

MIGRATIONS OF AMERICAN COLONISTS.*

BY EDWARD EGGLESTON.

I.

THE DUTCH IN NEW NETHERLAND.

THERE is no story in American history more picturesque than the coming of the first Dutch vessel into American waters in 1609, about the time that John Smith left Jamestown. This venturesome ship was the *Half Moon*, commanded by Henry Hudson, a famous English sea-farer and explorer. He had already tried to sail to China by going directly across the North Pole itself, and had pushed farther into the great ice-barrier than any preceding navigator. He had in his time discovered some of those marvels of which the sea anciently had many, but which, alas! have quite vanished out of our commonplace and steamer-ridden world. One of these was a mermaid, with a body like a woman's, which on going down tossed in the air a "taylor which was like the taylor of a porpoise, and speckled like a macrell." The Dutch East India Company and Henry IV. of France strove to gain the services of the English captain, for the great "pilots" of that time were accustomed to hire themselves in the open market. Joining the Dutch, Hudson was sent to discover the way to China "around by the north side of Nova Zembla." Encountering insuperable obstacles almost at the outset of his voyage, he sailed to the westward, in violation of his orders, having, perhaps, a lurking desire to try that passage to the Pacific in latitude forty degrees which he found on a map newly sent to him out of Virginia by his friend Captain John Smith. After many adventures, and the discovery of Delaware Bay, we find Captain Hudson and his Dutch ship, in 1609, in sight of the Navesink Highlands. He carefully sounded his way across Sandy Hook bar, and anchored the *Half Moon* in the beautiful bay of New York. Here he found an abundance of fish, and the shores were adorned with "great and tall oaks." Wondering savages in garments of feather, deer-skin and furs crowded the deck of the vessel.

After a week's loitering in the lower bay he sailed through the Narrows admiring, as succeeding voyagers did, the loveliness of the banks and the fragrance which came from them. And so the *Half Moon* passed on into what is perhaps the finest river

of the world, the crew regarding with wonder the varying landscape as they sailed by the Palisades and then through the Highlands, and came at length to anchor in sight of the Catskills. On their way the Dutch trucked with the savages for beans and oysters, Indian corn, pumpkins, and tobacco. When Hudson went ashore "the swarthy natives all stood around, and sang in their fashion," dressed in the skins of foxes and other animals; their weapons were bows carrying arrows pointed with sharp stones, which were held in place by "hard rosin." Apparently "they had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, sometimes on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and sometimes on the leaves of trees," carrying all their goods with them when they journeyed. "They appear to be a friendly people," he says, but adds significantly that they "have a great propensity to steal, and are exceedingly adroit in carrying away whatever they fancy." On another occasion the captain went ashore in company with an old Indian; and found a band of forty men and seventeen women about a large wigwam of oak-bark, which contained a store of maize, or, as he calls it, "Turkish wheat." Two mats were spread in the wigwam for the visitors, and some food—probably mush or hominy—was served in a red wooden bowl, while a hunter was sent to shoot some game for the guest. He came back presently with a brace of pigeons, which the hospitable savages supplemented by a fat dog killed in haste and skinned with shells from the river shore.

After ascending the river, to the neighborhood of the present city of Hudson, or, as some compute, to Albany, and then sending a boat higher up, the navigator reluctantly concluded, perhaps, that the South Sea could not be found at the head of the "Great River," and so turned about and descended first to Newburg Bay, and then, when he had caught a favorable wind, passed through the somber Highland passes. He got a taste of Indian hostilities on the lower river, and at length sailed out to sea, one month after entering the outer bay. Disappointed of his principal object, he had achieved immortality without knowing it.

Possessed by the South Sea mania, the adventurous Hudson did not care to waste



DUTCH SHIPPING IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY. FROM VAN DER VELDE'S PAINTING, "A VIEW ON THE RIVER Y." AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY BRAUN & CO.

his time in exploring farther the new land and great river that he had found, but perished the next year through the treachery of his crew in that vast northern bay which also bears his name. He had gone thither after the much-sought passage to China and Japan, to which geographical jack-o'-lantern he was one of the last martyrs. Short cuts to the South Sea, and porpoise-tailed mermaids, passed out of fashion at about the same time. The *Half Moon*, however, with part of her old crew, returned to the Great River the year after the discovery; white men and red men were glad to greet each other again, and the beaver trade prospered from that time.

In 1613 the ship of Captain Adrian Block was burned near the island of Manhattan. Like a true Dutch child of the sea, the *shipper* set about building a new one, erecting first three or four huts for his men on the lower point of the island, which temporary cabins were probably the earliest European habitations on the site of New York. Here, fed by the kindness of the savages, he constructed and launched the little yacht *Oonrust*, or *Restless*, of sixteen tons. In this he boldly ventured the untried whirlpools of Hell-gate, and so passed through the unexplored

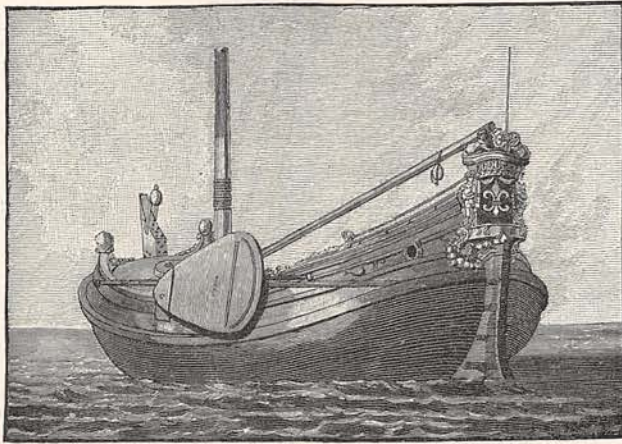
Long Island Sound to Montauk Point, and thence to the triangular island still called by Block's name. The *Restless* continued her voyage around Cape Cod, and sailed along the wild coast to Nahant Bay, beyond Boston Harbor, which point is made on Block's map to be the utmost limit of the New Netherlands. The territory beyond was conceded to France. On his return voyage, he entered the "Fresh" River, (the Quonehtacut of the savages, and the Connecticut of our time), and ascended it to the rapids above Hartford.

Meantime, a small redoubt had been built on Castle Island, near the present city of Albany, to protect the most advanced fur-market of the Dutch. But the greater part of the Dutch trade was for years carried on in ships and small vessels, which served at once for houses, forts, and means of transportation. On the ship's deck, cloth, rum, beads, knives, hatchets, awls, hoes, and even fire-arms, were bartered for beaver skins and other furs. The center of this traffic was at the lower end of Manhattan Island, and thus, after a while, the foundation of the commercial metropolis of North America was laid in trade.

In 1621, the year after the pilgrims settled

at Plymouth, the great Dutch West India Company was chartered, and given, with many other privileges, a monopoly of trade and government in the Dutch possessions in America. Immediately on the completion of the organization of the company in 1623, New Netherland in America was erected into a province, with the armorial bearings of a count. The beaver naturally held a central place in its arms, for by the beaver trade it

miles long on the Delaware, and all the region about Fort Orange, or Albany, were quickly bought up from the Indians by directors of the company speculating in their own interest. This tempting plan caused to be projected many unsuccessful and some successful colonies. The feudal system thus established survived the fall of the Dutch power; the great manors and the anti-rent riots of a later period were results of the



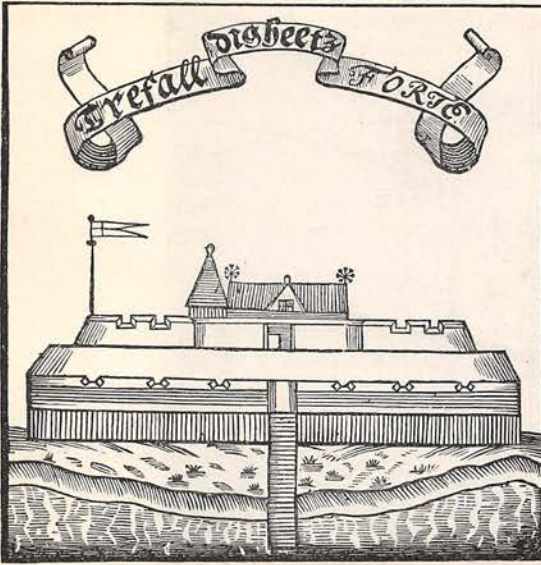
DUTCH YACHT OF 1612. PROBABLE FORM OF THE "RESTLESS." FROM CHARNÖCK'S "MARINE ARCHITECTURE."

lived. A colony was dispatched in this same year. The first settlers of New York, like the beginners of the less commercial colonies, were refugees from persecution, the greater part of the first thirty families being Walloons, — Protestants expelled from the provinces of Belgium, adjacent to France, and speaking the old French language; indeed, a great part of these so-called Walloons appear to have been Huguenots from Rochelle, Rouen, Paris, and elsewhere. About eighteen families were settled near the projected Fort Orange, on the present site of Albany; four newly married couples were dispatched to the Delaware, or, as they called it, the "South River"; two families and six men were sent to the Connecticut, and eight men were planted on Manhattan Island.

