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**The Puritan Experience in New England: Its Growth and Influence**  
**(1620- 1830)**

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## Abstract

European religious protest against Roman Catholicism began during the High Middle Ages. Catharism, Calvinism, Lollardy, Protestantism, and Puritanism were all among religious movements that agreed on two main points: the corruption of the Catholic Church and supremacy of the Bible instead that of the Pope, which should be translated into the people's language. In fact, Puritanism, which was a sixteenth century English religious movement for the Anglican Church change, was rooted in the Middle Ages European protest, in a way that it was only historical development of the preceding movements and not a new one. The Puritans tried to purify the Anglican Church from certain Catholic practices, but they had to confront the monarchs who opposed and persecuted them. Their failure to reform the Church encouraged them to separate from the other group of Puritans who believed in the Reformation from within the Church.

The Puritans emigrated in the early seventeenth century to New England to establish a community based on religious freedom and toleration. There, Puritanism had a strong impact on political, economic, social, and personal life. The way the Puritans established their Church, government, economy, education and the way they dealt with the others- including the Indians, the Africans, and religious minorities- reflected their beliefs and principles. Therefore, this research work is concerned with the origin of Puritanism in Europe and the reasons for the Puritans' emigration to America, and with their plan for establishing "a city upon a hill," a city viewed by the entire world. Therefore, the Puritans should be a model of good behaviour and qualities. These objectives and aims are discussed in four chapters. The first chapter analyses the birth of religious protest in Western Europe and its development to Puritanism in England, and the driving forces behind the Puritans' departure for North America. The three other chapters examine the establishment and impact of Puritanism in New England.

**Keywords:** Roman Catholicism, Catharism, Waldenses, Lollardy, Lutheranism, Protestantism, Puritans, Reformation, persecution, exploration, emigration, New England, expansion, Congregational Church, conversion, religious diversity, the Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews, Anglicans, Methodists, Universalists, government, political parties, military system, economy, Industrial Revolution, apprenticeship, schooling, colleges, libraries, newspapers, literature, family, daily life.

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## Introduction

The history of the European exploration of America probably began with the tenth century when the Vikings went to the New World and left their traces there. Other Europeans followed the Vikings to the New World, including the Spanish and English in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese and French in the sixteenth century, and the Dutch one century later. By the early seventeenth century, the Europeans were ready to settle in America for many reasons, but primarily to strengthen their economy by bringing raw materials and providing markets for their economic products; and to escape political and religious persecution. In fact, the economic reason served as a chief motivation for the English emigration to the New World. However, Puritan immigration was particular, because of three main reasons: firstly, the Puritans' motive for settling in America was to escape from religious persecution; secondly, the initial immigration did not include aristocrats, but mostly ordinary people; thirdly, it was made by families, not by individuals.

Religious persecution in Western Europe started during the High Middle Ages when religious movements protested against the Roman Catholic Church's corruption. The Cathars in France were the first Protestants who appeared in the eleventh century, followed by the Waldenses and Calvinists in France, Hussites in Bohemia, Anabaptists in Switzerland, Protestants in Germany, the Lollards, Puritans, Presbyterians, and Separatists in England. These religious movements were given different names and appeared in different periods and places but all of them protested against neglecting the authority of the Bible and giving importance to certain misleading Church services.

Puritanism in England was only another form of Protestantism that was not welcomed by the English monarchs. As a result, emigration to New England in 1620 was the only solution to escape persecution and establish religious freedom. The Puritans believed that the Established Church in England was corrupt and needed to be purified from practices which were not prescribed in the Bible. They believed that in America they could worship God in the way they thought to be correct. The Puritans established six settlements: Plymouth, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island,

Connecticut, and New Haven. There, religion had a very significant influence on their communities. It is of some interest to note that New England was founded by two separate groups of religious dissenters: the Pilgrims or Separatists and the Non-Separatists. The first group refers to the Puritans who completely disagreed with the Established Church of England. As a result, they separated from it and established their own Congregations. The second group also refers to the Puritans who disagreed with the Anglican Church, but unlike the Separatists they hoped that the Anglican Church could be reformed. They believed in the possibility of reforming the Anglican Church.

The thesis *The Puritan Experience in New England: Its Growth and Influence (1620- 1830)* is designed to examine the events surrounding the birth of Protestantism in Europe and its development to Puritanism. It analyses the reasons for having two different lines of thought between Puritans and Separatists, then between Puritans and Baptists. The work also examines the founding of Puritanism in America in 1620, its impact over a period of two hundred and ten years, exactly from 1620 to 1830, on the political, economic, and social life. Further issue discussed in the research work is the way the Puritans' experiences in the New World reflected their expectations. The work, also, sheds light on the Puritans' attitudes towards the others, including the Indians, Africans, and other religious sects; and on the extent of the Puritan impact on people's intellectual, family and daily life.

The topic discussed in this research work has been studied by many American historians, but its importance motivates me to re-explore and re-examine it. The origin of the American identity and culture is found in Puritanism and the Pilgrim Fathers. So, if any researcher desires to understand any issue in the American history, he should refer back to the early settlers of the New World. The second reason for my motivation to deal with Puritanism is the fact that Algerian universities, and even other Arab universities, which I contacted- including universities in Mostaganem, Oran, Mascara, Sidi Bel Abbes, Algiers, Beirut, Cairo, Oujda, and Tunis, lacked a rich or specific documentation on Puritanism. A student can read on Puritanism through general books on American history, but cannot find a detailed book of Puritanism. So, this research work may modestly help enrich studies in the Algerian university.

This work consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusion, and appendices. The four chapters analyze the growth of Puritanism in England and New England, following a chronological and thematic approach beginning with 1620 till 1830. It was during that period when Puritanism was born in the American continent, to be initially the prominent religion in New England, but with the development of economic, religious and political events in New England and later the USA, the sect started to lose its power. So, the period 1620- 1830 is enough to show the development of Puritanism in New England and how it faced challenges to survive. It is significant to mention that sometimes examples mentioned on certain facts in the research work are only on Massachusetts, or only on Massachusetts and Connecticut instead of all of New England, because of four main reasons: firstly, most of the documents used in this research work mention the two regions. Secondly, the two regions are more appropriate especially when dealing with statistics since they were more populated than the rest of New England. Thirdly, Connecticut and Massachusetts held strict and extreme Puritan aims than the other regions, which represented the true Puritan thought. Fourthly, by 1830 Plymouth was combined with Massachusetts, and New Haven with Connecticut to become more powerful than before.

The first chapter *A Historical Background of Puritanism before 1620* examines the background of the Puritans, describing the religious atmosphere in Western Europe before the rise of Protestantism in England, taking into consideration the fact that the religious upheaval that England encountered was not sudden; instead it had its background in the Continent. The chapter also puts emphasis on the religious circumstances in England before 1620, and how Protestantism developed gradually to Puritanism and Separatism. The second chapter *The Establishment and Evolution of Puritanism in the New World (1620- 1830)* gives a detailed examination of the early Puritan settlements and the Indian attitudes. It provides details of the foundation of the Congregational Church, and the emergence of religious groups. The chapter is devoted to discussing the following issues: type of the Puritan settlements, official Indian-Puritan relations, Church organization and function, Puritan missions in New England, and religious diversity. The third chapter *The Puritan Impact on the Governmental Policies (1620- 1830)* is devoted to examining what the Puritans achieved at both political and economic levels, and their attitudes towards the Baptists and the Non-



Puritans. The aim here is to provide- through three sections- specific details of the political Puritan conception concerning government, voting, legislation, and military system, and of the economic situation developed by the Puritans in their societies. The third section focuses on the emergence of religious sects as a threat to the dominance of Puritanism in New England. The fourth and final chapter *Puritanism in New England's Intellectual, Family and Daily Life (1620- 1830)* gives a clear understanding of the way the Puritans followed to educate their children, and of how Puritanism was mirrored in their writings and personal life. The chapter covers all aspects of informal and formal education, cultural institutions, and the Puritan literature. It also deals with the importance of family, and the Puritans' conception of motherhood, childhood, divorce, inheritance, and of the way ordinary people lived their daily life.

## Chapter One:

### A Historical Background of Puritanism before 1620

Following Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy,<sup>1</sup> Protestantism became an additional religious branch of Christianity that emerged in Western Europe- mainly in France, Italy, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands- starting from the eleventh century aiming primarily at making reforms in the Roman Catholic Church. Although the movement was oppressed by the Roman Church, it managed to survive. The fourteenth till the seventeenth centuries also witnessed religious reforms; in England, two Puritan distinct groups prevailed: the first group refers to the Puritans who believed in the possibility of the Anglican Church's reformation; whereas the second group completely disagreed and separated from the Established Church. Their opposition to the English Tudor and Stuart monarchs' religious policy resulted in their persecution.

This chapter will deal with the situation of Roman Catholicism in Europe during the Middle Ages (500- 1500) and with the early signs of religious rejection, leading to the emergence of Protestantism and its evolution into Puritanism and Separatism in England. The chapter will also focus on the Puritans' response to their persecution, and their emigration following the exploration of America.

#### 1. Roman Catholic Domination in Europe before the Rise of the Theological Protest

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<sup>1</sup> The term Catholic is derived from the Greek adjective καθολικός, meaning universal. "Catholic." Juliet Gardiner, ed. The Penguin Dictionary of British History. (England: Penguin Books Ltd, 2000.) 117. Eastern Orthodoxy also called Orthodox Catholic Church is one of the three major branches of Christianity. The separation of the Eastern churches from the Western, or Latin, branch began with the division of the Roman Empire into two parts under Constantine I (306- 337). A formal break was made in 1054. Doctrinally, Eastern Orthodoxy differs from Roman Catholicism in not accepting the primacy of the Pope and in not accepting the clause in the Western creed that states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father (God) and the Son (Jesus). "Eastern Orthodoxy." Quoted in Britannica Concise Encyclopedia. (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, INC., 2003.) 578.

Two important steps helped the birth and evolution of Roman Catholicism: firstly, with the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine<sup>2</sup> into Christianity in 318 AD; the Catholic Church started to adopt a governmental structure, in the sense that provinces were governed by bishops based in the major cities of the province: bishops of Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Turkey, and in the Italian city Rome. Secondly, the Roman Catholic religion officially began after the Council of Nicea, Turkey in 325 AD, when the Emperor asked all the church leaders for unity. The Council was held after the heresy of Arius,<sup>3</sup> a Christian priest in Alexandria, who opposed the doctrine of Trinity: the existence of God the Father, the Holy Spirit, and Jesus the Son. Arius believed that Christ was created from another substance different from that of God. More precisely, Arius believed that God always existed without a beginning and separate from Jesus who had a beginning. So, the Council of Nicea tried to solve these religious disputes between the orthodox and unorthodox Christians by the creation of the Roman Catholic Church. The Council banned all of Arius' works and exiled him and his followers for refusing to submit to the Nicene Creed of the Council. The Creed stated that Jesus Christ was begotten and not made, which meant that he was from the same substance as that of God. The Emperor aimed at having one book that would give authority to the new Church because at that time there had been a number of religious versions, among which the Council of Nicea which considered a number of them sacred and important parts of the Bible. These included: Baruch, Daniel grec, Esther grec, Judith, and Letter of Jeremy.<sup>4</sup> The Council formulated canons regarded as Church laws that could regulate its discipline: they acknowledged the authority of the Roman Pope, showed how bishops should be ordained, and prohibited the presence of women in the house of a cleric with the exception of his relatives.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Emperor Constantine I (274 AD- 337) was the first Roman ruler to convert to Christianity. Juliet Gardiner 173.

<sup>3</sup> Arius (250-336) was a Greek Christian theologian born in Cyrenaica, a region in present- day Libya. He was ordained priest in Alexandria in 319. Six years later, he was exiled to Illyria- a region in the western part of today's Balkan Peninsula- because of his beliefs. "Arius." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography. (Britain: Helicon Publishing Ltd, 1994.) 12.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Vingroff. Social and Economic Conditions of the Roman Empire. (Britain: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1982.) 60-67.

<sup>5</sup> Refer to appendix n°1. The Church Canons (A.D. 325).

After the legalization of Roman Catholicism in 325 AD, Rome became preeminent because of internal and external factors. The former included the fact that it was the area where the Apostle Peter had been martyred and buried. He had a special importance among all Christ's apostles, and his name was always written at the beginning of the verse. Peter was mentioned several times in the Gospel, including Matthew 10:2-5, Mark 3:16-19, Luke 6:14, and Acts 1:13.<sup>6</sup> Jesus informed Peter about his plan for building a church in Rome. On the other hand, the external factor that helped the development of Roman Catholicism occurred after the death of the Prophet Mohamed (Peace Be Upon Him) in the seventh century. The Prophet's followers succeeded in invading Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, leaving only Constantinople and Rome, which gave the two regions the opportunity to emerge as powerful Christian regions.<sup>7</sup>

Roman Catholicism extended in a number of territories from the fifth to the eleventh century covering England and Wales, west of the Rhine, south of the Alps, and the Balkans; accompanying geographical expansion of the Roman Empire.<sup>8</sup> Such expansion is clearly illustrated on Map 1,<sup>9</sup> which shows the fact that after 325 AD Christian missionary centres, communities, and Church councils were established in a number of European areas.

The Roman Catholic Church was headed by the Pope, the Bishop of Rome and leader of all Christians who had supreme authority in matters of faith. Under the Pope in rank were the cardinals who headed departments of the Roman Curia, and constituted

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<sup>6</sup> "These are the names of the twelve apostles: first, Simon (called Peter)..." (Good News Bible, Matthew 10:2.)

"These are the twelve he chose: Simon (Jesus gave him the name Peter)..." (Mark 3:16.)

"Simon (whom named Peter)..." (Luke 6:14.)

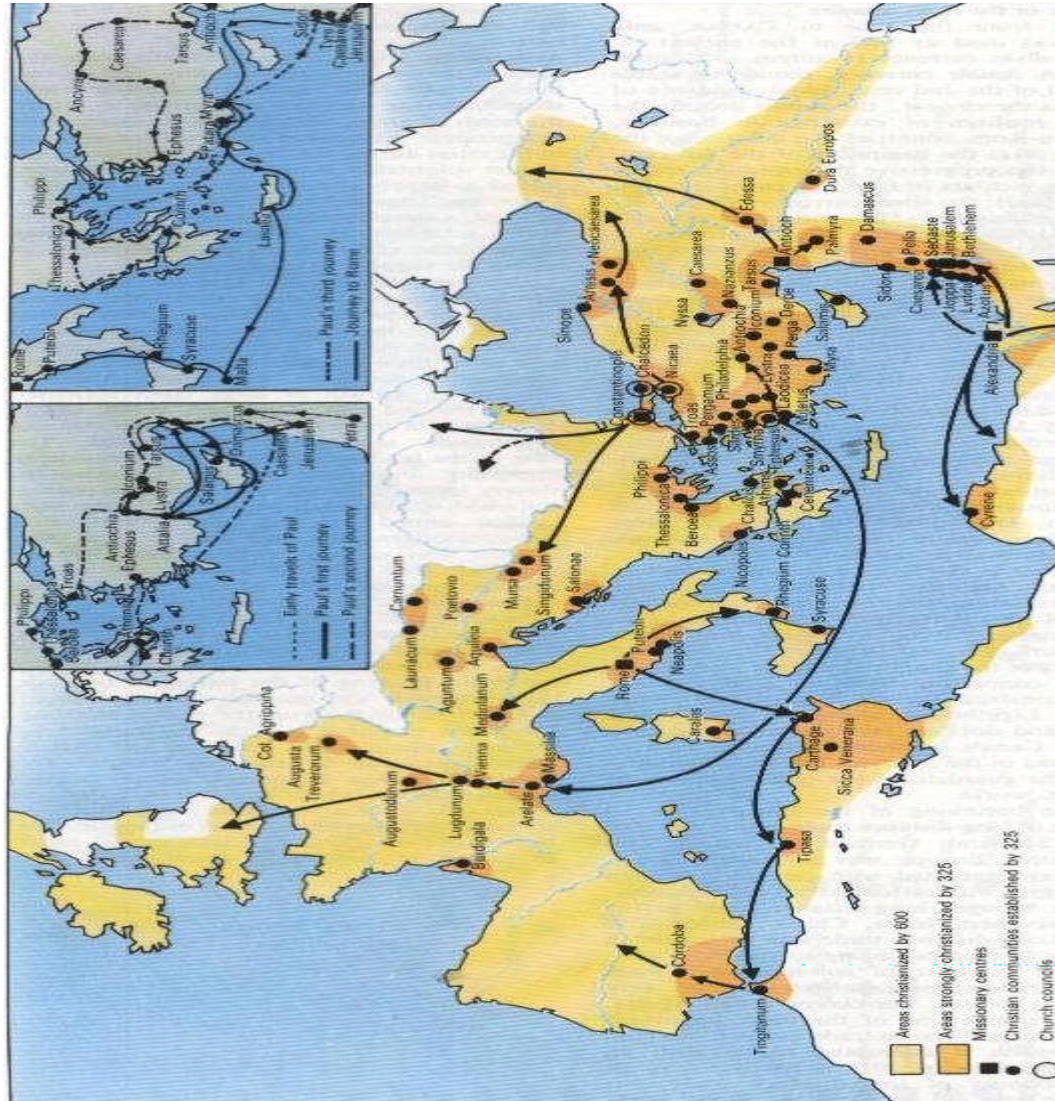
"They entered the city and went up to room where they were staying: Peter, John, James..." (Acts 1:13.)

<sup>7</sup> The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 26, (USA: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2003.) 878-9.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Vingroff 70- 73.

<sup>9</sup> Refer to Map 1: The Diffusion of Christianity up till the Seventh Century. 8.

## Map 1: The Diffusion of Christianity up till the Seventh Century



Hermann Kinder and Werner Hilgeman. Atlas of World History: Volume One. From Prehistory to the French Revolution. (England: The Penguin Group, 1974.) 106.

the College of Cardinals acting as advisers to the Pope. Below the cardinals in rank, there were archbishops whose main role was to provide pastoral governance for a diocese; they were called diocesan ordinaries, assisted by other bishops, known as coadjutor bishops. All of those bishops were assisted by priests and deacons, who had to be celibate men. In fact, the Catholics believed that an unmarried clergy could serve God with more freedom.

The Roman Catholics believed in monotheism, that is the existence of a single God as three different, inseparable persons: God the Father, God the Holy Spirit, and God the Son- Jesus<sup>10</sup>. Jesus' life, especially his crucifixion and resurrection,<sup>11</sup> is the basis of Christianity. The Roman Catholics believed in the ascendancy of the early church founded by Jesus Christ, and believed in Heaven and Hell.

The Catholics also believed in the importance of the seven sacraments, which are: baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, holy orders, matrimony, and anointing of the sick. The first is a sacrament of admission into the Christian Church, which involves the use of water and the Trinitarian invocation, "I baptize you: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."<sup>12</sup> The candidate is wholly or partly immersed in water, which is poured over or sprinkled on the head. The second is a Christian ceremony by which the relation between man and God established previously in baptism is to be confirmed or strengthened. The third, also called Holy Communion, a Christian sacrament to remember the action of Jesus at his Last Supper with his disciples, when he gave bread saying, "This is my body," and wine saying, "This is my blood."<sup>13</sup> The Roman Catholics agreed that it was an important action

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<sup>10</sup>The Roman Catholics believed that it would not be right to think of the Trinity with each person representing only one-third of God's being. Rather, the Father is all of God's being. The Son also is all God's being. And the Holy Spirit is all of God's being. Thus, there are three distinct persons, but each person is fully and wholly God. Quoted in Wayne Grudem. Bible Doctrine. Essential Teachings of the Christian Faith. (England: Inter- Varsity Press, 1999.) 118- 120.

<sup>11</sup> Jesus had been crucified by the Jewish people before he was killed. One of the Jewish people said to the Roman governor that Jesus said to his disciples that he would be raised to life three days after his death. Therefore, a guard was put next to the Christ's tomb, so that his disciples would not be able to steal his body and show it to people. Jesus appeared to people on the next Sunday and ordered his disciples to baptize all people everywhere. The Christ's appearance after death is known as the Resurrection. (Mark 15:21- 34; 16: 1-18.)

<sup>12</sup> (The Acts 8: 12.)

<sup>13</sup> (The Acts 8: 13.)

because by eating bread and drinking wine, the Church recalled what Jesus Christ had done. The fourth is the punishment of those who sin seriously, and are to be excluded from the Holy Communion until they show repentance by experiencing a period of penance that includes practices such as fasting, and the wearing of sackcloth. The fifth sacrament is a group of orders: major orders including (subdeacons, deacons, priests, bishops), and minor orders comprising (porters, lectors, exorcists and acolytes) which represent church services. The sixth means that marriage is a sacrament when contracted in the presence of a priest and blessed by him. The last sacrament, which is practised only on those who are seriously ill, involves anointing eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands, the feet and the loins with blessed oil and the pronouncement of a formula.<sup>14</sup>

The Catholic Church could dominate because of economic self-sufficiency. During, the Early Medieval Ages (500-1000), the Catholic Empire experienced the system of manorialism or seignorialism, a relationship that existed between lords and peasants through serfdom and granted both the lords and clergy financial power. The peasants rented land from the lords and performed military duties for the landowners.<sup>15</sup> Besides, the Romans' trade was primarily based on olive oil and wine which were among their main exports, and the Empire's manufacturing was based on mining and quarrying of stones.<sup>16</sup> This economic situation of the Empire backed its political and religious power.

The Roman Catholic Church controlled religion, politics, schooling, literature, and music. All those who did not acknowledge the Pope as God's representative on Earth and the Roman Church as the only true church were punished. What reinforced this idea was the doctrine of sinless perfectionism which strengthened the position of the Roman hierarchy, in the sense that the clergy were believed to be more holy than the

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<sup>14</sup> The formula was the recitation of (James 5:15): (This prayer made in faith will heal the sick; the Lord will restore them to health, and the sins they have committed will be forgiven.)

<sup>15</sup> The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Volume 16. (USA: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1974.) 116-118.

<sup>15</sup> The manorial system was flourishing in Western Europe by the eighth century and had began to decline by the thirteenth century, while in Eastern Europe it achieved its greatest strength after the fifteenth century. "Manorialism." Quoted in Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia. (USA: Encyclopaedia Britannica, INC., 2003.) 1157.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Vingroff 75.

ordinary people and would not do anymore sins. Because they were thought to be sinless; they had the authority from God to show His mercy:

Salvation taken from the hands of God, fell into those of the priests, who set themselves in the place of our Lord. Souls thirsting for pardon were no more to look to heaven, but to the Church, and above all to its pretended head. To these blinded souls the Roman pontiff was God. Hence the greatness of the popes- hence unutterable abuses.<sup>17</sup>

Roman Catholicism influenced political life of various countries during the Middle Ages (500- 1500). For instance, Pope Innocent III (1198- 1216) claimed that “he had an obligation to intervene in secular matters and could be judged by no one.”<sup>18</sup> He interfered in the kingdom of France to persuade King Philip II (1180- 1223) to restore his legitimate wife, and he excommunicated King John of England (1199- 1216) for refusing to accept Stephen Langton,<sup>19</sup> an English prelate and cardinal, as archbishop of Canterbury. To strengthen its political monopoly, the Church also controlled the army. The knights, a number of fighting men, were prepared to protect both the king and clergy, the latter obliging the knights to fast and pray to purify their souls, be loyal to the Church and defend it.

Church monopoly also covered schooling. From the fifth to the eighth century monastic schools included elementary and secondary levels, where pupils studied Latin in Church ceremonies and teachings. Besides these schools, the bishops founded boarding schools where clergymen learnt a trade while performing duties. King Charlemagne<sup>20</sup> of the Franks, Western Germany (768- 814) is considered to be the founder of medieval education, who believed that Christianity necessitated a certain

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<sup>17</sup> Paul Vingroff 88.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Vingroff.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Langton (1150- 1228) was born in England, but lived in France where he was a teacher of theology in the University of Paris. Pope Innocent III (1198- 1216) appointed him in 1206 a Cardinal and an Archbishop of Canterbury one year later. James Donald. Catholicism. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.) 19.

<sup>20</sup> Charles the Great, known as Charlemagne, born in 742 and was king of the Franks from 768 to his death in 814. He helped in converting the Saxons into Christianity. “Charles the Great.” The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 34.



level of literacy in order to understand the Bible. During his first years of reign, the king insisted on education for the clergy through their persuasion or under compulsion, because they had to be accurate in Latin. As a matter of fact, Catholicism impacted both the content of instruction and method of training. Pupils were not allowed to contradict their teachers, the latter were supposed to know and teach the Bible. However, the schools provided limited opportunities for women's education. Besides, during the High Middle Ages (1000- 1300), the Church founded universities in England, Portugal, Spain, France, and in Germany, whose main subject was theology; old cathedral schools were also developed into universities.<sup>21</sup>

Literature and music of the Middle Ages were also impacted by Roman Catholicism in a way that the Church could either ban or permit them. Examples included all Arius' writings which were banned in the 330's for contradicting trinitarianism. The fifth century St. Augustine's *City of God* which dealt with Church and state relations, and Venerable Bede's<sup>22</sup> *Ecclesiastical History* written three centuries later that also treated theological matters were sanctioned. Besides, medieval drama was Christian in the sense that it took place in the Roman Church during an important religious ceremony, as for instance the New Year Festival.<sup>23</sup> The Church controlled music which was performed by monasteries to support the liturgy used when celebrating the Mass. The Gregorian Chant, organized by Pope Gregory I (590- 604), was accepted as the music of the Church; and it was used by the twelfth century in most of the Western European countries.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The New Encyclopedia Britannica. Volume 18. (USA: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 2003.) 10- 20.

<sup>22</sup> St. Augustine was born in Tagaste- its recent name is Souk Ahras, Algeria- from a humble family. He had been pagan before he converted to Christianity. He died in 430 at the age of seventy six. Norman F. Cantor. Civilization of the Middle Ages. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994.) 52.

Bede (672- 735) was an author and priest in the Roman Church. Among his writings were: *On the Reckoning of Time* and *the Greater Chronicle*. Norman F. Cantor 96.

<sup>23</sup>In the medieval period, Europeans had celebrated the New Year on December 25<sup>th</sup> along with the Christmas. But in 1582, Pope Gregory XIII (1572- 1585) ordered adoption of what was to be known as the Gregorian Calendar according to which January 1<sup>st</sup> was officially adopted as the New Year's Day. Paul Vingroff 110- 112.

There were three types of play: the mystery, the miracle, and the morality. Paul Vingroff 112.

<sup>24</sup> Norman F. Cantor 100- 110.

The Roman Catholic impact on political, economic, and social life of Europe was weakened by a number of Church abuses reported during the Middle Ages. The historian, Norman F. Cantor, describes in his book, *Civilization of the Middle Ages*, the corrupt and inferior situation of the Roman Catholic Church in the High Middle Ages; during which the Pope paid less attention to his main work, that of spreading Christianity. Instead, he was occupied with other activities such as the secular affairs of Europe. The situation of the other churchmen- mainly the archbishops- was not very different from that of the Pope; who were living in palaces and employed men to work their lands. They were concerned with how to increase their income. For instance, the profits from the lands were given to the Roman Church instead of being used for the development of the country, this resulted in a gap between the churchmen and their parish clergy, most of whom were very poor and did not receive any training.

The Roman Catholic Church neglected not only its ecclesiastical purpose, but also its charge towards education; which was considered a fundamental aspect to motivate religion, since a good Christian had to be literate. The majority of people were serfs, served as agricultural workers and were generally illiterate because they did not attend schools. Schooling was mainly for those who had money to pay tuition.<sup>25</sup>

Antagonistic feelings towards what was happening in the Catholic Church were an expected reaction of a number of people mainly in Western Europe. Religious change became a fundamental issue during the eleventh century, when reformers worried that the clergy were not faithful to the discipline that was required for right ecclesiastical life. A number of theologians rejected the fact that religious authority should be controlled by one particular institution- the Roman Catholic Church; or by one specific person- the Pope. They asked, instead, for the supremacy of the Bible.

## **2. Opposition to the Roman Catholic Church**

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<sup>25</sup> Norman F. Cantor 135- 156.

Opposition to the Roman Catholic Church in the western part of Europe possibly originated with the first Cathars and Waldenses who appeared in France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries successively. The Cathars derived their name from the Greek language meaning pure; and were also referred to as the Albigensians, a name which referred to the town of Albi in France. The sect had spread in a number of other European regions, including Italy and Germany during the first half of the eleventh century and appeared also in Belgium in the early twelfth century during which they escaped from persecution to take refuge in the Netherlands.

The new sect introduced new ideas different from the orthodox ones, in the sense that the Cathars believed in a dual world created by the Good God and the Bad God. The former created immaterial things such as light and souls, which were considered angels. However, a number of the immaterial things were controlled by the Bad God who imprisoned them in human or mammal bodies. Therefore, people and mammals were hybrid, in a way that they had a good spirit kept inside a bad body. After death, those creatures would recover their original state as angels since Evil would lose its control over them. Evil was the source of sin and everything bad such as natural phenomena including earthquakes and wars. In this way, the Cathars considered the Gospel of John a sacred text and denied the Old Testament, whose God was Evil, where the world was seen as a prison where believers or prisoners were ordered to be obedient.<sup>26</sup>

The sect did not only expose its new faith but also criticized the Catholic beliefs, which led to serious friction between the two sects. Unlike the Catholics, the Cathars did not believe in a number of concepts including Hell after death and purgatory- a place where dead souls would be purified from sins by suffering. They stated that these two concepts- Hell and purgatory- should not be feared after death, since the material world was the only Hell and there would be no Hell after death. The group also criticized the fact that all the sacraments<sup>27</sup> practised by the Roman Church would not lead to salvation, because they were not the right sacraments introduced by the Christ.

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<sup>26</sup> Adams Leonard. *A Religious History of Europe*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.) 52- 67.

<sup>27</sup> The Catholic sacraments are detailed in the first section of chapter one. 9- 10.

The latter, the Cathars believed, was spirit and not a human being. The only sacrament confirmed by the sect was baptism or consolamentum; which was not practised by water but by fire, in the sense that a person had to run through fire.

The Cathars also condemned the Roman Catholic Church for not deriving its authority from the Creator, a common point between all the Non- Catholic sects which would later protest against the Orthodox Church. Instead, the Church attached too much significance to the material world as the Cathars clearly described it saying:

You [...] add house to house, field to field, and seek the things that are of this world [...] We, the poor of Christ, who have no fixed abode and flee from city to city like sheep amidst wolves, are persecuted as were the apostles and martyrs.<sup>28</sup>

The Cathars denied the idea of priesthood, an important rank in the Roman hierarchy, backed by the fact that it had no biblical sanction because the New Testament never dealt with it. Their church structure was different from the Catholic one, they elected bishops to be responsible for a number of areas. In case of death, another official- the Elder Son- would succeed him. The Younger Son would replace the Elder Son and a new Younger Son would have to be selected among the Elect. The Elder and Younger Sons were considered first and second deacons respectively.<sup>29</sup>

The same period of medieval history that witnessed the emergence and suppression of Catharism saw the rise of another religious movement known as the Waldenses. The latter was launched by Peter Waldo, a French theologian,<sup>30</sup> in the twelfth century in France, spreading to the neighbouring areas including Italy and Spain. The new sect shared much in common with the Cathar ideas; simply because it was, first, a reaction against the Roman Catholic Church which neglected the superiority of the Bible and misled people by false practices such as purgatory and other

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<sup>28</sup> R.I. More. The Birth of Popular Heresy. (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1995.) 129.

<sup>29</sup> R.I. More 131- 132.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Waldo (1140- 1216) was a prosperous merchant in Lyons, France. He gave away all of his money to live in poverty and preach the gospel. Adams Leonard 80.

unwanted doctrines including kissing the altar, the priest's hand, and the Pope's feet which was not mentioned in the Bible. The sect believed that these people, except their Creator, could not forgive people's sins. The second point in common between the two movements was that they had a similar organization; they were divided into two main groups: the Believers and the Perfect, the latter consisting of bishops, and deacons. Yet, the Waldenses agreed on a number of Roman Catholic doctrines, which gave them a chance to gain papal approval for the movement. For instance, they believed in Trinity and the two natures of Christ: one of God and the other of man.<sup>31</sup>

The Cathars suffered more from Catholic oppression than the Waldenses did, probably because the two sects did not emerge exactly at the same period. The Church's reaction to the Cathars was more aggressive because it was the first organized religious movement which launched its protest against the Catholics, something not usual at that time. In addition, the existence of two anti-Catholic religious groups in the same area during the High Medieval Ages (1000- 1300) might have led to civil war and its widespread in other areas. So, to avoid friction and prevent alliance between the two sects, it was a clever solution suggested by the Catholic Church to gain one side by negotiation. In fact, the Cathars were considered heretics against whom oppression had to be launched starting from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The Church banned the Cathar writings, among which was *The Book of Two Principles*, written in the eleventh century and which dealt with the conception of a dual world. During the same period, Pope Innocent III (1198- 1216) expelled a number of officials from their posts in the south of France- because they had advocated the Cathar movement. In 1208, the Pope launched a war known as the Albigensian Crusade which was to last for twenty years against the sect in the French town Languedoc. The Cathars attempted in vain to leave the town and were defeated. In 1215, the Roman Catholic bishops met at the Fourth Council of the Lateran to take measures against the remaining Cathars. As a result, the Church started its attack in the south- mainly in Toulouse, Albi, and Carcassonne- killing more than two hundred Cathars and punishing Catholic laymen who encouraged the sect.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> This doctrine- the two natures of Christ- had already been denied by Arius then by the Cathars. For more details, refer to the first section of chapter one. 6

<sup>32</sup> Adams Leonard 89.

On the other hand, although the Waldenses did not reject all the Catholic beliefs, they were also considered heretics by the Roman Church. A number of Roman Catholic priests in France tried in 1179 to control the movement because it was considered a menace. Therefore, Peter Waldo complained to Pope Alexander III (1159- 1181) who praised the sect for being poor, but criticized its lack of theological experience in the sense that the movement needed to be examined by the Catholic Church discipline. The sect, according to the Pope, could only preach with the permission of the archbishop of Lyons, France. The proposal was rejected by the Waldenses, and the Church did not give another chance of negotiation to the sect. Consequently, during the 1180's, the Waldenses were persecuted, which pushed them to escape to Italy. In the same period, Pope Lucius III (1181- 1185) issued a Bull of Excommunication, according to which Christian heresy should be abolished and all sects that might preach without the authorization of the official Church should be banned.<sup>33</sup>

Both sects- Catharism and the Waldenses- were considered heretical and corrupt by the Roman Catholic Church. The latter itself experienced corruption within its institutions during the fourteenth century known as the Great Schism preceded by the move of the Pope to France instead of Italy, which was to be called the Avignon Papacy. The latter, also called the Babylonian Captivity,<sup>34</sup> was a period starting in the early fourteenth century- namely in 1309- and ending sixty eight years later; at which the Pope did no longer reside in Rome, but instead in Avignon, France. During that period, all the popes were French: Pope Clement V (1305- 1314), John XXII (1316- 1334), Benedict XII (1334- 1342), Clement VI (1342- 1352), Innocent VI (1352- 1362), Urban V (1362- 1370), and Gregory XI (1370- 1378).<sup>35</sup>

The main reason for that situation was the friction that appeared among the bishops in Rome at the conclave of cardinals, a meeting for the pope's election after the death of Pope Benedict XI (1303- 1304). The competition was among the Roman

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<sup>33</sup> Adams Leonard 91-92.

<sup>34</sup> It was the Italian poet and philosopher Francesco Petrarch (1304- 1374) who first referred to the Avignon move as Babylonian Captivity. Quoted in Thomas F. X. Noble, Rachel G. Fughes, eds. Western Civilization: The Continuing Experiment.( USA: Charles Hartford, 2006.) 333.

<sup>35</sup> Refer to Appendix 2: A Chronological List of the Roman Catholic Popes (1303- 1455).

families who produced former popes such as the Colonna and the Orsini.<sup>36</sup> So to avoid problems, the Church thought of moving the Papacy to Avignon. Clement V- who was a friend of King Philip IV (1285- 1314) of France- agreed to be a Pope but in France.

The situation of the Catholic Church in Avignon was marked by abuses committed by some Popes who tried to keep the papacy in France and lead the country to wars. Between 1305 and 1312, a number of French cardinals were appointed by the royal court which meant that future Popes would be French since the cardinals were in charge of the election. In addition, during the papacy of John XXII, Benedict XII and Clement VI, fortunes were spent on wars, banquets ...etc. For instance, a conflict emerged between John XXII and Roman Emperor Louis IV (1328- 1347), because the latter denied the right of the Pope to install the Emperor by coronation. The situation was more aggravated by the fact that there was interference of secular authority in religious matters. Examples include the excommunication of the theologians Marsilius of Padua and William Ockham<sup>37</sup> by the French king Philip because they criticized the papacy. This was the case of all the Avignon Popes with the exception of Innocent VI and Urban V who tried to establish peaceful policy.<sup>38</sup>

During the papacy of Gregory XI, namely in 1378, two important events occurred: the return of the papacy to Rome, and the start of the Great Schism or Papal Schism which lasted till 1417. There was friction between the Pope and the French king because the King established in 1374 an embargo against grain exports to Spain, and opposition against the papacy then strengthened. What motivated the Pope to move to Italy was the fact that both the theologians Catherine of Siena and St. Bridget of

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<sup>36</sup> The Colonna family produced one pope and a number of other leaders. Thomas F. X. Noble, Rachel G. Fughs 333.

Members of the Orsini family included popes Celestine III (1191- 1198), Nicholas III (1277- 1280), and Benedict XIII (1724- 1730). Don Charles. Catholic Social Teaching. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.) 77.

<sup>37</sup> Marsilius of Padua (1270- 1342) was a physician and theologian born in Padua, Italy. In 1312, he was appointed by Pope John XXII (1316- 1334) to one of the canonries of the church of Padua. James Donald 72.

William Ockham (1280- 1349) was an English philosopher and theologian, born in Ockham, a small village in London. James Donald 93.

