any of them. The fountains of learninge and Religion are so corrupted as (besides the unsupportable chardge of their education) most children, even the best wittes of the fayrest hopes, are perverted, corrupted and utterly overthrowne by the multitude of evill exampples and licentious government of those seminaryes."[47]

This fear of being tainted through constant association with the Godless was closely related to another phobia, that of Divine Destruction. With such wickedness rampant in the world it was believed that the Lord might destroy the churches of Europe even as He had demolished Sodom and Gomorrah. "All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and it cannot be, but the like Judgement is comminge upon us: and who knows, but that God hathe provided this place, to be a refuge for manye, whom he means to save out of the general destruction?"[48] "We have feared a Judgment a longe tyme, but yet we are safe," wrote those who objected to emigration. To this Winthrop replies most emphatically; "It is like that this consideration made the churches beyond the seas (as the Palatinate, Rochell, etc.) to sitt still at home, and

47. "Winthrop Papers", Vol. II, p.115.
48. Ibid, Vol. II, p.114

not look out for shelter while they might have founde it: but the woefull spectacle of their ruine, may teache us more wisdome, to avoyde the plague when it is foreseen, and not to tarrye, as they did, till it overtake us: if they were now at their former libertye, we may be sure they would take other Course for their safety."[49] Here Winthrop was not thinking of any Divine destruction. He was sufficiently intelligent to foresee great trouble for the Puritans in the signs of the times. Charles had dissolved parliament that very year (1629) and every indication showed that the Puritans had much to fear from the period of personal rule that was to follow. Although Laud had not been elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury as yet, his influence was already making itself felt. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission were meting out severe penalties to all who opposed the royal demands or infringed the canons of the church. Puritan writings were already being banned or burned;[50] economic dislocation and social unrest were spreading. Small wonder that Winthrop should write; "who knows but that God hath provided this place -(New England)- to be a refuge for many whome he meanes to save out of the generall callamity, and seeinge the Church hath noe place lefte to flie into but the wildernesse, what better worke can there be, then to goe and provide tabernacles and foode for her against she comes thether."[51] This was but an echo of the general Puritan sentiment.

Throughout the Autumn of 1629 and the following winter, preparations were hastily made for the voyage. The first vessel left England in February, 1630, and by June fourteen ships had embarked. During that summer two more ships departed for New England bringing the

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49. Ibid, Vol. II. p. 116.
50. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. I, p. 383.
51. "Winthrop's Papers", Vol. II, pp. 138-139.

total number of ships up to sixteen and the number of colonists to over one thousand. The very rapidity with which the entire action was carried out would seem to suggest that the emigration had been thoroughly discussed and planned in many Puritan households and that when the time came all was in readiness.

In a sermon delivered on the voyage over, Winthrop summed up their aims as follows: "We are a company, professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, for which reason though we come from many regions and diverse classes, we ought to account ourselves knitt together by this bond of love. Our immidiate object is to seek out a new home under a due form of Government both civill and ecclesiasticall ... The end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord ... that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world."[52] We need look no further for the Puritans' reasons for seeking a better life in the New World. "Our immediate object is to seek out a new home ... that ourselves and our posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world." In this one sentence Winthrop spoke for himself and his fellow Puritans. They were in no sense withdrawing from the world; they were out to build a new world which would be more amenable than the old one had proved to be.

The purpose of the Puritans takes on a more earthy flavor in the words of a satirical seventeenth century ballad which speaks volumes about the great migration.

My Brethren all attend me,
and list to my relation:
This is the day - marke what I say -
Tends to your renovation.

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52. S. E. Morison, "Builders of the Bay Colony" p. 73.

Stay not amongst the wicked
Lest that with them you perish,
But let us goe
And the Pagan people cherishe.
Then for the Truth's sake come along,
Come alonge!
Leave the place of supersticion!
Were it not for we that Brethren be,
You'd sinke into perdition. [53]

It was in this manner that the seventeenth century wit chose to describe what had been called the greatest folk-movement in modern history.