The Netherlands were at this period prosperous, and their government was liberal, so that well-to-do Dutchmen were probably not inclined to emigrate, and the peasant tenants were unable to do so. While the English were generally bringing the poorer class to the colonies in a state of limited servitude, the Dutch company met the difficulty by its liberal grant of semi-monarchical powers to *patroons*, or large buyers of land, who should establish colonies at their own expense in New Netherlands. Vast slices of New Jersey, all of Staten Island in a piece, a tract thirty-two

Dutch patroonships. The device of granting large manors served to plant the country, though in but a thin and inadequate way, and it worked evil to New Netherland by founding an order of territorial lords, whose trading interests brought them into commercial rivalry with the company, and whose rights of government weakened the State. Besides the authority granted them by the charter of their order, the patroons set up a claim to exclusive jurisdiction in their territories as "successors to the lord Sachems," from whom they had bought their land. The system of patroonships was one of the causes, and the fur trade was the other, that served to scatter the Dutch colonists so widely that the West India Company's power in America crumbled with slight resistance when once the English chose to assail it with force. The Dutch and French spread the ramifications of their trading companies over vast regions, but neither the one nor the other could resist the closely settled agricultural colonies of the English, which were able to present a serried front to enemies.

The first Dutch block-house on the Delaware was called Fort Nassau, and was a little below the present city of Philadelphia, on the Jersey side of the river. But this settlement was considered too weak, and the four young married couples, who had been sent in 1623 to begin the population of the country,



TRINITY FORT. ORIGINALLY FORT CASIMIR. FAC-SIMILE OF AN OLD PRINT IN CAMPANIUS'S "NEW SWEDEN," BY PERMISSION OF THE LIBRARY SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

the dead chief while at work in the field. When patroon De Vries sailed into the Delaware in 1632, to look after his colony, the river had no European occupant remaining alive, though twenty-three years had elapsed since Hudson's discovery, and eighteen since the little yacht *Restless* had explored its waters. After this the Dutch seem to have attended but sluggishly to their trade in the South River, until it found powerful rival claimants, who were able to hold their own against the Hollanders for seventeen years.

II.

THE RISE AND FALL OF NEW SWEDEN.

AMONG the many plans for Swedish enlargement entertained by the bold imagination of the great King Gustavus Adolphus, was that of planting a new Sweden in America, and organizing at the same time a powerful West

were removed to Manhattan, where after some years enough people were concentrated under the walls of Fort Amsterdam to make a petty village, which so late as 1641 contained but two hundred and fifty people, though it was then considered "a clever little town, which went on increasing day by day."

In 1631, influenced by the tempting offers to patroons, the famous sea-farer and writer of interesting "voyages," David Pieterzen de Vries and his partners took up lands on Lewiston Creek, in Delaware, and had built there a brick house for the protection of a colony of thirty people, which he called Swanendael, "the Vale of Swans." In the spirit of solemn and childish ceremony, so characteristic of the age, the settlers erected a column, and hung upon it a piece of tin emblazoned with the arms of the States-General. A simple-minded Indian chief, with a savage's love of trinkets and a Spartan passion for theft, purloined the glittering toy and hung it about his neck, where it served perhaps for ornament, breast-plate, and amulet. The stupid commander whom De Vries had sent with his people took this theft for an act of hostility against their High Mightinesses the States-General. He made so much of it that some of the Indians killed the offender and delivered his head to appease the angry Dutchman, who was frightened enough when he saw what was done. The farce had now turned to tragedy which found swift completion in the total destruction of the colonists, who were massacred by the friends of

India company which might serve to enlarge the commerce of his kingdom, propagate the Lutheran faith, and aid him in his struggle against the Catholic powers. The enthusiastic young king called this projected colony "the jewel of his kingdom," and urged "high and low to contribute something to the company according to their means." He himself gave four hundred thousand dollars; the queen dowager, the highest nobility, and all the civil and military officers followed the royal example, and the project became an object of patriotic enthusiasm. The king forbade slavery in the new colony: "Slaves cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and perish with hard usage," he said. "The Swedish nation is industrious and intelligent, and we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children." The stock was open to all Europe. The colony was to be a refuge for Protestants of every nation, and "a benefit to the whole world," and the company was vaguely authorized to trade "in Asia, Africa, and the Straits of Magellan."

But the thoughts of Gustavus were engrossed with warlike concerns, and he fell in the battle of Lützen in 1632, without seeing the beginning of New Sweden. It was only five years after his death that the Swedish Company dispatched its first colonists to America. Peter Minuit, who had been director of the Dutch colony at Manhattan and had lost or left his place, now gave the benefit of his experience and knowledge to the Swedish colony, of which he was the first governor.



PETRUS STUYVESANT. FROM A PAINTING FROM LIFE, IN POSSESSION OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On his arrival in the Delaware, in 1638, he allayed the suspicions of the Dutch authorities at Manhattan by giving out that his company was on the way to the West Indies, and had only stopped in the South River to refresh themselves and take in wood and water. But the planting of some garden herbs, and the erection of a "fort" near the present city of Wilmington, soon revealed his intention to remain. The Swedish colony was very small, but as the Dutch Governor, in the usual fashion of the Dutch governors, fired nothing at them more dangerous than formal protests, their Fort Christiana was soon completed. By the knowledge Minuit had acquired in his government of New Netherland, he managed with liberal presents to draw the greater part of the fur trade of the South River to his new fort, so that the Swedish vessels returned with valuable cargoes.

A portion of the first comers were transported bandits, but the colonists opposed the sending of such convicts, and at last forced a ship laden with them to return. The Swedish Government thereupon ordered that no more convicts should be sent, "lest Almighty God

should let his vengeance fall on the ships and goods and the virtuous people on board." With the Swedes came also some nomadic Finns, who dwelt for long years after the fall of New Sweden in villages of their own. The new settlers pushed their trade with vigor, often making wearisome journeys on foot into the Iroquois country, carrying packs of goods for barter over rough mountain trails. The traffic in furs and the culture of tobacco were their sources of prosperity; they lived in log or clay huts, and dressed in leathern breeches, wore "jerkins" or jackets, and, instead of cloaks, donned the "match-coats," or dark blankets of coarse woolen cloth, such as were sold to the Indians. The most prominent article in the dress of the Swedish women was the linsey petticoat.

New Sweden was short-lived, and the seventeen years of its life were full of trouble and wrangling with the Dutch. Printz, one of the Swedish governors, is remembered as a violent man, weighing four hundred pounds, and cursing the English who had intruded into the Delaware, as "runnagates." When the Dutch urged that they had preceded the

III.

LORD BALTIMORE'S COLONY.

Swedes in the South River, the huge Printz rejoined sardonically "that the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but that he now and then admitted a younger one." His foolish successor, Rysingh, in 1654, seized the Dutch Fort Casimir, and the next year Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Netherland, in slow and solemn fashion mustered a force of six or seven hundred men and a fleet of seven vessels of one sort and another. A day of fasting had been observed in New Amsterdam, and the sailing, which was on a Sunday, did not take place until "after sermon." Dominic Megapolensis, the clergyman, accompanied the expedition which was to "render the province prosperous and successful, to the glory of God's name." In twenty days the loss of Fort Casimir had been gloriously avenged, and the Swedes were brought wholly into subjection to their High Mightinesses the States-General and the Honorable Dutch West India Company. In this, as in most of the wars in New Netherland, no Christian blood was shed. It was only a matter of bluster, of firing guns overhead, pillaging settlers, and sending drummers to demand the surrender of beleaguered block-houses.

Most of the people of New Sweden remained as subjects of the Dutch Government and were with the Dutch surrendered to the English, nine years after their subjugation. In 1693, those of them who remained together and used their own tongue, numbered

BEFORE the Swedes reached their New Sweden, a colony of English had been planted on the waters of the Potomac. It was the first English plantation to grant toleration to Roman Catholics, as well as to other Christian bodies, and the only English colony ever planted under Catholic auspices. When once the Mayflower party had shown that a red heathen might be a better neighbor than an enraged fellow-Christian, there were many glad to follow their example. Puritans were not the only ones to learn the lesson, but victims of puritan laws as well,—Hutchinsonians, Gortonians, the despised Anabaptists and the detested Quakers discovered that the American wilderness was large enough for more than one kind of religious refugees; and even the abhorred English Papist followed the open highway over seas.