<sup>38</sup> Don Charles 102.

Sweden<sup>39</sup> succeeded in convincing him to return to Rome. Yet, this did not end the religious instability encountered by the Catholic Church; it experienced instead the existence of two popes at the same time. Urban VI (1378-1389) succeeded Gregory XI as Pope, and he was described by people as distrustful and dictatorial. As a result, a number of cardinals moved from Rome to another Italian city, Anagni, where they elected Clement VII (1378-1394) as a rival pope in September of the same year, who re-established a papal court in Avignon. Clement VII was succeeded by Pope Benedict XIII whose papacy ended in 1417.

The existence of two Popes, one in Italy and another in France resulted in political division in Europe; in a way that countries were classified according to which Pope they sided with. A number of countries including mainly France, Burgundy, Savoy, Naples, Castile, and Scotland recognized the Avignon Pope. However, Germany, England, the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Scandinavia, Portugal, and Poland recognized the Roman Pope. The schism is clearly described on Map 2: the larger camp one constituted of the adherents of the Roman Pope.<sup>40</sup>

Attempts to end the Schism were made during the fifteenth century, the French king had tried in vain to compel Pope Benedict XIII to leave his post; and a canon law was passed in 1408 by the Church Council, according to which both Popes were

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<sup>39</sup> Catherine of Siena (1347- 1380) was the twenty fifth child of her father, born in Italy. The best known of her writings was *The Dialogue*, a series of theological treatises. Her religious writings brought her to the attention of Pope Gregory XI. James Donald 103.

St. Bridget of Sweden (1303- 1373) was the daughter of one of the wealthiest landholders of the country. She believed that Christ appeared to her. James Donald.

<sup>40</sup> Refer to Map 2: The Schism (Rome/ Avignon), 1378- 1417. 19.



Map 2: The Schism (Rome/ Avignon), 1378- 1417



summoned to meet in Savona, a region in Italy. But the Popes rejected the order; and one year later, a Church council was held in the Italian region Pisa aiming at ending the Schism. Alexander V (1409- 1410), the third Pope, had been elected and was succeeded after his death by John XXIII (1410-1415). It was only after the Council of Constance (1414- 1418) had been held that the two Popes John XXIII and Benedict XIII were dismissed and Pope Martin V (1417-1431) was elected, leading to the end of the Schism.<sup>41</sup>

The deterioration of the Roman Catholic Church during the earlier centuries was considered the root reason for the emergence of further anti-Catholic movements in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries including the Wycliffite and Hussite movements in England and Bohemia respectively. Like the preceding religious movements, they rejected a number of Catholic practices and asked for the supremacy of the Bible. The Wycliffite movement was led by the English theologian John Wycliffe<sup>42</sup> in the second half of the fourteenth century, later developed to Lollardy<sup>43</sup> by his followers. All the Wycliffe's adherents believed in the necessity of reforming the Roman Catholic Church; the Lollards added their rejection of images, pilgrimage, vestments, the celibacy of priests, and confession.<sup>44</sup>

Lollardy emerged in England and asked for a direct relationship between the people and the Church, and for the supremacy of the Bible and not that of the Church.

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<sup>41</sup> Thomas F. X. Noble, Rachel G. Fughs, eds. 335- 336.

<sup>42</sup> John Wycliffe (1320-1384) was born in Yorkshire, and educated at Balliol College, University of Oxford. He received a doctorate in theology in 1372. He taught philosophy at Oxford throughout most of his career, while serving as a priest in a succession of parishes. Wycliffe wrote several pamphlets refuting the Pope's claims and defending the right of Parliament to limit church power. "Wycliffe John." The World Book Encyclopedia. V. 18. (Chicago: The Quarrie Corporation, 1944). 7903.

<sup>43</sup> The term Lollardy was previously used in the first half of the fourteenth century to describe a number of German sects. "Lollards." Philip Schaff, ed. A Religious Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology. Third Edition. Vol.2. (London: Funk and Wagnall's Company, 1894.) 1337-1341.

<sup>44</sup> The sect derived its name from the Dutch language meaning to mutter or mumble, referring to the Lollards' way of worship when reading the Bible. Margaret Deanesly. The Significance of the Lollard Bible. (London: The Athlone Press, 1951.) 14.

These claims had already been presented by different religious movements,<sup>45</sup> but what was new with the Lollardy was the fact that it was the first unorthodox religious group to protest against the Church in England, and introduce for the first time in Europe a Bible translated into the language of the common people.

The Wycliffite movement started in the regions of London, Bristol, Leicester, Buckinghamshire, Lincoln, and Amersham. The movement comprised a number of important figures including John Hacker, John Stacey, Lawrence Maxwell, John Sercot, John Tewkesbury, and Robert Necton.<sup>46</sup> The Lollards belonged to different social ranks: illiterate people including tradesmen and craftsmen, and officials including the clergy.<sup>47</sup>

The Wycliffites believed in the importance of the Bible and in its use among the lay people. They also believed in predestination which meant that true church should consist of people chosen by the Creator who had predestined them to salvation. The Creator decided everything that would happen and people could not change this. The Wycliffites rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation,<sup>48</sup> and stated that the Christ's

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<sup>45</sup> Refer to Appendix 3: The Evolution of Old Dissent.

<sup>46</sup> John Hacker (1490- 1552) was born in Hampshire and lived in Essex while keeping in touch with his fellow believers in London. He abjured in 1521, but continued with his evangelizing until he was caught again in 1528. Quoted in Malcolm D. Lambert. Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation. (England: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.) 392.

John Stacey was an important Lollard figure, born in 1492 in England and died in 1564 in Epping, England. "Stacey John." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 211.

Lawrence Maxwell (1481- 1561) born in London, and studied in Oxford where he obtained his doctorate in theology in 1511. He was a teacher there for fifteen years. He wrote *the Christian World* in 1520 and *the Christian Kingdom* thirty- nine years later. "Maxwell Lawrence." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 101.

John Sercot (1476- 1559) was born in Yorkshire, and educated at Oxford University. He served as a priest in different parishes. He was found killed in his house in London but nothing was known about the reason. "Sercot John." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 200.

John Tewkesbury (1499- 1564) born in England, and was an important Lollard figure who gave away all of his money to support the movement. "Tewkesbury John." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 302.

Robert Necton (1485- 1559) born in Oxford where he was a teacher of theology in the University of Oxford. "Necton Robert." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 117.

<sup>47</sup> A. G. Dickens dealt with illiteracy that characterized the movement and mentioned just one schoolmaster in addition to the clergy. A. G. Dickens. The English Reformation. Britain: William Clowes and Sons Ltd, 1965.23.

<sup>48</sup> Transubstantiation is the change of the substance of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ occurring in the Eucharist. Margaret Deanesly 23.

body and blood were spiritually and not physically present during the Lord's Supper.<sup>49</sup> They rejected monasticism<sup>50</sup>, but accepted clerical marriage.<sup>51</sup>

To spread their ideologies, the Lollards tried to follow different approaches, including translation of the Bible and publication of books. First, Nicholas Hereford,<sup>52</sup> an Oxford priest, translated in 1378 the Vulgate into English. The historian Margaret Deanesly thinks that the aim of John Wycliffe behind the translation was only to contradict all that was Roman Catholic, because fourteenth century English ordinary people were mostly illiterate.<sup>53</sup> Second, the theologians published books as a means that would facilitate the spread of their religious ideas and encourage people to read the Bible. Seventeen years later, they published in English the Twelve Conclusions which confirmed and backed their beliefs. It also confirmed the idea of the separation of the English Church from the Roman Catholic one, in a way that it should be autonomous. The document rejected prayers for the dead, and warfare. But, the Twelve Conclusions did not succeed in making the Bible available for the ordinary people; and was

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<sup>49</sup> All the theologians who criticized the Roman Catholic Church used religious concepts different from the Catholic ones. They used, for instance, ordinances instead of sacraments and the Lord's Supper instead of the Eucharist. Duane Oldfield. "The Christian Right's Influence and How to Counter It." Foreign Policy in Focus: The Second International Conference hosted at the department of English, University of Philadelphia, Aug. 27-30, 2003. Peter Land and Anna Roberts. Philadelphia: American Political Science Association. 2004. 17.

<sup>50</sup> Monasticism is an institutionalized religious movement whose members are bound by vows to an ascetic life of prayer, meditation, or good works. Members of monastic orders (monks) are usually celibate, and they live apart from society either in a community of monks or nuns or as religious recluses. "Monasticism." Quoted in Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 1249.

<sup>51</sup> A. G. Dickens 22.

The World Book Encyclopaedia. V.15. 739.

<sup>52</sup> Nicholas Hereford (1355 – 1420) was a Catholic priest born in Herefordshire, England. He served as the Treasurer of Hereford Cathedral; and in 1381, he was accused of heresy for favouring and keeping up Wycliffe's doctrine and the translation of the Holy Bible into English. Clayton J. Drees. The Late Medieval Age of Crisis and Renewal, 1300- 1500. A Biographical Dictionary. (England: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001.) 220- 221.

<sup>53</sup> Margaret Deanesly 5-7.

criticized by a number of English writers including Thomas Netter and Bishop Reginald Pecock.<sup>54</sup>

During the early years of the Wycliffite movement, the group succeeded in having little support from some officials. John of Gaunt<sup>55</sup> the Duke of Lancaster- who protected John Wycliffe was not the only supporter, but there was also a group of knights during the monarchy of Richard II (1377- 1399) who tried to spread the Lollards' ideas by appointing priests to teach about the new religious reforms to ordinary people. The support was only for a while, from the beginning Wycliffe and his followers faced a cruel policy. The Bishop of London- William Courtenay- had convoked in 1377 John Wycliffe to recant his ideas, but the theologian was supported by both John of Gaunt and the first Earl of Northumberland Lord Percy.<sup>56</sup> Persecution

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<sup>54</sup> Thomas Netter was a Theologian born at Saffron, England, about 1375; and died at Rouen, France in 1430. He entered the Carmelite Order in London, and pursued his studies partly there and partly at Oxford, where he took degrees, and spent a number of years in teaching. His public life began in 1409, when he was sent to the Council of Pisa, where he is said to have upheld the rights of the council. Back in England he took a prominent part in the prosecution of Wycliffites and Lollards. Netter devoted the remainder of his life to the government of his province and the composition of his principal work. "Netter Thomas." Quoted in Zimmerman B. The Catholic Encyclopaedia. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911.) 442.

Reginald Pecock (1395- 1460) was a Bishop of Chichester, born in North Wales and died at Thorney Abbey. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford where he obtained a fellowship in 1417. He was ordained priest on 8 March 1421, and took the degree of bachelor in divinity four years later. In 1431, he was appointed master of Whittington College, London, and rector of St. Michael's-in-Riola. The activity of the London Lollards drew him into controversy against them and at this time he wrote The Book of Christian Religion and Donet, an introduction to Christian doctrine which was published about 1440. In 1444, he was made Bishop of St. Asaph by papal provision dated 22 April, and on 14 June he was consecrated by Archbishop Stafford. At the same time he took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford without any academic act. In 1459, he was confined in the Abbey of Thorney. "Pecock Reginald." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 190. G. Dickens 24.

<sup>55</sup> John of Gaunt (1340- 1399) was an English nobleman and politician born in Ghent, Belgium and was the fourth son of Edward III (1327- 1377). He became Duke of Lancaster from 1362. During Edward's last years, and the years before Richard II (1377- 1399) attained the age of majority, he acted as head of government, and Parliament protested against his corrupt rule. He was the father of Edward IV (1461- 1483). "John of Gaunt." Quoted in The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopaedia of British History. (Britain: Helicon Publishing Limited, 2001.) 195.

<sup>56</sup> William Courtenay (1341- 1396), was an Archbishop of Canterbury from 1381 to 1396. As bishop of London (from 1375) and then archbishop of Canterbury, he led the opposition within the English church to Wycliffe and the Lollards. He was particularly influential in driving them out of Oxford, the university at which he had been a student and was to become chancellor. Quoted in Juliet Gardiner 185. Henry Percy was the first Earl of Northumberland (1342- 1408) who led the 1403 rebellion against Henry IV (1399- 1413), in which his son, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, was killed. Percy joined an alliance in 1405 with the politicians Edmund de Mortimer and Owen Glendower against the king. He

increased during the fifteenth century in comparison to the preceding one and included the enactment of laws against the movement, recantation, burning, and imprisonment. This was mainly due to the fact that King Richard II was less severe than his successors on one hand, and England lacked experience in dealing with heresy on the other. The statute *De Heretico Comburendo* (the Burning of Heretics) was passed in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, according to which the Lollards who refused to recant would be burnt. John Purvey was forced to recant, William Sawtrey was burnt in February 1401, and Sir John Oldcastle was imprisoned.<sup>57</sup> Thirteen years later, another statute- which was the last English statute against the Lollards- was enacted to revise the 1401 Act and confirm that “heresy was an offence against the common law.”<sup>58</sup> The historian M. Creighton mentions that after that period persecution decreased because a number of Lollards were forced to recant their religious ideas which resulted in the reduction of the Lollard adherents, and he mentions the death of only twenty- eight victims.<sup>59</sup> This continued during the sixteenth century, exactly from 1506 to 1532, when over two hundred and eighty Lollards- mostly from Amersham and Buckingham- were forced to recant with the exception of six who were burnt. Between 1510 and 1517, seventy- seven Lollards including more than twenty women were prosecuted. Thomas

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was obliged to flee to Scotland, but later invaded England and died on the field at Braham Moor. Juliet Gardiner 257.

David Fountain. *John Wycliffe. The Dawn of the Reformation*. (England: Mayflower England Books, 1984.) 5.

<sup>57</sup> John Purvey (1354-1421) was an English scholar, who in support of the Lollardy movement completed the first translation of the Bible into English. Becoming associated with John Wycliffe at Oxford, he accompanied the Lollard leader to Lutterworth in 1382 and there finished a translation of the Bible previously begun by other Lollards under Wycliffe’s inspiration. Purvey continued active as a Lollard until his arrest in 1401. The following year he recanted under pressure. In 1403, however, he resumed Lollard activities until his arrest again in 1421. “Purvey John.’ The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 191.

William Sawtrey (1336- 1401) was the first Lollard martyr born in Norfolk, England. He served as a priest in Lynn and Norfolk’s churches. Norman F. Cantor 99.

John Oldcastle (1377-1417) was an English leader of the Lollards and religious martyr, born in Almeley, Herefordshire. In 1401, while serving in the campaign of King Henry IV (1399- 1413) to put down the Welsh rebel Owen Glendower, he became a close friend of Henry, Prince of Wales, later Henry V, king of England. Oldcastle served in the House of Commons in 1404 and in the House of Lords after 1409. In 1413, he was convicted and condemned to death as a heretic. Oldcastle escaped from imprisonment in the Tower of London and early in 1414 led an abortive revolt of the Lollards against the throne. Captured on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1417, Oldcastle was executed the same day by hanging and was burnt on the scaffold. “Oldcastle John.” Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

A. G. Dickens 25.

<sup>58</sup> Norman F. Cantor 99-100.

<sup>59</sup> M. Creighton 1341.

Man,<sup>60</sup> another Lollard, was burnt in 1518 after he had denounced his recant of 1511. Map 3 shows the important regions where the Lollard movement spread from the early fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

Two important events came about as a result of the Lollards' failure to continue and advance their religious movement in England. First, the term Lollards was no longer used to describe them; instead they would be called heretics. Second, the English Lollardy encouraged the emergence of other religious movements which asked for more reforms in the Catholic Church. The Hussites, for instance, succeeded in modifying the Bohemian Church. Hussite was a religious movement which followed the Swiss theologian John Huss' teachings.<sup>62</sup> It first appeared in the Kingdom of Bohemia during

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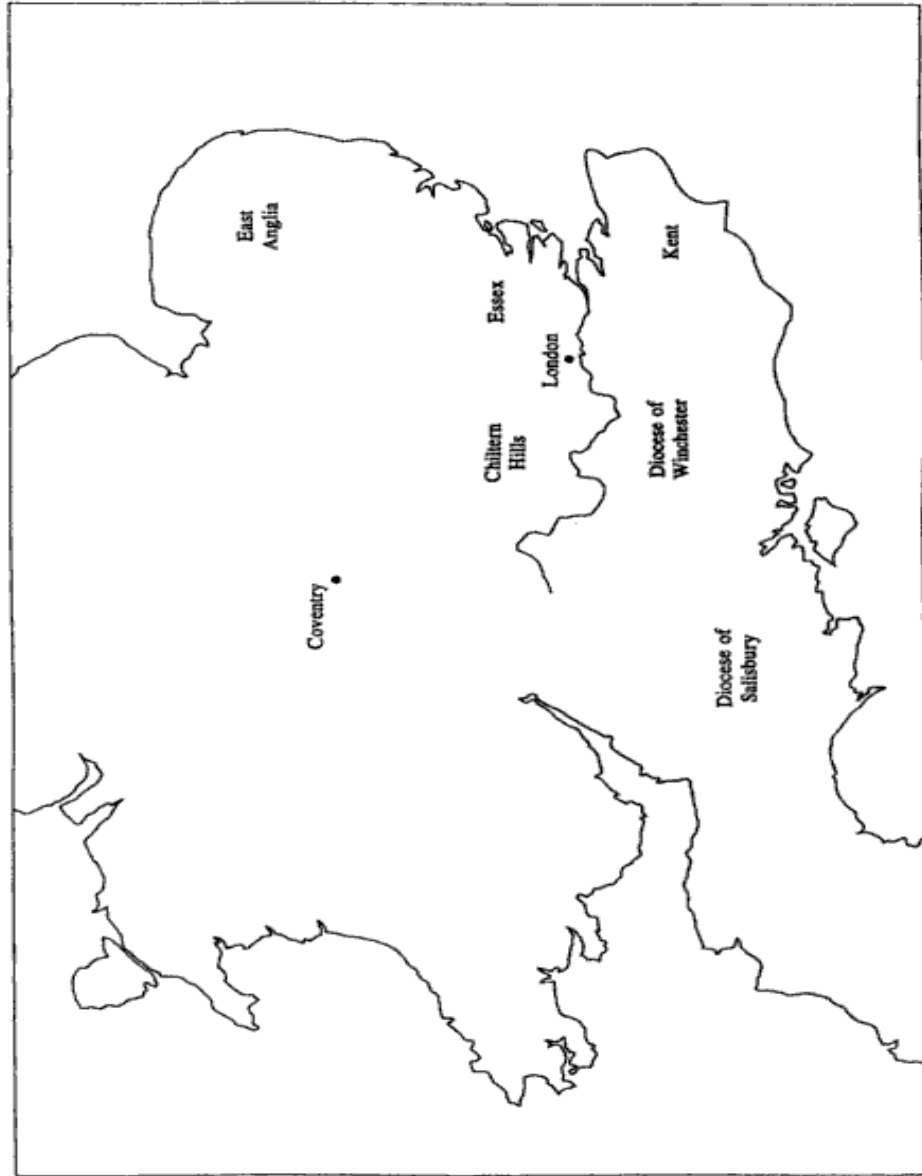
<sup>60</sup> Thomas Man was an English Lollard born in 1426 in Oxford where he was educated. In 1500, he was forced to leave the town. C. Kightly. *The Early Lollards: A Survey of Popular Lollard Activity in England, 1382- 1428*. A Ph. D. Thesis. University of York: 1975. 55.

<sup>61</sup> A. G. Dickens 27-33.

Refer to Map 3: [The Lollard Communities, 1420- 1530](#). 25.

<sup>62</sup> John Huss was a religious reformer born in 1369 in Husinec, southern Bohemia, and was educated in the University of Prague where he obtained his M.A. degree in 1396. In 1402, he was appointed as a preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel. Thirteen years later, the reformer was executed because of his theological ideas against the Roman Catholic Church. "Huss John." [The Encyclopaedia Americana](#). Volume 11. (Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1986.) 168.

### Map 3: The Lollard Communities, 1420- 1530



Map 1. The Lollard Communities, 1420-1530.

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Shannon McSheffrey. Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420-1530. (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.) 20.



the early fifteenth century; then it spread to Poland at the same period. The sect denied everything that was believed to have no basis in the Bible, such as giving importance to images, fasts, oath, intercession for the dead, confession, indulgences, sacraments of confirmation, anointing of the sick, and the transubstantiation.<sup>63</sup> However, the sect advocated Bible reading in the common language so that ordinary people would be able to interpret the Scriptures for themselves.

The Hussites used both hostile and peaceful methods to defend their ideas and spread the kingdom of God. After the death of King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia (1378-1419), a revolution was launched by the Hussites during which a number of ecclesiastical institutions such as churches and monasteries were either destroyed or seized by the Hussite nobility. To prove themselves, the sect attempted in 1420 to introduce its demands which were clearly stated in a document entitled the Four Articles of Prague. The first article was a freedom to spread the Word of God; the second one concerned the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds<sup>64</sup>; as to the third, no secular power could be granted for the clergy; and finally, the same law was to be granted for the laity and priests.<sup>65</sup>

The Roman Catholic attitudes towards the Hussite sect were different. The new demands were opposed by a number of German teachers in the Prague University where John Huss was a teacher. They complained vainly to King Wenceslas IV about what they called heresy. Consequently, Pope Gregory XII (1406- 1417) declared in 1411 a law according to which church ceremonies were banned in the city of Prague so long as Huss resided there. The theologian was forced by the Church to leave Prague after his chapel had been destroyed. With the accession of King Sigismund of Bohemia (1419-

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preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel. Thirteen years later, the reformer was executed because of his theological ideas against the Roman Catholic Church. "Huss John." The Encyclopaedia Americana. Volume 11. (Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1986.) 168.

<sup>63</sup> Oath is a religious practice according to which a person would swear. Intercession for the dead is a prayer that would facilitate for the dead the entrance of heaven. Confession is an admission of one's sins. Indulgences are release from punishment by God. Juliet Gardiner 359- 360.

<sup>64</sup> The Protestants celebrated the Lord's Supper without bringing bread and wine. The Catholics brought bread and wine which would become the body and blood of Christ. Wayne Grudem 390.

<sup>65</sup> Don Charles 112- 125.

1437) who did not like the Hussites, the situation was more aggravated. After the Hussites had introduced the Four Articles of Prague; the King published a bull according to which a crusade was launched against the sect in the period from 1420 to 1434. The sect managed to defeat two crusading attacks against Prague. The aggressive Catholic attitudes towards the Hussite neither marked the end of the reformers nor did they discouraged them; instead their movement continued and was supported by a number of Bohemian knights and nobles, including the archbishop of Prague Zbynek Zajik of Hazmburk.<sup>66</sup>

Peace negotiations started in 1431 between the Roman Catholic Church and the Hussites who met in the Council of Basel, Switzerland. The Council- which was summoned by Pope Martin V (1417- 1431) and presided by Cardinal Julian Cesarini<sup>67</sup> - mainly dealt with the issue of the Hussite movement. The members discussed the Four Articles of Prague which was accepted by the Roman Church. As a result, the sect was divided into the Utraquists who were for the negotiation and the Taborites who were against.<sup>68</sup> Both the Catholics and Utraquists united to defeat the Taborites whose influence was ended in the battle of Lipany in 1434. The Compact of Iglau, signed two years later, was an important step towards peace. The Hussite Church was legalized in Bohemia, the practice of the Lord's Supper in both kinds was confirmed by the Catholic Church, and the Church lands were expropriated.<sup>69</sup>

The Hussite success and development of printing were important motives for the emergence of further religious movements in Western Europe. The Hussite was exceptional with comparison to the other preceding movements; in a way that it was

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<sup>66</sup> Don Charles.

Zbynek Zajik of Hazmburk (1399- 1470) was a theologian born in Bohemia, Germany. He was imprisoned in 1440 to be released one year later. "Zajik Zbynek." The Grolier Encyclopedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>67</sup> Pope Martin V died before the opening of the synod and was succeeded by Cardinal Julian Cesarini as Pope Eugene IV (1431- 1474). "Martin Pope." The Grolier Encyclopedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>68</sup> The word Taborites originated in Tabor, a region situated in south of Bohemia. The Taborites insisted on receiving a Eucharist of both bread and wine. The Utraquists, also called Calixtin or Calixtine, were different from the first group in the sense that they were moderates and maintained amicable relations with the Roman Catholic Church. "Taborites." The New Encyclopedia Britannica. Volumes 11, 12. (USA: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2003.) 484, 221.

<sup>69</sup> Don Charles 128- 129.

able to establish its Church as an official one in Bohemia next to the Catholic one. It could- through the Compact of Iglau- decrease the economic power of the Roman Church which would motivate and pave the way to more reforms. The development of the printing press in the first half of the fifteenth century by Johann Gutenberg,<sup>70</sup> a German printer, also made the spread of the reform easier, and facilitated the spread of the new reforms through the publication of the reformers' writings and of the Bible.<sup>71</sup>

### **3. Official Birth of Protestantism and its Evolution to Puritanism**

The term Protestants started to be used by the Roman Catholics during the first half of the sixteenth century referring to the Lutherans then to later reformers. On April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1529 the Diet of the Roman Empire was held at Speyer, Germany which annulled a grant of toleration to followers of the German theologian and religious reformer Martin Luther.<sup>72</sup> Following this event, the Lutherans voted to alter a decision of the Diet, which had already been promulgated in 1526, that was to allow the German princes of the Hapsburg Empire to decide on the religion of their territories. Force of circumstance compelled twenty Lutheran delegates to announce a formal protestation, which stated that "in matters which concern God's honor and salvation and the eternal life of our souls, everyone must stand and give account before God for himself." Therefore, in this manner the term Protestant was born.<sup>73</sup>

The Lutherans protested against the practices within the Catholic Church, which were mainly: simony- the possibility of people to get into a position in the church after they had contributed with money; nepotism- the right of the popes and bishops who had

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<sup>70</sup> Johann Gutenberg (1397- 1468), a German printer who is usually credited with the invention of printing from movable one. He was born in Mainz, Germany. In October 1462, while Mainz was being sacked by its archbishop during a feud with a rival claimant, Gutenberg was expelled from the city. The archbishop later made amends, and in 1465, Gutenberg returned to his birthplace and was granted a pension and exemption from taxes. He died in Mainz on February 03<sup>rd</sup>, 1468. "Gutenberg Johann." Quoted in *Encyclopaedia Americana*. V. 13. (Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1986.) 629.

<sup>71</sup> *Encyclopaedia Americana*. V. 13. 130.

<sup>72</sup> Martin Luther (1483- 1546) was born in Eisleben, Germany. He received a doctorate in theology in 1512 and was appointed to the chair of biblical theology at Wittenberg at the same year. "Luther Martin." William Benton, *Compton's Pictured Encyclopaedia*. V. 8. (Chicago: F. E. Compton and Company, 1963.) 396.

<sup>73</sup> Kenneth C. Old. *Understanding of Christianity*. (U.S.A: The Macmillan Company, 1995.) 140- 145.

not their own children to choose instead their nephews for higher positions in the church; and indulgences.<sup>74</sup> These practices were clearly rejected by Luther in the Ninety- Five Theses of 1517. The document confirmed that justification was the work of God and a gift offered by Him and not the result of one's own actions: "All have sinned and are justified freely, without their own works and merits, by His Grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, in His blood."<sup>75</sup> The Bible was considered an important source for authority and the unique canon for religious life.<sup>76</sup>

Similar views were expressed by the Calvinists, the followers of sixteenth century French theologian and church reformer John Calvin<sup>77</sup> who also shared the Lutheran belief in the Bible as the unique authority, and believed in the doctrine of predestination, under which a number of Christians were predestined by God for Heaven or Hell. Calvin's teachings were summarized in the Five Points of Calvinism, also known as TULIP: total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints. The principal issue of these points was that the Creator was able to save people upon whom He had mercy. Besides, John Calvin did not agree on the Episcopal form of Church government, backed by the idea that it was a hierarchical form headed by the bishop; he suggested instead a Presbyterian<sup>78</sup> Church. The latter was a form of Church government, under which each congregation was governed by presbyters or elders, who had to be of equal rank.<sup>79</sup>

John Calvin succeeded in the creation of a Presbyterian Church in Geneva, Switzerland in the 1530's. He tried to create a church which would function together with the government, in the sense that each institution completed the other. The

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<sup>75</sup> (Romans 3: 23- 25.)

<sup>76</sup> T. Walter Wallbank and Nels M. Bailkey, eds. Western Civilization. People and Progress. (USA: Scott Foresman and Company, 1977.) 215- 216.

<sup>77</sup> John Calvin (1509- 1564) was a French Protestant theologian and major figure of the Reformation. Born in Noyon, Picardy, he studied religion at the University of Paris and law in Orleans and Bourges. When he returned to Paris in 1531 he studied the Bible. Government intolerance prompted him to move to Basel, Switzerland, where he wrote the first edition of *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. "Calvin John." Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 310.

<sup>78</sup> The name Presbyterianism is derived from the Greek word Presbutors or elder. John S. Bonnell. "What is A Presbyterian?" In Religions of America, ed. Leo Rosten. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.) 200.

<sup>79</sup> The World Book Encyclopaedia. V. 15. 739- 740.

Protestant Church of Geneva consisted of pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons, who were in charge of religious matters; taught doctrine to people; would control everything done in the city; and would care for the sick, the elderly, the widowed, and for the poor respectively.<sup>80</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church continued its rejection of Lutheranism and Calvinism, an attitude that was not very different from its attitude in the preceding centuries. Martin Luther had been ordered in 1518 to recant, but he refused and continued to defend and spread his ideas. A short time later, precisely in 1520, the theologian refused again the recantation and replied by saying:

Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason- I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other- my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe.<sup>81</sup>

As a result, Luther was considered a heretic whose writings were to be banned.<sup>82</sup> However, he received in the same year an offer of protection from a number of German knights, including Frederick the Wise,<sup>83</sup> and from the Hussites.<sup>84</sup> The same case happened with John Calvin who was forced by the Catholic Church in the 1530's to leave France for Geneva. Yet, Guillaume Farel,<sup>85</sup> a French reformer, was his close

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<sup>80</sup> T. Walter Wallbank and Nels M. Bailkey, eds. 221.

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<sup>81</sup> T. Walter Wallbank and Nels M. Bailkey, eds. 218.

<sup>82</sup> Luther's writings included: *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, and *The Freedom of a Christian Man*. T. Walter Wallbank and Nels M. Bailkey 217-218.

<sup>83</sup> Frederick the Wise (1486- 1525) - born in Torg au, Germany- was the founder of the University of Wittenberg in 1502 where he appointed Martin Luther to professorship. "Frederick the Wise." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 61.

<sup>84</sup> T. Walter Wallbank and Nels M. Bailkey 218.

<sup>85</sup> Farel Guillaume (1489- 1565) was born of a noble family, near Gap, Dauphiné, France. He remained in Paris until 1521 when he fled to Basel then to Strasbourg. There, he tried to reform the Catholic Church. He finally settled at Aigle, in the Canton of Vaud, where reform was officially received in 1528. "Guillaume Farel." The Encyclopaedia Americana, Volume 11.18.

supporter and proposed for the reformer to reside in Geneva where he could take up the reform.<sup>86</sup>

What happened in Germany and Switzerland was to have an important impact on the development of anti-Roman Catholicism in England. The word Protestant was not used to describe the reformers during King Henry VIII (1509- 1547), instead heretic was a substitute. Henry VIII succeeded in putting an end to the papal authority when he established the Anglican Church in the country. Between the years 1530 and 1534, he tried in vain to get the Pope's permission to divorce Catherine of Aragon;<sup>87</sup> therefore, he found it necessary to claim jurisdiction over the English Church for himself. The Act of Royal Supremacy of 1534 recognized Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church in England. By doing so, confrontation developed between those who kept their old faith and the so-called heretics who wanted more reform in the Anglican Church. Parliament also enacted the Treason Act which stated that anyone who called the King a heretic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper would be punished.<sup>88</sup> The King's supremacy over the Church instead that of the Pope led to objections both in England and abroad. Henry VIII backed his action by Cathbert Tunstall and John Stokesly's letter,<sup>89</sup> which denied the papal supremacy and advocated that of the King. The theologians argued that the

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<sup>86</sup> The Encyclopaedia Americana, Volume 11.18.

<sup>87</sup> Catherine of Aragon (1485- 1536) was the first wife of Henry VIII, and daughter of King Ferdinand V (1474- 1516) and Queen Isabella I (1451- 1504) of Spain. Six weeks after the death of Henry VII in 1509, Henry VIII married Princess Catherine of Aragon. He was aged eighteen and she was five years and five months older. The Queen's first baby was born dead, another died after birth a year later. The only child who survived was Mary I (1553- 1558), born on 18 February 1516. Lacey Baldwin Smith. This Realm of England 1399 to 1688. (U.S.A: D. C. Heath and Company, 1988.) 131.

<sup>88</sup> G. Dickens 119-122.

<sup>89</sup> Cathbert Tunstall (1474- 1559) born in Yorkshire was a scholar in theology, law, Greek, and in Hebrew. In 1515, he became an archdeacon of Chester till 1522 when he was appointed Bishop of London. Eight years later, he became Bishop of Durham, and was appointed President of the Council of the North in 1537; but during Edward VI's reign he was deprived of his bishopric. On Mary's accession, his bishopric was re-established by Act of Parliament in 1554. "Tunstall Cathbert." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 551.

John Stokesly (1475- 1539) was made principal of Magdalen Hall in 1498, and in 1505 Vice-President of Magdalen College. Twenty five years later, he became Bishop of London. Stokesly opposed all changes in Church doctrines and was very active in persecuting heretics. He wrote in favour of Henry VIII's divorce. "Stokesly John." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 212.

authority of the ancient Israel kings which was exercised over their priests should be a model for all Christian kings.<sup>90</sup>

Although the Anglican Church became separate from Rome, it remained Catholic; but Henry VIII decided to introduce changes into the Church, aiming mainly at destroying an important aspect of Roman Catholicism. To be clearer, the monarch was not against Catholicism but against the Pope and his policy. The King's aim behind what was to happen in England- as for instance the dissolution of monasteries- was only to strengthen his position and prerogatives so that he could decide without the help of the Pope. Therefore, between 1534 and 1539 a number of significant measures were taken which helped both in the retrogression of Catholicism and the evolution of Protestantism in the country. These measures can be summarized in three facts: the dissolution of the monasteries and nunneries, the enactment of monarchical acts, and publications in favour of the Church reform. In fact, all English monasteries and nunneries were dissolved and were to be re-established as secular colleges. Their revenues were confiscated for the Crown which received over £136.000 from the sale or leasing of monastic property.<sup>91</sup> What backed the dissolution was the 1534 Act Concerning Peter's Pence and Dispensations, which banned the yearly tribute<sup>92</sup> to Rome and granted the Archbishop of Canterbury the right to decide on a number of religious matters, religious power that had been exercised by the Pope himself. Act Against the Pope's Authority was another law passed by Parliament two years later, which confirmed that Rome had no longer power over England to decide disputes concerning Scripture.<sup>93</sup> The evolution of Protestantism in England was further motivated by the Bible translation into the language of the ordinary people, an endeavour that the early reformers tried to achieve. Two English Bibles were introduced in 1535: the first one was published by the English reformer William Tyndale; and the second one was

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<sup>90</sup> Jehosophat was an example of the Israel kings. He was the fourth king of Judah from the house of David, ruled from 870 to 848. Bridget Knox. Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy. (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1889.) 122-123.

<sup>91</sup> S. T. Bindof. Tudor England. (Britain: Penguin Books Ltd, 1970.) 106- 114.

<sup>92</sup> Peter's pence was an annual tribute of one penny from each householder owning a land of a certain value to the Pope and had been collected in England since the reign of King Alfred (871- 899). In the twelfth century it was fixed at an annual sum of £200 for the whole realm. Quoted in Stanford E. Lehmberg. The Reformation Parliament 1529- 1536, (England: Cambridge University Press, 1970.) 191.

<sup>93</sup> Stanford E. Lehmberg 191.

brought out by the English theologian Miles Coverdale,<sup>94</sup> whose version became the official Bible of the Church of England. Four years later, the theologian also produced the Great Bible- known with this name due to its large size- which was a revision of the Matthew Bible. The latter- which had been introduced by an English theologian in 1537, John Rogers-<sup>95</sup> was the second complete English Bible. The pseudonym Thomas Matthew was used to protect Rogers from persecution.<sup>96</sup> Although the English Bible had survived during almost all the years of Henry VIII's rule, it was restricted by the 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion, which permitted only the upper class to read the Bible privately.<sup>97</sup>

The evolution of Protestantism was prevented by a number of obstacles including The Ten Articles and The Six Articles of 1536 and 1539 respectively. Both of them were guidelines introduced by the English Church to strengthen the Catholic doctrines and ceremonies, in a way that they affirmed all the Catholic sacraments and beliefs;<sup>98</sup> and anyone who denied them would be punished. Thomas Cromwell,<sup>99</sup> an English Theologian, was among the victims who were executed. He had been arrested

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<sup>94</sup> William Tyndale (1492-1536) was an English Protestant reformer, who translated the Bible into English. In 1526, he printed his translation of the New Testament. Thereafter, Tyndale lived most of the time in Antwerp, where he printed translations of the Pentateuch and of Jonah. In 1535, he was arrested and imprisoned at Vilvorde, near Brussels. "Tyndale William." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 425.

Miles Coverdale (1488-1569) was born in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. He was forced in 1528 to reside abroad for his preaching against confession and images. He published in 1535 the first English translation of the Bible. Under Edward VI, he served as bishop of Exeter from 1551 to 1553. On Mary's accession he lost his bishopric and left England. He returned after Elizabeth's succession, and became widely known for his eloquent sermons and addresses. "Coverdale Miles." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 110.

<sup>95</sup> John Rogers (1500- 1555) was an English Protestant reformer who was educated at Cambridge. In 1534, he became chaplain to English merchants in Antwerp; and in 1548, Rogers was appointed lecturer at Saint Paul's Cathedral. After the succession of Mary I to the throne, he was imprisoned, sentenced to death, and burnt at Smithfield. He was the first Protestant to be martyred under Mary I. "Rogers John." William Benton. Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. V 2. (Chicago: F. E. Compton and Company, 1963.) 705.

