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ber. He had been absent a little more than three months, had explored the winding coast of the great bay for fully three thousand miles, had encountered hostile savages by hundreds and thousands, had been driven hither and thither by storms, once wrecked, once stung by a poisonous fish and brought so near to death that his comrades digged his grave; now he was come back to the colony with a MAP OF THE CHESAPEAKE, which he sent by Newport to England, and which is still preserved. Only one man had been lost on the expedition. Richard Fetherstone had died, and was buried on the Rappahannoc.

Within three days after Smith's return to Jamestown he was formally elected president. He entered at once upon the duties of his office, correcting abuses, enforcing the laws and restoring order to the distracted colony. There was a marked change for the better; gold-hunting became unpopular, and the rest of the year was noted as a season of great prosperity. Late in the autumn Newport arrived with seventy additional immigrants, increasing the number to more than two hundred. The health was so good that only seven deaths occurred between September and May of the following year. Excellent discipline was maintained. Every well man was obliged to work six hours a day. New houses were built, new fields fenced in; and all through the winter the sound of axe and saw and hammer gave token of a prosperous and growing village. Such was the condition of affairs in the spring of 1609.

CHAPTER X.

VIRGINIA .- THE SECOND CHARTER.

ON the 23d of May, 1609, King James, without consulting the wishes of his American colonists, revoked their constitution, and granted to the London Company a new charter, by the terms of which the government of Virginia was completely changed. The territory included under the new patent extended from Cape Fear to Sandy Hook, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The members of the Superior Council were now to be chosen by the stockholders of the company, vacancies were to be filled by the councilors, who were also empowered to elect a governor from their own number.

The council was at once organized in accordance with this charter,

and the excellent Lord De La Ware chosen governor for life. With him were joined in authority Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Christopher Newport, vice-admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal; Sir Ferdinand Wainman, master of horse; and other dignitaries of similar sort. Attracted by the influence of these noblemen, a large company of more than five hundred emigrants was speedily collected, and early in June a fleet of nine vessels sailed for America. Lord Delaware did not himself accompany the expedition, but delegated his authority to three commissioners, Somers, Gates and Newport. About the middle of July the ships, then passing the West Indies, were overtaken and scattered by a storm. One small vessel was wrecked, and another, having on board the commissioners of Lord Delaware, was driven ashore on one of the Bermuda Islands, where the crew remained until April of the following year; the other seven ships came safely to Jamestown.

But who should now be governor? Captain Smith was at first disposed to give up his office, but in a few days the affairs of the colony were plainly going to ruin, and he was urged by the old settlers and the better class of new-comers to continue in authority. Accordingly, declaring that his powers as president under the old constitution did not cease until some one should arrive from England properly commissioned to supersede him, he kept resolutely to the discharge of his duties, although in daily peril of his life. He arrested Ratcliffe* and Archer, put some of the most rebellious brawlers in prison, and then, in order to distract the attention of the rest, planned two new settlements, one, of a hundred and twenty men, under the command of Martin, to be established at Nansemond; the other, of the same number, under Captain West, to form a colony at the falls of the James. Both companies behaved badly. In a few days after their departure troubles arose between West's men and the Indians. The president was sent for in order to settle the difficulty; but finding his efforts unavailing, he returned to Jamestown. On his way down the river, while asleep in the boat, a bag of gunpowder lying near by exploded, burning and tearing his flesh so terribly that in his agony he leaped overboard. Being rescued from the river, he was carried to the fort, where he lay for some time racked with fever and tortured with his wounds. Finally, despairing of relief under the imperfect medical treatment which the colony afforded, he decided to return to England. He accordingly delegated his authority to Sir George Percy, a brother of the earl of Northumberland, and about the middle of Sep-

^{*} This man's real name was not Ratcliffe, but Sicklemore. He had been president of the colony in 1607, and was an accomplished thief as well as an impostor.

tember, 1609, left the scene of his heroic toils and sufferings, never to return.