In 1621, the year after the landing of the pilgrims, George Calvert, afterward Lord Baltimore, planted the colony of Avalon in Newfoundland under a patent from James I. Wearied with the northern winter, and discouraged by the continual peril to which his settlement was exposed from proximity to the French, he sailed with his family, in 1629, to Virginia, in which colony he had been interested as a stock-holder, or "adventurer,"



ST. CLEMENT'S, NOW HERON ISLAND. FIRST LANDING-PLACE OF THE MARYLAND COLONISTS.

one thousand, and the kingdom of Sweden supplied them with ministers for a century afterward, until the use of the language had died out among their increasing posterity. Charles XII., in his most engrossing campaigns, did not forget this obscure little mission in America, which was all that remained of the dream of a New Sweden, in which Gustavus Adolphus had taken so much pleasure.

as such investors were then called. The overzealous Virginia churchmen forthwith exacted of him that he take the oath of supremacy, by which he was required to acknowledge Charles I. as an island pope, supreme governor "in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things." Refusing this, Baltimore returned to England, and took an exquisite revenge in procuring from the king a grant of a liberal slice off the south side of Virginia, embracing



GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE. FROM A PORTRAIT PRESENTED TO THE STATE OF MARYLAND BY JOHN W. GARRETT, ESQ.

the territory from the James River to what is now the middle of North Carolina. So vehement was the opposition of the enraged Virginians that his lordship relinquished this grant and took instead other Virginian territory lying north of the Potomac. This he called Maryland in honor of the queen of Charles I. Before any colonists had been sent out, the first Baron Baltimore died, and the enterprise fell to his son Cecilius, the second of the title, who dispatched his brother Leonard Calvert, with a colony, in 1633.

In its motive and mainspring, the first Maryland settlement was Roman Catholic. The non-Catholics in Calvert's company were for the most part people of no great consequence, and without strong religious convictions or purposes, while the Catholic portion of the emigrants were in fiery earnest, and having on their side the lord proprietor, his brother the Governor, and several enthusiastic

and able Jesuit priests, were the dominant, as they were possibly, at the very first, the more numerous party. The large ship in which they crossed the flood to a new world was called the *Ark*, the pinnace by her side was the *Dove*, and the two were solemnly placed "under the protection of God, imploring the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels of Maryland." In the itineraries of the Puritans who came to Massachusetts at this time, when allusions are made to the Spanish islands the names are religiously shorn of the prefix "Saint." But the Marylanders made a geographical diary of their progress through the Chesapeake and Potomac by attaching to islands and rivers the names of the appropriate saints in the Roman calendar. On St. Clement's Island, where they made their first landing, they erected a cross with solemn ceremonies and great emotion.

Calvert planted his first settlement of St. Mary's on a tributary which enters the Potomac near its mouth. This became immediately a center of missionary activity on the part of the tireless and adventurous Jesuits, who sailed up and down the water-ways of the wilderness in a little boat, sending home every year "relations" which are filled with expressions of intense devotion, picturesque stories of missionary labor, and an admixture of marvelous occurrences such as one often finds in religious writing of the seventeenth century, when miracles had not yet gone out of vogue with either Catholics or Protestants.

The early governors of Maryland were required by the proprietor to take oath that they would not "trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ," on account of his religion. Besides Claiborne's old settlement of Virginians on Kent Island, which preceded that at St. Mary's, and for a long time resisted the proprietary's authority, there were soon thousands of Protestants from Virginia and England settled under the Baltimore charter, so that the Catholics were at length but a small minority. The Puritans, hunted out of Virginia by Sir William Berkeley, found Maryland a congenial refuge; and in about twenty years after Governor Calvert's landing at St. Mary's, the ultra-Protestant element, inflamed by the bitter conflict of parties in England, became sufficiently powerful to overturn for a time the proprietary government, and expel the priests from the province, sending one in irons to England, and compelling others to hide in cave-houses in Virginia.

The exclusive spirit prevalent in Virginia and New England produced colonies homogeneous in nationality and faith, but the hospitality of Maryland institutions early brought churchmen and Puritans from Virginia and New England, while Dutch and Swedes came from the Delaware into its northern districts. Irish and Scotch brought the machinery of sessions and presbyteries to the Eastern shore; Quakers came freely to propagate their doctrines; Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, in small numbers, were mingled with these, and French exiles from Acadie found here a refuge where they might erect a Roman Catholic altar.

IV.

THE NEW ENGLAND DISPERSION.

In six years after the great Massachusetts migration of 1630, under John Winthrop, there began a new movement to the parts of New England beyond the limits of the Mas-

sachusetts charter. As Virginia was the hive from which the Southern colonies drew population, so Massachusetts was the prolific mother of New England. Its population increased rapidly during the first years, the immigrants usually grouping themselves around some favorite minister; for the peculiar circumstances of the great Puritan migration made the "teaching elders," or ministers, the dominant class, and gave them an ascendancy almost inconceivable in our less religious time. Men and women of high intelligence left their homes and undertook a tedious and dangerous ocean voyage that they might be edified by the words of some revered preacher exiled to the wilds of Massachusetts Bay. The colonists thus gathered themselves into communities, and sometimes changed their places of abode, according to their affection for Higginson or Warham, Cotton or Hooker. An attractive minister served better to replenish a town than fertility of soil or convenience of situation.

The famous Thomas Hooker, of Newtown, now the city of Cambridge, was called the Luther of New England, while John Cotton, of Boston, was its gentler Melancthon. Mr. Hooker's people and others complained that they had not room enough in which to pasture their cattle, and so could not adequately support their ministers. We need not conclude that there was an open rivalry between the two divines, in order to understand the motives that lay below this discontent with the restricted cow-pastures of Cambridge. Cotton had been the adviser of Winthrop's company before they left England; he was at the capital with a large and influential following; his ideas were in the ascendant in church and state. Hooker, perhaps, found in Massachusetts no room for the ideals which he, too, wished to realize on virgin soil. "Nature doth not allow two suns in one firmament," says Hubbard, the old historian. After some resistance, Hooker's people got leave to remove to the "Fresh River," which they did in 1636, suffering bitter hardships in beginning the colony of Connecticut by settling what is now the city of Hartford. Warham, another influential minister, of Dorchester, in Massachusetts, was over a church which had organized itself, and formally installed its pastor just before setting sail from Plymouth in England, and which now made its second removal in a body, under the guidance of its minister, to Windsor, on the Connecticut River. Wethersfield and Springfield were settled at about the same time.

A government so austere, and a clerical domination so entire, as that in Massachusetts,

could not but find dissentients. It was no more possible for Puritan ministers and magistrates to secure uniformity by repression, than it had been for Laud to achieve the same result in England. About the time of the setting forth of the first pioneers to the Connecticut, Roger Williams, a disinterested and lovable young man, erratic and somewhat contentious, was forced to fly from Massachusetts into the frozen wilderness in winter, in consequence of having maintained the liberty of the human conscience, and the sinfulness of the patent by which the King had presumed to give away the lands of the Indians, as well as some other doctrines more absurd, but which were thought nearly as dangerous. Befriended by savages, for whom he had performed kindly offices, and guided by advice privately sent him by Winthrop of Massachusetts, and Winslow of Plymouth, the outcast Williams got a patent that satisfied his conscience from the original savage land-owners, and settled on Narragansett Bay, calling his new plantation Providence.

About this time the theological people on Massachusetts Bay were disturbed even more than by the Pequot war by the doctrines of the so-called Antinomians of Boston, followers of the eloquent mystic, Mrs. Hutchinson, who denied the resurrection of the body, and held some other opinions, most of which, in this less speculative time, would pass for harmless and rather incomprehensible nonsense. Both parties became embittered, and the Hutchinsonians were cast out with a reprobation harsh enough for malefactors. A portion of these settled in 1637 on the island of Aquidneck, which had been called by the Dutch "Roode"—that is, red—Island. This colony was afterward united with the Providence plantation in forming the colony of Rhode Island. Others of the Hutchinsonians joined the settlements in New Hampshire, which, with the "district" of Maine, received frequent accessions from Massachusetts.

The grouping into churches, and the dominance of the minister, gave form to most of the New England migrations. Cotton wrote to Davenport, an exiled minister of great reputation living in Holland, that the order of the churches and commonwealth in New England, "brought into his mind the new heaven and the new earth." But, when the learned and pious Davenport arrived in Boston, he thought that even the new heaven and the new earth of Massachusetts might be improved by incorporating certain rigid ideas of his own in matters of church-membership and of refusing baptism to the infant children of the unregenerate, as well as by the establishment of a civil order "more strictly in ac-



JOHN DAVENPORT. FROM A PAINTING IN YALE COLLEGE.

cordance with the word of God." He sailed with his company, in 1638, to Quinnipiack, west of the Connecticut River, where they planted the colony, which they called New Haven. After a separate existence of twenty-seven years this little colony, in 1665, with reluctance became part of Connecticut, and lost by degrees the peculiarities which Davenport and Eaton, its first religious teacher and its earliest governor, had impressed upon it.

Thus, the planting of all the New England States, except the inland Vermont, was begun in less than twenty years after the forlorn beginning at Plymouth. It was estimated, by one who had the best means of knowing, that not more than twenty thousand people came to New England in the twelve years from 1628 to 1640. After that period those who returned exceeded those who came. Yet, in spite of destructive wars with the Indians and French, and large emigrations to other colonies, there were, a hundred and thirty years later, about five hundred thousand people in New England; so rapidly did this temperate and hardy race increase in a new land.

V.

THE ENGLISH AND THE DUTCH. FALL OF NEW NETHERLAND.