<sup>96</sup> Mary Parmele. The Evolution of An Empire- A Brief Historical Sketch of England. (Britain: Mc Graw-Hill, 1989.) 58-59.

<sup>97</sup> Norah Lofts. Anne Boleyn. (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1979.) 192.

<sup>98</sup> For more details of the Catholic beliefs and sacraments refer to the first section of the first chapter.

<sup>99</sup> Thomas Cromwell (1485- 1540) was an English statesman and adviser to Henry VIII. Soon, he became a confidential agent of several notables, including Lord Chancellor, Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, who helped him become a member of the House of Commons in 1523. Cromwell was Privy Councilor in 1531, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1533, Vicar General in 1535, Lord Privy Seal in 1536, and Earl of Essex in 1540. "Cromwell Thomas." Longman Illustrated Encyclopedia of World History. (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1991.) 213.



on 10 June 1540 in the Tower of London on charges of treason, and executed one month later.<sup>100</sup> The Ten Articles dealt with only three Catholic sacraments instead of seven, which were baptism, penance, and the Eucharist. However, by the imposition of the Six Articles; the King returned his Church to Catholicism. He annulled all the previous reforms by the reaffirmation of the seven sacraments and the condemnation of clerical marriage.<sup>101</sup> Change in Henry VIII's attitudes was mainly due to the fact that during the late 1530's the monarch was constrained by international events. An alliance was formed between the Roman King Charles V (1519- 1556) - who was the nephew of Catherine of Aragon- and French King Francis I (1515- 1547) who met in 1538 in the presence of Pope Paul III (1534- 1549), which meant to Henry VIII a union of two major Catholic powers in western Europe, taking the divorce question into consideration. The union resulted in the strength of Catholicism which would have an impact on the evolution of Protestantism, in a way that two powerful Catholic authorities might unite against an anti- Catholic movement to interrupt its development.

It was mainly due to King Henry VIII's policy that Protestantism developed in England. However, the King was very conservative on matters of religion in a way that though the English Church was separate from the Catholic one; it did not change a lot in its religious doctrine. It was not until the succession of Edward VI (1547- 1553) when a number of changes- including the enactment of statutes, dissolution of chantries, and the introduction of liturgical documents- were made at the religious level and led to the development of Protestantism in the country. All the statutes passed at the time of Edward VI were in favour of Protestantism.<sup>102</sup> Again heretics was used to describe the anti- Catholics, a common point that existed between Edward VI and his successor Mary I (1553- 1558). The monarch also ordered the dissolution of two thousand three hundred seventy- four chantries, which were places paid by people so that priests would pray for them after their death to go to purgatory.<sup>103</sup> The Crown received £600.000 from

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<sup>100</sup> G. Dickens 106, 114.

<sup>101</sup> Norah Lofts 192.

<sup>102</sup> Examples of the statutes included An Act for the Abolishing and Putting away of Diverse Books and Images, which was passed in 1549 and forbade the publication of religious books other than approved by the King. Mary Parmele 52.

<sup>103</sup> A place where the souls of the dead people are put to be purified from sins by suffering, so that these people can go to Heaven. The Catholics believed that people had to suffer for their sins as Christ suffered for them. However, Protestants believed that since Purgatory was not mentioned in the Bible, it didn't exist. Paul Johnson. A History of Christianity. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976.) 107.

the dissolution, which was needed for the war against France and Scotland.<sup>104</sup> This action pleased the anti- Catholics who regarded the chantries as superstitious places. Introduction of liturgical documents was a central preoccupation of Edward VI. In 1549, the Book of Common Prayer had been introduced and revised three years later. Roman Catholic practices- including statues and stained glass<sup>105</sup> were neglected, robes were not to be worn, the marriage of clergy was allowed, the Eucharist started to be called the Lord's Supper, and the amount of ceremony during the service was reduced. The Book was made compulsory by the Act of Uniformity issued in 1549 with the first book and in 1552 with the second one. The Act listed the punishments to be imposed for neglecting or criticizing the Book;<sup>106</sup> these included paying money penalties, life imprisonment, and giving all of a person's possessions to the King.<sup>107</sup> The Forty- Two Articles of Religion, introduced by Thomas Cranmer<sup>108</sup> in 1553, also helped to strengthen Protestantism during the reign of Edward VI. These Articles, which were a summary of belief of the English Church, attacked the Pope, rejected the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and affirmed instead the belief in the doctrine of predestination.

Persecution during Edward VI and Mary I existed, but with different approaches or treatment of the reforms. The latter were either advocated or denied by the two monarchs. It is notable that persecution of anti- Catholics did not appear during the reign of the Tudor King Edward, because of two main facts: the King did not like Roman Catholicism because of private reasons related to his father's friction with the

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<sup>104</sup> Edward VI's Protector, Edward Seymour (1506-1552) made proposals for uniting England and Scotland by a marriage between the king and Mary Stuarts (1542- 1587.) On the refusal of the Scots, the Protector invaded Scotland in 1547. The French, motivated by the fact that Mary's mother was French, helped the Scots by sending troops in 1548. In addition, the Queen was sent from Scotland to France. "Seymour Edward." The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopedia of British History 308.

<sup>105</sup> The statue represented the God sitting on an elaborate throne with ebony, ivory, gold, and precious stones. Stained glass is the coloured glass used for making decorative windows and other objects through which light passes. "Statue." The Grolier Encyclopedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>106</sup> Mary Parmele 66-68.

<sup>107</sup> Any person who refused to use the new Prayer Book would give the king ten pounds for his first offence, twenty pounds for the second offence. Mary Parmele 66-68.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) was born in Nottingham and studied in Cambridge University, where he was appointed examiner of theology. In 1533, Cranmer was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. Then, he became Edward VI's regent. "Cranmer Thomas." Longman Illustrated Encyclopaedia of World History 210.

Pope; and with the fact that Edward VI was at the age of minority,<sup>109</sup> which meant that he was not responsible for making decisions, instead his uncle Edward Seymour had been appointed as Lord Protector of the Realm and Governor of the King's Person and later replaced by John Dudley, the Earl of Warwick. In that sense, persecution of the Catholics existed in England at that time, and included only imprisonment or deposition: both Stephen Gardiner- the Bishop of Winchester and Nicholas Heath-<sup>110</sup> the Bishop of Worcester were imprisoned and replaced by anti- Catholics.

Persecution took another dimension with the succession of Mary Tudor in 1553,<sup>111</sup> who launched a bloody campaign with a view to restoring Catholicism. One year after her succession, she had repealed the 1549 Uniformity Act, and passed An Act for the Punishment of Heresies. The burnings for heresy began on 4 February 1555 with John Rogers, the English Protestant reformer and editor of Matthew's Bible. Other Protestants followed him to the stake, such as Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London; Hugh Latimer,<sup>112</sup> Bishop of Worcester; and the former Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. The latter had been imprisoned at the Queen's succession and recanted his anti-

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<sup>109</sup> King Edward VI's age of minority was decided from ten years old to the age of eighteen. It means, starting from 1547 to 1555. "Edward VI." William Benton. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V. 4. (USA: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 2002.) 378.

<sup>110</sup> Stephen Gardiner (1493- 1555) was an English priest and politician. After being secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, he became bishop of Winchester 1531. An opponent of Protestantism, he was imprisoned under Edward VI, and as Lord Chancellor 1533- 55 under Queen Mary he tried to restore Roman Catholicism. "Gardiner Stephen." Quoted in The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopaedia of British History 144.

Nicholas Heath (1501–1578) was an administrator and archbishop of York, received his early instruction at St. Anthony's School, London. In 1534, he was appointed Archdeacon of Stafford, and one year later took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge. In 1539, Heath was elected Bishop of Rochester, and in 1543 was elected to the see of Worcester. During King Edward VI, he was deprived of his see; however, immediately on the accession of Queen Mary, Heath was restored to his see of Worcester. "Heath Nicholas." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 72.

<sup>111</sup> Before the succession of Mary I and three days after Edward's death on 9 July 1553, Lady Jane Grey was declared queen. She was Queen of England for nine days. However, after she had been forced to abdicate, Jane was imprisoned and executed by Mary I on 12 February 1554. Juliet Gardiner 384.

<sup>112</sup> Nicholas Ridley (1500- 1555) was an English Protestant prelate, reformer, and martyr. In 1537, he was made Chaplain to Thomas Cranmer, then Archbishop of Canterbury. He became chaplain to King Henry VIII in 1541. He became Bishop of London nine years later. In 1555, he was burnt at the stake. Juliet Gardiner 120.

Hugh Latimer (1485-1555) was one of the most celebrated preachers of the Tudor Church. In 1535, he was appointed Bishop of Worcester. He was twice imprisoned in the 1540s, and then freed during Edward VI. He was burnt for heresy at Oxford in 1555. Juliet Gardiner 100.

Catholic beliefs, but later he denied his recants before going to the stake.<sup>113</sup> Queen Mary's campaign against these people who refused to abandon their anti-Catholic faith saw the burning of over two hundred heretics in less than four years. According to John Froude, the list of the victims who were considered heretics included two hundred eighty-two persons.<sup>114</sup>

Mary I's victims were religious men, people belonging to the working class, and others to the high class. Froude records fifty-nine bishops, eighty-six priests, forty-four tradesmen, twenty-six weavers and clothworkers, fifty-eight labourers, most of whom worked in agriculture, and nine gentlemen and ladies. Almost all the executions of the heretics were concentrated in south-eastern England.<sup>115</sup> Heretics were burnt or hung in public, precisely in the market, so that they would be seen by a large number of people. The heretic was tied to a stake, and surrounded by faggots. Then, a small bag of gunpowder, which would explode as the faggots were lit, was hung around the neck of the heretic.

Mary's reign also saw the exile of English anti-Catholics to the neighbouring countries, who numbered more than four hundred. They settled mainly in Germany, France, Scotland, and in Denmark. The group of the exiles consisted of one hundred sixty-six gentry, one hundred and nineteen students of theology, sixty-seven clergy, forty merchants, thirty-two artisans, thirteen servants, seven printers, three lawyers, three physicians, three yeomen, and nineteen men with no profession.<sup>116</sup> There in the exile, eight congregations were founded, which were Emden, Wesel, Frankfurt, Zurich, Basel, Geneva, Aarau, and Strasburg.<sup>117</sup> They were led by Miles Coverdale, the English Protestant, William Wittingham, an English scholar; and John Foxe, an English writer. With the support of both French theologian, John Calvin, and Scottish religious

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<sup>113</sup> Nigel Heard. Edward VI and Mary: A Mid-Tudor Crisis. (Britain: Hodder and Soughton, 1990.) 154-157.

<sup>114</sup> John Froude. Lollards and Protestants. (Britain: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1975.) 65.

<sup>115</sup> John Froude 67.

<sup>116</sup> A. G. Dickens 283- 286.

<sup>117</sup> A. G. Dickens.

reformer, John Knox,<sup>118</sup> the Church decided in 1557 to produce a Bible in the English language under the name the Geneva Bible, aiming at introducing a holy book that would educate and guide their families while they continued living in exile.<sup>119</sup> In addition to the exiles, there was another group of religious men who chose to leave England without either being forced or finding difficulties in escaping abroad. The list included, as an example, the Italian theologian Bernardino Ochino,<sup>120</sup> who had lived in England then emigrated to Zurich, Switzerland.

What is significant in the following Elizabethan age (1558- 1603) was the fact that what had already existed in England from Henry VIII onwards was transformed during Elizabeth I to be called Protestantism, Puritanism, and Presbyterianism. It was in 1559 that the term Protestant was used for the first time in England to describe the anti-Catholics; when the Queen passed the Protestant Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church and Administration of the Sacraments. It stated that English worship should follow the Book of Common Prayer of 1552, and that Catholics could keep their worship without punishment.<sup>121</sup> Other forms of worship not mentioned in the new Prayer Book were forbidden, and led to deprivation of clerics' benefices for

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<sup>118</sup> William Wittingham (1524-1579) was an English scholar and a leading member of the English Protestant exiles at Frankfort in 1554. Five years later, Wittingham succeeded John Knox as minister of the English congregation in that city. In 1560, Wittingham acted as minister of the English garrison at Havre, and was made dean of Durham one year later. "Wittingham William." Encyclopedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 2001.

John Foxe (1516-87) was an English Protestant clergyman and author of *The Book of Martyrs*. He was a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1539 to 1545. During Mary I, he left the country until 1559. "Foxe John." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 91.

John Knox (1505- 1572) was a Scottish Protestant, who became preacher to the Protestant garrison in St. Andrew's castle in 1547. From 1561, he opposed the government of Mary Queen of Scots. Juliet Gardiner 401.

<sup>119</sup> The Geneva Bible was also called the Breeches Bible published in 1560. Johnson Billie. The English Reformation. (Britain: Oxford University Press, 1982.) 177.

<sup>120</sup> Bernardino Ochino (1487-1564) was an Italian Reformer, born at Siena. In 1545, he became minister of the Italian Protestant congregation at Augsburg, which he was compelled to forsake when, in January 1547, the city was occupied by the imperial forces. He found an asylum in England, where he received a pension from King Edward VI's Privy Purse, and composed his capital work, *the Tragedy*. In 1553, after the accession of Mary I, he left England, and became pastor of the Italian congregation at Zurich, composed principally of refugees from Locarno. "Ochino Bermardino." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 118.

<sup>121</sup> Four Catholics suffered for every year of Elizabeth's reign, and the charge was no longer heresy but treason. Quoted in G.M. Trevelyan. A Shortened History of England. (England: Penguin Books Inc., 1967.) 267.

a year and imprisonment for six months. For a second offence, the penalty was permanent deprivation and imprisonment for one year, a life imprisonment for the third offence. Attendance on Sundays at Church service was compulsory; any person absent without justification had to pay a penalty of twelve pence.

The reform of the Church and the evolution of Protestantism continued with the Thirty-Nine Articles produced in 1563, which were a set of beliefs, denying Catholic teachings. They affirmed baptism and the Supper of the Lord as the only two sacraments, and also asserted the authority of the Scripture, the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons.<sup>122</sup> These four religious practices formed the main Protestant beliefs.

It was during the Elizabethan reign that the term Puritan or Nonconformist was first applied to those persons within the Established Church who wished to purify its forms, because they were similar to those of the Church of Rome. The term originated with the Protestants who had gone into exile during Mary Tudor's reign, and returned during Elizabeth's reign. It was applied around 1564, when Archbishop Parker,<sup>123</sup> an English prelate, criticized the Protestants.<sup>124</sup> In fact, among the Marian exiles was Edmund Grindal- who fled to Frankfurt, Germany- and was made Archbishop of York in the 1570's. This shows that Elizabeth I was tolerant on matters of religion, in the sense that she aimed at ending disputes between the Anglican Church and the reformers.

Among the most prominent Puritans at that time were Thomas Cartwright and John Field,<sup>125</sup> leaders of English Presbyterianism.<sup>126</sup> Thomas Cartwright proposed in

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<sup>122</sup> Gee Henry, William John Hardy, eds. Documents Illustrative of English Church History. (New York: Macmillan, 1896.) 113-116.

<sup>123</sup> Matthew Parker (1504–75) was an English prelate, archbishop of Canterbury. In 1535, he was appointed chaplain to Anne Boleyn and in 1537 to Henry VIII. In 1544, Parker became master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He was made vice chancellor of Cambridge one year later, and was called in 1559 by Elizabeth I to the see of Canterbury. "Parker Matthew." The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopedia of British History 253.

<sup>124</sup> Gee Henry, William John Hardy 477- 80.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas Cartwright (1535- 1603) was an English Presbyterian, who became a scholar at St. John's College, Cambridge in 1550. Nine years later, he was appointed as Lady Margaret professor of divinity. An order for Cartwright's apprehension was issued in 1574; but he fled and became minister of the English congregation of merchants at Antwerp and Middleburg. In 1585 Cartwright returned to England, and was cast into prison. Quoted in T. Cooper. Lives of the Puritans. (Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1989.) 92-100.

1570 that the Presbyterian form of Church government was the type ordered by God in the Bible. He was against all other forms of Church government, which he considered heresy: “that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon to death [...] Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.”<sup>127</sup> Two years later, *Admonition to Parliament*- written by Field- was published and insisted on both the ban of hierarchy of the English Church, and on the establishment of another government in order to be safe from God’s punishment. This government should be based on equality between all clergy, elders, and pastors: “[...] We in England are so far from having a Church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of God’s word that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same [...]”<sup>128</sup> In the same year, 1572, Cartwright established secretly his Presbyterian Church influenced by Calvin’s success in Switzerland. This was not the only attempt to establish Presbyterianism in England but also in 1584 Dr. Peter Turner<sup>129</sup> tried to introduce a bill in Parliament to establish the Church system.

Queen Elizabeth reacted negatively to Presbyterianism, because she considered these Puritans a threat to her monarchy. She feared that the Puritans who complained about the power of bishops, would later grumble about the power of the Queen. John Whitgift,<sup>130</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury, was on the Queen’s side; he believed that Episcopacy, the government of a church by bishops, was the best form of Church government; hence, Thomas Cartwright was deprived of his professorship, and

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John Field (1545-1588) was born in London. When he was only twenty first, he was ordained in the ministry, then Bishop of London, and later Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1568, he was a lecturer, curate and school master in London. In 1572, John Field wrote *A View of Popish Abuses yet Remaining in the English Church*, and *An Admonition to the Parliament*. “Field John.” The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 81.

<sup>126</sup> It was till 1647 when Parliament permitted Presbyterianism in England. Zimmerman B.132.

<sup>127</sup> John Richard Green. A Short History of the English People. (Britain: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1964.) 439.

<sup>128</sup> John Richard Green.

<sup>129</sup> Peter Turner was born in 1586 in London and died after sixty- six years. He was educated at Oxford from where he graduated with a B.A in 1600. Turner became a fellow of Merton College, Oxford in 1607, holding the fellowship until 1648. “Turner Peter.” The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 81.

<sup>130</sup> John Whitgift (1530- 1604) was an English archbishop, who became chaplain to Richard Cox, bishop of Ely in 1560. Four years later, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, and also became master first of Pembroke Hall and then of Trinity. Whitgift was nominated dean of Lincoln in 1570, bishop of Worcester, and vice-president of Wales in 1577, and archbishop of Canterbury in August 1583. T. Cooper 119.

forbidden to preach.<sup>131</sup> John Field was also barred from preaching. According to John Richard Green, the emergence of Presbyterianism in England resulted in the fact that the Queen did no longer allow religious freedom that had already been granted to the Reformers.<sup>132</sup> The 1593 Act Against the Puritans compelled the Puritans to attend the Anglican Church every Sunday otherwise they would be imprisoned.<sup>133</sup>

During the late years of the sixteenth century, Presbyterianism emerged as a sub-branch of Puritanism. The Presbyterians rejected the Episcopal form of church government, an idea which had already been introduced in the first half of the century by John Calvin. Therefore, it can be deduced that during the reign of both Elizabeth I and her successor James I, a number of Puritans were called Presbyterians who were also Calvinists and Separatists. From the 1560's to the 1580's, the reformers fell into four main categories: Puritans, Presbyterians, Calvinists, and Separatists.

The Elizabethan attitudes towards Reform marked a decline in the relations between the English Church and the Puritans. However, from 1580 John Field tried in vain to establish Presbyterian congregations; and both Anthony Cope and Peter Wentworth<sup>134</sup>- English Puritans- did not succeed in introducing the movement through parliamentary legislation. This failure was a significant reason for the evolution of Puritanism and the emergence of Separatism, in the sense that it motivated a number of Puritans to leave the Church of England and establish their own church. In the same

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<sup>131</sup> William Benton 527.

<sup>132</sup> John Richard Green 442.

<sup>133</sup> Philip Schaff. History of the Christian Church. V.7. (Grand Rapids: Erdmann's Publishing Co., 1950.) 6.

<sup>134</sup> Anthony Cope (1549-1614) was one of the early leaders of the Puritans, born in Hampshire, England. He was committed in February 1587 to the Tower, for opposing the Book of Common Prayer. Cope was much in favour with King James I, who made him Sheriff of Oxon in 1603, and created him a baronet of Hanwell in 1611. Sir Anthony Cope represented Banbury in seven parliaments, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was member for Oxfordshire in the reign of her successor. "Cope Anthony." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 40.

Peter Wentworth (1530–1596) born in Buckinghamshire, England was a Member of Parliament. Little is known about Peter before he entered Parliament in 1571. He appears on the pardon roll of 1553 as late of Lillington Lovell, alias of Epping, in Essex. His name was added to the commission of the peace for Oxfordshire in 1559, but was removed before 1562. "Wentworth Peter." The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopaedias of British History 347.



year, Robert Browne and Robert Harrison- English Separatists and Brownists-<sup>135</sup> founded their first Separatist congregation in Norwich, England. However, they abandoned separatism as they failed to resist the Queen's reaction. A number of articles were issued in 1583 which forbade nonconformity in the country; and obliged the English people to accept the Oath of Supremacy, the Prayer Book, and the Thirty- Nine Articles.

Although the English religious movements had different trends- including Protestantism, Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and Separatism- they did have the same objective which was to purify the Anglican Church from its wrong practices and beliefs. The name varied according to the monarch and the situation. For instance, Separatists was a name given during Elizabeth's monarchy to those who established secretly their own congregations; and the name Pilgrims was applied during James I's rule on the Separatists who would travel from England to Holland seeking a peaceful place. As a matter of fact, Separatism was short- lived during the reign of Elizabeth; but was active again during the following monarch.

The Presbyterians felt a little bit optimistic since the new king, James I (1603-1625) was also Calvinist. They expected more toleration for their beliefs and practices. The sect, as it is illustrated on the map,<sup>136</sup> could be found in England, Ireland, and Scotland in particular. This encouraged the Reformers to introduce in 1603 the Millenary Petition, signed by one thousand Puritan ministers, who requested for changes within the Church of England, including the abolition of bishopric, annulment of the priest's making the sign of the cross during baptism, the use of the ring for marriage, and ministers' wearing of surplice.<sup>137</sup>

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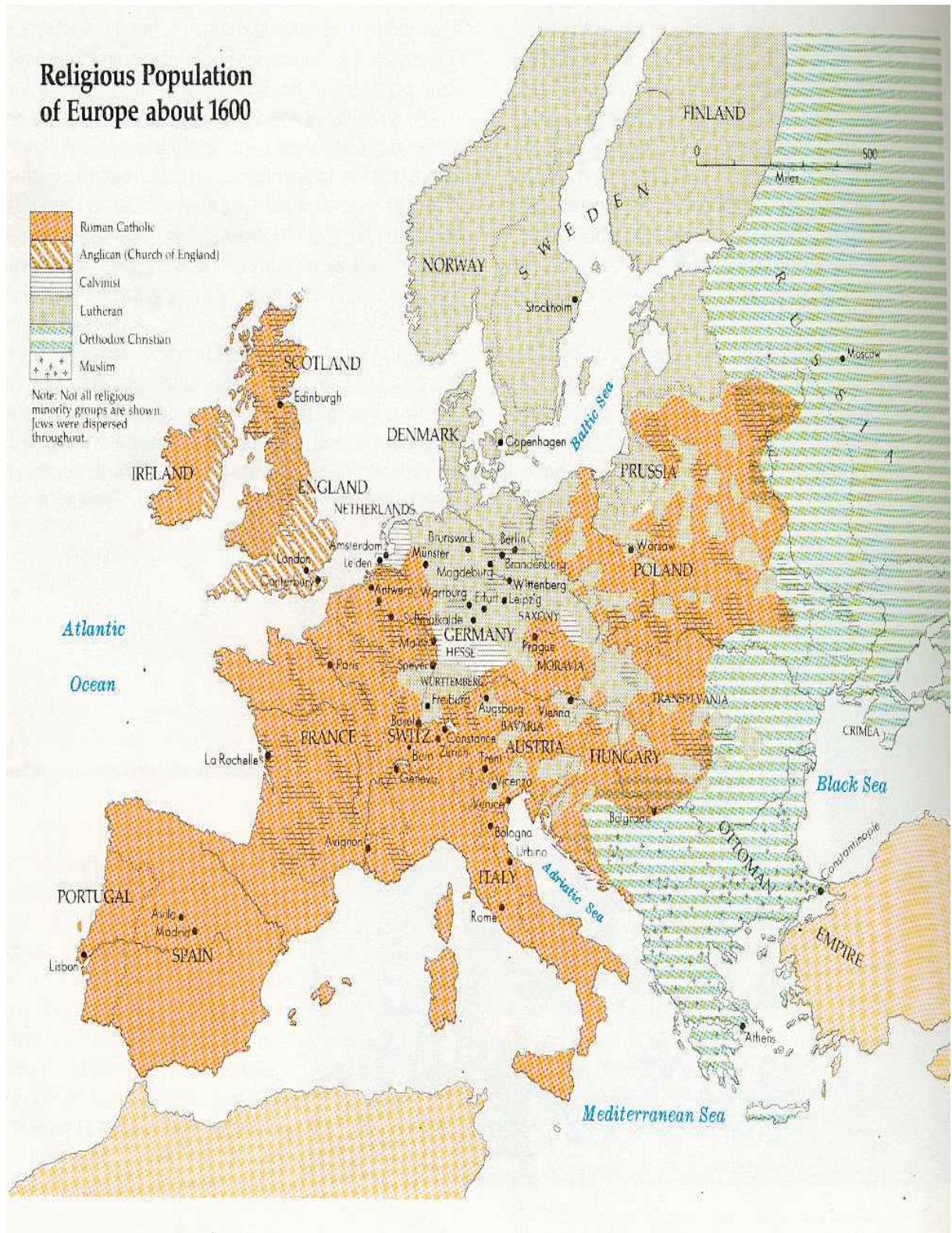
<sup>135</sup> Robert Brown (1550- 1633) was a Puritan leader and founder of the Brownists. He founded communities in Norwich, East Anglia, and in the Netherlands. He was born in Stamford, Lincolnshire, preached in Norwich and then retired to Middleburg in the Netherlands, but returned after making his peace with the church and became head of Stamford Grammar School. He was imprisoned several times from 1581 to 82 for attacking Episcopalianism. From 1591 he was a rector in Northamptonshire. "Brown Robert." The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopaedias of British History 50.

Robert Harrison was born in 1546 in London and died in 1604. He served as priest in one of the parishes in England. "Harrison Robert." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 72.  
The Brownists were named after their leader Robert Browne. "Brownists." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography.

<sup>136</sup> Refer to Map 4: Religious Population of Europe about 1600. 42.

<sup>137</sup> Gee Henry, William John Hardy 508- 511.

## Map 4: Religious Population of Europe about 1600



Winks, Robin W., Wolff, Robert Lee, eds. *A History of Civilization*. VI *Prehistory to 1715*. (U.S.A: Prentice Hall, 1988.) 332.

In response to the Millenary Petition, James I held a meeting on 14<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> January 1604 in Hampton Court Palace, with the support of Archbishop John Whitgift, eight bishops, seven deans, and two other clergymen. As a result, four Puritans were selected by the King, including John Reynolds-<sup>138</sup> president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The Puritans discussed three important issues: changes in Church government, changes in the Book of Common Prayer, and a new translation of the Bible. Except for the last issue, the other demands were not accepted. The King declared, “It is my aphorism: no bishop, no king,”<sup>139</sup> by which he meant that the enforcement of the bishops’ authority in religion was important to the support of royal power, and in case of not submitting to the authority of bishops, the King warned that he would make the Puritans conform themselves, or he would harry them out of the land. As a result, the Conference decided for a preparation of the translation.

The committee in charge of the revision consisted of fifty scholars, who were divided into six committees with nine members in each. The translators based their work on different sources, including Hebrew and Greek texts, and mainly on William Tyndale’s work. King James’ Bible- also known as the King James (Authorized) Version- took seven years to be complete and was published in 1611. Unlike the early Bibles, this one was published with no marginal footnotes, which the King thought they would lead to disobedience.

Almost all the Puritans’ demands of the Hampton Court Conference were denied. This made them convinced of the impossibility to reform the Anglican Church. What backed the idea was the Book of Canons issued in 1604 which consisted of one hundred and forty-four church statutes dating from King Henry VIII to Queen Elizabeth I. Both the Catholics and Puritans were required to conform to the Book. A number of Puritans denied the Canons, the fact that encouraged the growing Separatist movement in the country on one hand; and the emergence of two Puritan groups on the other: those who were loyal to the Church and those who did not like to conform to it. As a result,

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<sup>138</sup> John Reynolds (1549-1607) was president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and Dean of Lincoln. He played an important role in the preparation of the Authorized Version of the Bible. He died of consumption, his body severely withered and reduced. Quoted in “Reynolds John.” Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>139</sup> Gee Henry, William John Hardy.

they were called the Nonconformists, Separatists, or Independents. Their persecution involved paying fines, suspension, or imprisonment.<sup>140</sup>

In spite of the King's opposition to Separatism, the Separatists didn't give up their religious reforms; instead, they decided to start and establish a new church, independent from that of the State. By 1606, the village of Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, England, had an unofficial Separatist Congregation led by the English Separatists, William Brewster, Richard Clifton, and John Robinson.<sup>141</sup> But, one year later a member of the Scrooby Congregation was put in prison, and four others, including Brewster were threatened with arrest. It was this persecution that mainly led the members to decide to leave England. The first group who wanted to flee were those who belonged to the Brownist Church in Gainsborough and arrived at Amsterdam in 1607.<sup>142</sup>

As Map 5 shows, the Separatists made two attempts to leave England for Holland.<sup>143</sup> First, they planned to gather in Boston to pass through Lincoln to reach Scrooby. Yet in their second attempt, they gathered in Immingham, England, to reach directly Scrooby. In that way the word Pilgrim was applied on the reformers. Asking permission from the English monarch was impossible; therefore, the Separatists left the country secretly. Yet, they needed the Dutch permission to settle in Holland. Thus, the Separatist John Robinson had made a formal application to the Court of Amsterdam, in which he mentioned that about one hundred Separatists had the intention to live in the region. The Dutch authorities granted the permission in 1607 on condition that: "persons [...] come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons

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<sup>140</sup> Stephen Foster. English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570- 1700. (U. S. A: The University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill and London, 1991.) 57- 58.

<sup>141</sup> William Brewster (1566- 1644) was born in England and attended Cambridge University but did not graduate. He served as an assistant to William Davison, one of Queen Elizabeth I's secretaries of state. Brewster also worked in Leyden as a printer. "Brewster William." The World Book Encyclopedia. V.2. 944.

Richard Clifton (1560-1616) was instituted to the vicarage of Marnham, near Newark in 1585, and in 1586 to the rectory of Babworth, near Retford, Scooby. Clifton emigrated to Amsterdam in August 1608. T. Cooper 92-100.

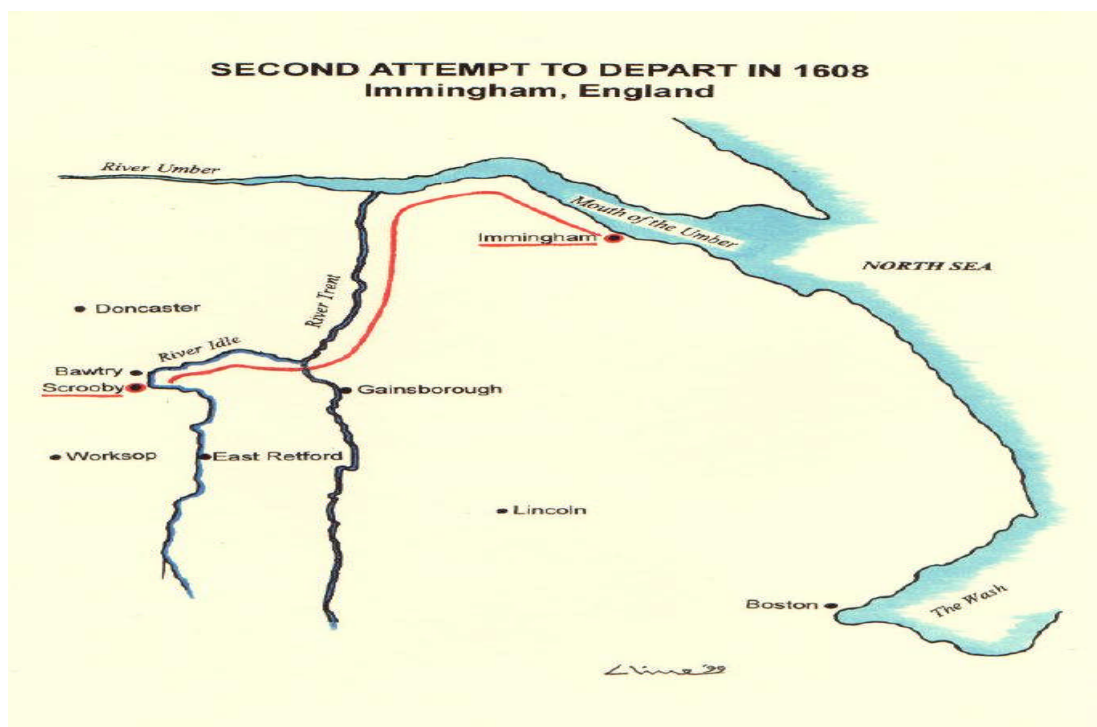
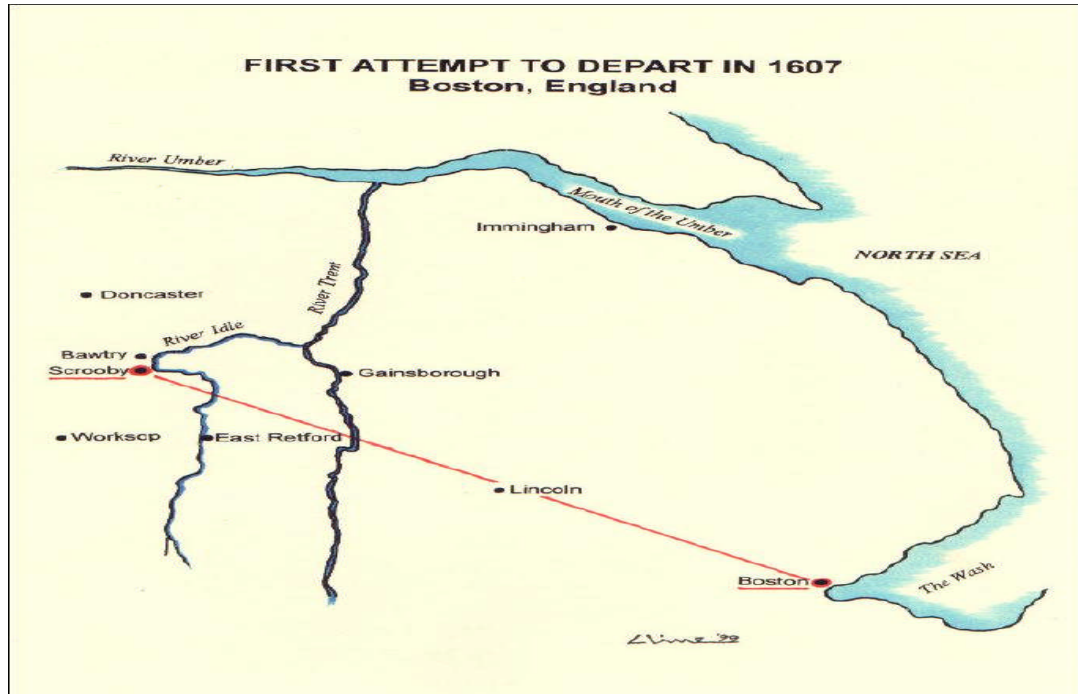
John Robinson (1576–1625) was an English nonconformist pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland. In 1592, he entered Cambridge. Soon, he became curate of a church at Norwich. He was a member of the group of separatists at Scrooby. Robinson encouraged emigration to America in 1620. Juliet Gardiner 589.

<sup>142</sup> Edmund S. Morgan. Visible Saints. The History of a Puritan Idea. (Britain: Cornell University Press, 1965.) 65.

<sup>143</sup> Refer to Map 5: First and Second Attempt of the Separatists to Depart. 45.



## Map 5: First and Second Attempt of the Separatists to Depart From England in 1607 and 1608



“First and Second Attempt of the Separatists to Depart from England in 1607 and 1608.” The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony: 1620. <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mosmd/index.htm>

behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances.”<sup>144</sup> In fact, the Separatists’ choice to settle particularly in Holland was mainly because the established Church in the country was Protestant, and Holland - under the Dutch Reformed Church- was one of the most tolerant provinces in the Netherlands during that period. Economically, the province was famous for its textile factories, which could offer opportunities for employment.

The Scrooby Separatists settled in Amsterdam in 1607, leaving their women and children, who were arrested in England. Fortunately, as the authorities realized the uselessness of their action, the prisoners were released. One year later and once again those Separatists decided to leave Amsterdam, complaining about the religious conflicts that emerged between them and other English settlers. This time, they chose Leyden where they lived for twelve years under the leadership of the English nonconformist John Robinson.<sup>145</sup> The Land’s Advocate of Holland Jan Van Oldenbarnevelt<sup>146</sup> replied politely to the letter of protest of the English monarch who was not pleased with the Dutch support for the Separatists, because the Dutch government did not try to help the King persecute the Separatists.

The first task the Separatists did was to go on with their religious services, which could only be performed with the availability of a place and a printing press. They used to meet regularly in the homes of a number of members, and it was only in 1611 when the group bought a house to be used for both church services and as a residence for the pastor John Robinson. Since the Puritan ideas could not spread to other regions without any publications; William Brewster and Edward Winslow established a printing press, where more than eighteen Puritan books were published. However, under the English pressure for change in the Dutch attitudes towards the English Separatists, the Dutch authorities were compelled to stop the press eight years later, without any attempt to

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<sup>144</sup> Robert A. Peterson. “Lessons in Liberty: The Dutch Republic, 1579- 1750.” *The Freeman* 13 (July 1987.) 120-121.

<sup>145</sup> Robert A. Peterson.