This was no aimless migration of an unsophisticated people. By the early 1640's there were at least one hundred and thirty university alumni who had come to New England.[54] Men of education were the leaders of the Puritans; in many cases it was a minister deprived of his parish or a nonconformist landlord discontented with his lot. Often such men would gather a group of his neighbors and emigrate with them in the same ship.[55] So it was with a Captain Roger Clap who followed the Rev. Mr. Warham to New England. "God by his providence brought me near Mr. Warham," he wrote, "and inclined my Heart to his Ministry, God by his Providence moved the Heart of my Master Mossiour to ask me whether I would go to New England: It was God by his Providence that made me willing to leave my dear Father, and Friends and Country..."[56] Only such an illimitable faith in his God, as the Puritan possessed, could have endowed so many men with sufficient courage to build a new home in the wilderness.

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53. S. E. Morison, Ibid, p. 45.
54. S. E. Morison, "The Puritan Pronaos", p.16.
55. S. E. Morison, Ibid, p. 17.
56. A. B. Hart, "American History Told by Contemporaries", pp.195-196

We must not forget that the Puritans were not the only religious group in England which had suffered suppression. There was also a sizable body of Roman Catholics there who were just as desirous of finding some refuge in America where they might carry on their religion without restrictions. During the reign of Elizabeth a strict policy of repression had been pursued; owing to the wisdom of this policy the Catholics were in a small minority when James came to the throne. The public exercise of their religion was prohibited and priests were forbidden to celebrate mass upon pain of punishment for treason. As long as Catholics kept their views to themselves, however, they were left alone. Recusants were subject to large fines and confiscation of property.[57]

With the accession of James the situation changed; public celebration of the mass was allowed and large numbers of Roman Catholic exiles began to return to the country. The Government seemed to be willing to be lenient if the Catholics would not attempt to make themselves the dominant group. Public opinion was opposed to this, however, and the laws against recusants were once again enforced. Religious toleration was impossible at that time. The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 blasted any hope of Catholic toleration. In the excitement which followed, parliament ordered all Catholics not only to attend Anglican worship but also to partake of communion.[58]

All through his reign, James seemed fairly well-disposed toward allowing the Catholics liberty of conscience. The temper of the people ran contrary to this as is evidenced by the unwillingness of parliament to comply with the king's policy. The same was true in regard to

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57. W. K. Jordan, "Development of Religious Toleration in England" Vol. I, p. 58.

58. W. K. Jordan, op. cit. p. 73

Charles I. As the Puritans gained the upper hand in parliament the position of the Catholics deteriorated until in 1640, as one contemporary wrote; "many Catholics, alarmed by the reports that circulate openly about most severe laws against those who profess the true Roman religion, are hurriedly selling their goods with the intention of taking refuge abroad."[59]

One of England's most prominent Catholic laymen was Sir George Calvert, later Lord Baltimore. For many years he was interested in colonization, he had been a member of the Virginia Company and the Council for New England as well. He was for a time active in a small colonial venture in Newfoundland but soon came to realize that successful colonization required a more salubrious climate than Newfoundland had to offer. After spending a short time in Newfoundland, he journeyed to Virginia from which place he was forced to withdraw because he would not take the required oath of supremacy,[60] Upon returning to England he began to make plans for a colony which might serve as a refuge for his co-religionists.

In 1633 he made application to the attorney general for a tract of land south of Virginia. This application was turned down on the grounds that the proposed site was too near that of the older settlement, and after some debate the location was changed and Baltimore was granted the territory between the ocean on the east, Chesapeake Bay on the west, Cape Charles on the south and Delaware Bay on the north. The colony was to be called Maryland.[61]

Shortly after George Calvert died, leaving his project in the hands of his son Cecil. Plans for the departure of the first shipload of colonists were hurried so that the prospective settlers

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59. W. K. Jordan, op.cit. p. 198.
60. C. M. Andrews, "Colonial Period of American History", Vol.II, p. 278
61. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 279

would reach their new home by the summer of 1633. The Jesuits were put in charge of the recruiting of colonists. The number of applications was never very large; many of those who wished to go were men of wealth. By this time the poorer classes had more or less become attached to the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic party was largely made up of gentlemen.[62] About two hundred colonists were recruited and by late summer all was in readiness. The date of departure was postponed owing to controversies about administering the required oath of allegiance, but finally by November the two ships bearing the colonists put out to sea. They arrived in Maryland the following March and built their settlement where today the town of St. Mary's stands.