BETWEEN Maryland and New England, after the fall of the little New Sweden,

nothing intervened but the Dutch government of New Netherland, which stretched its jurisdiction from the lands on both sides of the Bay of Delaware to the Connecticut Valley, and inland beyond Fort Orange on the site of Albany to the wigwams of wandering traders in the hamlets of the Five Nations. But the inflexible Puritan on the north, and the adventurous Maryland Leather-stocking on the south, were ever evoking the ancient shade of Sebastian Cabot to disturb the repose of the Directors-General at New Amsterdam. The slender population of the Dutch territory lacked national unity; it had been brought, indeed, out of almost every nation under the whole heavens. Director Kieft told Father Jogues, in 1643, that eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam,—the little Babel that has grown into the greater one of New York. At the close of the Dutch rule in 1664, there were about ten thousand Europeans in all New Netherland, and fifteen hundred of these dwelt in and about the village at the lower end of Manhattan Island. The rest were remote or wandering traders, scattered farmers, and liegemen of the patroons. Everything in the shape of a village languished, and life was well-nigh stagnant in so sparse a population. Bergen, for example, was a huddle of farmers who lived together for protection. It had its petty court, and after a long while a saw-mill; and about twenty-four years after the settlement of the place, the inhabitants, in an interval of wakefulness, formally resolved that a well should be digged.

The Dutch could never hold their own on the Connecticut River, of which they were the discoverers and the actual occupants, when traders from Plymouth first, and the Massachusetts emigrants under Hooker and Warham soon afterward, settled beside their fort called "The House of Good Hope." The English claimed the country for no better reason than that Cabot, in 1598, had mistaken some part of the American coast for "the territory of the Grand Cham" in Asia. The Dutch, in English eyes, were "always mere intruders," and "interlopers who had fallen into the middle between Virginia and New England." The war between them and the Puritans on the Connecticut was a contest of diplomatic bluster and petty squabbles. The Dutch were accused of doing such unneighborly things as the harboring of runaway servants. If we may believe the other side, the English impounded the cattle of the Dutch for trespass, and harvested crops which the Netherlanders had sown on disputed ground. A Dutchman sowing a hatful of barley on

ground claimed by the Connecticut people was knocked down with an adze, and other such measures were taken as characterize neighborhood feuds rather than international conflicts. There were endless complaints and pettifogging maneuvers. After twenty years of this bickering, the West India Company was quite crowded out of its early trading ground on the Fresh River. Then, by one judicious encroachment after another, the slow-going and peace-loving Dutch were pushed yet farther back from the Connecticut, and on Long Island, by the oncoming current of teeming and aggressive New England population.

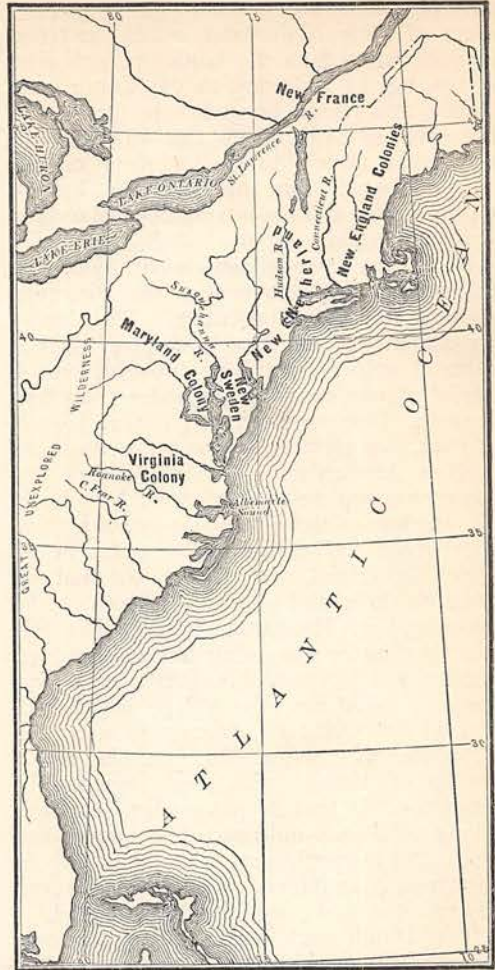
On their other flank, the Dutch were equally harassed by the English. As early as 1634, an English explorer, Thomas Young, sailed up the Delaware to find the great lake at its head and a Mediterranean Sea beyond, of which the Indians had spoken. In the following year, some of Claiborne's adventurous people from Kent Island in the Chesapeake seized the vacant Fort Nassau, but they were in turn seized by the Dutch and set down again, "pack and sack," at Old Point Comfort. Sir Edmund Plowden, a fine specimen of the visionary land speculator of two centuries and a half ago, secured a grant under the seal of Ireland and boasted a colony somewhere in the region within Cape May, though the published accounts of it are so full of biographical and geographical mysteries and incongruities that the very existence of such a colony at any time has been questioned. If Sir Edmund's claim to have made a settlement in the New Jersey country is not a pure fabrication, some of the English who disturbed both Swedes and Dutch in 1641 may have been subjects of the government of "the right honorable Lord Edmund, by Divine Providence Lord Proprietor, Earl Palatine, Governor and Captain General of the province of New Albion." His was an enterprise in which small investors were promised "two for one," with good land thrown in; for did not the territory of the right honorable Sir Edmund "possess alabaster, plaster of Paris, pudding and slate stone, store of timber, clear fields, meads and woods, and no Indians neer"? There were also "rich lead mines containing silver tried," and these most luckily were "in an uninhabited desert; no Christians or Indians near it; where elkes, staggas and deer are most quiet, most fat and not disturbed"; while there were "whole warrens of sweet muskrat," and to put a climax to it, a "camel mare" had been seen by the head of Chesapeake River, "of which three hundred miles west there are stores." The spring waters

in New Albion were "as good as small beere" in England, and there were "bufaloes" which were to be used for saddle-beasts besides being "brought to draw and plowe and be milked."

It is probable that none of the English in the Delaware region were of Plowden's planting; for in 1640 and 1641 the New Haven people made purchases and set up houses in the South River; and these were, doubtless, the English expelled or brought into submission by the combined force of the Dutch and Swedes in 1642 or 1643. An expedition from Boston, seeking the "great lake" by way of the Delaware, was sent back by the Swedes in 1644. The New Haven people were persistent in the vain attempt to plant in the Delaware so late as 1655, and the English on Long Island continued to smuggle goods and wampum into that river until the termination of the Dutch dominion, while the proprietary government of Maryland added to the discomfort of the Dutch by pressing a claim to a considerable portion of the territory occupied by their Delaware settlement.

The rather hollow shell of Dutch occupancy was pressed on all sides by the eager New Englanders. A party from New Haven, in 1661, sought permission to settle in New Jersey under the Dutch, if they might at the same time preserve their own church order, exclude whom they pleased from their community, and punish certain sins of impurity with the death penalty. This last proviso seemed dreadful to the authorities of lax New Amsterdam, which would have suffered decimation under a code so severe; but the Dutch West India Company, to whom the case was referred, greatly desired settlers, and was willing to concede that the Puritans might execute the laws of Moses on their own people, provided that no Dutchman living in the Puritan towns should be held to so strict an account for offenses about which "the laws of our fatherland use some connivance." There were many New England emigrants who, from one ground or other of discontent with the severity of the administration of law in the eastern colonies, found refuge in the New Netherlands and swore allegiance to the States-General; and there were others who, believing in Sebastian Cabot's title, perhaps, endeavored to buy land of the Indians and make an independent settlement in New Jersey.

It was inevitable that England should sooner or later seize the Dutch colony, not because of Cabot's discovery, or of the early Virginia charters, which were but poor pretexts, but because the great fertile middle region was important to the unity and defense



SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XVII. CENTURY.

of the English colonies, and chiefly because England was strong enough to lay hold of it. In September, 1664, in time of peace, the little capital on Manhattan Island was surprised, overawed, and captured by an English fleet. The subjugation of the whole of New Netherland quickly followed, and the middle territory was thrown open to English settlers. This vast region had been granted, previous to its capture, to the Duke of York, afterward James II., but he had early transferred New Jersey to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and it was soon after divided into East and West Jersey. As the Jersey governments were more liberal than that founded by the duke in his own territory of New York, the New Englanders settled in large numbers in East Jersey.

Next to New England, the proprietors of East Jersey looked to Scotland for immi-



THE EARLIEST PICTURE OF NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1650. FROM AN ORIGINAL COPY OF VAN DER DUNCK'S MAP.

grants, especially during the time of the Episcopal intrusion, when the apostolical succession of bishops was borne in upon the Presbyterian conscience by imprisonments, gibbets, thumb-screws, mutilations, massacres, ravishing of women, and drowning in the tide. Robert Barclay, the famous Quaker, was appointed governor, though he did not reside in America. Many Scotch emigrants flocked to the province, and many others were carried thither without any volition of their own. In 1666 it was ordained that, of the Scotch rebels, the ministers and officers should be hanged; one in ten "of the common sort" was to be hanged; one in ten "forced to confession," and the rest sent to the plantations. Yet there were ministers among those shipped as convict servants to East Jersey.

VI.

THE QUAKER MIGRATION.