There remained at Jamestown a colony of four hundred and ninety persons, well armed, well sheltered and well supplied. But such was the viciousness and profligacy of the greater number, and such the insubordination and want of proper leadership, after Smith's departure, that by the beginning of winter the settlement was face to face with starvation. The Indians became hostile and hovered around the plantations, stragglers were intercepted and murdered, houses were fired at every opportunity, disease returned to add to the desolation, and cold and hunger completed the terrors of a winter which was long remembered with a shudder and called The Starving Time. By the last of March there were only sixty persons alive, and these, if help had not come speedily, could hardly have lived a fortnight.

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas Gates and his companions, who had been shipwrecked in the Bermudas, had constructed out of the materials of their old ship, with such additional timber as they could cut from the forest, two small vessels, and set sail for Virginia. They came in full expectation of a joyful greeting from a happy colony. What, therefore, was their disappointment and grief when a few wan, half-starved wretches crawled out of their cabins to beg for bread! Whatever stores the commissioners had brought with them were distributed to the famishing settlers, and Gates assumed control of the government.

But the colonists had now fully determined to abandon for ever a place which promised them nothing but disaster and death. In vain did the commissioners remonstrate; they were almost driven by the clamors around them to yield to the common will. An agreement was made to sail for Newfoundland; there the remnant of the Virginia colony should be distributed among the fishermen until such time as some friendly ship might carry them back to England.

On the 8th of June Jamestown was abandoned. The disheartened settlers, now grown resentful, were anxious before leaving to burn the town, but Gates defeated this design, and was himself the last man to go on board. Four pinnaces lay at their moorings in the river; embarking in these, the colonists dropped down with the tide, and it seemed as though the enterprise of Raleigh and Gosnold had ended in failure and humiliation.

But Lord Delaware was already on his way to America. Before the escaping settlers had passed out of the mouth of the river, the ships of the noble governor came in sight. Here were additional immigrants, plentiful supplies and promise of better things to come. Would the colonists return? The majority gave a reluctant consent, and before night-fall the fires were again kindled on the hearthstones of the deserted village. The next day was given to religious services; the governor caused his commission to be read, and entered upon the discharge of his duties. The amiability and virtue of his life, no less than the mildness and decision of his administration, endeared him to all and inspired the colony with hope.

Autumn came, and Lord Delaware fell sick. Against his own will, and to the great regret of the colony, he was compelled to return to England. Having reluctantly delegated his authority to Percy—the same who had been the deputy of Captain Smith—the good Delaware set sail for his own country. It was an event of great discouragement; but fortunately, before a knowledge of the governor's departure reached England, the Superior Council had despatched a new shipload of stores and another company of emigrants, under command of Sir Thomas Dale. The vessel arrived at Jamestown on the 10th of May, and Percy was superseded by the captain, who bore a commission from the council. Dale had been a military officer in the wars of the Netherlands, and he now adopted a system of martial law as the basis of his administration. He was, however, a man so tolerant and just that very little complaint was made on account of his arbitrary method of governing.

One of Dale's first acts was to write to the council in England, requesting that body to send out immediately as large a number of colonists as possible, with an abundance of supplies. For once the council acted promptly; and in the latter part of August, Sir Thomas Gates arrived with a fleet of six ships, having on board three hundred immigrants and a large quantity of stores. There was great thanksgiving in the colony, a fresh enthusiasm was enkindled, and contentment came with a sense of security.

Thus far the property of the settlers at Jamestown had been held in common. The colonists had worked together, and in time of harvest deposited their products in storehouses which were under the control of the governor and council. Now the right of holding private property was recognized. Governor Gates had the lands divided so that each settler should have three acres of his own; every family might cultivate a garden and plant an orchard, the fruits of which no one but the owner was allowed to gather. The benefits of this system of labor were at once apparent. The laborers, as soon as each was permitted to claim the rewards of his own toil, became cheerful and industrious. There were now seven hundred persons in the colony; new plantations were laid out on every side, and new settlements were formed on both banks of the river and at considerable distances from Jamestown. The promise of an American State, so long deferred, seemed at last to be realized.

