

## CHAPTER IV.

## POPULAR DISCONTENTS, AND EARLY CONTESTS WITH GOVERNORS.

Bk. III.  
Ch. 4. Com-  
plaints  
of royal  
govern-  
ors. Popular  
discon-  
tents. **HARDLY** had the colonists escaped from the influence of tyranny and persecution, both civil and religious, in England, and established themselves in their new abodes, before they began to be jealous of the authority of their rulers and governors in America. In nearly every colony, the people were desirous of greater privileges, as they increased in numbers and power. No matter whether governors were appointed by kings, by parliaments, by absolute proprietaries, by corporations, or by the suffrages of the people themselves, they found increasing obstacles in the exercise of their functions. There was always some object of popular complaint—some struggle between those who ruled, and those who were ruled. Either taxation, or English legislation, or royal encroachments, or the arbitrary rule of governors, or restricted franchise, or interference with religious and social rights, were subjects of complaint and resistance. The people did not quietly and permanently acquiesce even in compacts and arrangements with which they were at first contented. The same disquietude, unrest, and discontent, which have ever marked nations and individuals alike in the most favoured and the most unfortunate situations, equally characterized our ancestors. It seems to be one of the laws of progress

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that discontents and agitations should arise; for surely there could be no advance if men were uniformly contented with their lot. No state of society is perfect. There is no situation without glaring evils, however desirable, or however praised.

Favoured as all the colonies were, in respect to govern-  
ment, from the very first, and in every part of the coun-  
try, when compared with the nations of the old world,  
there were everywhere causes of complaint. The great  
contest of all time was going on between the rich and the  
poor—between the privileged and the more unfortunate  
classes. In the forests of America, as in every other part  
of the world, and in all ages, aristocracy and democracy  
conflicted. The rich wished to perpetuate the advantages  
they had gained by their talents or industry—the learned  
and dignified looked down on the pretensions of the ignorant  
and base—magistrates aimed to strengthen the arms of  
power—and those who had nothing to lose sought, by  
commotion and agitation, to overturn existing institutions,  
and, in the conflict of parties and sects and interests, to  
elevate their own social position, and grasp privileges  
which had ever been denied them. Democratic as were  
the early settlers in comparison with Europeans, the great  
body of them grew still more democratic every day in the  
wilderness; and the tendency of American society, from  
the first planting of the colonies, has been continually to  
the increase of democratic power. Every change of go-  
vernment, every revolution, and every great social excite-  
ment, have contributed to raise the mass of the people in  
their aspirations, self-respect, and self-sufficiency, if not in  
real virtue and intelligence, as must of course be the case  
where the abstract principles of universal liberty are  
generally advocated, and form the basis of political insti-  
tutions.

Discr-  
tent of  
the peo-  
ple with  
their sit-  
uation  
and pri-  
vileges.

Progress  
of demo-  
cracy.



Bk. III.  
Ch. 4. The most aristocratic of all the colonies was Virginia; but even the aristocrats of Virginia, so loyal in their professions, and so attached to kings and parliaments, did not acquiesce in restrictions on their commerce, and loudly complained when Charles II. prevented the free exportation of tobacco to any other country than England. They resisted royal commissioners and royal governors, and showed a spirit of disaffection by no means agreeable to James II. They claimed the right of nominating their own treasurer under William III., at a time when the governor controlled the army, the revenue, the interpretation of the law, the administration of justice, and the Church. They refused to contribute for the defence of the colonies against France, when required by the king. They resisted the demands of the governor, whenever such demands seemed against the interests of the colony; and the governors were obliged, in their quarrels, to resort to dissolutions of the Assembly. They even alleged, in 1718, that Parliament could not levy any tax on them without the consent of the General Assembly.

Jealousy of magistrates in Massachusetts. In Massachusetts, the struggles of the people against arbitrary power, and their jealousy of royal governors, were still more marked, since the great body of the people were more democratic in their sympathies, and intelligence and wealth more equally diffused. As early as 1640, the freemen had shown their jealousy of magistrates by declining to re-elect them more than one or two years in succession, for fear that they would aspire to perpetual authority. In 1641, they prepared a body of laws in which their interests were carefully guarded. Even the excellent Governor Winthrop was impeached, and was obliged to defend himself, in 1645, before the magistrates, deputies, and an assembly of the people, from the charge of having abused his authority.