BUT the movement to America between the restoration of Charles and the sending of James "on his travels" may be called the Quaker migration, so large an element in it were the followers of Fox and Penn. In 1664 the hackneyed methods of persecuting this fanatically patient people had been varied by sending sixty of them to America in one vessel. It may have been from such deportations that the Friends themselves caught the idea of emigration in large bodies. Certain it is that the authorities at home gave them reason enough to wish to get out of England. Even before Barclay's appointment to the governorship they began to come into East Jersey; and when Byllinge, Fenwick, Penn, and other well-known Friends became proprietors of West Jersey, a tide set in toward the Delaware River which soon became a Quaker exodus. One large company of these Quaker emigrants to West Jersey, sailing down the Thames in 1677, encountered the pleasure-barge of Charles II., whereupon the profligate king, surrounded by dissolute courtiers, condescended to give his royal benedic-

tion to the devout refugees from the tyranny of his own government. It was in West Jersey that Quakerism, which was a religious democracy, for the first time had an opportunity to frame laws. "We put the government in the hands of the people," said Penn.

One result of the West Jersey colony was that it served to interest the practical mind of William Penn in schemes of American colonization. Next to Fox, Penn was the most influential of the early Friends. It was not the amiable enthusiast, but his most eminent disciple, Penn, who first exemplified that union of piety and zeal with worldly shrewdness which marks the prevalent Quaker type of recent times. The son of Admiral Penn, and the favorite of two monarchs, William Penn was an aristocratic figure in the despised Society, but no Friend of humble origin was more ready than he to bear the brunt of persecution and contumely. Capable of generous self-sacrifice, he was also a shrewd and politic guardian of his own interests, and a careful observer of his own dignity, not neglectful of the pomp and state proper to a lord proprietary. Preaching in humble conventicles and associating with illiterate and often fanatical people, he was none the less an adroit courtier, and rendered many services to the Society and to himself by his influence with those in power, to acquire and maintain which must have necessitated a suppleness somewhat incongruous with his leadership in a despised and inflexible sect.

Penn found it a difficult task to collect sixteen thousand pounds due from the royal treasury to his father. His address and perseverance were well matched by Charles's reluctance and dilatoriness. But there lay the unappreciated wilds of America, with which the Quaker leader had now become acquainted. After much solicitation he secured for his debt the ownership and lordship of a forest large enough for a small kingdom, paying a fealty of two beaver-skins yearly. This new province the king named Pennsylvania, in honor of Penn's father, the admiral. Fearing that the world would attribute the name to a vanity inconsistent with his sanctity,

Penn offered a bribe to an under-secretary to change it, but in vain. The "public Friend" had become feudal lord of Pennsylvania and Delaware. When he arrived in America, the key of the fort at Newcastle was delivered to him; with this he locked himself in and afterward let himself out. A turf with a twig upon it was then handed to him, and a porringer of river-water; and thus, in ancient feudal form, Delaware was transferred.

The "first landers" of Penn's new colony arrived at the site of Philadelphia in 1681, and spent the winter in caves which they dug in the river-bank for temporary shelter. While the women and children dwelt in these dingy holes, the men traveled up and down the streams and through the untracked woods selecting land. But the Friends endured hardships in the same temper as that shown by religious refugees in the earlier colonies. "Our view," says one of them, two years later, "was to have freedom of worship, and to live in greater simplicity and innocency on a virgin elysian shore, and to give thousands of dark souls to civilization and piety." Not only did the Friends seek to escape from an unendurable persecution, but they seem to have been terrified at the wickedness of England and her rulers, and to have fled from coming judgments of the Almighty as the Puritans had done before them. Some years after Penn's beginning, a prophet arose in the Friends' meetings in London, who was moved by an inward power to predict judgments of sword, famine, and pestilence against England, and, as if this were not enough, he proclaimed also an earthquake that should lay the greater part of London "in rubbish and ruins."

Penn's renown brought nearly thirty vessels laden with two thousand emigrants to the Delaware in the first year of the settlement. The most of these were Friends from various parts of England, Wales, and Ireland, but there were some German and Dutch Quakers from places on the Continent in which Penn had preached. The Swedes, who were the old settlers, welcomed the Friends with joy, and carried their goods up the steep river-bank. The new-comers scattered themselves from the Delaware counties all the way to the falls at Trenton. When Penn returned to England in 1684, he left seven thousand people in his dominions, though there were then but three hundred houses. Many of the people were yet, no doubt, in wigwams and in caves cut in the sandy banks.

VII.

THE PEOPLING OF CAROLINA.

THE rush from Europe in this period of the restored Stuarts, and of the persecution

of Protestants on the Continent, replenished most of the colonies, but chiefly those in which religious toleration was liberally granted. Such were the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and such were the Carolinas, which had their rise in this movement. Charles II. was ready enough to give to friends and favorites lands in America which could not be made tributary to royal dissipations. He satisfied the greed of his brother with the territories which the Dutch had been at so much pains to occupy for fifty years. To Penn, at a later period, he trucked Pennsylvania to be rid of an importunate creditor. About the time of the grant to the Duke of York he bestowed on certain courtiers the country south of Virginia, which in his honor they called Carolina. Religion being a fashionable outer garment, the preamble to the Carolina charter assigns a motive for this gift to a knot of avaricious favorites in these words: "The grantees being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, or only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God."

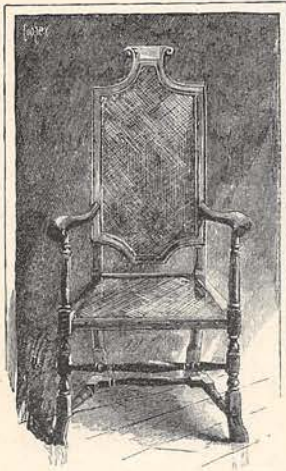
Having procured the territory, the next care, from a practical stand-point, would have been to people it. But visionary and utopian ideas tinged almost all schemes of American colonization, and one of the proprietors, Lord Ashley, afterward the first Earl of Shaftesbury, was the friend and patron of the famous John Locke. What more natural in that age than to ask the philosopher to project a scheme of laws and institutions for Carolina? Never were speculative legislators luckier than Locke and Shaftesbury; here was a virgin province ready to hand, with no useless lumber of antiquated institutions in the way. A set of fundamental laws was therefore prepared, as in a vacuum, for a people whose origin, character, and circumstances were wrapped in the darkness of the future. The unexplored acres of the Carolina wilderness were distributed in rectangular tracts to orders of noblemen yet unknown, who were to be called palatines, landgraves, and caciques. So perfect did the framers of this cumbrous system account it that they made it unchangeable and perpetual; but its feeble and qualified existence did not outlast a single generation.

It would not be quite correct to say that there were no inhabitants in the territory for which these ponderous constitutions were intended, for pioneers can cut down trees, build huts and plant corn-patches without the advice of philosophers. The constitutions conferred upon the wilderness an admiral; a chamberlain to look after ceremonies, fashions,

and heraldry; a constable with lieutenant-generals, and other such great dignitaries; but before any of these were thought of, and before the grant had been made to the lords-proprietors, a few settlers had pushed off to the rivers flowing into Albemarle Sound, under the lead of one Roger Green, to whom the Virginia Legislature, in 1653, voted a thousand acres of land for his "charge, hazard, and trouble" in opening the country. This pioneer settlement became a convenient resort for persecuted dissenters and embarrassed debtors who wished to place the Dismal Swamp between them and the operation of the Virginia laws. About 1660 a colony of New England people settled near Cape Fear. The Indians, having suspected them of a design to kidnap their children under pretense of converting them, became hostile, and the additional discouragement of a poor soil caused the settlers to abandon their cattle and leave the coast, posting a warning to all future comers against settling a land so infertile. These were followed in 1663 by a company from Barbadoes, under Sir John Yeamans; a part of whom deserted the country in 1667, some going to Virginia and others to New England. The proprietors added, in 1670, a new colony at



WILLIAM PENN, FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF PHILADELPHIA.



WILLIAM PENN'S CHAIR, IN INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

Port Royal. This last one soon removed to the neighborhood of Charleston, which city was founded in 1680. Carolina was thus begun by three weak and widely separated settlements.

The difficulties of the new colony in the southern part of the province were aggravated by the incongruity of its elements. The bankrupt and dissolute Cavaliers hated and domineered over the rigid Puritans who had left England after the king's return, to escape the judgment which they believed to be imminent over a nation given up to immorality and scoffing irreverence. The Roundhead emigrant despised the Cavalier as a son of Belial and a persecutor of the Lord's people. To add to the discord, the king had sent some Huguenots to introduce the culture of "wine, oil, and silk," and the warm climate had attracted others; but the old English prejudice against the French made them trouble,—

they were excluded from all share in the government, and the validity of their marriages by ministers without Episcopal ordination, and the legitimacy of their children, were questioned.