Compared with the Puritan settlements of New England the Maryland settlement was a small enterprise. Still there were men of influence who worked for its promotion and it amply fulfilled its function of providing a refuge for Roman Catholics where they could worship as they wished. Writing of the Maryland colony, Charles Calvert, son of Cecil said; "Many there were of this sort of people who declared their willingnesse to goe and Plant themselves in this Province soe they might have a Generall Toleracion settled there by a Lawe by which all of all sorts who professed Christianity in Generall might be at Liberty to Worshipp God in such manner as was most agreeable to their respective Judgments and Consciences without being subject to any penaltyes whatsoever for their soe doeing ... without the complying with these condicons in all probability. This Province had never beene planted."[63] Maryland was the first American colony where Roman Catholic and Protestant worked and lived side by side. Its very existence was a tribute to the integrity and far-sightedness of the Calverts.

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62. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 285.
63. C. M. Andrews, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 291.

So it was that religion came to be just as important a factor in influencing the course of English colonization in America as the social and economic dislocations were. While England did desire to break the Catholic monopoly of Spain in the New World and while many men enunciated the values of converting the savage to Protestatnism, neither of these projects was of importance among the religious causes of colonization. When religion led men to seek new homes in America it was because they desired to follow their own mode of worship when that right had been denied them in their homeland. Thus religious colonization had its roots in the intolerance which was inherent in the times. But we have no more right to expect religious toleration in the seventeenth century than we have to expect toleration of Communism or Fascism today. The king hated Puritanism because it threatened his supremacy, the bishops hated it because it made uniformity impossible. Roman Catholicism was despised because it smacked of papal plots and Spanish interference. Hatred and distrust led to suppression and persecution, and when the pressure became too great, the persecuted sought refuge in a new land rather than deny their sacred beliefs in order to remain in the old.

CHAPTER SIX.

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC CAUSES OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION.

The period which was spanned by the rule of the Tudor and Stuart families witnessed the emergence of England as a truly national state. During this time the allegiance of the people was claimed by a strong central government instead of by numerous feudal lords. In the realm of the spirit the supremacy of the pope was supplanted by that of the English king and the Roman Catholic Church gave way to the Anglican Church. In economic matters England depended no more upon the carrying trade of the continental merchants for she developed a merchant navy of her own. Her industries, while still small, made notable progress. This new nationalism was particularly in evidence in the literature of that era. A spirit of patriotism pervaded Shakespeare's dramas and reached a height to which only he could have brought it in his "Henry V". The writings of Marlowe, Spencer and Hakluyt made the Elizabethan renaissance a veritable demonstration of national confidence, just as the voyages of the Elizabethan seamen and the victory over the Spanish Armada proved that England could hold her own with any of the contemporary sea powers.

Nationalism has been called the chief source of imperialism.[1] It is doubtful, however, if the Elizabethans knew anything of empire as we understand the term today. They understood that their newly acquired naval power placed in their hands the means whereby they could expand,[2] but when the expansion came it was not carried out by the state but through the means of private agencies as we have already seen. Although

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1. Ramsay Muir, "The Expansion of Europe", p. 5.
2. A. F. Pollard, "Elizabethans and the Empire". p. 4.

the government was always willing to lend a helping hand, it was not until many years after the first permanent English settlement in America that the state became the chief agent in colonial ventures.