They subsequently treated the commissioners whom Charles II. sent over, on his restoration, with marked discourtesy; and such was their resistance to the mother country, when it attempted to enforce the Navigation Acts, that their charter was taken away. They refused to pay the taxes which Andros, the royal governor, imposed when the charter was forfeited, and finally rose up against him and imprisoned him when news arrived of the second English revolution. And when Bellamont was governor, in 1698, the General Court would not allow him to carry out his instructions, and jealously insisted upon greater liberties. The Legislature of Massachusetts even once resorted to the extreme measure of stopping supplies when its petitions were disregarded by the king, in 1731, so that no public officer received any pay for more than two years. And, indeed, down to the period preceding the American Revolution, Massachusetts, from time to time, resisted all encroachments on its liberties, and the royal governors were unable to carry out their plans.

The same jealousy of power was seen in nearly all the other colonies, no matter on what principles they were founded. As the population increased, difficulties with proprietaries and governors increased also. The people always had a great reluctance to pay quit-rents to proprietaries, whether in Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, or New York. And they all alike resisted the enforcements of the acts of trade. They all alike rebelled against oppressive governors. Even the people of Pennsylvania encroached on the private rights of the generous founder of their colony, and he found it wise to grant such privileges as they desired; and, before his death, almost a pure democracy was founded. But even these did not content the settlers. Constant collisions between the

Bk. III.  
Ch. 4.

A. D.  
1665  
to  
1730.

Contests  
with go-  
vernors.

General  
dissatis-  
faction  
of the  
colonists  
with go-  
vernment.



Bk. III.  
Ch. 5. proprietary, as owner of unappropriated territory, and the people, eager to enlarge their freeholds, took place. At the death of Penn, the executive was dependent on the people for its support, and all subordinate executive officers were elected by them. The judiciary also was fettered by the people, and all legislation originated with them.

Affairs in Pennsylvania,  
And in New York.

But in none of the colonies was resistance to royal power more marked than in New York; and in none was it more necessary. It was early seen in the most stubborn violation of the Navigation Acts, and in the resolutions passed by the Colonial Assembly in 1691, in which it was asserted that no tax whatever could be levied on the colony without the consent of the Legislature. But it was during the administration of Lord Cornbury that the Legislature showed the greatest courage, which indeed almost amounted to audacity; and Queen Anne was obliged to remove from office the obnoxious governor who ruled the province in her name. Of all the representatives of royalty in America, Lord Cornbury, grandson of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, was the most contemptible and the most oppressive. Happily, however, for the colonies, the administration of such men as Cornbury, Andros, and Dudley, fanned the spirit of resistance, and led to self-reliance.

Preparation for future independence.

Thus were the people of the various colonies preparing themselves for future independence. Thus were democratic sentiments gradually gaining ground. Thus was hatred of English taxation silently engendered. The hardy colonists, accustomed to toil, educated in the school of self-reliance, and conscious of their strength, felt, for half a century before they dreamed of independence, that they already constituted a great nation, destined to illustrious deeds.

But this independence to which they so nobly aspired, and this greatness which they were destined to realize, were not to be obtained until they had measured their strength with most desperate enemies in the field, and had acquired the valuable instructions of experience. It was necessary that they should more fully learn the spirit of Indian warfare, and the military tactics of European foes. The great contests of European monarchs were extended even to the shores of the New World, and the hardy colonists were reluctantly embroiled in the strife of kings. The Indians were incited, by French arts, to more powerful combinations, and encroachments were made by rival colonists on the territories of each other. Indian and French wars form no inconsiderable part of colonial history during the first half of the 18th century, which it is now time to present.

Bk. III.  
Ch. 5.

A. D.  
1691.

Position of the colonists.





## CHAPTER V.

### EARLY INTERCOLONIAL WARS.

GREAT BRITAIN exercised an influence on the colonies BE. III. Ch. 5. not only by attempting to enforce the acts of Parliament A. D. 1688. respecting trade, and by imposing upon them tyrannical 1688. governors, but also by involving them in her wars with European powers.

William III. brought with him into England that intense hatred of Louis XIV. which had characterized him as Prince of Orange. Jealousies of the Dutch and English towards the French. The recollection of the injuries which Holland had received from the modern Nebuchadnezzar, and his unscrupulous efforts to subvert the civil and religious liberties of Europe, incessantly haunted the mind of William. And his antipathy was also shared by his new subjects, who both feared and hated the French king, not only because he aimed to destroy the balance of European power, but because he persecuted the Protestants. England, moreover, was jealous of French ascendancy in the politics of Europe, and of the efforts which France made to extend manufactures and commerce, those branches of industry which she herself wished to monopolize. Not least in the scale of these aggressions were the projects of the French to engross the fisheries, and secure their ascendancy on the American continent.