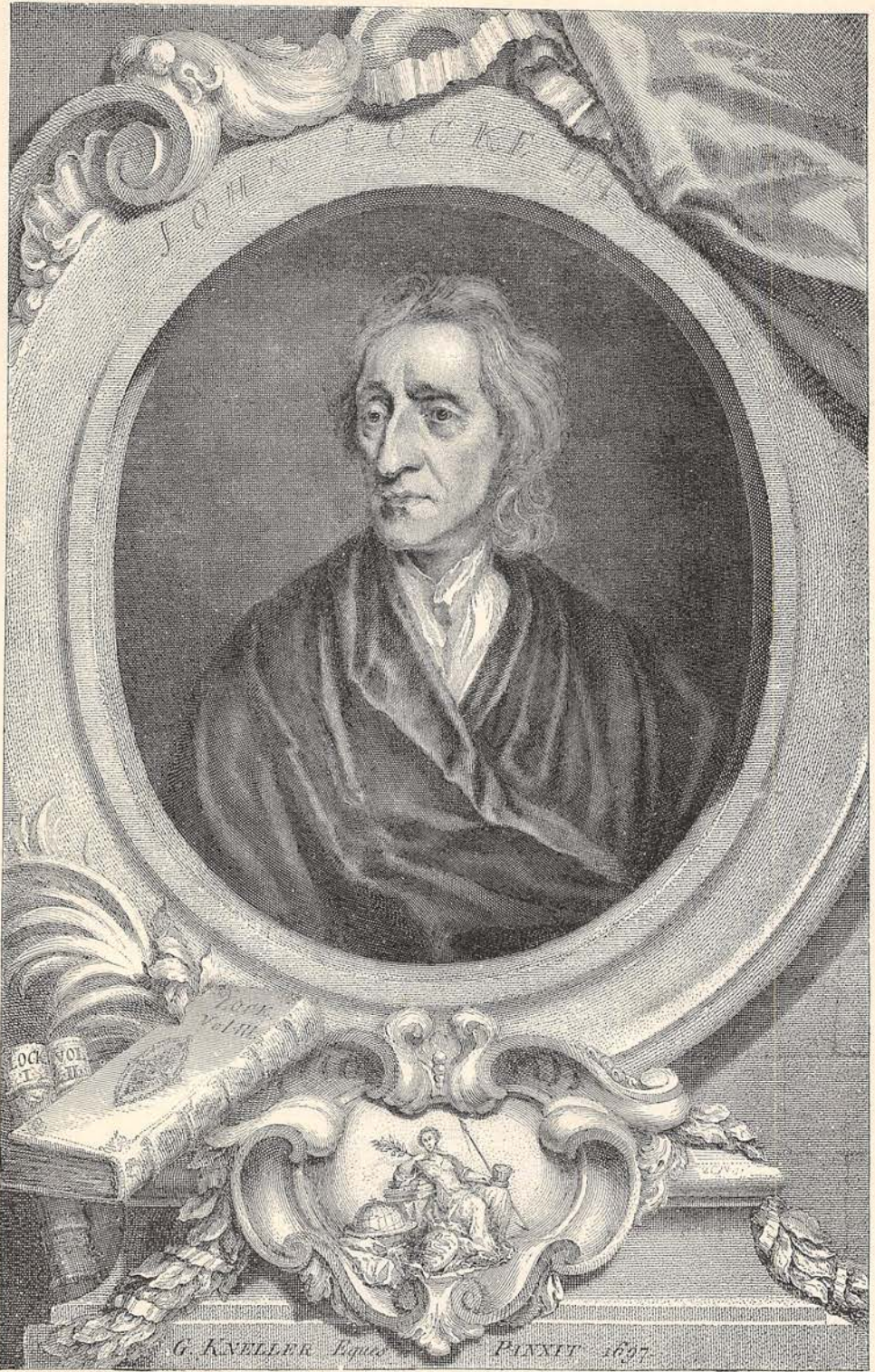
Finding that some of the Dutch were in a state of discontent after the surrender of New York to the English, the Carolina proprietors sent two ships in 1671 to bring such as wished to emigrate to the colony, and this was the beginning of an important movement from New York and from the fatherland, of Dutch, whose thrift and industry contrasted with the dissolute idleness of many of the English settlers. The Scotch emigrants, who supplied the colony with many of its physicians, lawyers, and school-masters, rose to importance by their thrift, and in many cases by their prudent habit of marrying into large estates. There came also numerous Palatines from Ger-



PENN COAT-OF-ARMS.

many, and settlers from Switzerland, and yet larger numbers of Protestant Irish. There were some French Catholics from Acadie, and in the later colonial period thousands of emigrants from the northern colonies, seeking unoccupied wild lands and a warmer climate, journeyed overland in caravans to the Carolinas, driving their cattle and hogs before them.

Besides offering bounties in land, and such



(FROM A PRINT BY VERTUE, AFTER A PAINTING BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER.)

like inducements to emigrants, interested people circulated in Europe the most glowing accounts of the advantages of Carolina. The Swiss who settled Purrysburg—had read in a tract circulated in Switzerland that the houses in Charleston were very costly, and that “if you travel into the country you will see stately buildings and noble castles.” “Horses of the best kind in the world are so plentiful” that whenever “a tailor or a shoemaker is obliged to go three miles from his house it would be very extraordinary to see him walk.” Where tailors and shoe-makers ride, what is there more to be said?

The province of North Carolina, which became distinct from South Carolina in 1729, was more homogeneous than the latter in the origins of its people, who came in the first instance, as we have seen, chiefly from the colonies to the north of it, from Barbadoes, and from England. The early comers were a hardy, independent, and generally illiterate race of woodsmen, not restrained from resisting the oppression of governors by any scrupulous regard for established institutions or regular processes of law. They were wont to serve, by means of their muskets, a pioneer's rude and riotous *quo warranto* on oppressive rulers. They lived for the most part, however, in peace with the savages, and the early diffusion of Quakerism softened their manners.

The later colonists in North Carolina were not wholly English. Before 1729, the Highland Scotch began to settle on Cape Fear River, and after the overthrow of the young Pretender, when the Highlands were ruthlessly harried by the Duke of Cumberland, the faithful clansmen took the hint given them by George II., who pardoned some of the rebels on condition of their removal to the plantations. The Gaelic was heard in six North Carolina counties, and to this region came, in 1775, Flora McDonald, the romantic deliverer of “Prince Charlie.” In the later period a large Protestant Irish population poured down through the Appalachian valleys into Virginia and North Carolina, and met and mingled with another stream of the same people, who came in from the coast of South Carolina up the valleys of the Pedee and the Wateree. About the time of the earliest Scotch immigration the Moravians bought, in two purchases, a hundred thousand acres in North Carolina, and sent twelve young “single brethren” to begin a settlement. They had to chop a road for their wagon, on which they brought salt and a swarm of bees from Virginia as part of their outfit. Germans from the Palatinate, that exhaustless source of emigration, with some Swiss, very early settled



GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE.

Newbern; French Huguenots came from Virginia, and for the rest there were some New Englanders and English Quakers who came at various times.

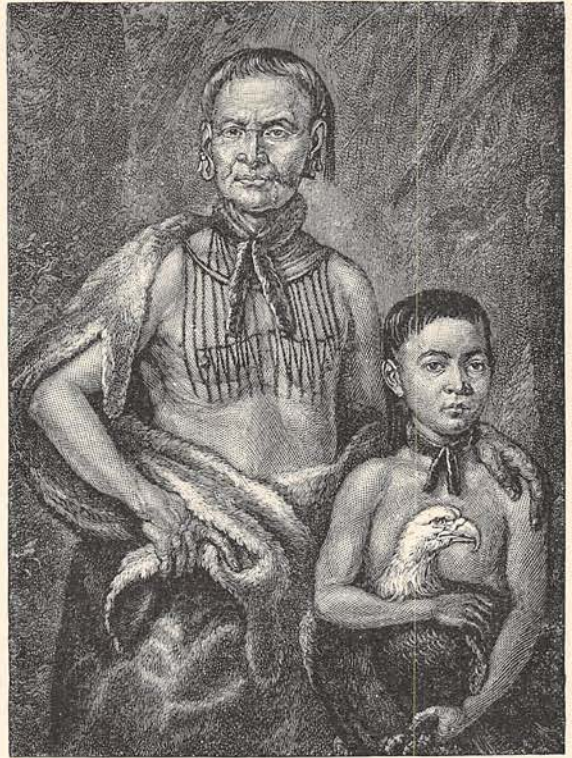
IX.

THE PHILANTHROPIC COLONY.