From the very beginning of the colonial era there is evidence that the English government was fully cognizant of the advantages which colonies could bring. Elizabeth had given due consideration to Hakluyt's "Discourse on Western Planting"[3] and it will be remembered that the idea behind that tract was the foundation of colonies as bases from which operations against the Spaniards might be carried out. The source of Spain's great wealth was the New World, and leading statesmen, such as Sir Walter Raleigh,felt that Spain would be particularly vulnerable to any blows which she might receive in that part of the world. As the Spanish were England's chief concern in the field of diplomacy it was most important that her overthrow be carried out by whatever means available. Concerning this, Hakluyt had written; "And entringe into the consideration of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I meane firste to begynne with the West Indies, as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermyned and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe; so this prince, spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him... . Hereunto yf we adde our purposed westerne discoveries, and there plante and people rally, and fortifie strongly, and there builde shippes and maineteine a navy in special ports or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe

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3. See Chapter Two, p. 35.

supplye, courage, and comforte, by men or munition, to the Chichimici and the Symerons and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes ... ."[4]

When Jamestown was founded in 1607 there is excellent evidence to show that it fulfilled its purpose for the Spanish were exceedingly perturbed at this threat to their supremacy in America. In June of that year the King of Spain wrote to his ambassador in England; "You recently wrote me that the English contemplated very early going to the island, which they call Virginia - sending every month two ships, until they shall have put two thousand men on shore there - and I commanded you to report what was being done in this matter, so that we could prepare whatever might be proper to prevent it. ... and considering that this land is a discovery and a part of the Indies, of Castille, so close to them - and considering the inconvenience to us, which would follow the occupation of these regions by the English; for many reasons which have to be contemplated - especially if they establish their errors and their sects there (as it must be expected that they would do if the opportunity was given to them.)"[5] In reply to this, the ambassador, de Zuniga, wrote; "As to Virginia, I hear that three or four ships will return there. Will Your Majesty give orders that measures be taken in time; because now it will be very easy, and quite difficult afterwards, when they have taken route, and if they are punished in the beginning, the result will be that no more will go there."[6]

King Philip III did nothing, however, to impede the progress

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4. R. Hakluyt, "Discourse Concerning Western Planting", printed in the collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. III, pp. 10-11.
5. A. Brown, "Genesis of the United States", Vol. I, p.103, taken from the General Archives of Simancas, Spain.
6. A. Brown, Ibid, Vol. I, p. 140.

of the Virginian colony. There is little doubt that some of the early emigrants were in the pay of Spain and were under orders to collect all the information that they could, but of these there were very few. No armada was dispatched from Cuba to wipe out Jamestown, but Philip continued to be concerned about the growth of the English colony. In the Spring of 1611 he wrote to his ambassador; "Within a month four ships with three hundred men, a few women and many arms and ammunition, are to leave England for this same country -(Virginia)-. They have orders to fortify themselves once more and to build ships, so that if they succeed with this, if they leave there, being so close to that Island, they can reach there -(Cuba)- within six days sail and it would be a very serious inconvenience for my fleets. Of this I wish to inform you, and to charge and command you as I do now, that you should send out and obtain a certain account of what this means about Virginia, what forces and what strength they have there with every information that can be gotten."[7]

If the Spanish had struck at Virginia during the early years of its existence, they might well have been able to injure it very seriously. It is a question, however, whether Spain possessed sufficient ships to carry out such an action. Although Spain had gone into a decline after the sixteenth century she was still a power to be reckoned with as far as her army was concerned. There can be little doubt, however, that England's navy was definitely superior to that of Philip III, and the Spanish king would have experienced a great deal of difficulty in attempting to wipe out the English colony after a foothold had been gained. Although Virginia was not molested, the Spanish did make two abortive attempts to capture the Providence colony in the Indies. They

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7. A. Brown, op.cit. Vol. I, p. 451.

succeeded in taking it on the third try and in 1641 Providence was assimilated into the Spanish Indies.[8]

While Spain was England's most serious rival in the New World at this time, Holland and France had also established settlements in America. Although England most certainly desired to have colonies to keep abreast of these countries, there is no strong evidence that this desire ranked as a positive motive of colonization during this period. England's colonial rivalry with France and the Netherlands came largely after the middle of the seventeenth century.