<sup>146</sup> Jan Van Oldenbarnevelt was a *Dutch scholar* and statesman born on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1542 in Leyden, Holland and died on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1609. “Oldenbarnevelt Jan Van.” *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography* 73.

arrest its founders.<sup>147</sup> There were two main reasons for the long interval- a period of eleven years- between King James' first and second reaction of 1608 and 1619 successively against the English Separatists of Holland. Firstly, the new Dutch authorities changed during that period, who were no longer the first who did not like to react negatively against the Separatists. In fact, another advocate succeeded Jan Van Oldenbarnevelt. Secondly, England ruled without Parliament in 1611,<sup>148</sup> considering the fact that the Puritans formed the majority in the House of Commons, therefore the dissolution of the Commons' right encouraged James I to act against them.

The Pilgrims<sup>149</sup> felt that the freedom of religion in the Netherlands was also threatened because Spain, a Catholic country, might invade Holland.<sup>150</sup> The Separatists were also discouraged by economic difficulties, especially that a number of them were only farmers and craftsmen, which made it difficult for them to find a job in the factories. Even those immigrants who were working, as weavers or day labourers, were poorly paid. This was added to the fact that the English settlers had already lost their possession and money in England when they tried to escape from Scrooby without a royal permission. Thus, they found themselves living in poverty, their living and working conditions became worse and worse. Others feared their children would be influenced by a foreign culture and lose their religious identity, especially that some of them became soldiers, and others made long voyages by sea distant from their families. John Robinson, an English Separatist, reported:

How hard the country was [...] how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England. How like we were to lose our language, and our name, of English. How little good we did, or are likely to do, to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath. How unable to give such education to our children as we ourselves have received [...] Some preferred and chose the prisons in England rather than this liberty in Holland with its afflictions.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Robert A. Peterson.

<sup>148</sup> King James I believed in the Divine Right of Kings, according to which the monarchs received their power from God. William Benton 360.

<sup>149</sup> The term Pilgrim was first used by William Bradford, a Puritan Separatist, to describe himself and the Leyden Separatists who were leaving in Holland. "Pilgrim." William Benton.

<sup>150</sup> The Dutch Revolt began in 1572. Spain wanted the Dutch to stop the East Indies Company, founded in 1602, from trading in Spanish territory. "Netherlands." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>151</sup> Stephen Foster 64.

To sum up, the religious atmosphere during the earlier centuries in Europe—namely in the western area of the Continent—motivated the emergence of the theological movements which asked for the reformation of the Roman Catholic Church and which would develop into Protestantism in the sixteenth century. This was to continue in England, where the movement started as Lollardy during the reign of Henry VII and was named Puritanism during the monarchy of Elizabeth I. The reformers took different names in England including: Heretics, Puritans, Presbyterians, Calvinists, and Separatists. The religious policy of the English monarchs was a significant factor that led to the evolution of the Puritan beliefs; the latter were also to develop in the New World, which had been already explored by the Europeans before the Puritan presence in 1620.

#### **4. Secular Circumstances Leading to the Evolution of Puritanism in the New World**

The New World had already been explored and settled before the Puritan Separatists' arrival in 1620. The first attempt to settle in the area was probably made in 986 by the Vikings,<sup>152</sup> led by an English explorer Eric the Red,<sup>153</sup> who established a settlement on the coast of Greenland, an island situated between the North Atlantic and Arctic oceans. Fourteen years later, his son Lief Ericson<sup>154</sup> explored and named three areas in North America: Helluland, Markland, and Vinland. Lief's reports on his voyage raised curiosity of many explorers, among whom was Thorfinn Karlsefni,<sup>155</sup> an Icelandic trader, who settled in Vinland, an area in North America. Over a period of three years in the colony, the settlers managed to trade in furs with the natives.

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<sup>152</sup> The Vikings were members of the Scandinavian seafaring warriors who raided and colonized wide areas of Europe. They were sailors, traders, farmers, craftsmen, and explorers. The so-called 'Viking Age' began around AD 800 and lasted for nearly three centuries. "Vikings." R. J. Unstead's Dictionary of History. (U.S.A: The Two Continents Publishing Group Ltd, 1976.) 251.

<sup>153</sup> Eric the Red (950- 1001) was a Norwegian explorer, and the first European to explore Greenland and found a colony there. He was called Eric the Red because of his red hair. When his father was exiled, Eric left Norway with him, and the family settled in Iceland. "Eric the Red." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 50.

<sup>154</sup> Leif Ericson (975-1020) was an Icelandic explorer thought to have been one of the first Europeans to set foot on North American soil. He was the second son of Eric the Red. "Ericson Leif." William Benton. Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, V 4. 479.

<sup>155</sup> Thorfinn Karlsefni, born about 980, was an Icelandic trader. He married Gudrid, the widowed sister-in-law of Leif Ericson. Soon afterward he led a large group of colonists to Vinland. The date of his death is unknown. "Karlsefni Thorfinn." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.



However, the Vikings' settlement was not to last for a long time, partly because they didn't possess weapons to protect them from the hostility of the indigenous people, whom they called Shraelings, meaning savages.<sup>156</sup>

The Vikings' achievements in North America were followed by the presence of other Europeans who were driven by economic interest. King Ferdinand V (1474- 1516) and Queen Isabella I (1451- 1504) of Spain agreed to finance the voyages of an Italian sea Captain- Christopher Columbus,<sup>157</sup> and promised to give him the title of Admiral of the Ocean Sea, in return the Captain would find a western sea route from Europe to Asia, and bring gold, spices, and silk to the sovereigns. On August 03<sup>rd</sup>, 1492, Christopher Columbus sailed from Spain and reached San Salvador, which he thought it was an island of the Indies and inhabited by Indians. Because the natives were friendly and helpful with the European explorers, Columbus was able to penetrate into other regions he named Santa Maria, Fernandina, Isabella, and Juana. On December 06<sup>th</sup> of the same year, he also reached the north coast of Hispaniola. One month later, the expedition came back to Spain with gold, animals and plants, and Indians. Consequently, Columbus was welcomed and given what he had already been promised. A short time later, the admiral was sent again with seventeen ships and more than one-thousand men to land on the islands of Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Antigua. In his following voyages of 1498 and 1502, he explored the mainland of South America and the coastline of Central America respectively.<sup>158</sup>

The successful expeditions of Christopher Columbus increased other explorers' desire to take part in the European voyages to seek a western root to the Indies. Amerigo Vespucci,<sup>159</sup> an Italian navigator, was among them. Between 1499 and 1553,

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<sup>156</sup> No further European exploration of the New World was made in the three centuries that followed. This was mainly due to the fact that Europe was busy with establishing trade in other continents. For instance, by the middle of the fourteenth century a Portuguese seaman discovered the Azores and the Canary and Madeira Islands, and explored the west coast of Africa as far south as Cape Bojador. Oliver P. Chitwood and Frank L. Owsly. The American People. A History. Volume I to 1877. (U.S.A: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc, 1966.) 14.

<sup>157</sup> Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) was an Italian-Spanish navigator born in Genoa, Italy. His father was a weaver, and it is believed that Christopher entered this trade as a young man. The final months of Columbus' life were marked by illness. "Columbus Christopher." William Benton. Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. V 3. 474- 79.

<sup>158</sup> Morton Breen. The Discovery of America. (U.S.A: D. Van Nortrand Company, Inc., 1971.) 10-21.

<sup>159</sup> Amerigo Vespucci (1451- 1497) was born in Florence, Italy. As a young boy, Amerigo's happiest moments were studying the stars. He excelled in mathematics and his hobby was copying maps. His dream as a young boy was to travel and get a better picture about what the Earth looked like. Amerigo

he made three voyages and explored a number of areas in South America, namely in Brazil. In his first voyage, he named an area there Gulf of the Ganges. In the second voyage, Vespucci explored the Cape Santo Agostino and realized that what had already been explored was not India, but a new continent. The third voyage was a prominent achievement, because the navigator was able to bring with him precious stones.

Portugal was also interested in explorations, strengthened by powerful motives, such as slaves, ivory and gold brought from the African continent. In 1500, King Emanuel (1495- 1521) sent the explorer Pedro Alvares Cabral<sup>160</sup> to India. With thirteen ships and one thousand twenty men, Cabral left Lisbon to land accidentally in Brazil. After the explorer had claimed the region for Portugal, he sent a vessel to inform the King about his discovery. Successfully, Cabral managed to establish trade with the native people of the region.

Twenty four years later, France started its explorations of the New World, when Giovanni da Verrazano,<sup>161</sup> an Italian sailing under the French flag, was sent by the French King Francis I (1515- 1547) to claim new lands for France. Successfully, da Verrazano was able to reach the coast of North Carolina and Nova Scotia. But, the explorer was killed by the natives in Brazil, when he made his second expedition in the same year. However, this did not discourage the French to abandon their purpose; instead another attempt was made between 1534 and 1541, by Jacques Cartier,<sup>162</sup> a French explorer, who tried in vain to establish a colony in Canada, where he was met with resistance of the Indians.<sup>163</sup> After two decades, Admiral Coligny,<sup>164</sup> another French

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spent half of his life as a business man hoping to strike it rich so he could explore. The results to Vespucci's findings were that North and South America were named after him. Morton Breen 20.

<sup>160</sup> Cabral Pedro Alvares (1460- 1526) was a Portuguese navigator, born into a wealthy aristocratic family in Portugal. Cabral went to King John II's court (1455-1495), where he studied the humanities. "Alvares Cabral Pedro." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography. 72.

<sup>161</sup> Giovanni da Verrazano (1480- 1527) was an Italian navigator. He became famous as pirate in raids on Spanish ships. Encouraged by Francis I, king of France, the navigator discovered many places in America. He was killed by Native Americans in Brazil. "Giovanni da Verrazano." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography.

<sup>162</sup> Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) was a French explorer and mariner, who discovered and claimed many places in America for France. In 1535, he had settled in St. Malo and wrote an account of his expeditions that was published in 1545. "Cartier Jacques." Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. V 3. 145.

<sup>163</sup> E. Samuel Morison. An Elementary American History.( New York: Norton and Company Inc., 1972.) 22- 39.

seaman, was sent by King Charles IX (1550-1574) to establish a settlement in Florida. However, the settlers were not able to do so, largely because of hunger on one hand, and hostility of the natives on the other.<sup>165</sup>

Unlike the previous French explorations, the following attempts to explore the New World by France in the early 1600's were more successful, in the sense that there was less Indian resistance to the colonists. In 1603, Samuel de Champlain<sup>166</sup> a French explorer- visited North America as a royal geographer on a fur trading expedition. The French were trading with the Native Americans living along the Saint Lawrence. The French cloth and metal wares were changed for the Indian furs. In fact, while de Champlain was in the New World, he collected information about the geography of the north-eastern section of the continent, which was needed for drawing a map. Two years later, de Champlain visited the southern area, where he explored a river he named the Saint- Jean.<sup>167</sup>

Along with Spain, Portugal and France, the Netherlands was also involved in the exploration of the New World. In 1609, the United East India Company- founded in 1603- sent the English navigator, Henry Hudson<sup>168</sup> to find a new route to the East. Hudson left Amsterdam with eighteen sailors to reach the North Cape, New York Harbor and the Hudson River. Thanks to these discoveries, the Dutch managed to establish fur trade with the Indians.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Coligny, Gaspard de, Seigneur de Châtillon (1519-72), was a French admiral and Huguenot leader. In 1552, he became admiral of France, and five years later he was captured by the Spanish at Saint-Quentin. Beginning in 1569, Coligny was the principal leader on the Huguenot side, and he obtained favorable terms in the Treaty of Saint Germain (1570). "Gaspard Coligny." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>165</sup> Michael Alexander, ed. Discovering The New World. (U.S.A: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1976.) 12.

<sup>166</sup> Champlain, Samuel de (1567-1635) was a French explorer, known as the father of New France, the French colonial empire in North America. He was born in Brouage, France, but little is known of his early years. Like his father, he served as a naval captain. He thus acquired the training that made him a very competent navigator and geographer, and an excellent cartographer. Morton Breen 43.

<sup>167</sup> Michael Alexander 19- 20.

<sup>168</sup> Henry Hudson- whose date of birth is unknown- was an English navigator, famous for his voyages of discovery. He started sailing as a cabin boy at the age of sixteen. After seven years, Henry undertook his expedition for the United East India Company. Hudson died in 1611. "Hudson Henry." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>169</sup> Oliver P. Chitwood and Frank L. Owsly 58.

England had already explored the New World, when king Henry VII (1485-1509) sent John Cabot,<sup>170</sup> an Italian navigator, to find a new maritime route to Asia. In 1497, he landed in the shores of Canada, which he thought was the east coast of Asia. One year later, he sailed again and reached the east coast of Greenland; where he had tried in vain to establish trade with the inhabitants, before he went back home. These European voyages are better illustrated on Map 6.<sup>171</sup> From 1497 to 1534 the explorers reached only the coastal areas of the New World. After John Cabot's exploration, there was no English presence in the New World until 1576, for a period of seventy- nine years; because most Tudor monarchs were busy with the religious changes happening in the county. In fact, in 1576 Martin Frobisher-<sup>172</sup> an English seaman- made three voyages to America where he landed in Canada.<sup>173</sup>

King Henry VII was not the only English monarch who was interested in navigation; on December 13<sup>th</sup>, 1577, Elizabeth I also sent Francis Drake-<sup>174</sup> an English navigator and explorer- to sail around the world. With five ships and over one hundred sixty men, Drake left Plymouth, England; exploring South America and claiming an area for England which he named New Albion. After Francis Drake had reached England in September 1580, he was knighted by the Queen for his accomplishment.

The Queen also encouraged Sir Humphrey Gilbert,<sup>175</sup> a shareholder in the Muscovy Company formed in 1555, to find a direct way to Asia, and claim lands for England. With a group of explorers, Gilbert started his mission in 1578. Although they succeeded in landing in Newfoundland, they soon decided to leave it. This was mainly

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<sup>170</sup> John Cabot (1450- 1499) was an English navigator and explorer. Although Cabot was born in Genoa, he moved to Venice, where his seafaring career probably began. He became a naturalized Venetian in 1476, but about eight years later settled in Bristol, England. "Cabot John." Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. V 3. 09.

<sup>171</sup> Refer to Map 6: European Exploration 1492- 1534. 53.

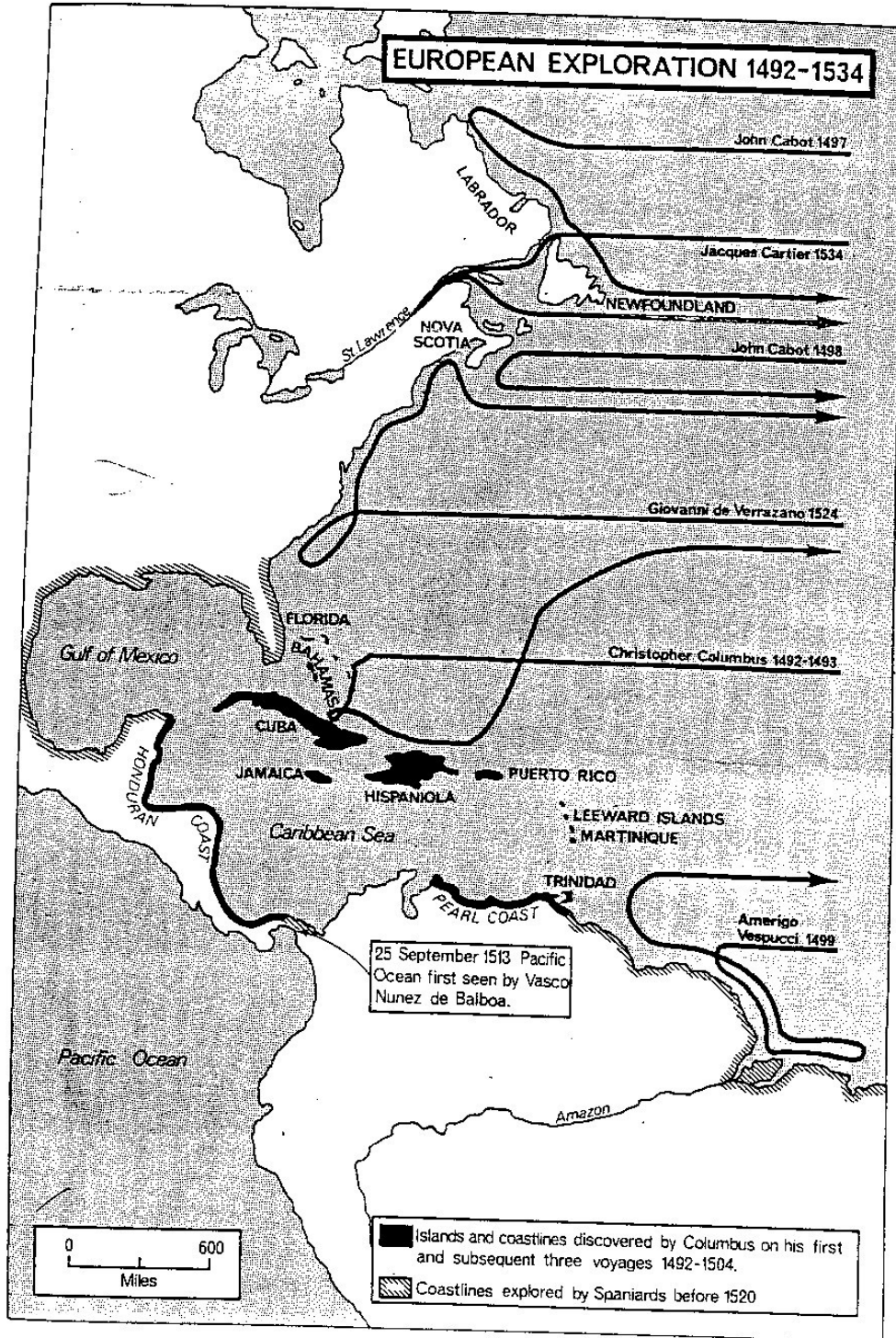
<sup>172</sup> Martin Frobisher (1527-1596) was an English explorer born in Yorkshire. E. Samuel Morison 25.

<sup>173</sup> John M. Blum and C. Vann Woodward. The National Experience. A History of the United States to 1877. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Inc., 1981.) 16.

<sup>174</sup> Drake, Sir Francis (1540-96) was the most famous English seaman of the Elizabethan Age, best known for his circumnavigation of the world. Drake was born in Devonshire to a poor, staunchly Protestant farming family. He was mayor of Plymouth in 1581 and served as a Member of Parliament in 1584 and 1585. "Sir Francis Drake." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>175</sup> Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539- 1583) was an English navigator and soldier. He was educated at Eton College and the University of Oxford. He was appointed governor of Munster, Ireland, in 1569. Two years later, he served in Parliament. Gilbert spent the period from 1572 to 1578 in retirement, mainly engaged in writing. "Gilbert Humphrey Sir." The Wordsworth Dictionary of Biography 70.

Map 2.



due to the fact that they were not provided with enough food, arms...etc to protect themselves. On their voyage back to Europe, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was lost at sea.

The end of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century were marked by continuous attempts to make English presence in North America. The first effort was made in the 1580's when Sir Walter Raleigh<sup>176</sup> an English adventurer- was given a patent by Queen Elizabeth I to all the territories he might colonize, in return he would pay the Crown one fifth of the profits. Thus, he sent an expedition to establish a settlement in the area, which was named Virginia, after the Virgin Queen- Elizabeth I. This attempt failed as the English didn't find any gold on one side, and the Queen found it difficult to follow the settlement, as she was concerned with the Armada Crisis,<sup>177</sup> on the other. The second effort was made in June of 1606 by King James I, who granted a charter to the London Company, also called Virginia Company, to colonize North America. One year later, three ships carrying one hundred and four men arrived at the Chesapeake Bay, which was named Jamestown. The colony seemed profitable as the settlers planted tobacco, which was an economic source for the settlement. Consequently, people signed contracts as indentured servants for four to seven years, by the end of which servants would receive their own land. But, this success was not to last for a long time. Planting tobacco instead of crops resulted in the lack of food, which was added to the spread of disease. Despite Indian help, four hundred forty settlers died out of five hundred. As the remaining settlers planned to leave their settlement, Thomas

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<sup>176</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618) was an English soldier, seaman, courtier, and writer. In 1569, he fought on the Huguenot (French Protestant) side in the Wars of Religion in France. In 1580, he fought against the Irish rebels in Munster. His last appointment was governor of Jersey in 1600. "Raleigh Walter Sir." William Benton. Encyclopedia Britannica. V. 6. (U.S.A: The University of Chicago, 1989.) 497- 98.

<sup>177</sup> Philip II (1527- 1598), king of Spain, sent in 1588 the Spanish Armada, a fleet of one hundred thirty ships, to attempt the conquest of England. This was to defend Catholicism and take revenge for English raids on Spanish shipping, and to eject Elizabeth from her throne. Philip was angered because the Queen had sent a military force to the Netherlands to help Dutch rebels in their fight against Spain. The Armada was destroyed by a combination of bad weather and the English fleet. "Philip II." The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopedia of British History 310.

Gates,<sup>178</sup> the governor of the colony, arrived in May of 1610 with two ships, the Deliverance and the Patience full of food and other necessities.<sup>179</sup>

The European exploration, particularly the successful experience of the Virginians in America, pushed the Pilgrims to think of emigrating to the New World. The settlers of Virginia considered their colony a formal agreement between them and the Creator. Their success, according to the Virginians, was a sign of God's help. In 1614, the Reverend- Whitaker-<sup>180</sup> wrote to his Puritan cousin in England that: "...I much more muse, that so few of our English ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription, come hither where neither is spoken of."<sup>181</sup> Though all the explorations made to America were backed by the monarchs rather than by individuals, the initial Puritan emigration was launched by individuals. Different places were suggested to settle in, but finally the Pilgrims decided to leave for Virginia. The historian, Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall, has noted that it was the English colonizer John Smith who changed the name of North Virginia to New England, and named the regions there with the names of English towns; Plymouth was one of them.<sup>182</sup>

A permission to settle in the New World was then needed; therefore, in 1618, the Pilgrims in Leyden sent representatives to London to negotiate with Thomas Weston<sup>183</sup> of the Virginia Company for permission to settle in the territories claimed by it. The Company consisted of a number of businessmen who had already organized the

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<sup>178</sup> Thomas Gates (1587- 1615) was an English explorer. In 1609, he was dispatched from England to serve as deputy governor in Virginia. On the way to it, Gates's ship was wrecked by a hurricane in Bermuda, where Gates and his shipmates spent the winter. Gates built two new ships and finally reached Jamestown in May 1610. "Gates Thomas." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>179</sup> David Quin. England and the Discovery of America, 1481- 1620. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973.) 35- 36.

<sup>180</sup> John Whitaker was born on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1594 in England. Twenty years later, he decided to emigrate to Virginia. He died at the age of seventy- six. "Whitaker John." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>181</sup> William Benton. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V. 26. 217.

<sup>182</sup> Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall. This Country of Ours. The Story of the United States. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1957.) 22.

John Smith (1580- 1631) was an English colonist in the New World, where he traded with its native inhabitants. He explored different places such as New England in 1614. "Smith John." The Hutchinson Illustrated Encyclopaedia of British History 307.

<sup>183</sup> Thomas Weston (1600- 1650) was a prominent London merchant born in England. He was the governor of Virginia. "Weston Thomas." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Virginia Colony under a charter granted to them in the early seventeenth century by Queen Elizabeth I. It agreed to finance the voyage, in return the Puritans would work for it for a period of seven years. During this time, all lands and livestock would be owned in partnership; afterwards the Company would be ended and the profits divided. Though King James I refused to grant the Puritans a charter, he made no opposition to their departure for the New World.

The Virginia Company prepared a ship, named Speedwell, which carried the Leyden group in July 1620 to Southampton, England, where they joined another group of Separatists. There, the Mayflower, another ship, was also added to carry the Puritans. Not all the voyagers were Pilgrims, others were strangers- as the Pilgrims used to call them- including slaves and indentured servants. These passengers numbered one hundred twenty- eight.

The voyage- which was led by the Separatist William Brewster- started on September 06<sup>th</sup> of the same year and took sixty- five days. Because the Speedwell was not in good conditions, the Mayflower continued the voyage alone. William Bradford,<sup>184</sup> an English Separatist, described this event:

No special leak could be found out but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship [...] And thus, [...] this small number was divided, as if the Lord by this work of His providence though these few too many for the great work He had to do.<sup>185</sup>

Although food was insufficient, all the voyagers reached successfully the American shores, with the exception of two dead: a sailor and a servant. After the voyagers had made their first landfall near Cape Cod- an area outside the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company- they decided to found a settlement they named New Plymouth,

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<sup>184</sup> William Bradford (1590- 1657) was one of the Pilgrim leaders and American colonial governor, born in Austerfield, Yorkshire, England. In 1621, he was appointed as chief executive of Plymouth Colony. J. A. Leo Lemay. An Early American Reader. (Washington: United States Information Agency, 1993.) 187.

<sup>185</sup> Stephen Foster 61.



a name derived from the port from where the Pilgrims had left.<sup>186</sup> The Puritan colonies in New England will constitute the object of the second chapter. There in New England, the Puritans were supposed to establish a church without misinterpretation that had already existed in their mother country's church. They would put their beliefs in practice, which was a difficult task since the settlers would meet other non- Puritan inhabitants such as the Indians and different religious groups. The Puritans might succeed in co-existing or might create frequent friction. The Puritan advance in New England was a successful evolution of the European Puritanism to the New World on one hand and a new face of the movement on the other.

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<sup>186</sup> Francis J. Bremer. The Puritan Experience. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.) 73-75.

During the voyage, there was a birth of a son, named Oceanus. Francis J. Bremer.

## **Chapter Two:**

### **The Establishment and Evolution of Puritanism in the New World (1620- 1830)**

The English Puritans succeeded in arriving at the New World in 1620, a place where they would establish their society which they had been hoping for long ago. It is important to mention that the initial Puritan immigration was particular because it included mostly ordinary people instead of aristocrats, and was made by families instead of individuals. Nevertheless, the Puritans faced a number of difficulties during their settlement; including the Indians' refusal of both the Puritans' expansion over their territories and their new ideologies. Diverse spiritual beliefs which constituted another main difficulty faced by the Puritans appeared with the emergence of a number of religious sects in New England, including the Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews, Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists, Universalists, Roman Catholics, and Unitarians. These groups will be classified according to their first presence in New England.

In this regard, the second chapter will provide a detailed examination of the establishment of Puritanism in a new world, with reference to the early Puritan contact and attitudes towards the Native Americans. The chapter will examine Puritanism in New England, as the predominant religion in the early centuries of the area. This predominance was put into question with the emergence of religious sects. Thus, the central question to be explored in this chapter is whether or not the dreams of religious freedom, toleration, and a society where all its members could read the Bible were realized in the New World.

#### **1. The Puritan Settlement and the Indian Attitudes**

When the Puritan settlers arrived in New England and started to establish their colonies from 1620; they met the Indians, the native inhabitants of the region. These

mainly included the Abenaki in the east of New Hampshire, the Wampanoag<sup>187</sup> in Plymouth, Narragansett in Narragansett Bay and western Rhode Island, the Pequot located in the coastal region of northeastern Connecticut, and Mohegan in northwest Connecticut.<sup>188</sup> The Narragansett tribe was the largest and most powerful tribe in New England in the early seventeenth century. All these tribes used Algonquian as their native language.<sup>189</sup>

The Native Americans lived on farming, and cultivated edible and inedible crops. The former included corn, melons, beans and pumpkins; inedible crops composed mainly tobacco and gourds. What characterized Indian farming was the fact that all crops were planted together in the same land, and houses were built next to their farms so that the Indians could control them. The Indians relied on fishing and on hunting which began just after the harvest was over; and they were also known for making objects from shells, as for instance wampum, used both as barter with the early European settlers and as jewelry.

The Indian tribes had their own self-governing communities, which were ruled by a council consisting of representatives from each family. The council selected a man- the wisest and bravest among the representatives- to act as chief, who was to lead the tribe and represent it when dealing with other tribes. The chief was chosen to rule all his life; and his kingship was inherited by his older son or- in case he had not a son- by his wife who would become the queen. In fact, a number of Indian tribes in New England were ruled by women who were respected as were male chiefs.<sup>190</sup>

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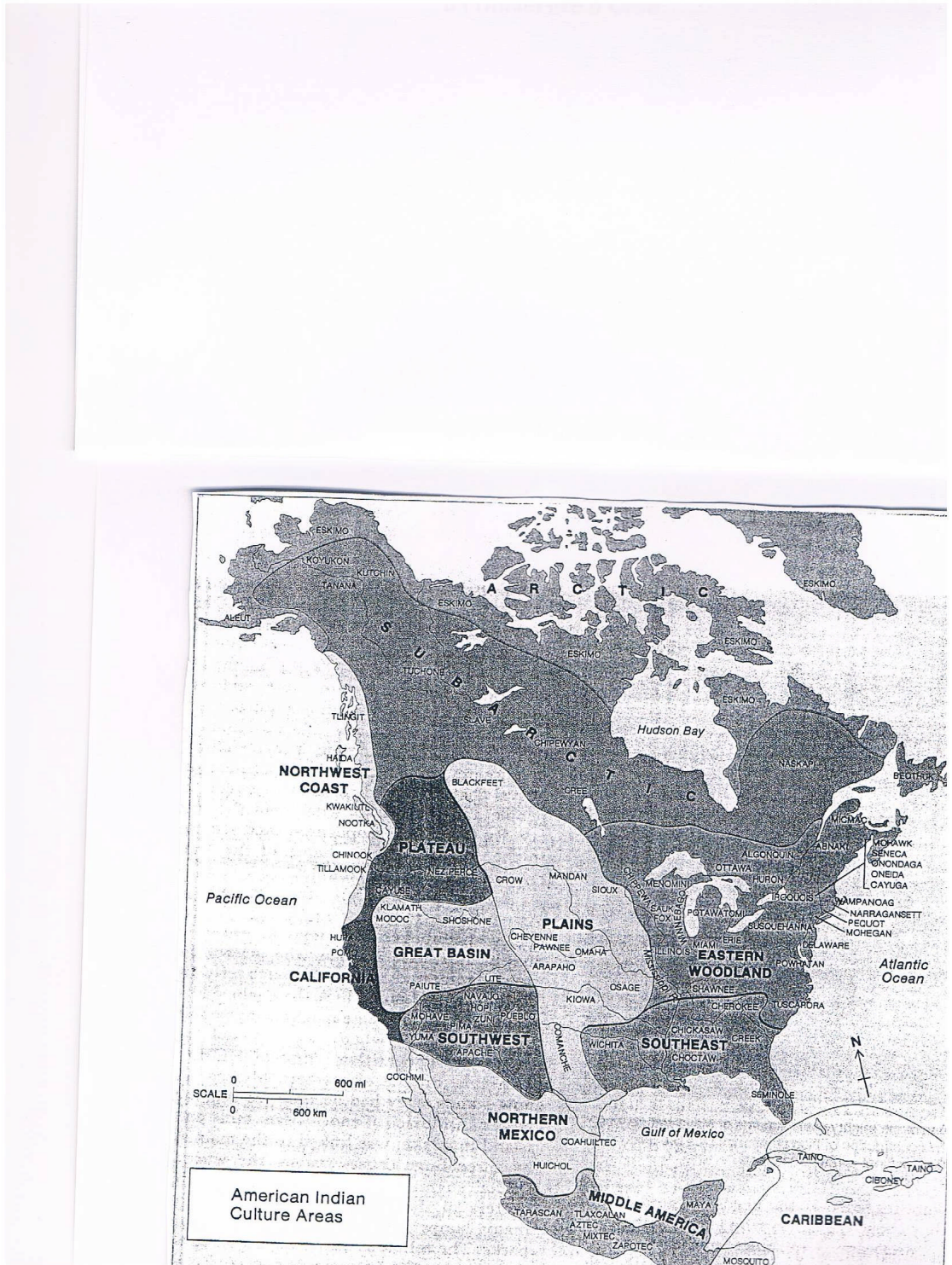
<sup>187</sup> The Wampanoag were known to their neighbours as the Pokanoket, which means “a place of the cleared land.” It was Adrian Block of Holland, a Dutch navigator, who called them the Wampanoag in the seventeenth century. The Wampanoag is composed of two Algonquin terms: Wampo meaning dawn and noag meaning people. So, the name means “people of the east.” Jill Lepore. The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity. (New York: Vintage Books, 1998.) 32.

<sup>188</sup> Refer to Map 7: American Indian Culture Areas. 60.

<sup>189</sup> John Rugh. A Diplomatic History of the United States. (U.S.A: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1976.) 145- 151.

<sup>190</sup> John Rugh 153.  
Alice Dickinson. The Colony of Massachusetts. (USA: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1975.) 18.

## Map 7: American Indian Culture Areas



The Algonquin Indians believed in the existence of a number of good and bad spirits who lived both in living and non- living creatures, in a way that they inhabited individuals, animals, plants, and mountains. The Great Spirit or the Almighty- a spiritual formless force- was considered the Creator of the world. The Native Americans gave thanks to their Almighty by dancing and singing; for instance, every summer they gathered to dance in a ceremony called the Sun Dance.<sup>191</sup>

The Indians developed different types of houses according to their source of living: agricultural tribes required dwellings that would last for a long period, and nomadic tribes required portable houses, because their inhabitants would move to hunt and gather food. The Indian homes were mostly circular covered with mats, and could easily move to another place. The architecture of the Indian dwellings changed by the 1780's, when the Indians imitated the English method of putting logs horizontally and stopped covering their houses with mats.

The North American Indian lands were largely settled by Puritans who established a succession of six colonies: Plymouth, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven. Almost all these Puritan settlements were ruled by a charter granted from the English monarch. The Plymouth settlers had a special case since their emigration to the New World was illegal, in the sense that they were not allowed by the English monarch to leave their country; thus, the Pilgrims found themselves obliged to write their own charter.<sup>192</sup> The Plymouth Colony was established in 1620 by Separatists, who broke with the Anglican Church, and the remaining Non- Separating Congregationalist colonies were founded by Non-Separatists. Under the second type, there were two other subtypes: the settlers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts were immigrants from England, while the founders of the Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven colonies were migrants from the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

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<sup>191</sup> John Rugh.

Apart from the religious beliefs, the native inhabitants used to paint their faces and parts of their bodies with red, their preferable colour. For that reason, the early explorers of America called them "red men." Mason N. justifies the Indians' painting in his work by the fact that the Natives aimed at protecting themselves from insects. N. Mason. *The Indigenous People of North America*. A Master's Thesis. Brandon University, 1998. UMI, 2001. 39.

<sup>192</sup> This idea- the Pilgrims' writing of their own charter- will be discussed in details in the first section of the third chapter.

John Rugh 145- 151.

Following the Plymouth Pilgrims, a group of Puritans managed to plant a colony in 1623 in New Hampshire, which was founded by two English colonizers: Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges,<sup>193</sup> who managed to get a grant from the Plymouth Company for the land between the Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers. Other small towns- such as Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton- were also established. In 1629, the two colonizers agreed to divide the land into two areas: Gorges called his region, to the east of the Piscataqua, the Province of Maine;<sup>194</sup> while Mason named his New Hampshire. The following year, the two areas were incorporated into one colony of New Hampshire.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was the third colony whose settlers were richer and better educated. As soon as the Calvinist monarch James I died in 1625, a number of Puritans felt threatened, because they started to lose power in the English Parliament. The new King, Charles I (1625- 1649), opposed the Puritans and favoured the Roman Catholics.<sup>195</sup> Consequently, a group of Puritans sailed in 1628 under the guarantee of a commercial company, called the New England Company, organized in the same year, and obtained a grant of land authorizing the Puritans' settlement in Massachusetts Bay, to the north of Plymouth. One year later, another group of Puritans led by John Winthrop,<sup>196</sup> an English lawyer, met in Cambridge, England, and signed the Cambridge Agreement, according to which they agreed to emigrate to Massachusetts on condition that they would be allowed to transfer the Massachusetts Bay Company and the charter to the New World. The English emigration to the New World during

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<sup>193</sup> John Mason (1586-1635) was an English colonizer in North America; and governor of an English colony at Conception Bay, Newfoundland from 1615 to 1621. "Mason John." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1566-1647) was an English soldier, mariner, and colonizer, who founded two Plymouth companies in 1606 and 1620 successively for colonizing lands in New England. In 1629, he received the land between the Kennebec and Piscataqua rivers. "Gorges Ferdinando." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>194</sup> Main had been a territory granted to the Plymouth Colony in 1620, then was governed as a district of Massachusetts from 1652 until it was admitted as the twenty-third state of the Union under the Missouri Compromise in 1820. "Maine." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1142.

<sup>195</sup> King Charles I's opposition to Puritanism was mainly due to the fact that he was influenced by his Roman wife Henrietta Maria, the youngest child of Henry IV of France (1588-1610). "Charles I." The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V.5. 833- 834.

<sup>196</sup> John Winthrop (1605-1676) was an English Puritan who studied medicine at Dublin University and law in London. In 1640, he was in charge of industrial enterprises in America, especially iron manufacturing. Winthrop worked as a magistrate of Connecticut in 1651 and a governor six years later. Arthur E. Soderlind. Colonial Connecticut. (New York: Thomas Nelson INC., Publishers, 1976.) 63-64.

the 1630's was called the Great Migration, during which eleven ships arrived at the Massachusetts Colony with one thousand Puritan and non- Puritan settlers, and another group of twenty thousand settlers supplemented by eleven years later.<sup>197</sup> The historian Robert Charles Anderson mentions that fifteen percent of the emigrants to New England arrived from 1620 to 1633, and eighty- five percent arrived from 1634 to 1640. The movement was made by families rather than individuals who were looking for religious stability to practise their Puritan beliefs.<sup>198</sup>

Apart from immigrants from England, other settlers came from Massachusetts. Roger Williams<sup>199</sup> who was an English Puritan- stated that the Puritans' settlement was illegal, because England had no right to grant the settlers lands without the approval of the Indians. He argued that the native people owned the land and that colonists had to purchase it from them and not from the King of England.<sup>200</sup> Williams insisted that: "the King of England had not purchased the land he granted to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he just gave it to them."<sup>201</sup> The Massachusetts' settlers affirmed that they had the right to settle in New England since the settlement was made peacefully. John Winthrop stated that:

It was our land by possession which we took peaceably, built a house upon it, and so it hath continued in our peaceable possession ever since without any interruption or claim [...] which being thus taken and possessed as vacuum domicilium gives us a sufficient title against all men.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Edward Dell. History of the Puritan Colonies. (U.S.A: Prentice Hall, 1995.) 83-89.