THE latest planted of the thirteen colonies was perhaps the most curious of all, if we consider the character of its founder and the purposes of its foundation. General James Oglethorpe, the last captain of colony planting, was, like John Smith, the first of the line, a man of imaginative temperament, uniting high qualities of generalship with romantic ideas. The latest founder, like the earliest, had distinguished himself in wars against the Turks, having fought in the army of Prince Eugène in the difficult and brilliant campaign which resulted in the capture of Belgrade in 1717. An ingenious philanthropist, General Oglethorpe conceived the notion of providing for ruined debtors, persecuted Protestants, and others in a colony on a utopian plan, which was also to serve as a barrier against the encroachments of the Spanish from Florida, and to be a means of snatching the lucrative production of silk

from the Italians, besides accomplishing divers other laudable objects. No rum was to be admitted, though the bankrupt objects of charity might have beer and wine. Slaves were excluded; for though the founders of Georgia did not give liberty to their white subjects, the rights of the negro seem to have been considered. It was also necessary to shut out the slave in order to teach the indigent colonists to work, and to increase the military strength of the settlement. No man might have more than fifty acres, except he brought white servants at his own expense, and this fifty-acre patch, laid off regardless of the character of the land, he could neither sell, lease, nor bequeath. The ancient and demoralizing stupidity of entail in the male line was introduced in the interest of agrarian ideas, lest the petty farm should be divided. Failing a lineal male heir, the estate reverted to the trustees, for fear that, falling to a daughter, two little farms might be consolidated into one by marriage of the owners. In the interest of benevolent schemes the trustees defied insuperable difficulties, and calmly put aside all thought of human rights and liberties,—men were to be good in Georgia by sheer force of law and circumstance, and women were to wind silk whether they would or not. All must have town lots, garden patches, and petty farms of the same size, and the growing of mulberry trees and silk-culture were conditions of land-holding. The ideal which the trustees sought to realize was a frontier community in a strait-jacket,—a province treated as *non compos mentis*, and handed over to twenty-one guardians.

But Oglethorpe and his associates were disinterested, and excluded themselves from every chance of profit. They might well take for the device on their corporate seal, silk-worms spinning, with the motto: *Non sibi, sed aliis*: "Not for one's self, but for others." The trustees gave liberally of their private means; a contagious benevolence was awakened, the Bank of England subscribed, Parliament voted nearly ten thousand pounds, and in all, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds was collected without solicitation; the authorities of South Carolina gave cattle, rice, and hogs, while private individuals in that colony made personal donations. It is a pity that in this scheme, on which so much benevolence was expended, there should not have been a glimmer of practical statesmanship. Rum could not be kept



TOMO-CHI-CHI AND HIS NEPHEW. (FROM A PRINT AFTER THE PAINTING BY WILLIAM VERELST.)

from crossing the wilderness frontier of Carolina, and silk-culture is for old countries, not for struggling settlers on a savage coast. It seems hard to enforce the gathering of mulberry leaves, limit land-holdings to fifty acres, and charge an exorbitant quit-rent where there was no stint of ground. The indigent debtor, thriftless or unwise in England, was not likely to be improved by a few years' coddling on public stores in Georgia. The result was one that might easily have been foreseen; the settlers came to regard charity as a right, and grumbled roundly when gratuitous supplies were cut off. They attributed their miseries chiefly to this cessation of alms and to the lack of negro slaves.

In 1732 Oglethorpe took out his first company of a hundred and fourteen, not counting the clergymen and the Italian silk-tender. Many others were soon added, including a company of Highlanders for the defense of the Southern border, and a society of persecuted Protestants who had traveled afoot all the way from the valleys by Salzburg to a sea-port in Holland, that they might at last find rest and liberty in Georgia. Twenty families of Jews came the first year, for none but Roman Catholics were excluded. So considerate and excellent were Oglethorpe's

arrangements that the usual sickness and death among emigrants at sea were almost entirely avoided in the ships which came under his direction. In the colony he bore more than his share of hardships, slept on the ground and wore a kilt with the Highlanders, exposed himself everywhere, and won the admiration even of the savages, from among whom he led a retinue of "Indian kings" to England on his return, one of whom was the famous Tomo-chi-chi, who became for a while the lion of London society. While Oglethorpe was in the colony to feed the people at public expense, and to overthrow the Spanish by a brilliant maneuvering of his small force that was worthy of Prince Eugène himself, the popularity of the governor suppressed the growing discontent. But all of his regulations, and even his popularity, utterly broke down after a while. Colonization is a hard task at best; but the addition of artificial limitations made the lot of the Georgia settlers peculiarly irritating, and their lack of a share in the government robbed them of the hope of redress for their wrongs. The settlement declined by migration to South Carolina. The trustees yielded one by one many of their restrictions—even the beneficent one against the introduction of slaves—and in 1752 they surrendered the government to the crown, leaving the colonists to work out their improvement by the only method ever tried with success,—the gradual education of the people under the operation of institutions suited to their conditions, and ameliorated, as civilization increases, by free political action.

X.

RACE ELEMENTS.

It will be seen that while the preponderating element in colonial life was English, this was in most of the provinces mixed with and modified by many others. Ireland and Scotland naturally furnished the greater number after the English. To establish Episcopacy in the three kingdoms, and to extirpate Dissent had been the purpose of English legislation; the planting of the colonies with Dissenters and Presbyterians had been the chief result. Thousands of Scotch came into New England at an early period, Cromwell exported to Boston some hundreds of Scotch prisoners after the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, and there was no colony that did not receive reinforcements from Scotland. But, in the eighteenth century, Ireland sent the greatest number; the immigration of Irish Presbyterians before the American Revolution being relatively as remarkable as the coming of Irish Catholics has been in later times. Five

thousand Protestant Irish arrived in Pennsylvania in the single year 1729, and there was not a colony in which they did not plant themselves. The fiery temper of the Irish frontiersmen did much to embroil Pennsylvania with the Indians, and that race has produced a great number of daring pioneers. The woodsmen who fought over every mile of Kentucky's dark and bloody ground, and who pushed back the fierce Miamis, Delawares, Wyandots and Shawnees, inch by inch, on the north side of the Ohio, came, in very many cases, from the Irish stock of Western Pennsylvania and the Virginia valleys. President Andrew Jackson and the impetuous John C. Calhoun were both sons of emigrants from Ireland.

Of all immigrations from the European continent, the German has always been the most numerous, as it was, no doubt, the first. The so-called "Dutchmen" who were sent over to make potash in Virginia were probably Germans. Some Germans came with the Puritans in the earlier migrations to Massachusetts Bay. The vast movement from the Palatinate of the Lower Rhine, in colonial times, had its beginning as early as the foundation of New Sweden, which had some Palatine forerunners. But the tendency of the German Quakers and the Mennonists, or non-resistant Anabaptists, to seek shelter in Pennsylvania, where soldiering would not be required, brought the real beginning of that great Teutonic flood, the ultimate magnitude of which cannot yet be measured. From Pennsylvania as a distributing point, the Germans, along with the Scotch and Scotch-Irish, moved down the valleys and the eastern flank of the Appalachian range of mountains into Virginia and North Carolina, where many of the curious customs brought from the Rhine survived even after the Revolution. The first of the Pennsylvania Germans who sought a grant of land in the valley of Virginia was a man named Stover, who only secured it with much difficulty, by giving to every horse, dog, cow, pig, and chicken that he possessed, a human name, and representing in England,—whither he had gone to press his claim,—that all of these were ready to move with him to the new country. Other Germans, fleeing persecution, came directly to Virginia, and were granted the same liberal immunities as had been previously given to the Huguenots. The Virginia opposition to Dissenters did not extend to people who were so unhappy as not to speak the English language.

In 1708 there set in the small beginning of a movement which brought to England in the two following years about thirteen thou-

sand poor people from the Palatinate. Their country had suffered extremely in the wars waged by Louis XIV., and their reigning prince had changed his religion; so that the territory which had previously been a refuge for persecuted Huguenots from France, and Mennonists exiled by Protestant bigotry from Berne and Zürich, fell under the rule of a Roman Catholic. Some interest, political or commercial, fostered the emigration of these people to England; mysterious strangers were said to have circulated among the simple and sufficiently wretched Palatine peasants offering them vague inducements to remove to England, whence they were to be taken in a body to one of the plantations. It is impossible to believe, as the Tories insisted, that the Whig leaders had brought these refugees to England with the foolish intent of "strengthening the dissenting interest." It is more likely that some colonial proprietors sought to fill their waste lands at the expense of the royal treasury. Certain it is that the emigrants were deceived, and must have perished had it not been for large expenditures on the part of the government and the most liberal private contributions of money,—to say nothing of liturgies which were expeditiously translated into "High Dutch" to win them to the English Church, and so perhaps to prevent their "strengthening the dissenting interest." Some were sent to "strengthen the Protestant interest in Ireland," where their exceptionally industrious and thrifty descendants may still be found; others went to North Carolina with Baron De Graffenreid, and some settled at Governor Spotswood's iron-works in Virginia; some went to Maryland, and yet others found their way to the hill country of South Carolina. About four thousand of these wretched exiles were dispatched to New York, of whom seventeen hundred died during the voyage and soon after. The survivors were to carry out one of those visionary projects so often cherished by English public men dabbling in colonization. In 1703, the Swedes had raised the price of naval stores by putting their production under an exclusive monopoly. What could be easier than to set these refugees from the Palatinate to making tar and pitch in America? Accordingly, a hundred thousand pine trees near the Hudson River were got ready for tar-making in 1711, but the money failed; the half-starved Germans complained of their servitude, and at length broke away. Some of the refugees settled on the Hudson, where many of their descendants dwell to-day; others went to Schoharie County; while three hundred, unwilling to accept the ten acres apiece offered them in New York, and hearing of the pros-

perity of their countrymen in Pennsylvania, made a bold push down the wilderness streams into the back regions of that province. In after years, when German immigrants were compelled to land at New York, they contemptuously took the first ship for Philadelphia, and from this time the rich limestone lands of Pennsylvania became the home of the German.