We have already seen that there was a discrepancy between the government's reasons for wanting colonies in America and the reasons of the people for emigrating there. The average citizen was not sufficiently interested in the balance of power in the New World to emigrate simply to insure England's predominance there. Englishmen left their homes because of the developments in the social, economic and religious fields which have been described in the previous chapters. In addition to this, there was yet another source of discontent during the first half of the seventeenth century which was critical enough to incline many to seek refuge in America. The political situation, precarious enough in the time of James I had steadily worsened from the beginning of Charles' reign, creating a sizable body of political malcontents.

When James came to the throne in 1603 he faced a situation which required more tact than he possessed. During the closing years of Elizabeth's reigh, the power of the House of Commons had increased and only the popularity of the Queen had made possible the high degree of cooperation which had existed between the monarch and the Commons. With James' accession the situation changed. There was no longer need

8. A. P. Newton, "The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans", p.301

for a powerful monarchy such as the Tudors had created. The danger of Foreign invasion had been dispelled with the defeat of the Armada, the great power of the nobles had been crushed, and the Anglican Church seemed well established. Just when the trend was away from increasing the monarchical authority,[9] James came upon the scene with his ideas about divine right. According to this theory the king was responsible only to God since his power was derived from that exalted source. Parliament owed its existence to the king and therefore was subservient to him. The king was above the law as he was above all else in the nation.

In putting his divine right theory into practice, James encountered his greatest opposition in the Puritans, for they held definite political as well as religious and economic beliefs. Calvin had sounded the political keynote of Puritanism when he had written; "The vice or imperfection of men therefore renders it safer and more tolerable for the government to be in the hands of many, that they may afford each other mutual assistance and admonition, and that if anyone arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition."[10] We must not construe this utterance of Calvin's as an endorsement of democracy, however, for he also wrote that the best type of government was not democracy but a mixture of aristocratic and democratic principles.[11] The English Puritans' opposition to James was not based upon a desire to see the government reposed in the hand of the masses; rather they became the champions of the liberties of the subject because that was their best means of fighting the supremacy of the king and his high church bishops. Religion and

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9. W. E. Lunt, "History of England", p. 388.
10. A. B. Hart, "American History Told by Contemporaries", p.326, quoted from John Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion."
11. A. B. Hart, Ibid, p. 326.

politics were so closely bound together that in order to procure the type of church that they wanted, the Puritans found it necessary to oppose James upon political as well as religious grounds.[12] James had realized this link when he made his famous utterance, "no bishop, no king". His unrelenting attitude soon created a very close connection between Puritanism and antagonism to divine right and unlimited monarchy.

James' reign was marked by frequent disagreements between the Commons and the King. They quarreled over union with Scotland, about impositions, and about religion. When religious reforms were suggested by parliament, James rebuked them in what amounted to an attack upon their right of free speech. The Commons answered that "in parliament they may speak freely their consciences without check and without controlment".[13] By his failure to keep councillors in the House who were able to control the Commons, James lost the reins which were speedily grabbed up by the opposition. Parliament became more and more predominantly Puritan owing to the large numbers of country gentry and commercial elements which were espousing that doctrine. By the time that Charles came to the throne the Puritans were in an absolute majority.

In 1624 England had gone to war with Spain and in order to obtain the money with which to prosecute the war after he came to the throne, Charles was forced to treat with parliament. Insufficient funds were granted however, and Charles resorted to forced loans. Since the king lacked the money for the provisioning and quartering of his troops, before and after the expedition to the Isle of Rhé they were quartered in the homes of English citizens.[14] The soldiers caused much depredation and when the citizens attempted to redress their grievances their claims

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12. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 409
13. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 392
14. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 413

were brought before military courts. Consequently when parliament met in 1628, they requested Charles to respect certain rights of the subjects which were theirs according to precedent. This famous Petition of Right asked the king to desist in his practice of demanding his subjects to "make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament".[15] The king was also asked to promise that there would be no imprisonment without cause shown, no martial law in time of peace, and no enforced billeting of soldiers in private homes. Charles agreed to the petition.