CHAPTER X1.

VIRGINIA .- THE THIRD CHARTER.

EARLY in the year 1612 the London Company obtained from the king a third patent, by the terms of which the character of the government was entirely changed. The Superior Council was abolished and the powers of that body transferred to the stockholders, who were authorized to hold public meetings, to elect their own officers, to discuss and decide all questions of law and right, and to govern the colony on their own responsibility. The cause of this change was the unprofitableness of the colony as a financial enterprise, and the consequent dissatisfaction of the company with the management of the council. The new patent, although not so intended by the king, was a great step toward a democratic form of government in Virginia.

2. The year 1613 was marked by two important events, both of them resulting from the lawless behavior of Captain Samuel Argall, While absent on an expedition up the Potomac River he learned that Pocahontas, who had had some difficulty with her father's tribe, was residing in that neighborhood. Procuring the help of a treacherous Indian family, the English captain enticed the unsuspecting girl on board his vessel and carried her captive to Jamestown. The authorities of the colony, instead of punishing Argall for this atrocity, aggravated the outrage by demanding that Powhatan should pay a heavy ransom for his daughter's liberation. The old king indignantly refused, and ordered his tribes to prepare for war. Meanwhile, Pocahontas, who seems not to have been greatly grieved on account of her captivity, was converted to the Christian faith and became by baptism a member of the Episcopal Church. She was led to this course of action chiefly by the instruction and persuasion of John Rolfe, a worthy young man of the colony, who after the baptism of the princess sought her in marriage. Powhatan and his chief men gave their consent, and the nuptials were duly celebrated in the spring of the following year. By this means war was averted, and a bond of union established between the Indians and the whites.

3. Two years later Rolfe and his wife went to England, where they were received in the highest circles of society. Captain Smith gave them a letter of introduction to Queen Anne, and many other flattering atten-

tions were bestowed on the modest daughter of the Western wilderness. In the following year, Rolfe mad preparations to return to America; but before embarking, Pocahontas feel sick and died. There was left of this marriage a son, who afterward came to Jamestown and was a man of some importance in the affairs of the colony. To him several influential families of Virginians still trace their origin. John Randolph of Roanoke was a grandson of the sixth generation from Pocahontas.

When Captain Argall returned from his expedition up the Potomac, he was sent with an armed vessel to the coast of Maine. The avowed object of the voyage was to protect the English fishermen who frequented the waters between the Bay of Fundy and Cape Cod, but the real purpose was to destroy the colonies of France, if any should be found within the limits of the territory claimed by England. Arriving at his destination, Argall soon found opportunity for the display of his violence and rapacity. The French authorities of Acadia were at this time building a village on Mount Desert Island, near the mouth of the Penobscot. This settlement was the first object of Argall's vengeance. The place was captured, pillaged and burned; part of the inhabitants were put on board a vessel bound for France, and the rest were carried to the Chesapeake. The French colony at the mouth of the St. Croix River next attracted the attention of the English captain, who cannonaded the fort and destroyed every building in the settlement. Passing thence across the bay to Port Royal, Argall burned the deserted hamlet which Poutrincourt and his companions had built there eight years before. On his way back to Virginia he made a descent on the Dutch traders of Manhattan Island, destroyed many of their huts, and compelled the settlers to acknowledge the sovereignty of England. The result of these outrageous proceedings was to confine the French settlements in America to the banks of the St. Lawrence, and to leave a clear coast for the English flag from Nova Scotia to Florida.

In the month of March, 1614, Sir Thomas Gates returned to England, leaving the government in the hands of Dale, whose administration lasted for two years. During this time the laws of the colony were much improved, and, more important still, the colonial industry took an entirely different form. Hitherto the labor of the settlers had been directed to the planting of vineyards and to the manufacture of potash, soap, glass and tar. The managers of the London Company had at last learned that these articles could be produced more cheaply in Europe than in America. They had also discovered that there were certain products peculiar to the New World which might be raised and exported with great profit. Chief among such native products was the plant called

tobacco, the use of which had already become fashionable in Spain, England and France. This, then, became the leading staple of the colony, and was even used for money. So entirely did the settlers give themselves to the cultivation of the famous weed that the very streets of Jamestown were ploughed up and planted with it.