<sup>198</sup> Robert Charles Anderson. "A Note on the Pace of the Great Migration." *The New England Quarterly* 59. (1986). 406-7.

<sup>199</sup> Roger Williams (1603-1683), the founder of the Rhode Island Colony, was the son of a merchant tailor, and was a protégé of the jurist Sir Edward Coke. From 1636 until his death, Williams supported himself by farming and trading. His greatest writings included *the Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, and *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health, and their Preservatives*. William Benton. "Williams Roger." Encyclopedia Britannica. V.9. 687.

<sup>200</sup> These ideas were a response to the Doctrine of Christian Discovery, which stated that the European Christian countries gained legal rights over indigenous non- Christian peoples immediately upon their discovery by Europeans. Various European monarchs developed this principle to benefit their own countries. Robert J. Miller. Native America, Discovered and Conquered. (Canada: Bison Books, 2008.) 3.

<sup>201</sup> William Kristin. "Roger Williams." Religion, Nature and Art: The First International Conference hosted at the Department of Theology, University of Notre Dame, Nov. 14- 16, 2007. Thomas Ogle. Indiana: IBM Press, 2009. 2.

<sup>202</sup> William Kristin.

The Puritans justified their settlement with the fact that their movement to the New World was based on religion; their Creator helped them find an unpopulated place to settle in. According to a number of explorers, the Miraculous Plague, a smallpox epidemic preceding the English colonization resulted in the death of a number of North American Indians, leaving certain areas in New England without inhabitants.<sup>203</sup> According to the Puritans, this was a sign of help from God. Therefore, after his banishment from Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636, Roger Williams bought land from the Narragansett Indians and built a town, called Providence. In the same year, the town of Portsmouth was established by English Puritans: William Coddington and John Clarke. Anne Hutchinson,<sup>204</sup> the wife of an English merchant, came and joined the settlers, but because of the quarrels between her and Coddington about the way of organizing the town, Hutchinson left in 1639 and founded Newport, which would be united with Portsmouth in the following year. Warwick, another town, was founded in 1642 by a religious leader, Samuel Gorton.<sup>205</sup> All these towns were united in 1644 into the fourth Puritan colony, named Rhode Island.<sup>206</sup>

Like the founders of the Rhode Island Colony, Thomas Hooker,<sup>207</sup> who was a prominent Puritan, disagreed with people in Massachusetts Bay on the voting

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<sup>203</sup> In 1600, the Wampanoag were twelve thousand with forty villages. The three epidemics which swept across New England between 1614 and 1620 were especially devastating to the Wampanoag and neighbouring Massachusetts with mortality in many mainland villages (i.e. Patuxet) reaching 100%. Neal Salisbury. Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience. (Boston: University of Virginia Press, 1993.) 278-9.

<sup>204</sup> William Coddington (1601-1678) migrated to New England in 1630 and settled in Boston, where he became the company treasurer from 1634 to 1636; and in the latter year, was a deputy in the colony legislature. In 1637, he left Massachusetts for Rhode Island. "Coddington William." The New Encyclopedia Britannica. V.3. 426.

John Clarke (1609- 1676) was an American clergyman. In 1637, he moved to Boston in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but the following year he was driven from the colony. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1664 to 1669, and was a deputy governor in 1669 and 1671 respectively. "Clarke John." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Anne Hutchinson (1591-1643) was an American religious reformer born in Alford, England. In 1634, she immigrated with her family to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Her teachings were considered an attack on the rigid moral and legal codes of the Puritans of New England, as well as the authority of the Massachusetts. "Hutchinson Anne." The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V.6. 175.

<sup>205</sup> Samuel Gorton (1592–1677) was an Anglo-American religious leader, who immigrated to America in 1637. Because of his unorthodox religious teachings, Gorton was banished successively from Boston and Plymouth. The Massachusetts authorities jailed him in 1643 for holding erroneous religious opinions. "Gorton Samuel." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>206</sup> Edward Dell 92.

<sup>207</sup> Thomas Hooker (1586-1647) was an American Congregationalist clergyman, born in Leicestershire, England. He was a pastor of several English churches from 1620 until 1630, when he was called to appear before the Court of High Commission for nonconformist views. He fled to Holland, and then went to New England. "Hooker Thomas." The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V.6. 4675.



restrictions.<sup>208</sup> These were supposed to be imposed on the inhabitants who should be more involved in their government; thus, in 1636, with a group of Puritans, he formed a town in Connecticut Valley called Hartford. One year later, Hooker's settlement was organized with the towns of Windsor and Wethersfield, established in 1633 and 1634 respectively, forming the new colony, Connecticut.

The sixth and last Puritan colony was New Haven, founded by a group of Puritans under the leadership of both a minister, John Davenport, and a rich merchant, Theophilus Eaton—<sup>209</sup> who had arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, from England in July 1637. They established their settlement in 1638 in an area they bought from the Natives called Quinnipiack, in exchange for cloth, spoons, knives, scissors, hatchets, and hoes. But, the settlers didn't receive any document that might legalize their presence; because the Roman Catholic King Charles I was busy with quarrels with his Parliament over religious issues on one hand, and with the war against Spain and Scotland on the other.<sup>210</sup> Later, Quinnipiack was united in 1644 with other towns that were founded under one colony of New Haven.<sup>211</sup>

As regards the place- naming, the Puritan settlers named their settlements after their own names in England: Plymouth, Hampshire, and Haven were names of counties in England.<sup>212</sup> The Puritans escaped to New England in order to establish a society

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<sup>208</sup> The idea of voting restrictions will be discussed in the first section of Chapter Three.

<sup>209</sup> John Davenport (1597-1670) was an English Puritan clergyman born in Warwickshire, England. He was among those responsible for obtaining for the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter to establish a colony in America. "Davenport John." The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V.3. 906.

Theophilus Eaton (1590- 1658) was a merchant then a colonial governor of the New Haven Colony. As a young man, Eaton went to London as a merchant apprentice. He began his own commercial enterprise trading with Baltic seaports, and his success in business resulted in his election as a deputy governor of the East Land Company. When he returned to London, Eaton became interested in the settlement of New England. "Eaton Theophilus." The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. V.6. 340.

<sup>210</sup> The Protestant Members of Parliament were against the marriage of King Charles I with the Catholic Henrietta Maria, because succession would pass to his Catholic children. As a result, Parliament refused to grant the King money to wage his wars. The King waged a war on Spain in 1625 in order to regain the Palatinate, Germany; which had been ruled by James I's daughter Elizabeth and invaded by Spain in 1620. Another war was waged on Scotland in 1638, where people refused the new Catholic reforms introduced by Charles I. Louis J. Sirico. "The Trial of Charles I." Constitutional Commentary. Vol. 16. (1999.) 12-15.

<sup>211</sup> Edward Dell 94.  
Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 367.

<sup>212</sup> Massachusetts is named after an Algonquin village, a North American tribe; Rhode Island was named by Roger Williams in gratitude for God's providence; Connecticut is derived from Quinnehtukqut "beside the long river." Neal Salisbury 56.

which would be religiously different from the one they had left, but they tried to keep their old names. The Puritans were obliged by their religious education to do so; actually, it is mentioned in (Psalms 49:2) that “their inward thought is, that their houses shall continue forever, and their dwelling places to all generations.”

The Pilgrims agreed that each individual would be in charge of building his own house, and that a common house- where food, clothes, and other supplies were to be stored- would be built with the cooperation of all the settlers. The idea of cooperation was backed by what the Puritans called a covenant, according to which they agreed to work jointly in peace in order to worship God. So, religion would have a very significant role in the development of early New England.<sup>213</sup> The Puritans were not only in covenant with their Creator, but were also in covenant with one another, in the sense that they would obey the whole community. As it is illustrated on Map 8 all the Pilgrims’ houses were arranged next to each other, which were smaller than the Common House and the Storage Shed. There were nineteen families who were granted a lot of one pole wide and three poles length.<sup>214</sup> The houses of the early settlers were modelled on theirs in Europe, and the conditions of home building in all the Puritan colonies were similar with the exception of Massachusetts where its settlers initially lived in tents.<sup>215</sup>

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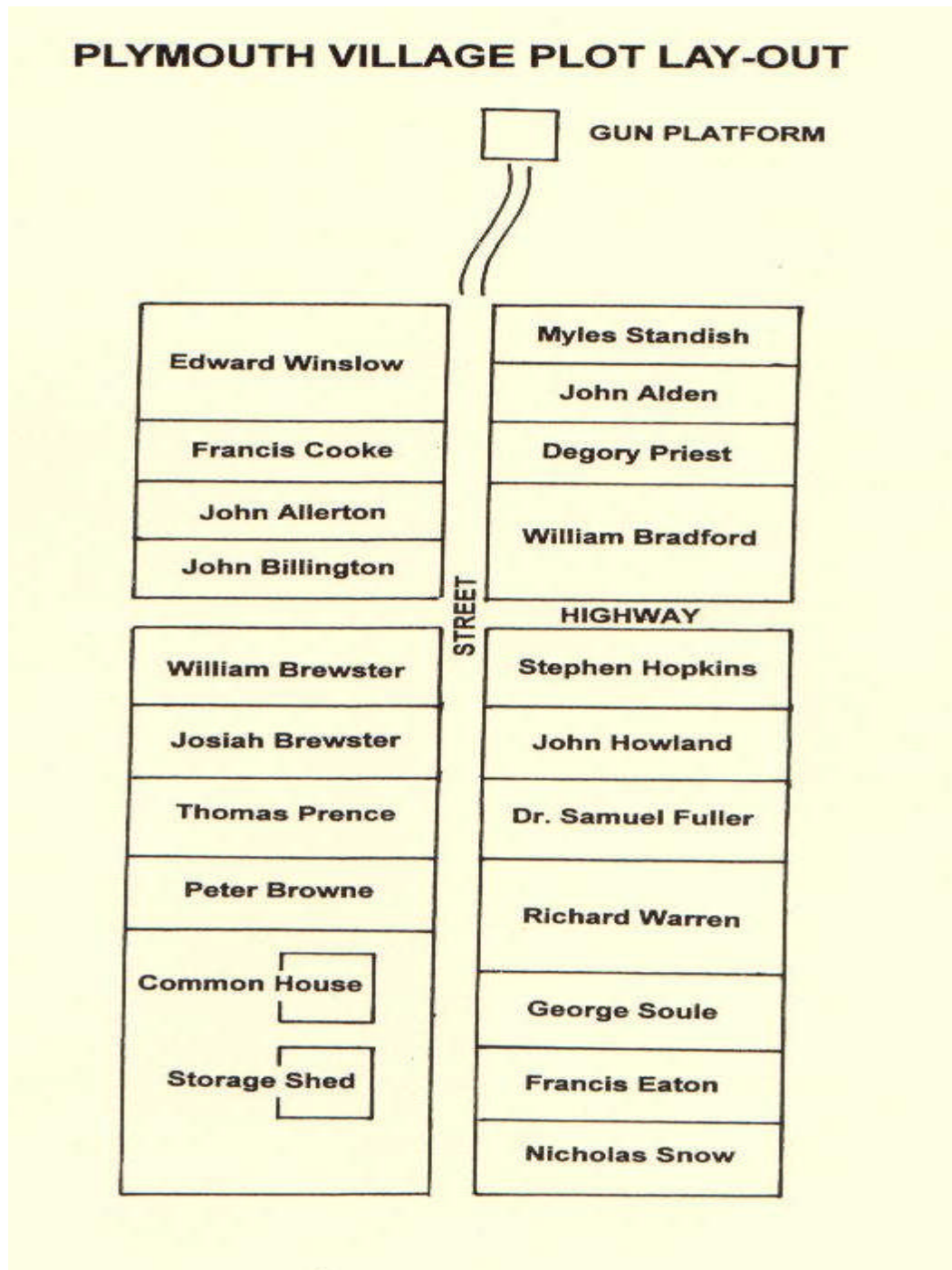
<sup>213</sup> The Puritans believed in both the ‘Covenant of Grace’ and the ‘Covenant of Works’. The ‘Covenant of Grace’ was a covenant that God made with unbelievers. All that God required from humans was faith, and in return He gave them salvation. However, once a person was saved, the way that he maintained God’s blessing was by obedience. This explains the ‘Covenant of Works’, which applied to all believers; God’s continued blessing was contingent upon a believer’s obedience to God. Quoted in Charles Post. “Rural Class Structure and Economic Development in Colonial British North America.” *The Economic and Political Developments in the World as Basic Circumstances for Revolutionary Work: The Fifth International Conference hosted at the Department of English, University of Toronto, Apr. 02- 04, 2001.* Reese Mark, Peter Bunge, and Peter Bird. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2001. 02.

<sup>214</sup> Refer to Map 8: Plymouth Village Plot Lay- Out. 67.

One pole equals 5.029 meters.

<sup>215</sup> Alice Dickinson 12.

Map 8: Plymouth Village Plot Lay- Out



"Plymouth Village Plot Lay- Out." The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony: 1620.  
<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mosmd/homes.htm>

Puritans in New England had an official relation with the native inhabitants, established only one year after the Pilgrims' settlement because of two important circumstances. Firstly, almost half of the settlers, fifty- three Pilgrims out of one hundred twenty- six, died because of both the Great Sickness<sup>216</sup> during their first winter months, and the lack of food. The following table provides information on the number of both the alive and dead Pilgrims. The high number of deaths was found among single men and the low number was found among girls:

**Table 1: Death of the Pilgrims in the First Winter of 1620**

<b>Died</b>	<b>Lived</b>
Single men 14	12
Married men 11	15
Married women 13	05
Boys 05	15
Girls 02	10
Sailors 08	16

Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census. Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976.

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<sup>216</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census. Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976.

The Great Sickness is a plague that came from Europe from 1616 to 1620, and killed both the English and Natives It spread from the north and along the coast southward until it reached Narragansett Bay. Alice Dickinson 59.

Unlike the Pilgrims, the next settlers faced fewer difficulties, and their living conditions were a little bit better. As regards the second circumstance, the Pilgrims were busy with home building.<sup>217</sup>

In the spring of 1621, Massasoit- chief of the Wampanoag tribe- had visited the Plymouth Colony and signed a treaty with its governor John Carver. Edward Winslow,<sup>218</sup> a Pilgrim colonist, served as a diplomatic ambassador between the English and the Wampanoag tribe. Under the terms of the treaty, the Pilgrims were given a large amount of land, and provided with foodstuffs. In return, they would protect the tribe from the Narragansett Indians. Furthermore, both sides decided that neither the Pilgrim settlers nor the Wampanoags would attack their people. In case of aggression, the offender should be punished, then if any property was robbed, it would have to be restored to its owner. Alliance was necessary in case of war. Indians had to leave their weapons when they wanted to visit the Pilgrims. The last term of the treaty was that the English monarch, King James I, would appreciate the alliance between both parts. Edward Winslow wrote: “[...] King James soluted him [Massasoit] with words of love and peace, and did accept him as his friend and alie [...]”<sup>219</sup> In fact, the last term seemed in direct contradiction to the Separatists’ attitudes they had expressed in England towards the English monarch; possibly, because the Pilgrims knew they would need the support of the English government to continue living in the New World. Actually, the treaty was very beneficial for the English, in a way that its news reached other neighbouring Indian tribes including the southern New England tribes. The latter realized that the Wampanoags became more powerful with the support of the Pilgrims; which led a

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<sup>217</sup> Edward Dell 111.

<sup>218</sup> Massasoit (1590- 1661), who was known as Ousamequin, or Yellow Feather, was born in the village of Pokanoket, Rhode Island. Until his death, Massasoit remained an ally of the Pilgrims. Massasoit's son, Metacomet, became famous as King Philip. “Massasoit,” The World Book Encyclopedia. V.13. (U.S.A: The Quarrie Corporation, 1974.) 229- 230.

John Carver (1576-1621) who immigrated to New England in 1620 was a Pilgrim leader and the first governor of Plymouth Colony, born in Nottinghamshire, England. In 1617, he became the agent for the Pilgrims in securing a charter and financial support for the establishment of a colony in America. “Carver John.” The Grolier Encyclopedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

Edward Winslow (1595-1655) was an American colonist born in Worcestershire, England. He had gone to America in 1620 on the Mayflower, and returned to England during the English Revolution, and then he served the Commonwealth government of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. In 1655, Cromwell sent him on a campaign against the Spanish West Indies; he died during the return trip to England. “Winslow Edward.” The Grolier Encyclopedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>219</sup> Edward Dell 99. (An authentic text.)

number of other Indian tribes<sup>220</sup> living in Rhode Island and along the Connecticut River to ally with the Wampanoag tribe. Consequently, the English succeeded through treaties in allying not only with Wampanoag but also with other tribes.

The Indians' initial attitudes towards the New Englanders were mostly peaceful, in a way that they did not have the intention of attacking the Plymouth Colony. The settlers, for their part, also tried to keep this peace. This could be explained by the fact that the Natives thought that the Mayflower was to remain temporarily on the American coast.<sup>221</sup> This had already happened in the New World when a number of European ships explored without establishing any settlement. Examples included the explorations made by Spain and France in 1492 and 1524 respectively. Moreover, the Indians feared each other; for instance, the Abenakis allied with the French in Canada to frighten and gain allies to be on their side against their Indian enemies who sided with the English. The Indians were also pleased to have the English goods including cloth and agricultural tools.<sup>222</sup> The Puritans realized the importance of dealing with the Natives through treaties and peaceful means rather than warfare, because a number of Indian tribes were numerous and militarily stronger. In the second half of the seventeenth century, twenty four thousand Wampanoags inhabited both the southeastern part of Massachusetts and the eastern part of Rhode Island; while in the same period the population of all the New England settlements reached twenty seven thousand.<sup>223</sup> Living in the New World was a new experience for the English settlers, who were in need of the Indians' assistance to guide them. For instance, Squanto and Samoset,<sup>224</sup> famous Wampanoags, served as interpreters for the Pilgrims on one side and as their guides in a new world on the other. What facilitated their mission was the fact that

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<sup>220</sup> These tribes included those living in Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands.

<sup>221</sup> Edward Dell 102.

<sup>222</sup> Alice Dickinson 18, 34.

<sup>223</sup> Ericson, David. "The Three Races and State Development in the Early United States." *British and American Studies: The First International Conference* hosted at the Department of English and American Studies, University of Salzburg, Dec 21- 25, 2006. Steve Chalker and Jemmy Broly. Austria: University of Salzburg Press. 2007. 8.

<sup>224</sup> Squanto (1585-1622), also known as Tisquantum, was a Native American of the Wampanoag tribe, and a friend to white settlers in New England in the early seventeenth century. Early in his life, he had been captured and sold as a slave in Spain but eventually escaped and went to England. When he returned to New England in 1619, he escaped and discovered that his people had been destroyed by a plague. "Squanto." *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*. V.11. 184.

Samoset was an Indian who made contact with the Pilgrims. He was a member of an Algonquin tribe that resided in southeast Maine. Samoset spoke broken English that he had learned from the English. "Samoset." *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*. V.11. 188.

Squanto and Samoset knew English very well, because they had already been captured, for a time, by the English traders of Virginia.<sup>225</sup> Bradford interpreted the Pilgrims' relation with Squanto as a sign of help from God:

[...] Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died. He was a native of this place, and scarce any left alive besides himself.<sup>226</sup>

The Narragansetts felt threatened by the friendship formed between the Europeans and the Wampanoags; and as a result, they sent in 1621 a war threat to Plymouth. The Narragansetts launched an attack in the same year on the Wampanoag villages, but when the colonists showed their support for the Wampanoag, the Narragansetts found it necessary to give up.<sup>227</sup> Nearly two decades later, a Narragansett leader, called Miantunnomoh, realized the danger of the Puritans' expansion into the Indian lands. Therefore, in 1642, he attempted to convince the Indians to be united against the Puritan colonists:

Brothers, we must be one as the English are, or we shall all be destroyed. [...] But brothers, since the Englishmen have seized our country, they have cut down the grass with scythes and the trees with axes. Their cows and horses eat up the grass, and their hogs spoil our beds of clams; and finally we shall starve to death. Therefore, stand not in your own light, I ask you, but resolve to act like men. All the sachems [chiefs] both to the east and the west have joined with us and we resolved to fall upon them, at a day appointed, and therefore I come to you secretly, because you can persuade your Indians to do what you will.<sup>228</sup>

The Puritans' attitudes towards the Indians in the eighteenth century did not differ from the preceding ones. The historian Sally L. Jones mentions an example of an Indian prisoner who was captured in the early 1700's and who explained the relationship that existed between the settlers and the Natives saying:

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<sup>225</sup> Virginia had been inhabited by American Indians when futile attempts were made by the English navigator Sir Walter Raleigh to found settlements from 1584 to 1587. Britain's first American colony was founded there in 1607 at Jamestown by John Smith, an English sailor, and was an Anglican colony. Edward Wright Haile. Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony. (London: Roundhouse, 1998.) 11.

Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 1964.

<sup>226</sup> David Ericson.

<sup>227</sup> George Morison. Pilgrim Colony. A History of New Plymouth. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.) 33-35.

<sup>228</sup> George Morison 59.

You came with the silver smile of peace, and we received you into our cabins; we hunted for you, toiled for you; but when your numbers increased, you rose like wolves upon us, fired our dwellings drove off our cattle, sent us in tribes to the wilderness, to seek for shelter, and now you ask me, while naked and a prisoner, to be your friend! [...] Think you I would be your enemy unless urged by powerful wrongs? No white man, no!<sup>229</sup>

The White- Indian peaceful relations lasted fifty- four years, during the lifetime of Massasoit and the first members of Plymouth; a change that was mainly due to strategic and economic reasons. The increase in English migration in the 1630's into Connecticut Valley, which was a Pequot territory was a reason for the conflicts. Moreover, three years before the start of the 1636 Pequot War two English traders, thought to be Dutchmen<sup>230</sup>, from the Massachusetts Bay Colony had been murdered by the Pequots on the Connecticut River. In 1636, a Massachusetts trader was killed; therefore, the Bay Colony attacked the Pequots. One year later, the Pequots attempted to convince Narragansett to ally with them against the English, while the latter sent the English Puritan Roger Williams- who had good relations with the tribe- to persuade Narragansett to remain neutral. In the same year, three English colonies, including Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut decided to fight the tribe together.<sup>231</sup> Map 9 gives details of the English settlements that were attacked by the Pequots, and the Indian tribes- including Mohegan and Narragansett- which refused to support the Pequots in their war.<sup>232</sup> The latter was led by John Mason and John Underhill,<sup>233</sup> English colonizers, who had organized a military force on May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1637 and attacked the Pequot village located near New Haven. It ended in September 1638 when the Pequots were forced to sign the Treaty of Hartford, called the Tripartite Treaty, declaring the disintegration of their tribe, and giving the colonists the Pequot lands. It is estimated that more than five hundred Indians -men, women, and children- were murdered; and others were captured and sold in the West Indies as slaves. A few surviving Pequots

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<sup>229</sup> Sally L. Jones. "The First but not the Last of the Vanishing Indians." In Dressing in Fathers, ed. Graham Fat (USA: West View Press, 1996.) 90.

<sup>230</sup> The Pequots made an agreement in 1634 with the Dutch which included a promise not to interfere with trade on the Connecticut River. But the Dutch broke their promise. Sally L. Jones 52.

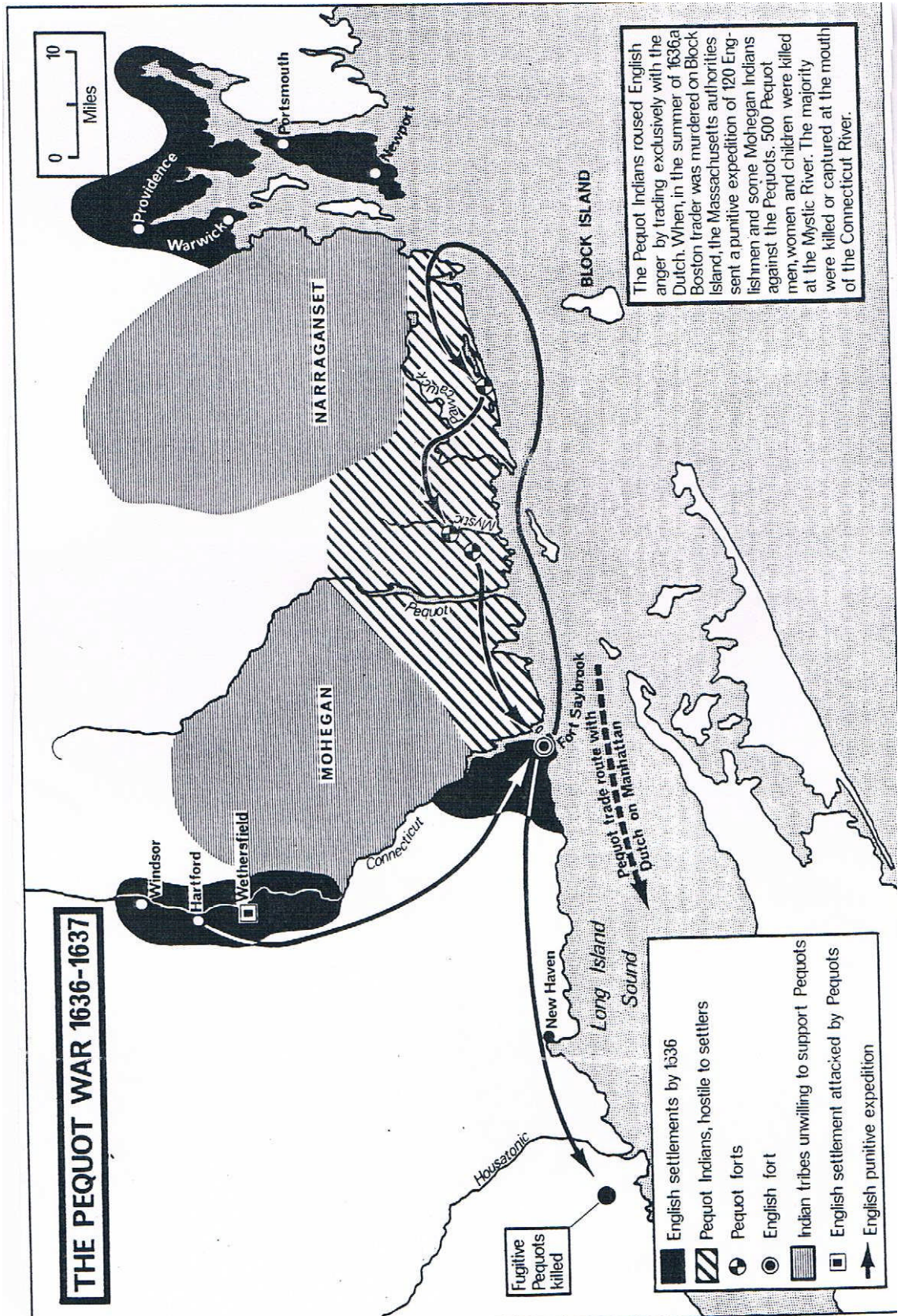
<sup>231</sup> George Morison.

<sup>232</sup> Refer to Map 9: The Pequot War 1636- 1637. 73.

<sup>233</sup> John Underhill (1597-1672) was a colonial military commander, born in England. In 1637, he distinguished himself as a commander with John Mason in the Pequot War, of which he wrote an account in *Newes from America* (1638). Because of his support of Anne Hutchinson, he had fled in 1638 to New Hampshire, then returned to Massachusetts and was reinstated in 1640 in the Church. Few years later, he moved to Connecticut. T. Cooper 105.



## Map 9: The Pequot War 1636- 1637



escaped to other tribes including Narragansett and Mohegan.<sup>234</sup>

The Native American resentment of the Puritans' presence was also seen in an Indian war, called King Philip's War. Philip<sup>235</sup> was the son of Massasoit who had issued a treaty of friendship with the Plymouth Colony. As soon as the chief died, this friendship started to dissolve, because of two main facts which encouraged the Indians to wage a war against the English at that time. The first one was the desire of the Puritan settlers, namely in Plymouth and Massachusetts, to expand their colonies in the Wampanoag region. The second fact developed as the English livestock wandered into the Wampanoag fields, destroying Indian crops. As a result, the tribe began to prepare for war, which started in 1675 and ended in 1676. The Indians attacked and burned a number of towns in Massachusetts and Plymouth. To back their war, the Wampanoags succeeded in establishing an alliance with the Narragansetts, their old enemies, but the most powerful tribe in the region. Therefore, the Indians made more advance and attacked a number of other towns in almost all the colonies. The English responded by launching an attack on the Narragansett fort and killed seven hundred people. Philip was killed after he had tried to escape.<sup>236</sup> Both the English and Indian attacks are detailed on Map 10.<sup>237</sup> The English attacks were launched on Wampanoag and Narragansett tribes in particular since they were the most populated Indian regions. The consequences of King Philip's War were terrible for both sides: It is estimated that six hundred English colonists and three thousand Native Americans were murdered, including women and children on both sides. Moreover, the colonies suffered from heavy debt, especially the Plymouth Colony, whose debt reached £15,000.<sup>238</sup>

In fact, one reason given by the Puritans for their aggressive attitudes towards the Indians was that they believed in the fact that the Indians were the lost tribes of Israel who had to be converted. The historian Francis Jennings asserts that religious

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<sup>234</sup> Alan Axelrod. Chronicle of the Indian Wars: From Colonial Times to Wounded Knee. (New York: Prentice Hall, 1993.) 57.

<sup>235</sup> The colonists gave King Philip a royal nickname for his proud manner and his way of referring to England's Charles II (1660- 1685) as "my brother." Quoted in Richard B. Morris, ed. The New World. Volume 1: Prehistory to 1774. (U. S. A: Time Life Books, 1969.) 80.

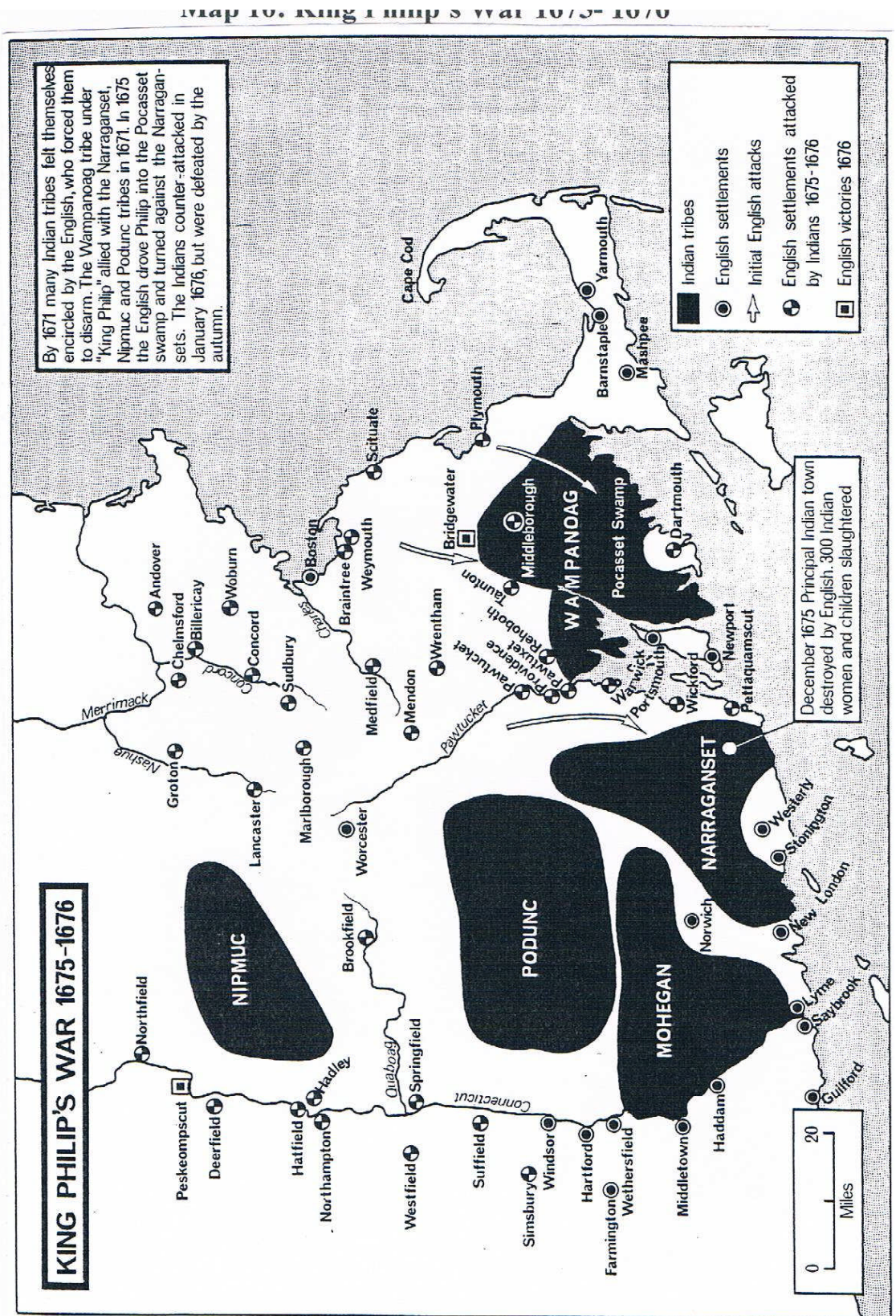
<sup>236</sup> David Leon. New England Puritanism Before the Great Awakening. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.) 254.

<sup>237</sup> Refer to Map 10: King Philip's War 1675- 1676. 75.

<sup>238</sup> David Leon 257.



# Map 10: King Philip's War 1675-1676



difference was the only reason for the hostile relationship that existed between the Puritans and Indians:

Religion became much more than a set of doctrines and rituals; it was immanent in the total behavior of its adherents. When a religion was bad, its people were necessarily also bad. It did not matter that they had never done wrong to the Christian contemplating them; they were enemies to God. They were therefore also enemies to God's people.<sup>239</sup>

It is significant to mention that the Puritans who had complained about persecution in their mother country did the same with the Indians. They justified this by the fact that their church was the purest. Thus, the Puritan Congregational Church was established as soon as the Puritans had arrived in the New World in 1620.

## **2. The Foundation of the Congregational Church**

The Established Church in all the Puritan colonies of New England was Congregational, in a way that each Church was independent and could govern its own affairs. This type of Church- which was also called the New England Way- contrasted with hierarchical polities. One significant feature that characterized the Congregational Churches in New England was the fact that a minister presided over the Church but did not govern it by himself. It was the Congregation which would decide the issues of the Church in the end. In this sense, the authority of all the Church members was limited, for the Puritans believed that all Christians had a role in the ministry of their Church. Actually, the historian E. Brooks Holifield advances two periods in the social role of congregations in New England: comprehensive or magisterial congregations starting from 1620 and devotional congregations developed after the American Independence. The first included the community as a whole, in a way that in the Puritan colonies there was one congregation for the community and its claim was protected by the government.<sup>240</sup> The magisterial congregations were closely allied with the government, in a way that the ministers had a magisterial authority. The latter emerged as a result of religious diversity in the region.<sup>241</sup> In fact, there were different churches; each was

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<sup>239</sup> Francis Jennings. The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest. (New York: Norton, 1976.) 43.

<sup>240</sup> The date of the Bill of Rights in 1791 ratified the division between the Church and the state. "Bill of Rights." Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 213.

<sup>241</sup> E. Brooks Holifield. "American Congregations." In American Congregations. Volume 1. Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities, eds. James P. Wind, James W. Lewis. (USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.) 23-53.

followed by its adherents; therefore, the Congregational Church was no longer the dominant one in the New England community.

The Church could not achieve its full effectiveness without appropriate selection of its members, who were few at the beginning of its foundation. The Puritans were convinced that church membership should be limited to Visible Saints who were elected by God. This term originated from the Calvinist concept of predestination; according to which God decided to save a few people by giving them saving faith. The term Visible Saints did not refer to all the members<sup>242</sup> of the Church, but in the judgment of the Church members a person was among God's elect. In order to be considered a visible saint, one had to give to the Church a narrative account, for no more than fifteen minutes, of their religious experience and of how God saved them. They had to be learned and able to read the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek. If the elders agreed that the conversion of each was genuine, they could form a church and elect a minister. The historian Daniel B. Shea explains the role of the Church member by saying that:

The spiritual autobiographer is primarily concerned with the question of grace: whether or not the individual has been accepted into divine life, an acceptance signified by [...] moral changes which the autobiographer comes to discern in his past experience.<sup>243</sup>

The Congregationalists believed that they had to elect their ministers in order to follow the pattern stipulated in the Bible. These procedures for admitting members were similar in all the congregations of the Puritan colonies.<sup>244</sup> Actually, the historian Kenneth A. Lockridge discusses the idea of how Visible Saints were to be distinguished from other men. He has noted that the Creator alone could know them, those who received grace and were to be elected. Yet, people could be able to distinguish between people according to their behaviour and profession of faith.<sup>245</sup>

The minister was assisted by a committee consisting of a pastor and a few officers, who were called worthy laymen, including elders and deacons for making decisions concerning the Congregation. Those officers were to be elected annually to assist the minister in Church affairs.

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<sup>242</sup> There was a very clear distinction between a church-goer and a church member. The latter was among those to be admitted to communion and to have their children baptized. Edmund S. Morgan 22.

<sup>243</sup> Daniel B. Shea. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.) 27.

<sup>244</sup> Daniel B. Shea 32.

<sup>245</sup> Kenneth A. Lockridge. A New England Town. The First Hundred Years. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company. INC., 1970.) 27.