The following year it was clearly seen that Charles had thrown all his influence behind Laud's high church party. He forbade the discussion of religion and ordered the dissolution of parliament, but when the speaker attempted to leave his chair he was forcibly held down while the Commons passed three resolutions. The resolutions declared in effect that anyone who supported the high church or the royal prerogative was an enemy of the Kingdom.[16] Parliament was then dissolved and Charles ruled without it for the next eleven years.

With the beginning of Charles' personal rule the Puritans realized the serious implications of their position. With the inception of Laud's determined policy of forcing uniformity upon all England they knew their cause to be in jeopardy. The Court of High Commission began its practice of inflicting heavy penalties upon those who criticized the religious policies of the king, it was at this time that the idea of the great Puritan migration was conceived and brought about.

It would seem therefore, that the line between political and religious discontent was a thin one indeed. Each had its roots in the attempt of the Stuart kings to enforce religious uniformity upon an

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15. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 414.
16. W. E. Lunt, op.cit. p. 415.

unwilling people and in their determination to rule with disregard of the liberties of the subject which had evolved through precedent over a long period of years. If the Stuarts had possessed the sagacity of the Tudors and their uncanny ability to gauge popular opinion and shape their policies accordingly, the story might have been a different one. If Charles had been wise enough to realize that it would be impossible for him to disregard prevailing trends, England would undoubtedly have been spared the trial of Civil War and the Puritans who settled New England would never have felt it necessary to establish their commonwealth upon this side of the Atlantic.

During the period of the Personal Rule, the Puritans came to New England by the thousands. While there are those who say that the government was quite content to be rid of these malcontents, evidence would not seem to bear this out. In 1634 the Privy Council forbade the sailing of several ships until all those on board had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.[17] As time went on this was required of all who emigrated. As soon as they arrived in the New World the immigrants promptly forgot the oaths and it was not long before the Puritans were quite as Separatist in their views as the Pilgrims had ever been. Not only did they forsake the Church of England; they also instigated their own Commonwealth which was quite independent of all English jurisdiction until Massachusetts became a royal colony. This would seem to bear out the theory of those who claim that the Puritans were bent upon establishing a state based upon their own precepts - one which was to be as autocratic in its own way as that of Charles ever was.

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17. "Act of the Privy Council, Colonial", Charles I, Vol. I (1634) p. 199, no. 327.

In the light of what has been said, it would be safe to assume that there was practically no emigration to America during the period from 1607 to 1640 for purely political reasons. Opposition to High Church and royal prerogative was synonomous with Puritanism, therefore the political motive becomes invalid unless linked with the religious as far as the Puritans were concerned. Maryland was also settled as a refuge for religious dissidents and in Virginia, Bermuda and the Leeward Islands the economic factor was predominant. It would seem therefore, that the only people who came to America in any numbers solely for political reasons were those who were transported to Virginia after the Civil War.[18] Cromwell instigated the practice of selling political prisoners to the planters there and James II continued this policy after Monmouth's conspiracy.[19] During the period with which we are concerned, very few o the prisoners who were transported had been arrested for political crimes.

Most of the world's great emigrations have not been brought about solely through political motives. It would appear that men are capable of enduring a good deal of political restriction as long as it does not affect their religion or their purse. Without the restrictions placed upon the political rights of the subject in seventeenth century England, it is difficult to ascertain just what course the Puritan emigration would have taken; they most certainly contributed to the prevailing discontent. Englishmen, by that time were jealous of the privileges which had slowly evolved since the days of the Magna Carta. The curbs which James and Charles placed upon these privileges made the Civil War virtually inevitable; but if the Stuart kings had not extended their meddling into the field of religion, it is possible that the Puritan emigrants might have stayed at home to fight beside their bretheren in '42.

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18. Godfrey Davies, "The Early Stuarts", p. 318.
19. O. Leroy Beaulieu, "Colonisation Chez les Peuples Modernes", Vol.I, p.108

CHAPTER SEVEN.

CONCLUSION.