It was a great disaster to the people of the colony when Argall was chosen deputy-governor. He was a man who had one virtue, courage; and in all other respects was thoroughly bad. The election occurred in 1617, and through the influence of an unscrupulous faction composed of Argall's friends he was not only selected as Lord Delaware's deputy in America, but was also made an admiral of the English navy. His administration was characterized by fraud, oppression and violence. Neither property nor life was secure against his tyranny and greed. By and by, the news of his proceedings reached England; emigration ceased at once, and the colony became a reproach, until Lord Delaware restored confidence by embarking in person for Virginia. But the worthy nobleman died on the voyage, and Argall continued his exactions and cruelty. In the spring of 1619, he was at last displaced through the influence of Sir Edwyn Sandys, and the excellent Sir George Yeardley appointed to succeed him.

Martial law was now abolished. The act which required each settler to give a part of his labor for the common benefit was also repealed, and thus the people were freed from a kind of colonial servitude. Another action was taken of still greater importance. Governor Yeardley, in accordance with instructions received from the company, divided the plantations along James River into eleven districts, called boroughs, and issued a proclamation to the citizens of each borough to elect two of their own number to take part in the government of the colony. The elections were duly held, and on the 30th of July, 1619, the delegates came together at Jamestown. Here was organized the Virginia House of Burgesses, a colonial legislature, the first popular assembly held in the New World.

The Burgesses had many privileges, but very little power. They might discuss the affairs of the colony, but could not control them; pass laws, but could not enforce them; declare their rights, but could not secure them. Though the governor and council should both concur in the resolutions of the assembly, no law was binding until ratified by the company in England. Only one great benefit was gained—the freedom of debate. Wherever that is recognized, liberty must soon follow.

The year 1619 was also marked by the introduction of negro slavery into Virginia. The servants of the people of Jamestown had hitherto



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been persons of English or German descent, and their term of service had varied from a few months to many years. No perpetual servitude had thus far been recognized, nor is it likely that the English colonists would of themselves have instituted the system of slave labor. In the month of August a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the river to the plantations, and offered by auction twenty Africans. They were purchased by the wealthier class of planters, and made slaves for life. It was, however, nearly a half century from this time before the system of negro slavery became well established in the English colonies.

Twelve years had now passed since the founding of Jamestown. Eighty thousand pounds sterling had been spent by the company in the attempted development of the new State. As a result there were only six hundred men in the colony, and these for the most part were rovers who intended to return to England. Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer, had managed matters badly. Very few families had emigrated, and society in Virginia was coarse and vicious. In this condition of affairs Smith was superseded by Sir Edwyn Sandys, a man of great prudence and integrity. A reformation of abuses was at once begun and carried out. By his wisdom and liberality the new treasurer succeeded before the end of the summer of 1620 in collecting and sending to America a company of twelve hundred and sixty-one persons. Another measure of still greater importance was equally successful. By the influence of Sandys and his friends, ninety young women of good breeding and modest manners were induced to emigrate to Jamestown. In the following spring sixty others of similar good character came over, and received a hearty welcome.

The statement that the early Virginians bought their wives is absurd. All that was done was this: when Sandys sent the first company of women to America, he charged the colonists with the expense of the voyage—a measure made necessary by the fact that the company was almost bankrupt. An assessment was made according to the number who were brought over, and the rate fixed at a hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco for each passenger—a sum which the settlers cheerfully paid. The many marriages that followed were celebrated in the usual way, and nothing further was thought of the transaction. When the second shipload came, the cost of transportation was reported at a hundred and fifty pounds for each passenger, which was also paid without complaint.