Next to the Germans, French Protestants were the most numerous and the most widely distributed of immigrants from the European continent to America. They were of the fine-flower of an accomplished people; men of active minds, austere morals, heroic courage, and often of refined manners. Their descendants have furnished many men of distinction; such were Laurens, Jay, Boudinot, and Gallatin in civil life, Horry and Marion in war. In France, the Huguenots endured civil wars and harassing persecutions with sublime steadfastness. To get out of France, which was guarded like a prison, they were obliged to flee with secrecy, abandoning all their property and their means of livelihood. The members of one family were accustomed to tell how they had left the pot boiling on the fire when they came away, while another household deceived the police by giving an entertainment and fleeing while their guests were feasting at the table. At first, the refugees were dependent on alms and government aid in the countries in which they found shelter; but their thrift and skill in handicraft work soon lifted the economic civilization of Switzerland, Germany, Holland, England, and America to a higher level.

The growing intolerance of the government of France produced a constant increase in the number of emigrant Huguenots, and we find them obtaining land in Massachusetts in 1662, and settling in Ulster County, New York, at about the same period. Many were deterred from coming to the English colonies by the reactionary tendency of the Stuarts, and especially by the accession of a Catholic king. In one letter, written by a Huguenot to friends in Europe, there is a mysterious use of the letter "r," as standing for something concerning which observation is to be sought; doubtless "roi" is the word to be supplied. The subserviency of James II. to the policy of Louis XVI. was well known. But when the edict of Nantes had been revoked in 1685, and the Protestant Prince of Orange had succeeded to the English throne by the revolution of 1688, the French Protestants came in great numbers to the different colonies, as to Virginia,—where their neat little vine-clad dwellings extended for many miles along the James River above Richmond,—

to Trent River in North Carolina, and to South Carolina, which last soon came to be their favorite place of refuge. The French were, next to the Dutch, the most numerous nationality in New Amsterdam, and in 1656 public documents were issued in French; and this was occasionally done under the early English governors. In 1715, Fontaine of Virginia, visiting New York, made the mistake of supposing them the largest element in the population. "They are of the council, of the parliament, and in all other employments," he writes.

There was often a picturesque aspect to the religious enthusiasm of expatriated emigrants, such as was shown when the Salsburgers in Georgia selected and laid off their land with a Bible in their hands, and when the Huguenot women in Westchester carried mortar in their aprons to expedite the building of their little church. An aged Huguenot at New Rochelle was accustomed to go down to the water-side at sunrise and pray with his hands extended toward France, in which act of devotion and patriotism he was sometimes joined by others. The New Rochelle people, for the most part, attended church in New York at certain periods to receive the sacraments, and they used to walk the eighteen or twenty miles on Sunday morning, always singing one of the psalms from Clement Marot's version as they set out. The long distance was retraced the same evening, that they might be ready for their arduous toil on Monday morning.

Even under the sun of South Carolina the labors of the French exiles were incessant. The Huguenot grandfather and grandmother of General Horry began life by working together at the whip-saw on the banks of the Santee, and the mother of Gabriel Maginault, the patriotic millionaire of the Revolutionary period, writes to her brother in Europe: "I have been for six months together without taking bread, while I work the ground like a slave; and I have even passed three or four years together without always having it when I wanted it."

The Huguenots had suffered too much and had been too often in hostility to the royal family to hold any allegiance to France, though it was thought prudent, in 1692, to forbid their living in sea-ports on the ground that there might be other than Protestants among them. The French in Canada, however, were in fear of them, exaggerating their numbers and probably their ferocity. Denonville, Governor of Canada, reports to the French Government in 1686: "I know that some have arrived at Boston from France. Here is fresh material for banditti." Again, in 1691, a

French memoir on the state of Canada declares that the Huguenots who have fled in great numbers to New England constitute the main force of the expeditions against Canada, "and openly proclaim that they will revenge themselves on the priests, friars, and nuns of that country." In the alarms that followed the unsuccessful expedition of Sir William Phips against Quebec, the specter of Huguenot vengeance appears again. Among the foes whom Canada has to dread, we find enumerated French Calvinists who had once marched against Quebec, and "who flatter themselves that they will come again in order to indemnify themselves for the losses they allege they have sustained in quitting France." The fear was mutual; Peter Reverdy writes to the Bishop of London in 1689, that "there are two hundred French families about New York which will be put to the torture if the French take it." This fear was an exaggerated one, perhaps, but in the splendid scheme of conquest and depopulation which Frontenac was instructed to execute against New York in that same year, "the fugitive French of the pretended reformed religion" were to be sent back to France, probably for purposes of conversion, or perchance for the supply of the galleys, which just at that time were in such need of *galériens* that Iroquois braves, captured by treachery in time of peace, had been chained to the benches among thieves and Huguenots.

There was a miscellaneous but less significant emigration to America from other countries of Europe than those we have named. Switzerland contributed not only directly by means of voluntary emigration, but indirectly through the Mennonists from the Palatinate, many of whom had been cruelly expelled by Protestant bigotry from some of the Swiss cantons. Zwingli, the reformer, a man from whom one might expect better things, condemned one of the founders of these "harmless" Anabaptists to die by drowning, giving sentence with a cruel joke: "*Qui iterum mergit mergatur*," "he that dips again, let him be dipped"; and the persecution of them in parts of Switzerland was maintained at intervals for a century later, and with especial virulence in Berne.

While the proprietors of unoccupied lands in America were glad to find French and German occupants, many of the English colonists had a prejudice against them. We have seen how shabbily the French settlers were treated in South Carolina. The powerful influence of the enlightened Colonel Byrd was necessary to keep the Huguenots in countenance in Virginia. In Pennsylvania it was represented to Governor Gordon, in

1727, "that a large number of Germans, peculiar in their dress, religion, and notions of political government, had settled on Pequea, and determined not to obey lawful authority of government; that they had resolved to speak their own language, and acknowledge no sovereign but the Creator of the universe." The fears of both the English and the provincial government were excited by the arrival of so many Germans, and in 1729 Pennsylvania laid a duty of forty shillings a head on alien immigrants,—a tariff for the protection of British American population against foreign competition. Even Franklin was not without fear of danger to the State from the inoffensive Pennsylvania Germans, many of whom still, indeed, persist in the crime of speaking their own language, and in some sects continue to be peculiar in their dress.

From the beginning, the Americans have been a migratory people. New Englanders, as we have seen, planted themselves in Westchester and on Long Island, came by throngs into East Jersey, and migrated to the more southern colonies. So Virgin-

ians helped to people Maryland and North Carolina, migrated northward to New York, and, even before the Revolution, began to look wistfully over the mountain barrier into the great interior valley. New York Dutch migrated to South Carolina; some of them settled also in Maine, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; while Pennsylvanians, excited by fear of Indian massacre during the French wars, occupied much of the mountain and "piedmont" regions of the colonies to the southward. It is said that of three thousand five hundred militiamen of Orange County in North Carolina, during the Revolution, every man was a native of Pennsylvania. There was an incessant movement to and fro of people seeking to better their condition. Once the European had broken away from his mooring of centuries, the vastness of the new continent piqued him, and he became a rover. This instability as to place remains yet in the American character. The mental alertness, which comes of changing circumstances, new scenes, and unexpected difficulties, was early remarked by travelers as a characteristic of the native of the colonies.

PISIDICË.

The incident is from the Love Stories of Parthenius, who preserved fragments of a lost epic on the expedition of Achilles against Lesbos, an island allied with Troy.

THE daughter of the Lesbian king
 Within her bower she watched the war,
 Far off she heard the arrows ring,
 The smitten harness ring afar;
 And, fighting from the foremost car,
 Saw one that smote where all must flee;
 More fair than the Immortals are
 He seemed to fair Pisidicë!

She saw, she loved him, and her heart
 Before Achilles, Peleus' son,
 Threw all its guarded gates apart,
 A maiden fortress lightly won!
 And, ere that day of fight was done,
 No more of land or faith recked she,
 But joyed in her new life begun,—
 Her life of love, Pisidicë!

She took a gift into her hand,
 As one that had 'a boon to crave;
 She stole across the ruined land
 Where lay the dead without a grave,
 And to Achilles' hand she gave
 Her gift, the secret postern's key.
 "To-morrow let me be thy slave!"
 Moaned to her love Pisidicë.

Ere dawn the Argives' clarion call
 Rang down Methymna's burning street;
 They slew the sleeping warriors all,
 They drove the women to the fleet,
 Save one, that to Achilles' feet
 Clung, but, in sudden wrath, cried he:
 "For her no doom but death is meet."
 And there men stoned Pisidicë.

In havens of that haunted coast,
 Amid the myrtles of the shore,
 The moon sees many a maiden ghost,—
 Love's outcast now and evermore.
 The silence hears the shades deplore
 Their hour of dear-bought love; but *thee*
 The waves lull, 'neath thine olives hoar,
 To dreamless rest, Pisidicë!

Andrew Lang.