In looking back over the various causes of English colonization in America during the period from 1550 to 1640, it is almost impossible to say that any one outranked the others in importance and influenced the greatest number of Englishmen to emigrate. Often it was a mixture of motives which combined to produce the stimulus which led to emigration. In any case, one may say with relative assurance that the desire to emigrate had its roots in the genuinely hard times which the lower classes were enduring and in the imagined overpopulation from which England fancied she suffered. It was hoped that America would provide an outlet for those who were incapable of earning their own living in the homeland and who in time would become only a burden to the general public. These economic troubles had been occasioned by the decline in the value of money which in turn had caused high prices, the virtually stationary wages of labor, and the general transition from a Mediaeval economy to a more modern one. Added to this there was an acute shortage of land owing to the enclosures which in turn had produced a growing land hunger among the agricultural classes. In America was land to be had in abundance and at a low price. There the agricultural laborer might hope to acquire land of his own, something which was virtually impossible in his own country. The merchant and the artisan too, often aspired to the estate of landed gentlemen for in those days the ownership of broad acres was the badge of gentility; in America the acquisition of such an estate was possible.

This was also an opportunity for the younger sons of the nobility, bereft of land by the rule of primogeniture, to acquire an estate of their own.

The economic field was not the only one in which discontent was prevalent. The English Reformation had produced an Established Church which smacked too much of Catholicism to a great many who turned to Puritanism for a more acceptable creed. These dissenters threatened the uniformity which King and Bishops were so anxious to preserve and so stern measures were undertaken to bring them to a state of sweet reasonableness. This drove the Puritans, already incensed over curbs upon the liberties of the subject, to the alternative of establishing their own commonwealth upon the shores of New England.

In discussing the personal reasons for emigration, the simple desire for self betterment must not be overlooked. Many in England were not deeply affected by any of the preceding troubles, but they still wanted to go to America because they felt that the colonies, with their cheap land and untapped resources were rich in opportunity. People often feel that it is difficult to advance in the home environment where one is always regarded in the same manner regardless of the achievements which one may attain. For that reason, men frequently yearn for a new land where it is possible to begin anew and America stood ready to answer this need.

Finally, concerning the relative importance of the individual personal motives of colonization, we have records of the various populations of the English colonies in America. Although these records may not be wholly accurate, they are sufficiently so to give us some clue as to the information which we seek. These figures attain some significance when we keep in mind the fact that broadly

speaking those who settled in New England and Maryland did so for religious reasons and those who sought new homes in the other colonies had left the Mother Country primarily for reasons of economic adversity or the desire of self betterment.

In 1640 there were approximately sixteen thousand people living in New England and fifteen hundred living in Maryland.[1] Added together, this would make a total of slightly less than eighteen thousand people who had settled in colonies founded as places of religious refuge. When one takes into account the fact that many who came to Maryland were Protestant servants of Catholic gentlemen, this estimate dwindles slightly. At the same time there were possibly about ten thousand inhabitants in Virginia,[2] seventeen thousand in the Leeward Islands, and eighteen thousand in Barbados.[3] This adds up to a total of forty-five thousand as against the eighteen thousand who went to England and Maryland. Although we cannot say that all who emigrated to Virginia and the West Indies did so for economic reasons any more than we can surmise that all who went to New England and Maryland did so for religious reasons, the trend was sufficiently strong to suggest that the wide margin between the two totals indicates that the economic motive outweighed the religious in importance. In connection with this question, it must be remembered also that very possibly those who emigrated were unwilling to settle in New England owing to the religious restrictions which were prevalent there.

The fact that the English government wanted colonies as well as private individuals must not be overlooked, even though the state motives of colonization differed from those of private persons.

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1. J. T. Adams, "The Founding of New England", p. 120.
2. C. M. Andrews, "The Colonial Period of American History", Vol.I, p.237
3. J. T. Adams, op.cit. p. 121.

England had been caught up in the spirit of nationalism which was sweeping Europe during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Colonies would not only add to the national prestige but could also be put to use in threatening the Spanish monopoly over the New World. The desire to promote English trade, since that was recognized to be the backbone of prosperity, gripped merchant and statesmen alike. The mercantile system which was becoming increasingly popular demanded that England have her own source of raw materials with which to supply her young but growing industries. Thoughtful Englishmen firmly believed that America would make England economically independent. There naval stores, precious metals, potash, fish and many other articles vital for existence could be procured. Colonies took on great importance within the new, mercantilistic organization. Not only would they provide these materials, but in time to come when English manufacturers were ready to export, they could serve as markets, since most countries were raisingtrade barriers. The need for markets played a rather small role during the period with which we are concerned, however, as industrial development was still relatively small.