In July of 1621 the London Company, which had now almost run its course, gave to Virginia a code of written laws and frame of government modeled after the English constitution. The terms of the instrument were few and easily understood. The governor of the colony was as hitherto to be appointed by the company, a council to be chosen power of vetoing any objectionable acts of the company.

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Governor Yeardley's administration ended in October of 1621. At that time Sir Francis Wyatt arrived, commissioned as governor and bearing the new constitution of Virginia. The colony was found in a very flourishing condition. The settlements extended for a hundred and forty miles along both banks of James River and far into the interior, especially northward toward the Potomac. There remained but one cause of foreboding and alarm. The Indians had seen in all this growth and prosperity the doom of their own race, and had determined to make one desperate effort to destroy their foes before it should be too late. To do this in open war was impossible; necessity and the savage impulse working together suggested treachery as the only means likely to accomplish the result. Circumstances favored the villainous undertaking. Pocahontas was dead. The peaceable and faith-keeping Powhatan had likewise passed away. The ambitious and crafty Opechancanough, who succeeded to his brother's authority in 1618, had ever since been plotting the destruction of the English colony, and the time had come for the bloody tragedy.

The savages carefully concealed their murderous purpose. Until the very day of the massacre they continued on terms of friendship with the English. They came unmolested into the settlements, ate with their victims, borrowed boats and guns, made purchases, and gave not the slightest token of hostility. The attack was planned for the 22d of March, at mid-day. At the fatal hour the work of butchery began. Every hamlet in Virginia was attacked by a band of yelling barbarians. No age, sex or condition awakened an emotion of pity. Men, women and children were indiscriminately slaughtered, until three hundred and forty-seven had perished under the knives and hatchets of the savages.

But Indian treachery was thwarted by Indian faithfulness. What was the chagrin and rage of the warriors to find that Jamestown and the other leading settlements had been warned at the last moment, and were prepared for the onset? A converted Red man, wishing to save an Englishman who had been his friend, went to him on the night before the massacre and revealed the plot. The alarm was spread among the settlements, and thus the greater part of the colony escaped destruction. But

the outer plantations were entirely destroyed. The people crowded together on the larger farms about Jamestown, until of the eighty settlements there were only eight remaining. Still, there were sixteen hundred resolute men in the colony; and although gloom and despondency prevailed for a while, the courage of the settlers soon revived, and sorrew gave place to a desire for vengeance.

It was now the turn of the Indians to suffer. Parties of English soldiers scoured the country in every direction, destroying wigwams, burning villages and killing every savage that fell in their way, until the tribes of Opechancanough were driven into the wilderness. The colonists, regaining their confidence and zeal, returned to their deserted farms, and the next year brought such additions that the census showed a population of two thousand five hundred.

Meanwhile, difficulties arose between the corporation and the king. Most of the members of the London Company belonged to the patriot party in England, and the freedom with which they were in the habit of discussing political and governmental matters was very distasteful to the monarch. A meeting of the stockholders, now a numerous body, was held once every three months, and the debates took a wider and still wider range. The liberal character of the Virginia constitution was offensive to King James, who determined by some means to obtain control of the London Company, or else to suppress it altogether. A committee was accordingly appointed to look into the affairs of the corporation and to make a report on its management. The commissioners performed their duty, and reported that the company, in addition to being a hot-bed of political agitation, was unsound in every part, that the treasury was bankrupt, and especially that the government of Virginia was bad and would continue so until a radical change should be made in the constitution of the new State.

Legal proceedings were now instituted by the ministers to ascertain whether the company's charter had not been forfeited. The question came before the judges, who had no difficulty in deciding that the violated patent was null and void. In accordance with this decision, the charter of the corporation was canceled by the king, and in June of 1624 the London Company ceased to exist. But its work had been well done; a torch of liberty had been lighted on the banks of the James which all the gloomy tyranny of after times could not extinguish. The Virginians were not slow to remember and to claim ever afterward the precious rights which were guaranteed in the constitution of 1621. And the other colonies would be satisfied with nothing less than the chartered privileges which were recognized in the laws of the Old Dominion.