It was for these reasons that England maintained a desperate contest with France, with but little interruption, during the reigns of William and of Anne, until Louis XIV. was completely humbled by the victories of Mariborough.



Bk. III.  
Ch. 5. The English colonies entered into the feelings of the mother country, and made great exertions to resent the encroachments of the French, even to dispossess them of 1688. those territories which were fairly theirs, both by prior discovery and settlement. Acadie, Canada, the region of the Great Lakes, and the Valley of the Mississippi, belonged to the French. Also the most lucrative traffic with the Indians was carried on by them, as well as profitable fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in common with other natives.

The colonies share the hostility.

Union of French and Indians. The French were not disinclined for the contest for the sovereignty of North America; and, uniting with the Indians, whom they had conciliated by Jesuit missionaries, made destructive inroads into the New England colonies and the province of New York. The English colonists retaliated, and carried the terror of their arms to the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The desultory and protracted warfare with the French Canadians, and their allies the Indians, constitute the intercolonial wars until nearly the close of the reign of Anne.

1689. The first one broke out in 1689, when the colonies had a population, altogether, of about two hundred thousand people, half of whom were removed from the scene of hostilities. So soon as a declaration of war between England and France was known in America, Baron Castin excited the Penobscot Indians to renew their depredations on the settlements along Casco Bay and the Piscataqua River, while Count Frontenac, as governor of Canada, detached three parties to desolate the villages on the Mohawk and Hudson. The influence which the French had acquired over the Indians was exerted to stimulate them to deeds of unparalleled barbarity.

The English, on the other hand, encouraged the Mo-

hawks and other tribes of the Iroquois to invade Canada Bk. III.  
Ch. 5. and continue those atrocities which had nearly driven the settlers of Montreal to desperation. The Iroquois stood A. D.  
1690. in the way of the French for continuing their settlements across the country to the banks of the Mississippi, and were the most formidable enemies which the white man, of any country, had ever encountered in America.

The attacks of the French and Indians on Salmon Falls, which have been previously mentioned in another chapter, aroused all the northern colonies, and a large force was raised to carry the war into Canada itself. Massachusetts took the lead in this united enterprise, and also, in addition, sent out eight hundred men, under Sir William Phipps, and proved successful. Port Royal was easily taken and unscrupulously plundered, 1690.

Meanwhile, the main body of the colonists, led by Winthrop, son of the ex-governor of Connecticut, and assisted by a party of Mohawks, advanced towards Canada. The expedition proved unfortunate. The van of the forces under Schuyler was repulsed by Frontenac, while the rest were stopped short at Lake George by the small-pox and want of provisions.

Phipps about this time sailed from Boston with a large force of two thousand men, besides a considerable addition from New York, which Leisler had fitted out. A hostile Indian carried the intelligence in fourteen days to Quebec, which had time to prepare for its defence; for Phipps, unacquainted with the navigation of the St. Lawrence, was nine weeks before he reached the city. Moreover, Frontenac, hearing of the disasters of the English at Lake George, hastened to Quebec and arrived in time to defend the city, which was even then strong in fortifications. Phipps was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and with difficulty could keep his men from mutiny, so dispirited were they with



Bk. III.  
Ch. 5. failure, and disappointed in not obtaining the promised plunder.

A. D. 1699. The Indians, meanwhile, kept up a frontier war, and tormented and killed all who fell into their hands, with the exception of those whom they sold in Canada as prisoners. It was at this period, during the latter part of the war, that Wells and York were burned, and Haverhill and Andover attacked. The peace of Ryswick, which was proclaimed in Boston December 1699, put an end to the war which had proved so disastrous to the English colonies.

Peace of  
Ryswick.

War of  
the  
Spanish  
succe-  
sion.

It was soon, however, recommenced with increased bitterness. Louis XIV. had secured, by intrigue and management, the throne of Spain for one of his grandsons. This foolish ambition to place a Bourbon prince on the throne of Charles V. and Philip II., provoked beyond measure the princes of Europe, and a general confederacy was entered into to curtail his power.

League  
between  
the  
French  
and Spa-  
niards.

This attempt of the king of France to retain the ascendancy in Spain united the two countries together, and both were bound to sustain the claims which each nation put forth on the American continent. Although the Spaniards had remonstrated against the attempts of the French, under D'Ibberville, 1699, to colonize Louisiana, yet, on the family alliance between the Bourbon sovereigns, both Spaniards and French turned their arms against the English settlements.