It must be remembered that although the English government was extremely interested in the founding of colonies, it never actually founded any itself. While it was recognized that colonies aided the state, they were more or less regarded as commercial undertakings. Although the government fostered and regulated colonial activities, it did not truly take part in them until Vriginia became a crown colony in 1629. This was partly owing to the fact that the treasuries of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I were limited and consequently the government could not bear the financial burden of colonial enterprise. Fortunately, the joint-stock companies and the proprietors stepped into the breach and

provided the agencies whereby all the colonies were founded and nursed along the road to permanency until the government was ready to take over.

This brings us to a final question; was English colonization the outcome of an acute economic depression? Leroy-Beaulieu seems to carry that impression for he wrote; "La colonisation anglaise eut donc pour origine une nécessité réele, une crise économique intense; ce fut une des causes de son succès et de son influence heureuse, tant sur la mère-patrie que sur les pays où elle se parta".[4] This idea is contradicted by the opinion of other historians of which Mr. A. P. Newton is one. Newton wrote that "It has been well said that revolts against tyranny arise, not when men are in the depths of misery, but when their prevailing prosperity is attacked. The Great Rebellion of the seventeenth century and the migration that preceded it, do something to bear out the truth of this statement, for the profound internal peace enjoyed by England for sixty years, had, by 1630, resulted in enormous progress in wealth and enlightenment. But while the nation as a whole was infinitely better off under Charles I than in the early days of Elizabeth, there was much in the condition of rural England to breed discontent in the hearts of the farming class."[5] It would appear that Nr. Newton comes closer to the truth in his analysis than does M. Leroy-Beaulieu. Although the agricultural classes as well as the lower classes in the urban districts were suffering heavily owing to the adverse economic developments, England in general and the commercial classes in particular were enjoying great prosperity as we noted in Chapter Three. If there had been no abundance of wealth, it would have been impossible for men of means to invest their money in the

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4. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, "Colonisation Chez les Peuples Modernes", Vol.I, p.90
5. A. O. Newton, "The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans, p.309

ventures of the joint-stock companies that were so influential in furthering English colonial development. Those needy people who wanted to go to America could never have financed their emigration themselves; without the aid of such concerns as the Company of Massachusetts Bay and the Virginia Company they would have been forced to remain in England. It would be more correct to say that English colonization was brought about by a surging and often chaotic era of transition: transition in the economic field which often brought hardship to the lower classes and prosperity to the upper orders of society, both of which combined to produce a colonial movement which helped to alleviate the troubles of the former and augment the good fortune of the latter. The transition in the affairs of religion and politics also served to increase the flow of people who sought respite from their troubles across the waters of the Atlantic.

Broadly speaking, the colonization of America might be called the final phase of the European Renaissance. That era, characterized by the Enlightenment and the Reformation, also helped to produce the rise of the national states, and it would seem that colonial empires provide a fitting sequel to nationalism. England was the last of the new nation-states to enter the field of colonization. Following the advice of Hakluyt and the other colonial propagandists, Englishmen set out on the long road that was to lead them to the foundation of their great North American empire. The year 1640 saw them well along the way, for the sixty-five thousand Englishmen who were then living on this side of the Atlantic testified to their success and to the need for colonial activity. The ensuing years would see the fulfillment of Hakluyt's hopes that the King of Spain "be abased". The eighteenth century would

witness the fall of New France on the Plains of Abraham which signalled the defeat of England's last great rival in the New World. English supremacy in North America was then firmly established. The aspirations of the Elizabethans were fulfilled; they had indeed "planted a nation where none before had stood".

THE END.

APPENDIX I.

A shilling was worth approximately two pence in 1500 and eight pence in 1600.

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