In case of difficulties or differences concerning doctrine or administration, representatives from all the Puritan Churches gathered in a synod to discuss and consider the matter in difference, then to be reported to all the Churches concerned.

The minister and all the Church officers had to constitute a membership agreement, or what the Puritans called a Covenant, according to which they agreed to work jointly in peace in order to worship God.<sup>246</sup> The following is an example of the Church Covenant adopted by the Plymouth Colony in 1620:

We are banded together as a Congregational Christian Church to maintain the worship of God, to proclaim the gospel of Christ, to develop in men and women a consciousness of our relations and duties to God and our fellow men and women; and to inspire each other with love for redeeming truth, a passion for righteousness, and an enthusiasm for service. To this end we publicly pledge our personal loyalty to Jesus Christ as our Lord and Saviour, and we covenant with God and with one another that we will strive to express his spirit in our lives, both as individual believers and as a church; to live together as Christian friends and to submit ourselves to the government of this church; [...] and seeking in every way to make it an influence for the building up of the kingdom of God.<sup>247</sup>

The Puritan Churches used the Geneva Bible of 1557 brought from England until it was replaced by the King James Bible,<sup>248</sup> which was introduced by John Winthrop- the Puritan leader- to Massachusetts in 1630.

A vote for a minister was different from a vote for new members or the laymen, in a way that once the Church elected a minister, he would remain in his position all his life. He then oversaw the admission of new members. The minister was an ordained official; the other Churches' ministers usually supervised the ordination service, though in the first ten years, members also participated. Eventually, namely in the eighteenth century, the ordination became a service in which only ministers participated.

Church membership was no longer dependent upon particular persons. The early Congregational Churches faced a church membership crisis, since full membership was restricted only to the Visible Saints who were regenerate members that had been baptized in England and therefore had the right to have their children baptized. This privilege was not to pass to the children of these children, or the third generation because they were children of

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<sup>246</sup> Sydney Reid. The Story of Religion in America. (U.S.A: The Macmillan Company, 1972.) 45-9.

<sup>247</sup> Nancy W. Smart. We Would Be Free: The Story of the Congregational Way. (Oak Creek: Congregational Press, 1974.) 06.

<sup>248</sup> For more details of the Geneva and King James' Bibles, refer to the first chapter.37, 43.

unregenerate parents. Church membership declined throughout the mid- seventeenth century. For instance, in the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, there were only eight admissions between 1653 and 1657. Fifty percent of the men in the colony were not members of the Church and the percentage of baptized children fell from eighty percent to forty in 1662.<sup>249</sup>

In response to the problem of church membership, the New England Puritans proposed in 1657 the Halfway Covenant- a document entitled A Disputation Concerning Church Members and their Children in Answer to XXI Questions written by the same author of the Cambridge Platform- and was approved five years later by a church synod. In that year, a council of over eighty representatives from all the New England colonies was formed and agreed on permitting children, whose grandparents had been members of the Church to be baptized and to vote at town meetings when they reached a certain age, but were not allowed to vote for a pastor or admitted to the Lord's Supper, until they made a confession of personal faith at the age of fourteen or more. Therefore, these children would become halfway, rather than full church members. The Halfway Covenant is well described by William Daniel in his Religious History of the American People. (U.S.A: Cornell University Press, 1971.) 65:

The Halfway Covenant was a measure designed to hold within the churches those persons who could not qualify for full membership under the terms of the original ecclesiastical constitution, which provided that only the regenerate were to be received as church members. Following the doctrine of the Federal Theology, according to which the offspring of the regenerate are included in the covenant grace, the first generation of Puritans in New England presented their children for baptism, the sign and seal of the covenant, fully expecting that when such children reached spiritual maturity they would profess conversion as their parents before them had done.

Not all the Puritan churches accepted the Halfway Covenant or any other modifications of membership. For instance, the Charlestown and Dorchester Churches in the Massachusetts settlement did not adopt the reform until 1677 when they were forced to do so. Solomon Stoddard,<sup>250</sup> a Massachusetts minister, was against making separation between regenerate and unregenerate Christians, because it had no biblical justification. Therefore, he asked for an open communion to all the Congregationalists and not only to full church members to be used as a converting ordinance.

The Congregational Church in the Puritan colonies had different important activities: worship, evangelism, making religious rules, helping the needy, and participation in civic life.

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<sup>249</sup> Perry Ralph Barton. Puritanism and Democracy. (U.S.A: The Vanguard Press, 1980.) 123.

<sup>250</sup> Solomon Stoddard (1643- 1729) was a Puritan theologian born in Boston, Massachusetts. His first sermon was in 1669. Perry Ralph Barton 130.



In addition to the fact that it was a place to worship the Creator, the Church also had an evangelistic task because it tried to convince people to become Christians. The Church had also the authority to make rules for church discipline, and decide about its faith. A further activity was to give care to the poor by giving them material aid, including goods, clothes, or money. The Church should participate in civic activities as for instance the election of officers for the purpose of making secular policies more consistent with biblical principles. Thus, the Puritan Church was called the Meetinghouse, which was used both for town meetings and religious services.<sup>251</sup>

The first Congregational Church in the New World was formed by John Alden,<sup>252</sup> an English Pilgrim, in the Plymouth Colony in 1620. This was followed by another Church organized under the leadership of John Endicott<sup>253</sup> a Puritan settler- in the town of Salem, Massachusetts, nine years later; and for many years, it was known as the First Church of Christ. The Connecticut and New Haven settlements formed their churches by English Puritans- Richard Whitney and James Goodyear<sup>254</sup> in 1637 and 1638, respectively. The first Congregational Church in Rhode Island was founded in 1638 in Newport by Edward Slater- an English Puritan.<sup>255</sup> Unlike all these Puritan colonies, the first New Hampshire Congregational Church was founded in Portsmouth in 1640, seventeen years after the colony's establishment. This delay was mainly due to the fact that the early settlers of the colony were not very much interested in religious freedom as they were in economic development. The success in having a unique form of church government and discipline was reflected in the fact that there was an increase in the number of Puritan churches. As it is shown on Map 11,<sup>256</sup> by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Congregational Churches were distributed all over the New England

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<sup>251</sup> Jeff Purswell, ed. Bible Doctrine. Essential Teachings of the Christian Faith. (England: Inter- Varsity Press, 1999.) 373- 374.

<sup>252</sup> John Alden (1599-1687) was one of the founders of the Plymouth Colony, born in Southampton, England. He went to America on the Mayflower in 1620 and was a signer of the Mayflower Compact. Alden lived longer than any of the other signers of the Mayflower Compact. "Alden John." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition, 2001.

<sup>253</sup> John Endicott (1588- 1665) was a Puritan colonist, who came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1628. He served as its governor in 1644, 1649, 1651-53, and from 1655 to 1664. Henry Clay, Builders of New England, U.S.A: Harper and Row, 1962, p. 22.

<sup>254</sup> Richard Whitney (1576-1660) was an English Puritan, born in Portsmouth, England; and was educated in Oxford College. In 1636, he came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and then moved to Connecticut in the same year. "Whitney Richard." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

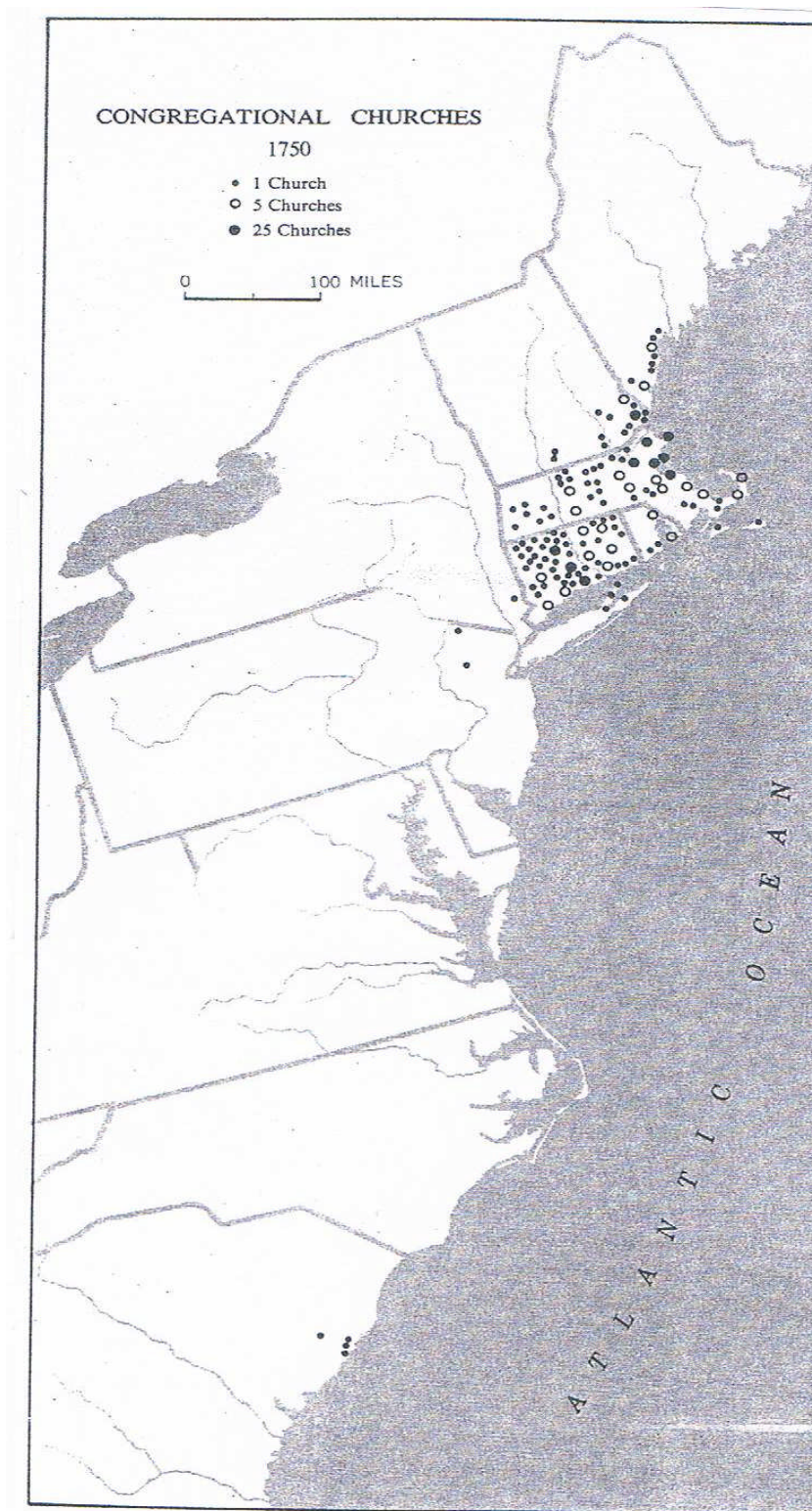
James Goodyear (1580-1658) was an English settler, born in Liverpool, England. He was educated in Oxford College, and knew both Hebrew and Greek languages. In 1637, Goodyear settled in the New Haven settlement. "Goodyear James." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>255</sup> Edward Slater (1568-1647) was an English Puritan, born in Belper, England. He was a learned person, studying in Oxford College. He emigrated to New England in the 1630's and chose to settle in Rhode Island, where he was elected as a minister of its first congregation. Henry Clay 65.

<sup>256</sup> Refer to Map 11: Congregational Churches, 1750. 82.



**Map 11: Congregational Churches, 1750**



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Edwin Scott Gaustad. Historical Atlas of Religion in America. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1976.) 14.

settlements and in Massachusetts in particular.<sup>257</sup>

By the early 1800's, there were five hundred and one Congregational Churches in all the Puritan states. There were two hundred and three Churches in the Massachusetts Bay, one hundred and seventy- six in Connecticut, sixty- six in Rhode Island, and fifty six in the New Hampshire state.<sup>258</sup> This increase in the number of the Congregational Churches was a result of the rise in the rate of religious adherence during the nineteenth century. The following table shows the adherence rates by region. There is a noticeable difference in the statistics; for instance, the rate reaches twenty- two percent in Rhode Island and only nine percent in the region of Vermont:<sup>259</sup>

**Table 2: Religious Adherence Rates by Region, 1830**

<b>State</b>	<b>Adherence Rate</b>
New Hampshire	09
Vermont	09
Massachusetts	20
Rhode Island	22
Connecticut	20

United States. Federal Statistical Office. Statistical Yearbook of the Church, 1971.

The New England Congregational Churches followed the same teachings though with a slight difference. Aiming at having one form of government and discipline of the New England Churches, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony requested in May 1646 the Churches of New England to send delegates to gather in Cambridge as a

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<sup>257</sup> Refer to Appendix 4: Location and Date of the Congregational Churches Founded by 1650.

<sup>258</sup> Sydney Reid 50- 64.

<sup>259</sup> Vermont is a region which was controlled by Britain in 1763 after it had been claimed by France in 1666 as a part of New France. Both Massachusetts and New Hampshire claimed the region, and in order to avoid friction, King George III (1760- 1820) created Vermont as an independent state in 1777. The state's largest religious affiliation was Congregationalism. Sydney Reid.

synod. The latter met in three sessions: September 1646, June 1647, and finally August 1648; and resulted in the Cambridge Platform of 1648. The main reason for the synod was the publication of the Westminster Confession in 1646 in England, which advocated the Presbyterian model of governance. So, the Platform explained the organization and function of the Congregational Churches. The full title was *the Cambridge Platform: A Platform of Church Discipline Gathered Out of the Word of God; and agreed upon by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches Assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England to be presented to the Churches and General Courts for their Consideration and Acceptance in the Lord*. The document was written by the English pastor, Richard Mather of Dorchester,<sup>260</sup> as a constitution of the Congregational Churches, and was published one year later to be distributed among the churches. The Cambridge Platform consisted of seventeen chapters; within each there were a number of articles dealing with the government, order, and discipline of the Church. It defined the New England Churches as Calvinist in doctrine that reflected teaching of the Scripture, from which rules for their governing were derived:

The parts of government are prescribed in the Word, because the Lord Jesus Christ the King and Law-giver of his Church, is no less faithful in the house of God then was Moses, who from the Lord delivered a form and pattern of Government to the Children of Israel in the old Testament: And the holy Scriptures are now also so perfect, as they are able to make the man of God perfect and thoroughly furnished unto every good work; and therefore doubtless to the well ordering of the house of God.<sup>261</sup>

According to the Platform, the power of the Church resided within the majority of the Congregation, not in the eldership; this meant that the powers of both the minister and church officers were limited by a set of rules.<sup>262</sup>

The Puritans believed in the Biblical Commonwealth, meaning that Church and government should be interrelated because they enforced obedience to the Creator.

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<sup>260</sup> Richard Mather (1596-1669), a Puritan clergyman, was born in Lowtown, near Liverpool, England. Ordained in the Church of England in 1618, he preached at Toxeth Park, Lancashire until 1633, when he was suspended for nonconformity in matters of ceremony. He emigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635, where he lived until his death. Henry Clay 59.

<sup>261</sup> Baylor Walsh. *A History of Puritanism*. (U.S.A: Harper and Row, 1995.) 132.

E. Brooks Holifield 22.

<sup>262</sup> E. Brooks Holifield.

Governments were expected to collect taxes and enforce Church decisions, while the Church was expected to proclaim the supremacy and sanctity of the government. These principles were regarded as scriptural, derived from the model of the churches in the New Testament. For instance, the General Court of the Massachusetts settlement enacted in 1638 a statute, which stated that: “every colonist who did not contribute voluntarily to the support of the commonwealth and the Church, was compelled to do so by means of an assessment or tithe.”<sup>263</sup> The colonies were divided into districts or societies, which were in charge of taxing their residents.<sup>264</sup> The church tax was mainly needed to pay ministers, to build houses for them, and to supply them with food, goods, and services.<sup>265</sup> Similar statutes were passed between 1639 and 1642 in the other colonies with the exception of the Rhode Island settlement. The latter believed in the separation of Church and government and insisted on people having freedom to choose how they would worship.<sup>266</sup> In fact, the practice of supporting the Church by taxation continued until the 1800’s when each Puritan state enacted laws separating Church and State. This was due to a number of reasons including the interstate migration, population growth,<sup>267</sup> and the emergence of non- Puritan groups in New England who refused to finance faith that they did not believe in. For instance, ninety percent of the voters in Massachusetts voted in 1830 for the amendment of Article III of the Bill of Rights<sup>268</sup> to end mandatory support of religion. Other Puritan states followed the same path.<sup>269</sup> Subsequently, Churches were supported by donations of their constituencies. The author Clifton E. Olmstead quotes in his History of Religion in the United States what a Congregationalist minister said about the separation of Church and State:

It was as dark a day as ever I saw. The odium thrown upon the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed, was irreparable. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut. It cut the churches loose from dependence on state support. It threw them wholly on their own resources and on God. [...] They say ministers have lost their influence; the fact is, they have

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<sup>263</sup> E. Brooks Holifield.

<sup>264</sup> Both church members and non- church members were compelled to pay taxes. E. Brooks Holifield.

<sup>265</sup> Ministers’ payment differed from one region to another in New England. They usually got around fifty- five pounds a year. E. Brooks Holifield 135.

<sup>266</sup> The idea of religious freedom in Rhode Island will be discussed in details in the third section of the chapter: Classification of the Main Religious Groups in New England.

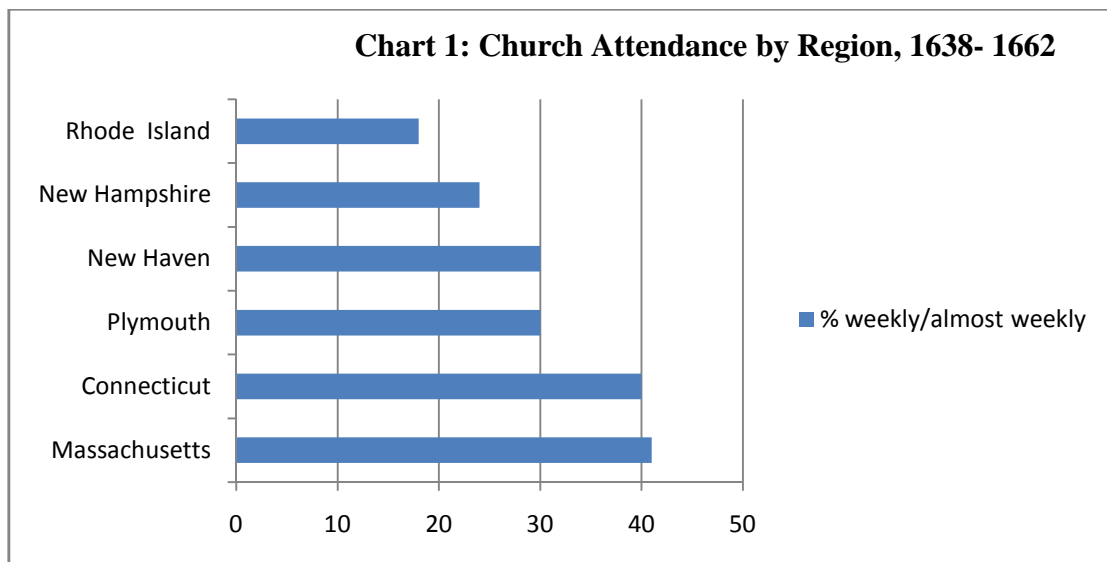
<sup>267</sup> It is estimated that there were over four thousand immigrants to New England between 1775 and 1800. Bylor Walsh 46.

<sup>268</sup> The Bill of Rights is first ten amendments to the United States Constitution, adopted as a single unit in 1791. It is a collection of guarantees of individual rights and of limitations on federal and state governments, which derived from popular dissatisfaction with the limited guarantees of the Constitution. The first Congress submitted 12 amendments (drafted by James Madison) to the states, ten of which were ratified. Quoted in “Bill of Rights.” Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 213.

<sup>269</sup> Roger Finke. “Religious Deregulation: Origins and Consequences.” Journal of Church and State 32 (Summer 1990.) 609- 615.

gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than ever they could by queues and shoe buckles, and cocked hats and gold-headed canes.<sup>270</sup>

Settlers in most of the Puritan colonies were required by a number of laws to attend Churches and believe in the Sabbath. Church attendance was made compulsory, with the exception of Rhode Island, by laws passed in 1638 in Massachusetts and 1644 in Connecticut, where the Churches closed their doors during the sermon so that no one could leave. The same laws were passed in 1645 in New Haven, and 1651 in the Plymouth and New Hampshire colonies. In case of non attendance, inhabitants had to pay a fine. Enforcing Church attendance aimed largely at making good Christian believers and by teaching them the true religion, and making good citizens. The following graph illustrates Church attendance in the Puritan colonies during the seventeenth century. There was a wide variation in the attendance across the six Puritan colonies; it was much higher in Massachusetts than in the other regions, while Rhode Island had the lowest Church attendance. The difference in the rate was due to the degree of religious intolerance in the Puritan colonies:



Fran Carter. Searching American Church Records. (Utah: AGLL, 1995.) 63.

In addition to church attendance, the Puritans also gave importance to the Sabbath, and believed that people had to do as God had done on the seventh day after the Creation; He took

<sup>270</sup> Clifton E. Olmstead. History of Religion in the United States. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1960.) 215.

rest and did not do any work. The New Haven Blue Laws<sup>271</sup> of 1638 emphasized on its importance, and forbade church absence on the Sabbath, lying, swearing, drunkenness, and the playing of games- such as cards, dice, and Shuffleboard- in public. They also regulated the selling and consumption of alcohol, and introduced punishments for crimes committed on the Sabbath. In case of not respecting these laws, criminals were to pay fines, or be whipped, or forced to spend time in the stocks, or have parts of their body burned or cut off, or even receive the death penalty. Laws giving importance to the Sabbath were also enacted in the other colonies between 1640 and 1658, but they differed in the degree of their punishments; for instance, travel on Sundays was prohibited when unnecessary.<sup>272</sup> The following table is an example that illustrates some of the crimes and their punishment in the Plymouth Colony:

**Table 3: Some Criminal Cases in the Plymouth Colony, 1623.**

<b>Crime</b>	<b>Punishment on Working Days</b>
Stealing	Repay double the value of what was stolen
Getting drunk	Fined, value to be determined by the magistrates
Gambling with dice or cards	Fine of forty shillings
Wearing visors or other strange apparel	Fine of fifty shillings
Defacing a landmark	Fine ranging from twenty shillings to five pounds, depending on severity
Tearing down or burning someone's fence	Rebuild the fence, plus a fifty shillings fine for first offence, five pounds for second offence
Failing to attend Church	Ten shillings fine
Working on Sunday	Twenty shillings fine
Traveling on Sunday	Twenty shillings per week, after being warned

Clifton E. Olmstead 105.

<sup>271</sup> They were so called because they were printed on blue paper. Clifton E. Olmstead.

<sup>272</sup> Walter Herbert. Early Churches in Puritan New England. (U.S.A: Harvard University Press, 1987.) 89-91.

If these crimes were committed on Sundays, the criminal would have one ear cut off in the first offence and the other in the second. This was to be added to the usual punishments.<sup>273</sup>

Every Sunday, the Congregation was summoned by the sound of musical instruments, including a horn and a drum; and during the sermons, the Puritans used the Ainsworth Psalter as church music. The minister in the New England Churches gave sermons lasting between one and two hours; which included repetition of the scriptural words, explanation of the Bible, and other teachings. The people who came to worship sat in order of their social rank. Anyone who acted wrongly would be punished in front of all. For instance, if a man fell asleep, he would be beaten with a stick; and a woman would be awakened by brushing her face with a rabbit's foot.

The Puritans established many Congregational Churches in their settlements as places to worship the Creator. This mission was insufficient without showing other races the true religion and trying to convert them into it. The Massachusetts Charter of 1629- for instance- consisted of a passage which promised that conversion of the Indians would be given priority:

[...] Matters and Thinges, whereby our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceable, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversacon, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledge and Obedience of the onlie true God and Saylor of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intencon, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principal Ende of this Plantacion.<sup>274</sup>

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Connecticut also passed its code of 1650 which ordered to visit the Indians twice a year in order to convert them into Christianity. The most significant religious achievements were made by

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<sup>273</sup> Walter Herbert.

Every Sunday, the Congregation was summoned by the sound of musical instruments, including a horn and a drum. During the sermons, the Puritans used the Ainsworth Psalter as Church music. The minister in the New England Churches gave sermons lasting between one and two hours. The sermons included repetition of the scriptural words, explanation of the Bible, and other teachings. The people who came to worship sat in order of their social rank. Anyone who acted wrongly would be punished in front of all. For instance, if a man fell asleep, he would be beaten with a stick; and a woman would be awakened by brushing her face with a rabbit's foot. Walter Herbert.

<sup>274</sup> Refer to Appendix 5; official text: The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629.

David Brauner and Sarah L. Huntington, Connecticut missionaries.<sup>275</sup> The former who had started his activities in 1735, succeeded in founding a church for the Indian converts in the colony in 1740 and in converting over two thousand Indians.<sup>276</sup> The latter made attempts of conversion in 1827, backed by the government. Missionary activities were also launched in the remaining Puritan colonies. In 1665, Plymouth passed its missionary legislation only in response to Richard Bourne,<sup>277</sup> a New Englander Reverend. In the same period, John Cotton preached in the Plymouth Colony from 1669 to 1697. During the 1740's, a Narragansett Indian Church was founded in Rhode Island, where a considerable number of Indians were converted to Christianity. Besides, New Hampshire launched the conversion during the eighteenth century with the help of Eleazar Wheelock.<sup>278</sup> New Haven was the only Puritan colony which did not enact statutes for the purpose of converting the Indians to Christianity. This was due to the fact that the colony's lifespan was only twenty-seven years, the colony was merged into the government of Connecticut in 1695; and to the lack of interest by the New Haven government in propagating Christianity. Yet, the New Englanders showed little interest in trying to convert the Indians to Christianity. It was only after nearly two decades when the mission was launched in the settlement, this was largely due to the fact that they were concerned with the establishment of their government and churches. Only a few clerics, namely John Eliot,<sup>279</sup> launched their missionary activities in Massachusetts.

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<sup>275</sup> David Brauner (1718- 1747) was a Connecticut Puritan, born in Hartford. He was sent by his parents to study in England; then he returned to the settlement, where he was elected as a minister in one of its churches in the late 1730's. "Brauner David." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 2001.

Sarah L. Huntington was an American missionary born in Somerset, England in 1797 and died in 1851. She was educated at Oxford, and in 1825 sailed for New England as a missionary in that region. "Huntington Sarah." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>276</sup> Isaiah Thomas. *History of Early America*. (U.S.A: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1980.) 56.

<sup>277</sup> Richard Bourne was born in 1610 in Barnstable, England and died in 1682 in Plymouth. Bourne, who arrived at New England about 1635, had many interests but his work with the Indians is probably the most outstanding. Therefore, he learned the Indian language and began his work about 1658. He was ordained pastor of the Indian Church at Mashpee, Massachusetts in 1670. Richard had purchased at his own expense sixteen square miles as a permanent home for the Mashpee Indians, and translated *the Lords Prayer* into the Indian language. "Bourne Richard." *Encarta Encyclopedia*. CD. United Kingdom, Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>278</sup> Eleazar Wheelock (1711- 1779), an American Congregational minister, was born in Windham, Connecticut. In 1733, he graduated from Yale College having won the first award of the Dean Berkeley Donation for the distinction in classics. He continued his theological studies at Yale until he was licensed to preach in May 1734, and installed as pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Lebanon, Connecticut one year later. "Wheelock Eleazar." *The Grolier Encyclopedia*. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>279</sup> John Eliot (1604- 1690) was an American clergyman, who was influenced by the Congregationalist clergyman Thomas Hooker. Eliot became a nonconformist and in 1631 went to the New World, namely to Massachusetts. Henry Clay 20.



John Eliot preached to the Indians in their own tongue starting in October, 1646 in Newton, Boston, Massachusetts. In his third meeting, many Indians declared themselves converted; it is estimated that between 1646 and 1674 Eliot succeeded in converting eleven thousand Indians.<sup>280</sup> Encouraged by his first accomplishments, John Eliot requested the Massachusetts General Court to grant more land for the Indian converts to reside in. The number of the Indian villages or the Praying Indian Villages- as they were called- increased to fourteen by 1674, which were: Natick,<sup>281</sup> Acushnet, Chappaquiddick, Cotuit, Cotuhikut, Gay Head, Meeshawn, Mashpee, Matakees, Punkapog, Sakonnet, Toikiming, Weequaket, and Manomet. There, the Indians were provided with occupations, houses, and other necessities. The Indian villages were built in the eastern part of Massachusetts, far from the English towns for the purpose of keeping the native language and culture. The historian Sidney H. Rooy writes the following description of the Praying Indian Villages in Massachusetts:

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Mr. Eliot [...] furnished them, by the public aid, with shovels, spades, mattocks, and iron crows, and stimulated the most industrious with money [...] The houses of the meanest were found to be equal to those of the sachems or chiefs in other places. They surrounded the town with ditches [...] and with a stone-wall. The Indians, thus settled, were instructed in husbandry, and were excited to a prudent as well as industrious management of their affairs. Some of them were taught such trades as were most necessary for them, so that they completely built a house for public worship.<sup>282</sup>

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In the fourteen Praying Towns, there existed only two churches which were in Natick and Manomet; which were the most populated regions among the others. The General Court of Massachusetts ordered that two clergymen should be elected annually by the clergy as preachers to the Indians. In fact, Daniel Takawampait<sup>283</sup> was the first Indian minister in New England, who was a missionary to his people in Natick, Massachusetts in 1681.

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<sup>280</sup> Isaiah Thomas.

<sup>281</sup> Natick was the first praying town in Massachusetts founded in 1660. Isaiah Thomas 22.

<sup>282</sup> Sidney H. Rooy. "John Eliot." In Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions, ed. Anderson H. Gerald. (New York: Macmillan Reference, 1998.) 197.

<sup>283</sup> Daniel Takawampait (1646-1716) was the first Native minister in New England, being ordained at Natick, Massachusetts, in 1681. "Takawampait Daniel." The Grolier Encyclopedia. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

Five important factors contributed to the conversion of the Indians by John Eliot. Firstly, the missionary's advance was slow because he focused on individuals rather than on the whole community; he believed in the importance of saving individual souls. Secondly, during the English settlement in New England there was the death of the Indians because of the appearance of a number of diseases- including plague, smallpox, and other unfamiliar diseases- among the Natives who lacked resistance. The smallpox epidemic of 1633- 1634 in Massachusetts pushed the Natives to deduce that the disease occurred because of their failure to follow Christianity; therefore, they had to convert themselves. Eliot's first convert-Waban-confirmed that he converted to Christianity after the great sickness. Another example is Robin Speen<sup>284</sup> who justified the death of his children with the fact that the Creator punished him for not following the English settlers' religious practices. By the 1640's, death from an unknown disease was common in coastal Indian tribes. Statistics on the exact number of Indians in all New England at that time differ; Gerald Alexis suggests 75. 000 Indians in 1641 and Tephnen Casper proposes 91.000 Indians.<sup>285</sup> Thirdly, a number of Indians who would convert to Christianity first heard of the religion while visiting the Puritan houses.<sup>286</sup> Fourthly, in 1644, Massachusetts passed a law requiring the Natives to adapt to the Puritan religious instruction; thus, John Eliot started his mission among the Massachusetts Natives. An Act for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians passed in 1646 by the Massachusetts Colony requested the churches to support Eliot's work. Fifthly, In England, Oliver Cromwell,<sup>287</sup> one of the most important English figures, succeeded in convincing Parliament to help the movement financially. As a result, a sum of £500 was sent to the colonies to encourage John Eliot in his work.<sup>288</sup> In 1649, the English Parliament had enacted an Ordinance for the Advancement of Civilization and Christianity among the Indians, which created the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. The latter first

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<sup>284</sup> Waban was the first Massachusetts Indian converted to Christianity in 1646. He was born in 1604 in Musketaquid, near the present town of Concord, and died in 1685. Sidney H. Rooy 189.

Robin Speen is another Massachusetts Indian born in 1600 and died in 1676. Sidney H. Rooy 96.

<sup>285</sup> Gerald Alexis. New England Population. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.) 65.

Tephnen Casper. History of America. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991.) 91.

<sup>286</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana; Sharon V. Salinger, eds. Inequality in Early America. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1992.) 116- 118.

<sup>287</sup> Oliver Cromwell (1599- 1658) was an English general and politician born in Cambridgeshire, England. As a boy, he was educated in Huntingdon by Thomas Beard, an outspoken Puritan. Later, he attended the Puritan Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and studied law in London. In 1644, Cromwell was made a lieutenant general. One year later, he was appointed cavalry commander in the reorganized and retrained New Model Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Juliet Gardiner 190.

<sup>288</sup> James Dent. Puritan Radicalism in New England. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.) 459-60.

Linford D. Fisher. Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice in Colonial New England, 1640- 1730. (USA: Indiana University Press, 2001.) 113- 114.

helped John Eliot financially to build from 1651 to 1665 a number of Indian Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, namely in Sandwich, Natick, and Middleborough; and second took the charge of paying the preachers. After twenty years of preaching, the number of the converts or Praying Indians reached four thousand.<sup>289</sup> These were mainly from the weaker tribes of New England. In the powerful tribes of Wampanoag and Narragansett, there were just few converts.<sup>290</sup>

To back his conversion, John Eliot- with the help of mainly Job Nesutan, a Massachusetts Indian and John Cotton, a Plymouth leader-<sup>291</sup> translated the Bible into the Algonquian, an Indian dialect spoken by the Massachusetts Indians. Eliot wrote: "I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language and print some Primer in their language where to initiate and teach them to read."<sup>292</sup> The translation was financed by the Corporation which also sent the English printer Marmaduke Johnson,<sup>293</sup> a printing press, and paper. Eliot started with the translation of short passages, including the Ten Commandments<sup>294</sup> and the Lord's Prayer and some of the psalms; which were published in 1658 with the help of the Corporation. Two years later, John Eliot also published in the Indian language the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to which the Old Testament was added in 1663. Another complete translation of the Bible under the name of the Holy Bible appeared in the same year,<sup>295</sup> and was based on the Old and New Testament. In his *History of Early America*, Isaiah Thomas has noted that the book:

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<sup>289</sup> Linford D. Fisher 461.

<sup>290</sup> Linford D. Fisher.

<sup>291</sup> Job Nesutan, a Massachusetts Indian, was John Eliot's chief assistant. He was killed at the age of eighty-six years old at the beginning of King Philip's War, while serving with the English against the Indians. John Rugh 42.

John Cotton (1585 - 1652) was an Anglo-American Puritan leader born in Derbyshire, England and died in Boston, Massachusetts. He studied at the University of Cambridge, where he first encountered Puritanism. From 1612 to 1633, he served as a vicar in Lincolnshire. He sailed for New England in 1633 where he became an influential leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He wrote a number of books including the *Way of the Churches of Christ in New England* in 1645. John Rugh 22.

<sup>292</sup> Neal Salisbury. "John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War." *The Catholic Historical Review* 05 (October 1999.) 12.

<sup>293</sup> Marmaduke Johnson (1627-1680) was an English printer born in Oxford who came to New England in 1659. By 1663, he helped in the publication of fifteen hundred copies of the New Testament and one thousand copies of the Old Testament. Sidney H. Rooy 25.

<sup>294</sup> The Ten Commandments were a list of religious precepts sacred in Judaism and Christianity. They include injunctions to honour God, the Sabbath, and one's parents, as well as bans on idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and covetousness. Quoted in "Ten Commandments." *Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia* 1842.

<sup>295</sup> The first English Bible printed in America was in the late 1700's. The reason for this delay was the fact that English Bibles were cheap and could have been easily brought from England by the settlers of Virginia and the Pilgrims. The Holy Bible was published in England under a patent from the Crown.

[...] was a work of so much consequence as to arrest the attention of the nobility and gentry of England, as well as that of King Charles, to whom it was dedicated. The press of Harvard College, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was, for a time, as celebrated as the presses of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England.<sup>296</sup>

The Bible had different names such as the Algonquin Bible, the Algonquin Indian Language Bible, the Eliot Bible, and the Holy Bible Containing the Old Testament and the New. Between 1658 and 1663, one thousand copies were printed. After Eliot had completed his task of translating the Bible, he tried to translate a number of Puritan writings such as Richard Baxter's *A Call to the Unconverted*, and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety*. His aim was mainly to provide the Natives with the means to understand and apply the Bible.<sup>297</sup>

John Eliot had introduced a written Bible to the Indians, which was a new way of communication for them; it was made less complicated with an easy language and a number of images. By doing so, John Eliot tried to respect the fact that the Indians did not have a written language but instead a spoken one and drawings. It is noteworthy to say that the Bible translation was a difficult task for the missionary because the Algonquian language was considered one of the most difficult languages. In his article *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War*, Neal Salisbury expresses his opinion that the demons of the invisible world who had mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were utterly baffled by the Algonquin language.<sup>298</sup> Therefore, Eliot had tried at first to learn the Natives' languages; then, he attempted to create an Algonquian grammar, succeeding in giving the Indian language a written form.

During the late of the seventeenth century two basic reasons delayed the missionary activity: the 1670's King Philip's War<sup>299</sup>, and Eliot's death in 1690. Yet, the

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Edward L. Robinson. "The Signs of America: Early American Writer's Acceptance and Reconstruction of America's Polite/Politic Language." *The Economic and Political Developments in the World as Basic Circumstances for Revolutionary Work: The Fifth International Conference hosted at the Department of English, University of Toronto, Apr. 02- 04, 2001*. Reese Mark, Peter Bunge, and Peter Bird. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2001. 2.

<sup>296</sup> Isaiah Thomas 461.

<sup>297</sup> Sidney H. Rooy 200.

<sup>298</sup> Neal Salisbury. "John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War." In *Inequality in Early America*, eds. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1992.) 13.