The central colonies were not destined to suffer much by the renewal of the war. The Iroquois had made a compact of peace with both France and England, and rigidly adhered to it. But South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida, and New England, coveting the fisheries, were exposed to hostilities.

In 1702, South Carolina began hostilities, and the

governor, James Moore, headed an expedition of six hundred people for the reduction of St. Augustine, and succeeded in taking the town, though not the fort, to which the garrison retired. Nor could he long occupy the ground he had taken, for the appearance of two Spanish vessels near the mouth of the harbour compelled him to retreat, with the loss of his ships and stores, across the country.

As South Carolina had embarked in the contest with the hope of making slaves of the Indians who were friendly to the Spaniards, Moore, three years after, with another company of fifty men, and assisted by one thousand Creeks, allies of the English, advanced into the territories of the Appalachees of Florida, whom Spanish missionaries had taught some elements of civilization, and made captives of one hundred and fifty of them, and carried the English flag triumphantly through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico. This expedition furnished the English with a claim to Georgia, whose central forests were inhabited by the Creeks. The war resulted, thus far, in an extension of the English boundaries far into those territories which the Spaniards considered as a part of Florida.

The war at the North was disastrous to Massachusetts, which colony alone was desolated. The frontier settlements of course suffered most. In February, 1704, the village of Deerfield, on Connecticut river, was attacked; forty-seven persons were killed, and one hundred and twelve were carried prisoners into Canada. For three successive years the inhabitants were obliged to keep sentinels abroad, and lived in constant fear of the Indian tomahawk. "Children, as they gambolled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household,—were victims to an

Bk. III.  
Ch. 5.

A. D.  
1702.

War in  
Florida.

1704.  
Indian  
ravages  
in Mas-  
sachu-  
setts.



Bk. III.  
Ch. 5. enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present when a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance.”

A. D. 1710. These barbarities inspired the English colonists with detestation of the missionaries who were supposed to instigate them, and of the savage foes who were used as instruments by the French; and a course of retaliation was adopted. A bounty was offered for every Indian scalp; and the unfortunate natives were hunted like wild beasts in the forests which they once proudly called their own.

Reduction of Port Royal. Meanwhile, preparations were made in the colonies for the reduction of Acadie and Canada; but it was not till September, 1710, that any success crowned their efforts, beyond ravaging an unprotected coast. But a fleet of thirty-six English and colonial vessels anchored before Port Royal, whose garrison, weak, reduced, and disheartened, immediately surrendered.

Failure of the expedition against Quebec. This expedition encouraged the English to make still greater preparations; and, accordingly, a fleet of fifteen ships-of-war and forty transports, carrying seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, sailed from Portsmouth, and reached Boston in safety. This great armament, amply sufficient for the reduction of Quebec, was entrusted to a man both obstinate and incapable—Sir Hovenden Walker—and signally and disgracefully failed in the object for which it was designed. The fleet did not leave Boston till the middle of July, 1711; and it was the twentieth of August before it reached the St. Lawrence. A fog arising, the ships were drifted among the breakers of the Egg Island, where eight of them were lost, and nearly nine hundred men were drowned. A council of war was held, and it was decided that it was impossible to proceed.

Thus Quebec was saved from attack, and leisure was given to fortify Montreal, threatened by an army from the colonies, which, however, retreated when the disaster which had happened to Admiral Walker was known. The failure of both enterprises was severely felt in the colonies, which had issued a large amount of bills of credit to defray the expenses of the war, and had calculated upon complete success.

Hostilities were closed the following year, 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, one of the most important in its consequences ever made in Europe, by which the balance of power was restored, and peace established for nearly half a century. By this treaty, Spain lost all her European provinces, but retained her colonies; while France ceded to England the free trade of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadie. Dearly, however, was peace procured, and small were the benefits which England reaped for the loss of fifty millions of pounds, to say nothing of the great destruction of human life. Louis XIV., however, was the great sufferer, since he lost fame, power, and aggrandizement—the great objects to which he had ever aspired—together with armies which had been his boast, and treasures which France never recovered.

Thus closed the intercolonial wars which occurred during the reigns of William III. and Anne, in the course of which the English colonies had doubled their population, and had begun to attract the attention of the civilized world, not only for their intrinsic importance, but also, and in a higher degree, for the promise they gave of becoming, some day, a mighty empire.