<sup>299</sup> Refer to Chapter Two, section one.74- 75.

mission was revived during the same century and continued in the next one in the same region by a number of religious men, including Samuel Danforth the Younger.<sup>300</sup> The latter began preaching in the eastern part of Massachusetts from 1692 till his death in 1727. Seven years later, John Sergeant started his mission in western Massachusetts and succeeded with the help of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in establishing in 1736 a Praying Town called Stockbridge. The latter was transferred in 1785 to New York where it was called New Stockbridge, and this was mainly due to the westward advance of the English settlement.

It is important to mention that the Puritan mission was opposed by both a number of Indians and English settlers. The strongest Indian tribes- as for instance Wampanoag in Plymouth, and Mohegan in Connecticut<sup>301</sup> opposed the mission. In fact, King Philip confirmed to John Eliot that he: “cared no more for his gospel than for a button upon his coat.”<sup>302</sup> During King Philip’s War, on the other hand, the English settlers destroyed and depopulated most of the Praying Indian Villages. Most of the Indians who remained in Massachusetts were restricted to only a number of areas including Natick, Wamesit, Punkapoag, and Hassanamesit. In fact, of the fourteen Indian villages in 1674, only four survived ten years later. Other Indians escaped to Canada and New York<sup>303</sup> because these two regions are distant from New England, and were not English but French colonies, where they might live better.

What is common with the Puritan colonies which launched their missionaries among the Indians was that they confirmed that the Indians who refused conversion, would suffer a penalty that was a fine, expulsion, being forced to obey, or death. They

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<sup>300</sup> Samuel Danforth the Younger (1633- 1727) was a religious man, poet, and astronomer at the same time; born in Framlingham, Suffolk, England. He came to New England in the early 1640’s; and one decade later, he became a pastor at Roxbury, Massachusetts. “Samuel Danforth the Younger.” Michael Walsh. Dictionary of Christian Biography. (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005.) 36.

John Sergeant (1692- 1765) was an English missionary in North America. Michael Walsh 212.

<sup>301</sup> For more details of the New England tribes, refer to section one of the chapter. 58-59.

<sup>302</sup> Michael Walsh 22.

<sup>303</sup> Canada was a settlement established in North America. The French claim to Canada was made in 1534 when Jacques Cartier, a French explorer, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A small settlement was made in Nova Scotia (Arcadia) in 1605, and by 1608 Samuel de Champlain, another French explorer, had reached Quebec. Quoted in “Canada.” Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 315. New York was a settlement established in eastern U.S.A. The 1609 explorations of Henry Hudson and Samuel de Champlain led to settlement. In 1664 the Dutch colony, New Netherland, led by Peter Stuyvesant, surrendered to the British and was renamed New York. The French and Indian War resulted in skirmishes in northern and central New York; its conclusion confirmed English dominance in the region. “New York.” Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 1318.

listed a number of activities forbidden on Sunday for all Indians, among which was working.<sup>304</sup>

Besides the conversion of the Indians, the eighteenth century also witnessed an attempt to convert the Blacks. Slavery in New England began seventeen years after the establishment of the first Puritan colony in the region. It began only after the Pequot War (1636- 1637) when the Indians of the tribe were transported by the Massachusetts settlers to the West Indies to be exchanged for African slaves. Then, it was only in 1641 when slavery was made legal in New England.<sup>305</sup> Furthermore, the number of slaves was smaller in comparison with that of the Indians. By the 1780's- a period when slavery was to be abolished in Massachusetts- there were about two thousand slaves in the region who were mostly needed to work on farms, in industries, and other tasks instead of being occupied with learning about Christianity, for they were seen as a source of wealth. For instance, in the 1680's and 1690's the Massachusetts merchants supplied both Connecticut and Rhode Island with slaves. The movement of conversion was led by Harry Richen,<sup>306</sup> a Massachusetts missionary, and resulted in the conversion of fifty Blacks in the period between 1738 and 1740. The slaves attended the same church and heard the same sermon as the Puritans. In 1787, the African Church was established in Salem, Massachusetts, and the American Colonization Society was organized thirty years later in the same region. The Society claimed that the mother country of the Blacks was Africa and not America. The freed Blacks of Massachusetts succeeded in founding separate Congregations, which numbered about twelve by 1830.<sup>307</sup>

The Puritans' attempt to convert non- Christians was backed by the fact that they believed their religion was the only one that could save the world. In this regard, they did not encourage religious diversity or practise religious tolerance in New England; instead they sought to impose religious uniformity. But, the Puritan presence in New England was marked by religious pluralism.

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<sup>304</sup> Michael Walsh 26.

<sup>305</sup> The Puritans justified slave ownership as legal, because they believed in the fact that "blacks were a people cursed and condemned by God to serve whites, and that they were miserable children of Adam and Noah." Lorenzo Johnston Greene. The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620- 1776. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.) 16.

<sup>306</sup> Harry Richen (1717- 1763) was a Massachusetts' Puritan, born in Boston. He was considered as the first missionary who took the charge of the Negroes' conversion in New England. "Richen Harry." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>307</sup> Lorenzo Johnston Greene.

### 3. Classification of the Main Religious Groups in New England

Despite the domination of Puritanism in New England, a number of other religious minorities existed in the region, including: the Baptists,<sup>308</sup> Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews, Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists, Universalists, Roman Catholics, and Unitarians. This was due to several reasons including: the geographical situation of New England, the colonial economic situation, establishment of religious freedom in Rhode Island, religious indifference to the Puritan principles, the change in the English colonial policy, and the impact of Rationalism and Deism.

New England, as a coastal area, facilitated European emigration to the region, between 18.500 and 21.500 English people following different sects emigrated to New England from 1629 to 1643. They wanted to practise their religion freely as it had been practised by the first settlers, namely of Plymouth, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The historians, Rezé and Bowen, agree on the fact that the English government did not oppose the emigration effort to the New World, because it considered America a place for “undesirable trouble- makers.”<sup>309</sup>

Alice Dickinson mentions the emergence of non- Puritans in the colony of Massachusetts during the early seventeenth century because it prospered economically.<sup>310</sup> Consequently, a number of English immigrants chose to settle in it; their arrival created more religious diversity.<sup>311</sup> The historian Jones Smart also demonstrates this point in his book Puritanism in New England, and thinks that the economic growth in the Puritan colonies also had its impact on religious life; for instance, a number of non- Puritan merchants arrived at New England in the middle of the seventeenth century. He adds that another reason for spiritual diversity in the area was the fact that a number of Puritan merchants protested at the same period against the regulations imposed by their government, they called for the subordination of individual interests to the common ones. John Winthrop, a Puritan leader, stated that the settlers: “must be willing to abridge themselves of their superfluities, for the supply of others’ necessities.”<sup>312</sup> In fact, the Puritan government limited the merchants’ profit earned from their sales transactions.

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<sup>308</sup> Although the Baptists were Puritans, they constituted a different group from the majority.

<sup>309</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen. Key Words in American Life. (Paris: Masson Editeur, 1995.) 32.

<sup>310</sup> Massachusetts' maritime trade, especially with Caribbean ports, rose to the point that Boston was known as "The Mart of the West Indies". Forrest MacDonald. We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.) 72.

<sup>311</sup> Alice Dickinson 29.

<sup>312</sup> Forrest MacDonald.

As a result, a number of Puritan entrepreneurs returned to England because they did not accept the Puritan economic regulations, and were replaced with Anglican entrepreneurs. Another important factor which helped the emergence of religious diversity was the contact of a number of Puritan merchants with the outside world. The merchants were against religious intolerance because it badly affected their business life. They asked for the annulment of the acts that disallowed non- Puritans from settling in New England.<sup>313</sup>

The 1663 Charter of Rhode Island also helped to weaken Puritanism in the sense that it confirmed the right to religious freedom, and forbade the establishment of a religious test as a qualification for federal office.<sup>314</sup> The colony's leader, Roger Williams, considered all religious beliefs true and worthy.

Religious indifference to the Puritan principles continued to create an atmosphere of religious diversity in the colonies. In 1692, for instance, the town of Salem, Massachusetts witnessed a witchcraft event; more than thirty teenage girls started to act in a strange way by shouting, grovelling, and twitching without any reason. After the town doctor had examined them, he concluded that they were bewitched by an Indian, called Tituba,<sup>315</sup> and two English women. As a result, more than thirty witches were hanged by the Massachusetts' authorities. Witchcraft was considered both a sin and crime, since it used the devil's power to form cruel acts against others.<sup>316</sup>

Besides, England changed its policy in the colonies which had an impact on religion, following the Stuart restoration after the death of Richard Cromwell in 1659, and the Puritans' loss of power in Parliament. It was in 1684 when the Crown had annulled the Massachusetts' Charter granted to the colony in March, 1629 by King Charles I (1625- 1649) and rewrote another one in 1691 which removed religious test for voting. This meant that requirements for voting changed in a way that all people- not only those who attended Puritan Churches- could vote. Changes in the form of government in the Puritan colonies continued with the succession of the Catholic King James II (1685- 1688), who one year after his accession, appointed Sir

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<sup>313</sup> Jones Smart. Puritanism in New England. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.) 23.

<sup>314</sup> Refer to Appendix 6, official text: Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations- July 15, 1663.

<sup>315</sup> Tituba was an Indian woman from an Arawak village in South America, where she was captured as a child, taken to Barbados, the West Indies, as a captive, and sold into slavery. She was between the age of 12 and 17 when she came into the Parris household. When the Massachusetts businessman Samuel Parris moved to Boston in 1680, Tituba accompanied him. John Rugh 61.

<sup>316</sup> Thomas Mather. Revival of Religion in New England. (U.S.A: D.Van Nostrand Company, 1979.) 200.



Edmund Andros,<sup>317</sup> an English colonizer, as Governor of the New England colonies. A group of assistants, composed of non- Puritan merchants who had recently arrived in America, were appointed to assist Andros. The new governor allowed freedom of religion for all people.<sup>318</sup> This was to continue when Massachusetts was obliged by England in 1689 to obey the English Toleration Act, enacted in the same year. The colony was to permit non- Puritans- namely the Protestant sects including the Baptists- to practise their religion freely. The Saybrook Platform adopted by the colony of Connecticut in 1708 also motivated the emergence of religious sects, namely the Presbyterians. The Platform revised the form of government of the Connecticut Church, and rearranged the Church into associations of pastors and elders which were to be controlled by a council of ministers and lay delegates. Thus, the Connecticut Church became Presbyterian in its form.<sup>319</sup> Further change made by the English Crown in the Puritan colonies was seen in the Great Awakening during the 1730's and 1740's launched by the Congregational ministers Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Massachusetts, and George Whitefield,<sup>320</sup> an English Methodist.<sup>321</sup> Both missionaries, aiming at a revival of Puritanism in the colonies, began to preach in the New England's Churches. Jonathan Edwards was against what he called "the dreary dryness of the churches;"<sup>322</sup> and stated that the generality of preachers talked of an

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<sup>317</sup> Sir Edmund Andros (1637- 1714) was an English governor in colonial America born in London. In April 1689, when word reached Massachusetts that King James II had been deposed, Andros was arrested and sent to England for trial, but he was released almost immediately. He returned to America as governor of Virginia in 1692. He also served as governor of Maryland from 1693 to 1694 and of the Island of Guernsey from 1704 to 1706. "Andros Edmund." The New Encyclopedia Britannica. V.1. 395.

<sup>318</sup> Thomas Baxter. Puritanism in New England. U.S.A: (Macmillan Co., 1989.) 92-94.

<sup>319</sup> Williston Walker. The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism. (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1960.) 2.

<sup>320</sup> Jonathan Edwards (1703- 1758) was an American theologian and Congregational clergyman, born in East Windsor, Connecticut. At the age of ten he wrote an essay on the nature of the soul. In 1757, Edwards accepted the presidency of the College of New Jersey. Henry Clay 51.

George Whitefield (1714- 1770) was an English theologian born in Gloucester, England. In 1736, Whitefield had been ordained deacon in the Church of England and two years later went to Savannah, Georgia, as a missionary. In 1739, he returned to America and participated in inaugurating the revival movement that became known as the Great Awakening. In 1741, Whitefield went to England to preach, extending his evangelical work to Scotland and Wales. He returned to England in 1748, where he became chaplain to the British religious leader Selina Hastings, countess of Huntington. Henry Clay 58-60.

<sup>321</sup> Methodism is the name given to a group of Protestant Churches that arose from the 18th-century Wesleyan movement in England led by John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. It began in England as a movement within the existing Protestant Church, not as a new sect. The name Methodist came from methodical habits of the "Holy Club," which John and Charles Wesley founded at Oxford University. The members arranged a daily schedule of duties, setting hours for visiting the sick and those in prison, conducting schools among the poor, and observing the religious offices of the church. They prayed aloud three times each day and stopped for silent prayer every hour. Quoted in John S. Bonnell 171, 173.

unknown, unfelt Christ, and that the reason why congregations had been so dead was because dead men preached to them. Thus, he and a group of ministers travelled in different churches to make speeches by which they could convince sinners to regret for their sins in order to achieve salvation. The minister allowed all people to be church members without giving evidence of their conversion experiences. Both revivalists tried to convert all the people, even the Blacks, who were ready to recognize their sins.<sup>323</sup> The number of the New Englanders who converted during the Awakening was big. For instance, in the Connecticut Churches there were sixteen people between 1739 and 1740; and sixty- six in 1741 and 1742. Nearly similar numbers were seen in Massachusetts. The immediate result of the Great Awakening was the emergence of two religious groups: the Moderate New Lights represented by Jonathan Edwards who advocated the revival and wanted to remain within the Congregational Church, and the Radical New Lights who considered the Church oppressive and asked for a complete change.<sup>324</sup> The Radical Lights broke away from the Congregational Churches to establish their own ones. The historian C. C. Geon classifies over three hundred separations of one kind, most of which became Baptist Congregations. The number of the Baptist Churches increased from ninety- six in 1740 to four hundred fifty- seven in 1780.<sup>325</sup>

Rationalist thought introduced by the English philosopher John Locke, changed the way people saw religion and the government prerogatives. In his *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, published in 1685, John Locke discussed the importance of the separation between state and religion, in a way that a government should not intervene in religious matters, and let each individual free to decide on his beliefs:

The commonwealth seems to me to be a society of men constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing their own civil interests. Civil interests I call life, liberty, health, and indolence of body; and the possession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like [...] Now that the whole jurisdiction of the magistrate reaches only to these civil concerns, and that all civil power, right and dominion, is bounded and confined to the only care of promoting these things; and that it neither can nor ought in any manner to be extended to the salvation of souls, these following considerations seem unto me abundantly to demonstrate.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Juliet Gardiner 454.

<sup>323</sup> Thomas Mather 220-222.

<sup>324</sup> Tim Dowley. *Eerdman's Handbook to the History Christianity*. (USA: Eerdmans Pub Co, 1977.) 56.

<sup>325</sup> C. C. Geon. *American Pluralism*. (U. S. A: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1992.) 38.

<sup>326</sup> E. Brooks Holifield 15.

The late eighteenth century also witnessed the spread of Deism or the religion of nature in the New World. The new philosophy asserted the idea of an individualism of viewpoints, which meant that all people had the right to discover the Creator's wisdom through nature without the intervention of priests or magistrates. This meant that people were no longer obliged to follow a specific faith, which encouraged the growth of religious diversity, particularly the Deists, who started to reject the Bible as a source of religious doctrine.<sup>327</sup>

Changes, on the other hand, in non- Puritan colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries helped increase religious diversity in New England. Religious freedom established by the southern English colonies was a threat for the Puritan colonies in the sense that it paved the way for demands for religious liberty. For instance, the colony of Maryland- established by the Catholics in 1634- enacted the Act Concerning Religion of 1649 which offered religious freedom to all the Christians who believed in Trinity.<sup>328</sup> It clearly stated that the Act: "implicitly recognized that pluralism in religion, at least among Christians, was the only way to ensure peace and order in society."<sup>329</sup> The existence of a number of English religious sects in other parts of the American continent- as for instance Pennsylvania- also facilitated their migration to the Puritan colonies. There were four thousand Quakers and one thousand Roman Catholics in the colony of Pennsylvania<sup>330</sup> by 1685. The Quakers in the colony were also tolerant towards other minorities such as the Baptists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Lutherans. The reason why religious freedom was allowed in the colony was due to the Quakers' belief in nonviolent activism. Virginia, which is another example, is located near New England and was established by the Anglicans who could easily migrate to the area. Besides, non- English emigration to the New World was another reason for religious diversity in New England, in the sense that each group of emigrants brought with it a new sect. The Scots, the Germans, and the French brought Presbyterianism, Lutheranism, and

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<sup>327</sup> Deism emerged first in England in the seventeenth century as an opposition to orthodox Christianity. It was developed by Edward Herbert, an English philosopher, in his book *On Truth* published in 1624. "Deism." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 516-17.

Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen 37.

<sup>328</sup> Clifton E. Olmstead 214.

<sup>329</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen 34.

<sup>330</sup> Pennsylvania is an American middle Atlantic region. In 1664 the English seized control of the region, and in 1681 the English King Charles II (1660- 1685) granted a charter to the English leader William Penn, who established a Quaker colony based on religious tolerance in 1682. Quoted in "Pennsylvania." Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 1430.

Catholicism respectively.<sup>331</sup> A number of American writings produced in the late of the eighteenth century advocated religious freedom. *The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom* written by Thomas Jefferson<sup>332</sup>, an American politician, in 1786 confirmed:

[...] that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever...nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.<sup>333</sup>

In addition, the United States' Constitution allowed freedom of religion. The Bill of Rights, which was ratified in 1791 followed by the enactment of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments ratified in the 1800's stated that a state cannot: "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."<sup>334</sup> Article VI also stated explicitly the idea of religious liberty:

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the Several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.<sup>335</sup>

The first group that showed its dissimilar features from those of the main church in New England was the Baptists,<sup>336</sup> under the leadership of the Rhode Islander, Roger Williams. The Baptists were Congregational like the other Puritans; they believed that churches should be self-

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<sup>331</sup> According to the 1790 census, the percentage of the Scottish in America was six point seven, of Germans five point six, and of French one percent. U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976.

Carl N. Degler. *Out of Past. The Forces that Shaped Modern America*. (USA: Willey Eastern Limited, 1986.) 54-55.

<sup>332</sup> Thomas Jefferson (1743- 1826) was the third president of the United States of America in 1801. He was famous for his opposition to slavery, writing the Declaration of Independence, and foundation of the Virginia University in 1819. "Jefferson Thomas." *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* 961-2.

<sup>333</sup> Carl N. Degler 37.

<sup>334</sup> Carl N. Degler 214.

<sup>335</sup> Refer to Appendix 7, text archive: [The Constitution of the United States](#).

<sup>336</sup> Most scholars agree that the Baptists originated within seventeenth- century Puritanism as an offshoot of Congregationalism. The first Baptist Church was founded by Reverend John Smyth, a Cambridge scholar and an ordained minister of the Church of England, in Amsterdam, Holland in 1609. Warren Harry. *Dictionary of Christianity in America*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.) 22-23.

governing bodies composed of believers only. However, they differed in the fact that they insisted that only adult believers should be baptized and that baptism should be done by immersion rather than by sprinkling water. Another important issue that the sect believed in was that government and religion should be separated, and that Puritans should not impose their beliefs on others. They preached that: “there was never civil state in the world that ever did or ever shall make good work of it, with a civil sword in spiritual matters.”<sup>337</sup> So, it was a sin to punish anyone in the name of Christianity. These Baptists established their first Church in the New World in 1639. In fact, Roger Williams was the first who used the term wall of separation meaning that separation<sup>338</sup> would be for the benefit of both government and religion; he wrote:

When they [the Church] have opened a gap in the hedge or wall of separation between the garden of the church and the wilderness of the world, God hath ever broke down the wall itself, removed the Candlestick, etc., and made His Garden a wilderness as it is this day. And that therefore if He will ever please to restore His garden and Paradise again, it must of necessity be walled in peculiarly unto Himself from the world, and all that be saved out of the world are to be transplanted out of the wilderness of the world.<sup>339</sup>

Roger Williams was not the only person who disagreed with the Massachusetts’ leaders on religious matters, but so did Anne Hutchinson.<sup>340</sup> In 1637, she was tried for criticizing the teachings of the Massachusetts’ ministers. She believed that people could communicate directly with their Creator without the help of ministers. The Massachusetts’ authorities opposed the missionary and confirmed the idea that all ministers were men, and that women were not allowed to teach about religion. As a result, Hutchinson was banished and escaped to Rhode Island. The second Baptist Church in the colony was founded in 1640 in Newport by John Clarke. Other Baptist Churches were also established in Massachusetts and Connecticut in the early 1700’s; it is estimated that thirty seven Baptists Churches existed in the Massachusetts

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<sup>337</sup> Carl N. Degler 79.

<sup>338</sup> The historian C. C. Geon stated that Baptists believed in the separation between Church and government, because the Puritans had been persecuted by the English government. C. C. Geon 40.

<sup>339</sup> William Kristin 5.

<sup>340</sup> Anne Hutchinson (1591- 1643) was a British- American religious leader born in Alford, Lincolnshire, England. In 1612, she married William Hutchinson, and they followed John Cotton to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634. She organized weekly religious meetings of Boston women, criticizing the narrow Puritan orthodoxy. Her opponents accused her of believing that God’s grace had freed Christians from the need to observe established moral precepts. Tried for “traducing the ministers,” she was sentenced to banishment; refusing to recant, she was excommunicated. In 1638 she and her husband established a town at Aquidneck Island, which became part of Rhode Island. “Hutchinson Anne.” Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia 895.

Bay from 1760 to 1780. Fifty years later, the First African Baptist Church was established in Boston.<sup>341</sup>

Similarly, the Presbyterians started to appear in the colony of Massachusetts in the 1640's, when a protest was made by a group of people under the leadership of the Presbyterian Dr. Robert Child. The latter introduced to the General Court of the colony Remonstrance and Petition of Robert Child; which contained a number of demands, including the establishment of religious toleration so that Presbyterians like Child or Anglicans like Samuel Maverick-<sup>342</sup> another remonstrant- had their children baptized and took part in the Lord's Supper. Another demand was that the religious requirement of 1631, restricting freemanship only to Visible Saints or church members be dropped, thus letting non- Congregationalists the right to vote and hold office. Child's argument was that thousands of taxpayers supported both Church and government deserved to have a voice in the colony. Dr. Robert Child added that both sects- the Puritans and Presbyterians- had a different conception on the right of church assemblies to legislate for local churches and examine ministerial candidates; but the two groups had the same theology since both systems derived their teachings from John Calvin.<sup>343</sup>

The Quakers,<sup>344</sup> who had arrived in the colony of Rhode Island in 1656, established their own church in Aquidneck one year later. In the Massachusetts Bay and

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<sup>341</sup> Slavery was brought to New England in the seventeenth century. However, in 1783 it was abolished by the Colony of Massachusetts. "Slavery." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>342</sup> Robert Child (1613- 1654), born in Kent, England, was matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1628. Then, in 1635, he went to the University of Leyden, where he entered as a Student of Medicine on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1635, at the age of twenty-two. "Child Robert." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

• Samuel Maverick (1602-1670) who had been born in Awliscombe, Devon; settled in Boston, Massachusetts in 1624. In 1638, Maverick became one of the earliest slave-owners in Massachusetts. Two years later, the Boston government granted him six hundred acres of land; and in 1664, Charles II (1660- 1685) appointed him as one of the four commissioners to arbitrate disputes in New England. "Maverick Samuel." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

<sup>343</sup> For more details of Presbyterianism, refer to section three in the first chapter: Official Birth of Protestantism and its Evolution to Puritanism. 38- 39.

<sup>344</sup> The Quakers, also called the Friends, were a religious group that was not welcome in England. They believed that each person had an inner light that led them to God, and that they did not need a religious leader to tell them what was right and wrong. So, they had no clergy. The Quakers in England refused to recognize the king as more important than anyone else, and refused to pay taxes to support the Anglican Church. They believed that it was wrong to kill. So, they would not fight even if they were forced to join the army. "Quakers." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier. 1997.

The Quaker- so named for his trembling in the presence of God- trembled in the presence of no other. Edwin Scott Gaustad 22.

Plymouth colonies, the sect began coming one year later, when the two Quakers Mary Fisher and Ann Austin reached New England to spread the teachings of George Fox.<sup>345</sup> Other four Quakers arrived at the colony between 1659 and 1661. In the latter year, the first Quaker Yearly Meeting gathered in Rhode Island. It is estimated that in 1760 there were 16000 Quakers in all the Puritan colonies, decreasing to 11000 by 1830.<sup>346</sup>

The colony of Rhode Island eventually became a home for the Jewish. A synagogue was established in 1658 by fifteen Jewish families, who succeeded in having their rights confirmed by the Rhode Island government twenty- six years later. Other two Jewish French Calvinist Congregations were formed in East Greenwich in 1686. The first Jewish sermon was delivered in the Newport Touro Synagogue on May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1773. In other parts of New England, religious intolerance was an obstacle for the evolution of Judaism. There were only two Jews in Connecticut in 1659 and 1670 respectively; and only a Jewish family settled in New Haven two years later; the Jewish number in Plymouth and New\_Hampshire was also few. By 1830, four Jewish synagogues were established in New England: two in Connecticut, one in Massachusetts, and one in Rhode Island. The Jewish emigrants to New England were of Portuguese origin who had escaped from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century persecution.

The Anglicans, another religious group, also existed in the Puritan colonies, where they first founded King's Chapel in Boston in 1689. The early church in

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<sup>345</sup> Mary Fisher (1623-1698) was an English Quaker, born in northern England. In 1655, she went to Massachusetts to spread her beliefs; as a result, she was put in prison for sixteen months by the authorities. Upon her release, she was deported back to England. Rufus M. Jones. The Quakers in the American Colonies. (London: Macmillan, 1911.) 31-33.

Anne Austin was born in 1586 in Tichfield, Hampshire, England and was persecuted by the Massachusetts' settlers in 1662. She left for New England in 1656 and brought approximately one hundred books with her. Rufus M. Jones.

George Fox (1624- 1691) was an English preacher and founder of the Society of Friends or Quakers. The son of a weaver, he left home at eighteen in search of religious experience. Probably beginning as a Puritan, he reacted even more strongly than the Puritans against the tradition of the Church of England, and came to regard personal experience as the true source of authority, placing God- given "inward light," or inspiration, above creeds and Scripture. He travelled the countryside on foot, preaching to small groups, and he and other preachers established congregations. The Quakers' denunciation of ministers and public officials and their refusal to pay tithes or take oaths led to persecution, and Fox was imprisoned eight times between 1649 and 1673. He made missionary trips to Ireland, the Caribbean islands, North Americas, and northern Europe. His *Journal* gives an account of his life and of the rise of Quakerism. Quoted in "Fox George." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 685.

<sup>346</sup> Carl N. Degler 81.

Providence, Rhode Island was established in 1704 and in Stratford, Connecticut twenty years later. The first Anglican Church in New Hampshire was founded in 1729. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the majority of the Anglican clergymen were from England rather than New England. By 1830, New England had eighty four Anglican Churches, most of which were established in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

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The eighteenth century also witnessed the emergence of other religious sects in New England: the Lutherans, Methodists, and the Universalists. It was namely in 1739 when a Lutheran<sup>348</sup> Church was formed at Waldoborough, Maine. The same century witnessed the establishment of Methodism in New England under the leadership of Jesse Lee,<sup>349</sup> who organized the Methodist Church on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1784 in Massachusetts. Like the Puritans, the sect believed in two sacraments: Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and in direct contact between the Creator and the believers without the presence of any intermediary. Another sect was launched by the Universalists<sup>350</sup> who established the Independent Christian Society in Massachusetts in the late of the eighteenth century. By 1830, other Universalists Churches were founded in the other states of New England, to reach over two hundred eighty churches.

The Massachusetts Bay also witnessed the emergence of the Roman Catholics who established their Church in Boston in 1788.<sup>351</sup> During the next century, John Cheverus-<sup>352</sup> a French religious man- became a bishop of the Boston diocese of the

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<sup>347</sup> R.J. Lahey. "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise." Maryland Historical Magazine 37 (September 2007.) 13-14.

<sup>348</sup> For more details of Lutheranism, refer to the third section in chapter one: Official Birth of Protestantism and its Evolution to Puritanism. 28- 29.

<sup>349</sup> Jesse Lee (1758- 1816) was an American Methodist born in Virginia. In 1789, he settled in New England and founded Methodism in a number of Puritan regions including Connecticut and Massachusetts. He was appointed to be a presiding elder of the south district of Virginia in 1801 and as a Chaplain of the United States Senate in thirteen years later. "Lee Jesse." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>350</sup> The term Universalists refers to those who believed that salvation was not for a limited few- the "elect"- but was a gift of God for all. John S. Bonnell 264.

<sup>351</sup> Charles Hanson. Necessary Virtue: The Pragmatic Origins of American Liberty. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.) 189- 190.

<sup>352</sup> John Cheverus (1768- 1836) was a French Roman Catholic clergyman and Cardinal, born in Mayenne, France. After completing his theological studies at the Seminary of St Magloire, he was ordained deacon in October 1790 and a priest by special dispensation on the 18th of December. He immigrated in 1792 to England, and thence in 1796 to America, settling in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1823, King Louis XVIII of France (1814- 1824) insisted that Cheverus had to return to France. Cheverus became bishop of Montauban, France where his tolerance captivated the Protestant clergy



Holy Cross Cathedral, a Roman Catholic Church. The same period witnessed the first appearance of the sect in Rhode Island, when the French army under the leadership of Jean Rochambeau<sup>353</sup> was encamped in Newport and Providence. The Catholic wave of immigrants into New England included the Irish, and about three thousand French Acadians. Their first churches were established in 1788 in Boston and in 1808 in Maine.

Another religious group which appeared in New England, exactly in Massachusetts, in the early 1800's was Unitarianism.<sup>354</sup> It rejected the doctrine of Trinity backed by the fact that it was not mentioned in the Bible and believed instead in monotheism which meant the belief in one Creator and Jesus as his Son. A number of Congregational Churches in the colony adopted Unitarianism. Examples included a number of ministers in the First Parish in Concord- established in 1636- left to found their own Unitarian Church under the leadership of Ralph Waldo Emerson.<sup>355</sup> In 1830, there were ninety- six Unitarian Churches in Massachusetts, and six in Connecticut.<sup>356</sup>

As is apparent on the accompanying charts,<sup>357</sup> religious groups in America started to emerge especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, during when the Congregational Church numbered seventy- five percent and the Baptist Church reached only four percent. The latter Church increased in number in the beginning of the next century. The nineteenth century marked the birth of other new sects, the

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and laymen of the city. On February 1836, in accordance with the wish of Louis Philippe, Cheverus was made a cardinal. "Cheverus John." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>353</sup> Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur Comte de Rochambeau (1725- 1807) was a French army officer, who served in the War of Austrian Succession and became a brigadier general in 1761. He was put in command of a French army of six thousand to join the Continental Army in the American Revolution (1780). He returned to France in 1783 and was made a marshal of France. Quoted in "Rochambeau." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1589.

<sup>354</sup> The movement emerged in America in the 1700's under the leadership of both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Charles Hanson 52.

<sup>355</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803- 1882) was an American religious man, philosopher, and poet, born in Boston, Massachusetts. He is best remembered for leading the Transcendentalist movement of the early 19th century, which introduced new ideas in religion, literature, culture, and philosophy in the region of New England. "Emerson Ralph Waldo." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

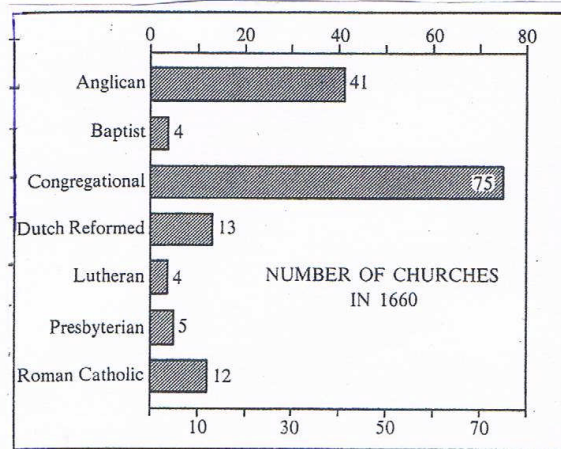
<sup>356</sup> Charles Hanson 43.

<sup>357</sup> Refer to Charts 2, 3, and 4. 109.

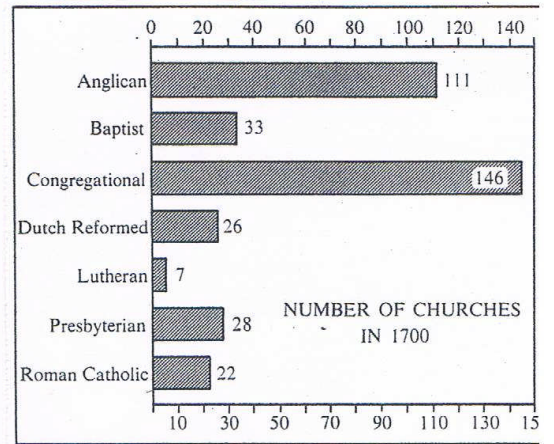
evolution of a number of sects such as the Baptists, and the regression of the Congregationalists.

In New England Puritanism was the dominant among different religious sects. The immediate result of that religious diversity was the quick growth of ethnic pluralism in New England. This pushed the Puritans to react negatively towards the new situation. This reaction was backed by the fact that the early settlers of New England aimed mainly at having a homogeneous community based on a shared religion and on religious freedom. The latter should extend only to themselves and their followers, not to others. The Puritan religious development in the settlements was made in parallel with political and economic one. Actually, interrelationship between politics and religion would enable Puritanism to have more control over sectors such as: farming, industrialization, trade, and education. The Puritan impact on the governmental policies will constitute the object of the third chapter.

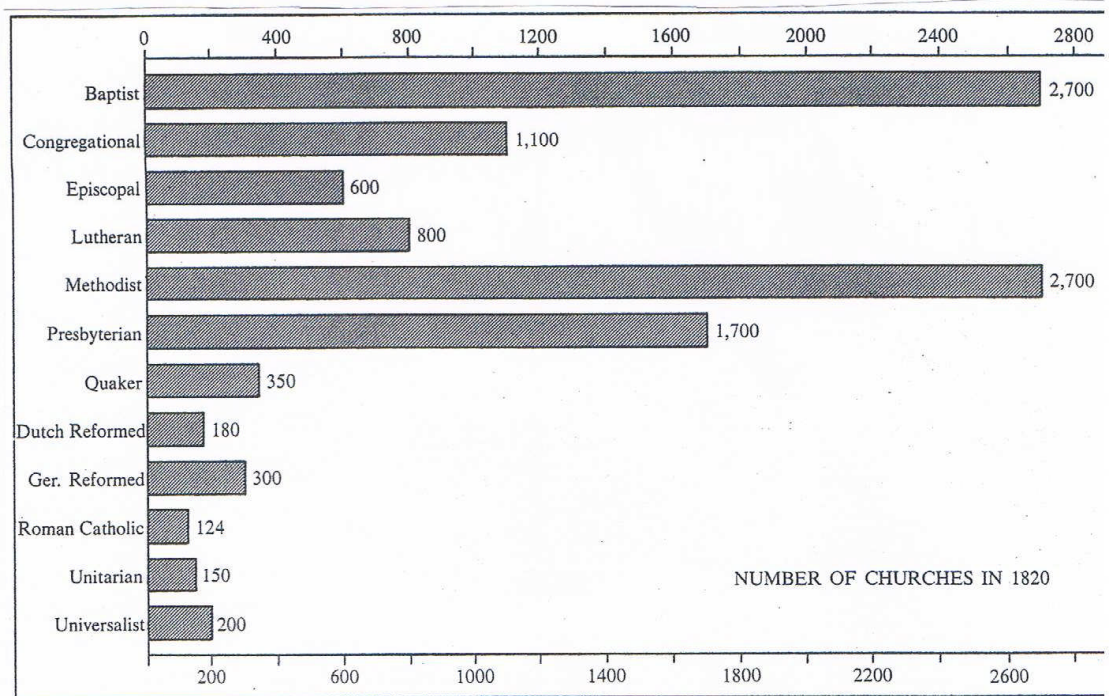
**Chart 2: Number of Churches in 1660**



**Chart 3: Number of Churches in 1700**



**Chart 4: Number of Churches in 1820**



## **Chapter Three:**

### **The Puritan Impact on the Local Governmental Policies of New England (1620- 1830)**

When the Puritan colonists had settled in the New World in 1620, they attempted to adopt a political system based on the Bible. They succeeded in founding a political institution that was different from the prevailing one established in their mother country. In fact, the government in New England knew three important stages: the first stage was from 1620 to 1686 when the Puritan colonies were autonomous, because their governors were chosen among the settlers. The second stage started with 1686 when a royal governor was sent by the English monarch to rule all the Puritan colonies. The last stage started after the independence of the colonies in 1776. The American Constitution- adopted on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1787- imposed one government on all the states, and laws passed by the states' legislature were to conform to the Constitution. The latter compelled the Puritan states to accept the separation of Church and State.

The Puritans also attempted to relate religion and economic interest together, in a way that hard work was part of religious teachings. The latter motivated people to work in order to develop their economic life, which was characterized by diverse products. Alongside the economic differences, religious diversity also characterized New England colonies, which contributed to the creation of various cultural values and ways of life, but prohibited the lack of religious freedom and persecution.

This chapter has three objects: the first is to analyse the Puritans' political attainment, and show how Puritanism had its impact on the political system. The second is to examine the economic development of the New England colonies; and the third object is to consider how the New Englanders dealt with the sects who did not share with them their religious conception and were subsequently required to follow the Puritan way.

#### **4. Political Life in New England**

According to the historian Steven Hockney, Puritanism played an important role in New England political life. The Puritan faith helped the settlers produce right and suitable behaviour in politics, in a way that the same believers would try to develop a common attitude towards politics. Puritanism also motivated the Puritans to establish a community of believers sharing a common language, religion, and culture. Religion, also, helped to ensure that the electorate should be restricted to the religiously elect; so as to prevent the state from being corrupt. In his book, Steven Hockney asserts the idea of the impossibility of the separation between religion and politics since Jesus' execution was political.<sup>358</sup>

The Puritan political life was based on two significant beliefs: the Covenant and the Consent. The Puritans agreed to establish a government as a covenant in order to organize their society on what would please God. Thus, the governor- according to the settlers- was to be wise and learned because the laws of God were ambiguous and needed more efforts to be understood. Furthermore, people had the right to rebel against their governor in case he would not respect the laws. The submission to an unfaithful ruler was considered a breakup of the Covenant; hence the Puritans believed in the necessity of putting restrictions on rulers, because men are sinful, especially when they are in power. The Puritans also emphasized on the idea of Covenant between the ruler and the ruled as the basis for government, according to which they would support each other to establish a Christian community.<sup>359</sup> In fact, God made the Covenant conditional, in the sense that when people failed to protect it, the Covenant would be broken and ended by Him. As a result, punishment would ensue on people.<sup>360</sup> On the other hand, the Puritans believed in the concept of the Consent. The latter was required in the establishment of a government, in a way that officials could not be imposed on people. They had to be elected by the freemen; otherwise they would not have the right to rule.<sup>361</sup> In fact, there are a number of verses in the Bible which deal with the idea of election. For instance, in (Romans 8: 29- 30), it is stated that: "Those whom God had already chosen He also set apart to become like his Son [...] And so those whom God set apart, He called; and those He called, He put right with Himself, and He shared his glory with them."

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<sup>358</sup> Steven Hockney. Separation of Church and State. (USA: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004.) 36-41.

<sup>359</sup> Steven Hockney 43.

<sup>360</sup> The word Covenant occurred more than two hundred times in the Old Testament and more than ten times in the New Testament. The first Covenant was between God and Adam, who sinned when he ate the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge. Steven Hockney 47.

<sup>361</sup> Alice M. Baldwin. The New England Clergy and the American Revolution. (USA: Duke University Press, 1928.) 12-21.

The Puritan belief was totally different from the prevailing philosophy in Europe during the Late Medieval Ages (1300- 1500). Niccolo Machiavelli,<sup>362</sup> an Italian philosopher, believed in the importance of the monarchy as the best form of government. According to him, a successful ruler had to be tyrant since the safety of the state was his supreme objective. Therefore, he could use any means, violent or peaceful, to achieve his aim. Thomas Hobbes,<sup>363</sup> an English philosopher, also focused on the monarchy as the best system of ruling. He advocated an absolute powerful ruler to protect people from one another, because they were by nature selfish and immoral. The philosopher's famous quote is: "It is not wisdom but authority that makes a law."<sup>364</sup>

The concept of Covenant was defined by the Puritans in their letters, sermons, and documents. The Mayflower Compact<sup>365</sup> was an example of the Covenant between God and people and between people and fellow people in the same community. The Compact was the first form of government created by "common consent" by the Plymouth Pilgrims, who signed it in 1620; that was a document that substituted their Charter which they considered useless since they resided in an area outside the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company.<sup>366</sup> The document stated:

We whose names are underwritten [...] solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one another, covenant

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<sup>362</sup> Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), was an Italian historian, statesman and political philosopher. He entered government service as a clerk and rose to prominence when the Florentine Republic was proclaimed in 1498. In the course of his diplomatic missions within Italy, he became acquainted with many of the Italian rulers and was able to study their political tactics. In 1512, he retired to his estate near Florence, where he wrote his most important works. "Machiavelli Niccolo." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>363</sup> Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), was an English philosopher and political theorist. He contributed to modern psychology and led the foundations of modern sociology by applying mechanistic principles in an attempt to explain human motivation and social organization. Hobbes' best-known books are *Leviathan* and *Power of a Commonwealth: Ecclesiastical and Civil*. "Hobbes Thomas." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>364</sup> David Thomson. Political Ideas. (Britain: The Chaucer Press, 1985.) 23-30/ 55-61.

<sup>365</sup> It is interesting to note that women were excluded from signing the document. David Leon 272. The document was named after the ship which the Pilgrims used in their voyage to the new continent. Walter John Raymond. Dictionary of Politics: Selected American and Foreign Political and Legal Terms. (USA: Brunswick Publishing Corporation, 1992.) 301.

<sup>366</sup> For more details of the Company, refer to the fourth section of chapter one: Secular Circumstances Leading to the Evolution of Puritanism in the New World. 55, 56. The Pilgrims were given a charter by the Virginia Company to legalize their settlement in Virginia, but bad weather conditions compelled them to land in Plymouth instead of Virginia. Walter John Raymond 306.

and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick [...] do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, as shall be thought meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony [...]<sup>367</sup>

The Mayflower Compact was the only political document used by the settlers of Plymouth until October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1691 when the colony was integrated with Massachusetts. The New Hampshire Colony also had its Charter in 1623, stipulating the establishment of a government. Six years later, Massachusetts settlers established their own government according to the Charter granted to them by King Charles I; which stipulated for the election of a governor, a deputy governor and eighteen assistants. The Charter also stated that the laws made in New England had to be in accordance with those of England.<sup>368</sup> Between 1639 and 1644, the New Haven together with Connecticut and Rhode Island set up their systems of government modelled on Massachusetts's.<sup>369</sup>

The first source of legislation in the settlements was the charters which were brought with the Puritans from England. Yet, the Plymouth Colony lacked a royal charter; therefore in addition to the Mayflower Compact it created in 1636 the Plymouth Code. The latter was a number of laws deriving from the Bible, and describing the rights and duties of the settlers.<sup>370</sup> Similarly, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties which was adopted five years later by the colony used the Bible as the primary reference. The other colonies such as Connecticut in 1642 and New Haven in 1655 copied the Massachusetts' laws by making few changes. Theophilus Eaton,<sup>371</sup> the first New Haven governor, stressed the need for the Bible as the legal and moral basis of the colony:

Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men as well as in the government of families and commonwealth as in matters of the Church [...] the Word of God shall be the only rule to be attended unto in organizing the affairs of government in this plantation.<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Refer to Appendix n° 8; official text. Mayflower Compact, 1620.

<sup>368</sup> Refer to Appendix n° 5; official text. The Charter of Massachusetts, 1629.

<sup>369</sup> Edmund S. Morgan 72-74.

<sup>370</sup> George L. Haskins. "The Legal Heritage of Plymouth Colony." In Essays in the History of Early American Law, ed. David F. Flaherty. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969. 123.

<sup>371</sup> Theophilus Eaton (1590- 1658) was a Puritan governor born in Buchinghamshire, England. He was a merchant in London, trading with Baltic seaports. He immigrated to New England, namely to Massachusetts, in 1637. "Eaton Theophilus." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>372</sup> William George. A History of New England. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.) 51.

In fact, the New Haven Code adopted in 1655 consisted of seventy- nine laws, forty of which were derived from the Bible. The Rhode Island settlement adopted its code of laws in 1649 which was primarily based on the Bible, but differed from the other colonies' codes in a way that the laws were less severe since Church and government were separated.<sup>373</sup> New Hampshire differed from the other New England settlements in that it did not have a stable government. The colony received its Charter in 1623, and then was integrated with Massachusetts in 1641 and remained so for thirty- nine years. New Hampshire and Massachusetts were united again in 1686 but separated five years later. In 1688, the New Hampshire remained without a government after the removal of the English colonial governor Sir Edmund Andros for a period of eleven months.<sup>374</sup>

Unicameralism- a system of having only the General Court composed of the governor, the deputy governor, the board of assistants, and the freemen- was the only law- making system adopted by the Puritan colonies from 1620 to 1633. The first governor in the Plymouth Colony was John Carver, a Pilgrim leader, elected in 1620. But few months later, namely in April 1621, the governor died and William Bradford, an English Puritan, succeeded him as governor until 1656. Like in the Plymouth settlement, the governor in the other colonies was also elected annually. The early governor in New Hampshire was Edward Kell, who was reelected to the office until his death in 1641. During the 1630's, the Massachusetts Bay knew two governors: the first one was the English Puritan John Winthrop, elected between 1630 and 1638; the second governor was John Haynes, an American colonial leader, elected in 1639. The New Haven's early governor was the British merchant, Theophilus Eaton, who was reelected until 1658, when leadership was given to Francis Newman, a Puritan colonist. Different from the other colonies, the Connecticut Colony elected every two years a new governor. John Haynes, former governor of the Bay Colony, was made its first governor in 1639. However, in 1662 as the colony succeeded in obtaining a royal charter, the governor had to be elected annually. The first governor in the Rhode Island settlement was Roger Williams, a Puritan settler, who served in

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<sup>373</sup> William George 88- 92.

<sup>374</sup> Sir Edmund Andros (1637- 1714) was an English governor in colonial America, born in London, England. In April 1689, when word reached Massachusetts, that King James II had been deposed, Andros was arrested and sent to England for trial, but he was released almost immediately. He returned to America as governor of Virginia in 1692. He also served as governor of Maryland in 1693-94 and of the Island of Guernsey in 1704-6. "Andros Edmund." The New Encyclopedia Britannica. V.1. 395.

Henry William Elson. History of the United States of America. (New York: Henry William Elson, 1982.) 117- 119.



the office until 1640 when he was succeeded by another Puritan colonist, William Coddington.<sup>375</sup>

The governor in the Puritan colonies was the head of the colonial administration and could make appointments of judges, Justices of the Peace, and sheriffs. He also acted as a judicial officer and he could arrest and put people in jail. The governor could make laws, end the assembly and refuse its acts. In addition, he had control over both economy and militia. The governor was also responsible for diplomatic relations with the Indians and other colonies.<sup>376</sup>

Below the governor in rank was the deputy governor who acted in his absence. The first deputy governor in the Plymouth Colony was the English Separatist Steven Hopkins; Parkin Mason, a Puritan colonist, was in New Hampshire; Thomas Dudley, an important leader, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony; Walter Cutt, a rich English settler, in New Haven; Edward

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<sup>375</sup> John Carver (1576- 1621) was a Puritan governor born in England. He immigrated to the Netherlands in 1607 with the Separatists who had been persecuted by James I. There, he served as deacon of the church in 1616. Then, he immigrated to the New World in 1620. "Carver John." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Edward Kell (1577-1641), was a Puritan colonist and the first governor of the New Hampshire Colony. He was born in Liverpool, England, and immigrated to the New World in 1623. T. Cooper 81.

John Haynes (1594 -1654) was an American colonial leader, born in Essex, England. In 1633, he joined the Puritan immigration to America, settling in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He served as a governor of the Bay settlement then of the Connecticut Colony. T. Cooper 66.

Francis Newman (1599- 1661) was an English Puritan who came to the colony of New Haven in the early 1640's. T. Cooper 83.

William Coddington (1601- 1678) was a rich Puritan leader born in Lincolnshire, England; and immigrated to New England in 1630. He served as a magistrate of Massachusetts and later of Rhode Island. "Coddington William." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Edmund S. Morgan 105-112.

<sup>376</sup> William George 70- 73.

Hopkins,<sup>377</sup> another English settler, in the Connecticut settlement; and the English colonist William Coddington in the Rhode Island Colony.<sup>378</sup>

The governor was helped by a Board of Assistants, who were a group of advisers, whose number ranged from seven to eighteen. The assistants who were chosen by the freemen, had to be residents of the colony, and most of them were selected among the wealthiest people in the settlement. Their main functions were to advise the governor, and participate in the legislature. Population criterion for determining the number of assistants in a colony was not used. For instance, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, whose inhabitants reached one thousand in the 1630's, there were eighteen assistants.<sup>379</sup> The New Haven settlement had the same number of population in the same period, but with only seven assistants.<sup>380</sup>

The Board of Assistants together with the governor and the deputy governor constituted the General Court or the General Assembly, which performed legislative and judicial power. It had the power to admit new freemen, elect officers, and make laws. Acts of legislation could not be passed by the General Court alone, but necessitated the vote of the freemen comprising all the adult male passengers of the Mayflower, with the exception of servants and particulars who emigrated to Plymouth in 1623 and paid for their own voyage. However, the power of the General Court lessened as a result of the freemen's desire to have more authority. For instance, in 1639 the governor and his assistants did no longer have the power to distribute land among the settlers. After the creation of the New England Dominion,<sup>381</sup> namely from 1684 to 1689,

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<sup>377</sup> Steven Hopkins (1600-1670) was an English Puritan who came to the Plymouth Colony in 1620. He was sent on different missions to negotiate with the Indians. "Hopkins Steven." Evelyn David. The Oxford Dictionary of Famous People. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.) 132.

Parkin Mason (1559- 1649), was an English colonist born in Hampshire, England, where he was educated. In 1575, he attended the Puritan Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, and studied law in London. Later, Mason travelled to the New World. "Mason Parkin." Evelyn David 140.

Thomas Dudley (1602- 1679), was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and educated at Harvard College. "Dudley Thomas." Evelyn David 18.

Walter Cutt (1611- 1651) was an English settler in New England born in Gloucester, England. He had arrived in the colony of Massachusetts in 1630, and then migrated to New Haven few years later. "Cutt Walter." Evelyn David 14.

Edward Hopkins (1610- 1662) was a Puritan settler, born in Stratford, Essex; and was educated at Balliol College, University of Oxford. He came to the Connecticut Colony in 1636. "Hopkins Edward." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>378</sup> Edmund S. Morgan 97.

<sup>379</sup> These were the eighteen assistants of the Massachusetts Colony: Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Isaac Johnson, Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. John Endicott, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. William Vassall, Mr. William Pinchon, Mr. Samuel Sharpe, Mr. Edward Rossiter, Mr. Thomas Sharpe, Mr. John Revel, Mr. Matthew Cradock, Mr. Thomas Guff, Mr. Samuel Aldersey, Mr. John Venn, Mr. Nathaniel Wright, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and Mr. Thomas Adams. William Hubbard. A General History of New England. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 2006.) 692.

<sup>380</sup> William Hubbard 120.

<sup>381</sup> The idea of the New England Dominion will be detailed in this chapter.

lawmaking was no longer a prerogative of the colonial assemblies, but instead it was a right given to the Dominion Council.<sup>382</sup>

A number of other officials were also appointed by the governor and his assistants. The constables were appointed for the keeping of peace in towns; the messengers were in charge of announcing about marriages, executing the accused, and acting as jailers; the treasurers were to give an account of the income received by the settlement; and the coroners were appointed for holding an inquest into the death of persons when found dead under unknown reasons.

The governor and the colony's officials used to assemble in the Meeting House, a building that functioned both as Church and as a place for town affairs. In the early years of the Puritan settlements, the Town Meetings varied and took place once a year in one town and twice or three times a year in another town. The historians Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider state that the number of Town Meetings depended on the number of population which meant more town affairs and preoccupations. For instance, the number of Town Meetings in both Dedham and Watertown, which were the most populated towns in Massachusetts and New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, was big. Dedham's officials met fourteen times between 1690 and 1700, and Watertown's officials met twelve times in the same period. In the nineteenth century, Town Meetings started to be replaced in a number of Massachusetts and Connecticut towns with separate buildings for local government.<sup>383</sup>

Every year or two years, the adult male citizens of each colony or the freemen used to gather in a meeting to elect the governor, deputy governor and assistants, who would be the selectmen chosen to manage the town affairs.<sup>384</sup> The freemen had to have a good reputation, to take an oath of fidelity, and to own property that amounted to £20 in Plymouth and more in the Massachusetts and Connecticut settlements.<sup>385</sup> Property could be the ownership of land, a shop or other possessions. All the freemen had the right to vote in the General Court and hold offices. In case of not doing so, the freemen were fined. Requirements of voting were different in Rhode Island and New Haven. The former didn't extend its tolerance to civil matters; vote was restricted only to heads of families, which meant that the unmarried men were not allowed to

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<sup>382</sup> George D. Langdon, Jr. "The Franchise and Political Democracy in Plymouth Colony." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol.20, No.4 (Oct., 1963.) 515.

<sup>383</sup> Kenneth A. Lockridge, Alan Kreider. "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government, 1640 to 1740." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 23, No.4 (Oct., 1966.) 574- 577.

<sup>384</sup> Servants and women were excluded from vote, one group being not free, the other not men. William Hubbard 113.

<sup>385</sup> George D. Langdon, Jr. "A History of New Plymouth, 1620- 1691." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 34 (Nov., 1967.) 204.

vote. The latter believed that the Bible should be their guide in civil affairs, and that only church members be admitted to the body politic. A settler could obtain the freeman's status by the approval of the freemen of his region and the General Court. A number of laws were passed in New England in the late 1650's, which confirmed that persons who opposed political and religious norms- including attending town meetings, respecting laws, and being church members- would not be granted this status.<sup>386</sup>

Requirements of voting in New England started to change from the mid 1630's for a number of reasons such as: the emergence of religious diversity in the region, population growth, and Charles II's policy in the colonies. The Baptists who established their settlement in 1636 held different views from the common conception of the other Puritan settlements. They did not oblige people to follow the Established Church in order to have the right to vote. The next significant reason was the population of the Puritan settlements which increased in the same period,<sup>387</sup> therefore it became difficult for all freemen to meet together in order to vote. Therefore, in 1637, the settlers of Massachusetts made some changes in the requirements of voting, in a way that only members of the Congregational Church would be made freemen, and would have the right to vote. During the second half of the seventeenth century, another law was passed, which changed again the requirements of the franchise in the Bay Colony. The law allowed all males over twenty- one years old to vote, without any religious condition. In the Plymouth Colony, religious requirement was made necessary in 1639. By 1652, the Plymouth government allowed all freemen to vote by proxy- instead of forcing them to vote themselves- at the General Court sessions, to prevent them from travelling to Plymouth town where the Court was convened. The freemen elected representatives, who were called deputies, to attend the sessions of the General Court. Church membership in the Puritan Church was again required for freemen in 1668. It was a reaction to Charles II's suggestion (1660- 1685) on allowing all male inhabitants in the English colonies to be freemen and thus to vote. The system of vote by proxy was developed in Connecticut in 1684.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Edward Dell 93-95.

<sup>387</sup>William George thinks that the population growth in New England in the 1630's was due to three important factors. First, women got married at an early age. Second, mortality rate of infants, children, and adults decreased. Third, disease, harvest failure, and famine also decreased in seventeenth century New England. William George 73.

<sup>388</sup> David Sacvan, ed. Essays on Puritans and Puritanism. (U.S.A: Yale University Press, 1973.) 30.

The development from unicameralism to bicameralism<sup>389</sup> started first in the Massachusetts Colony in the 1630's when a woman's pig was killed after it had wandered in a man's land. The woman asked for money as compensation. As a result, two laws were passed: the 1631 law stated that: "all swine that are found in any man's corn shall be forfeit to the public [...]," but the 1633 law confirmed that: "it shall be lawful for any man to kill any swine that comes into his corn [...]"<sup>390</sup> This event resulted in the disagreement among the magistrates who sided with the rich and the deputies who sided with the poor, and therefore in the separation among the members of the General Court. Michael Kammen wrote: "[...] silly dispute over a stray saw produced a permanent separation and bicameralism."<sup>391</sup> To end the dispute, it was suggested that: "the two bodies would sit apart and that bills proposed and passed by one body should be sent to the other body, and both bodies would have to agree to a bill for it to become law."<sup>392</sup> In Rhode Island the change to bicameralism was slow in a way that it was only in 1668 when the General Court decided to create a bicameral legislature. After the separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts in 1680, a step towards bicameralism in the colony was taken, and the monarch in England created a separation between the New Hampshire Council and Assembly. However, the governor and Council continued to enact laws without associating the Assembly till 1692. Six years later, differences of opinion in Connecticut between the assistants and the deputies led to the division of the General Assembly into two houses: the Upper House composed of the governor, the deputy governor, and assistants; and the Lower House, consisting of the deputies. Bicameralism did not develop in Plymouth and New Haven because the two colonies were integrated with Massachusetts in 1691 and Connecticut in 1695 respectively.<sup>393</sup> The following tables show details of the start of bicameralism in New England and the names which were later given to the Lower and Upper Houses:

**Table 4: Bicameralism in the New England Colonial Assemblies, 1633- 1692**

<b>Colony</b>	<b>Year Assembly Established</b>	<b>Year Assembly Became Chamber in Bicameral Legislature</b>	<b>How Upper House Filled</b>

<sup>389</sup> The term bicameralism is derived from the Latin word bi meaning two, and camera meaning chamber. "Bicameralism." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>390</sup> Michael Kammen. *Deputies and Liberties: The Origin of Representative Government in Colonial America*. (New York: Knopf, 1969.) 22.

<sup>391</sup> Michael Kammen 23.

<sup>392</sup> Perverill Squire. "Bicameralism in the American Legislative Experience." *British and American Studies: The First International Conference* hosted at the Department of English and American Studies, University of Salzburg, Dec 21- 25, 2006. Steve Chalker and Jemmy Broly. Austria: University of Salzburg Press. 2007. 6.

<sup>393</sup> Perverill Squire 6, 36.

Massachusetts	1633	1634	Elected by Lower House
Connecticut	1637	1698	Elected
New Haven	1639	Unicameral	
Plymouth	1639	Unicameral	
Rhode Island	1647	1668	Elected
New Hampshire	1680	1692	Appointed

Michael Kammen 11.

**Table 5: The Design of the State Legislatures, 1788- 1790**

<b>State (Date of Constitution)</b>	<b>Lower House Name</b>	<b>Upper House Name</b>
Connecticut, 1788	House of Deputies or Representatives	Council
Rhode Island, 1790 <sup>394</sup>	House of Deputies	Council or Assistants
New Hampshire, 1788	House of Representatives or Assembly	Council
Massachusetts, 1788	House of Representatives	Senate

Michael Kammen 12.

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<sup>394</sup> Rhode Island was the last state to ratify the Constitution. The latter was opposed by Anti- Federalists, who believed that the American Constitution gave more power to the federal government. Michael Kammen 12.

The Upper House members were appointed by the General Court in New Hampshire and elected in the other colonies. In fact, during the seventeenth century three terms were used in New England to describe the Lower House: House of Deputies, Representatives, or Assembly. Senate was used only in Massachusetts referring to the Upper House.

Almost all the New England colonies attempted to unite their governments to create the New England Confederation. Thus, representatives from the four colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, New Haven, and Connecticut met in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1643. The Plymouth Colony was represented by William Bradford, Massachusetts by John Winthrop, New Haven by Theophilus Eaton, and Connecticut also by its governor John Haynes. The colony of Rhode Island was not allowed to participate in the Confederation, because its governor, Roger Williams, had already been involved in quarrels with the Massachusetts' leaders about the prerogatives of the government, and that the Massachusetts settlers had no right to settle in the Indian lands without their permission.<sup>395</sup> The representatives agreed to form a confederation aiming principally at an alliance between them against the Indian attack, and the threats expected from both the Dutch, who opposed English colonial expansion in the Connecticut Valley; and the French who threatened to push south from Canada. Furthermore, the colonies expected possible danger from the mother country, experiencing a civil war period.<sup>396</sup> To achieve their objective, they wrote twelve articles, which declared that: first, the four colonies agreed to be called the United Colonies of New England or the New England Confederation. Second, they entered into a league of amity for defence and mutual advice. Third, each colony kept its home government as before. Fourth, the expense and spoils of wars were to be divided among all the members of the Confederation. Fifth, the colonies were required to send aid to any colony invaded by an enemy. Sixth, the Confederation's government should be composed of eight commissioners or delegates, with two from each of the four colonies, who would have to examine and determine all affairs of war and peace, and six commissioners would have the power to make a decision. Seventh, the eight commissioners at each meeting chose a president by the concurrence of all or of six. Eighth, the commissioners would establish orders to preserve friendship between the members of the Union, and prevent war with each other. Ninth, no

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<sup>395</sup> William Frotten. History of Puritanism in North America. (U.S.A: Harper and Row, 1972.) 62- 67.

<sup>396</sup> In 1642, a war broke out between the Puritan- dominated Parliament and supporters of King Charles I (1625- 1649). Money was needed to wage war against Spain and France. Parliament agreed to grant the king money, in return he would make some religious reforms in favour of the Puritans. The reforms were never done by the monarch, who dissolved Parliament and ruled without it for many years. As a result, he was deprived of major sources of financial support. The only solution for him was to impose taxes on people. This action pleased neither the people nor Parliament, and resulted in friction between the King and his subjects. Mary Parmele 22.

colony was to engage in war without the consent of all or the majority. Tenth, in unexpected occasions, four commissioners could direct a war. Eleventh, if any colony broke any article of the Confederation, this would be considered and ordered by the commissioners of the three other confederates. Twelfth, the Confederation and the Articles had to be ratified by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth.<sup>397</sup>

Although the New England Confederation made a prominent achievement in the sense that it united in King Philip's War<sup>398</sup> to defeat the Indians, it did not succeed in resisting against the disputes among its members. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, for instance, refused in 1653 to participate in a war planned by the Confederation against the Dutch in America.<sup>399</sup> These rivalries resulted in the dissolution of the Confederation in 1684.<sup>400</sup>

The end of the seventeenth century also witnessed a change in the form of government in the Puritan colonies, which started to appear exactly when King Charles II of England attempted to put the Puritan colonies under one governor. The King aimed chiefly at making the English empire more powerful than it had been, by increasing English control over the North American colonies. The first action the King did was the annulment of the Massachusetts' Charter in 1684.<sup>401</sup> It was only after seven years when the settlement received another charter which made Massachusetts a royal colony, and gave the English monarch the right to appoint the governor. This change in the form of

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<sup>397</sup> Refer to Appendix n° 8; official text. The Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England: May 19, 1643.

<sup>398</sup> For more details of the War refer to the first section of chapter two: The Puritan Settlement and the Indian Attitudes. 74- 75.

<sup>399</sup> The Anglo- Dutch war was a result of commercial tensions between England and the Netherlands. The Dutch were involved in trading with the English colonies, but were interrupted by the Navigation Act of 1651, which required that all goods imported into England or its colonies had to arrive on English ships. Following this, and in 1652, the Dutch refused to salute the English flag when they were sailing for home. All these events motivated the English to destroy the Dutch fleet in 1653. William Frotten 80.

It is noteworthy to mention that the New England colonies did not experience changes at the level of their governments during the rule of Oliver and Richard Cromwell (1649- 1659). William Frotten.

<sup>400</sup> Jack Greene. Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture. (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1988.) 45.

<sup>401</sup> The withdrawal of the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had long been expected because the colony had consistently violated the terms of the Charter and repeatedly evaded or ignored royal orders by operating an illegal mint, establishing religious rather than property qualifications for suffrage, and discriminating against Anglicans. Quoted in Thomas Baxter. Puritanism in New England. (U.S.A: Macmillan Co., 1989.) 87.



the Puritan governments was to continue with the succession of the Catholic King James II (1685- 1688), who one year after his accession, appointed Sir Edmund Andros,<sup>402</sup> an English colonizer, as governor of the New England colonies or what was to be called the Dominion of New England. A group of assistants, composed of non-Puritan merchants who had recently arrived in America, were appointed to assist Andros. The new governor abolished all the assemblies of the colonies, so that people would have no voice in their governments. Town Meetings were also forbidden, and in case of holding them, people were arrested. Moreover, Sir Edmund Andros allowed freedom of religion for all people, and collected taxes which had already levied by the colonies' General Courts. He also forced most of the New Englanders to leave the lands they occupied, otherwise they remained as serfs. A few of them were ordered to pay annual taxes to the Crown. Moreover, all undistributed lands were to be under the Council's control.<sup>403</sup>

The New England settlers reacted negatively against the governor's policy. They were encouraged by the Glorious Revolution<sup>404</sup> of (1688- 1689) in their mother country, when the English opposed James' Catholic policy. As a result, after the King had been driven from the English throne, and Mary II (1689- 1694) and her husband William of Orange (1689-1702) had become rulers of England in 1688, Andros was arrested. Immediately, steps were taken by the English monarchs to decide about the government of the Puritan colonies in New England. It was decided to grant the Massachusetts Bay Colony a new Charter, received on October 07<sup>th</sup>, 1691, uniting with it the Plymouth Colony, using the following words:

[... ] to the end Our good Subjects within Our Collony of New Plymouth [... ] aforesaid may be brought vnder such a forme of Government as may put them in better Condicon of defence and considering as well the granting vnto them as vnto Our Subjects in the

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<sup>403</sup> Thomas Baxter 92-94.

<sup>404</sup> The Glorious Revolution of 1688 is called 'Glorious' because it achieved its objective without any bloodshed. Its reason was the efforts of James II to restore Catholicism in England. The King was a Roman Catholic and issued a statement on his accession to the throne in which he had promised to uphold the Church of England and to regard his own religion as a personal affair. But he did not prove true to his promise. For instance, the Test Act which had been passed in 1673 by Charles II (1660-1685), and required that every person who wanted to get civil or military posts must accept the Anglican Church and its principles, was dissolved. The common people did not like this, and rose in revolt. This struggle between the King and Parliament ended in victory for the people in 1689. Mary Parmele 63.

said Collony of the Massachusetts Bay Our Royal Charter with reasonable Powers and Privi-ledges will much tend [...] to the safety [...] of Our Subjects [...] alsoe to the advance-ing of the ends for which the said Plantancons were at first encouraged of Our especial Grace certaine knowledge and meer Mocon have willed [...] Wee doe by these presents for vs Our Heires and Successors Will [...] that the Territories and Collneyes comonly called or known by the Names of the Collony of the Massachusetts Bay and Collony of New Plymouth [...] be Erected Vnited [...] into one reall Province [...]

In fact, under the new Charter, known as the Province Charter, the governor and deputy governor were to be appointed by the Crown and a legislative body to be elected by the people. The latter had to own property, instead of being church members in order to have the right to vote. Furthermore, laws made in the colony had to receive royal approval.<sup>406</sup> The monarchs also decided to put New Hampshire under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts for one year, but the Rhode Island and Connecticut colonies kept having their old form of government.<sup>407</sup> Map 12 represents the new borders of the Massachusetts Colony, and the areas included under its jurisdiction which were: Plymouth, Maine, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Nova Scotia to become the largest colony in New England. The map also represents the old borders of the Bay Colony before the receipt of the Royal Charter.<sup>408</sup>

In the New England colonies, there was at first no distinction between the legislative and judicial branches of government. This was mainly due to the fact that there were a few lawyers in the settlements.<sup>409</sup> Because schools of law did not exist in the colonies; a number of settlers studied in England, and others learnt about the subject through their apprenticeship with New England lawyers. It was not until 1700 that the Superior Court of Judicature in Massachusetts was organized as a separate branch, with a Chief Justice and four justices, elected from the assistants. One decade later, a separate Supreme Court in Connecticut was constituted. In the Rhode Island Colony, the judiciary was recognized as a separate branch of the government in 1732, and consisted of a Chief Justice and four skilful persons, chosen among the assistants. Eighteen years later, the 1750 New Hampshire Decree asked for the establishment of the Grand Inquest, which was a jury of freeman who would meet regularly to hear charges of the colony criminals. The accused would be given a chance to defend themselves. The Grand Inquest also had the prerogative of judging the officers, freemen and deputies on failure to do their duties. This disobedience was punished by either sending the accused to prison or fining them. The Upper House, however, still

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<sup>405</sup> It is an authentic text. William Frotten 62- 67.

<sup>406</sup> William Frotten 70.

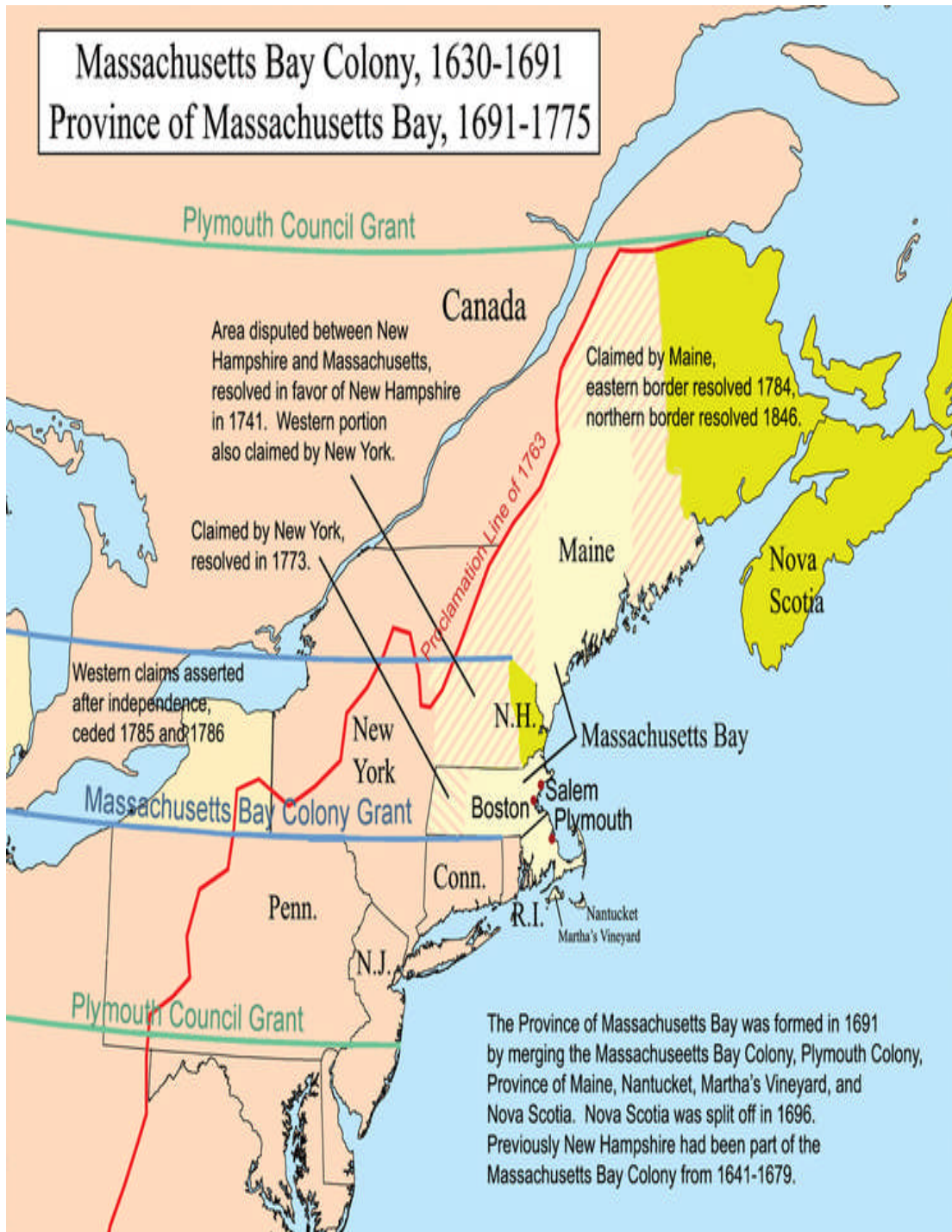
<sup>407</sup> Henry William Elson 141.

<sup>408</sup> Refer to Map 12: Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630- 1691. Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1691- 1775. 126.

<sup>409</sup> Lawyers were expected to read about the statutes of the colony where they worked, about history, and economy. Henry William Elson 119.

**Map 12: Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630- 1691**

**Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1691- 1775**



"Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630- 1691/ Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1691- 1775." Wikipedia.  
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Masscolony.png>

continued as a final Court of Appeal.<sup>410</sup>

From the establishment of the first Puritan colony to the late 1770's, the Bible had a crucial impact on the colonies, which partly encouraged the birth of the American Revolution in 1775 and adoption of the Constitution thirteen years later. More than one thousand Puritan political sources issued during that period were cited from the Bible.<sup>411</sup> In his article *Puritanism, Revivalism, and the Revolution*, Jerald C. Brauer provides an analysis of the relationship between religion and the American Revolution. The latter had its roots in Puritanism, in a way that the language used by politicians of the 1770's consisted of words and ideas similar to the Puritan sermons:

[...] the Fathers did not divorce politics and religion, but they denounced the separation as ungodly. They prepared for the struggle and went into battle, [...] with the Word of God in their hearts, and trusting in him. This was the secret of that moral energy [...] To these Sermons- the responses from the Pulpit- the State affixed its imprimatur, and thus they were handed down to future generations with a two-fold claim to respect.<sup>412</sup>

The Puritan impact was also on the way movements introduced their political convictions to persuade people to revolt against Britain. They followed mass persuasion used by the Puritan ministers in their churches. The latter created a great feeling of unity against an enemy on one hand, and introduced the concept of Covenant to people, which would help them recognize that Britain did not deserve to govern its colonies, a fact that resulted in the break of the Covenant between the ruler and the ruled on the other. The same conception was introduced in the 1776 Declaration of Independence:

[...] governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> William Frotten 102- 105.

<sup>411</sup> Steven Hockney 45, 51.

<sup>412</sup> Jerald C. Brauer. "Puritanism, Revivalism, and the Revolution." In *Religion and the American Revolution*, ed. Jerald C. Brauer. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.) 193.

<sup>413</sup> The Declaration of Independence. July 4, 1776. The Pennsylvania Packet. Archiving Early America. <http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/freedom/doi/doi.html>

In fact, the Declaration was signed by thirteen states, among which four were Puritan states, which insisted on the fact that Puritanism should have its importance in the document.<sup>414</sup> After the independence, the Puritans aimed to renew the Covenant through the American Constitution.<sup>415</sup> The value of religious teaching was also emphasized by politicians like Daniel Webster, who reminded the New Englanders in 1830 about their religious origin:

Let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light, and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, or literary.<sup>416</sup>

The post independence period witnessed another shift in the Puritan governments, which did no longer keep the same privileges. The American Constitution which was adopted by Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire in 1787 and by Rhode Island two years later established a federal or central government, which meant that there was only one central government with individual governments in all the states. The federal government was composed of the legislative branch, which was in charge of making the law; the executive branch to sign it; and the judicial branch to apply it. Article Four of the Constitution mentioned the relationship that should exist between the states' governments and the central government, and between one state and another. For instance, a state government was not allowed to practise discrimination against another state's residents. The Article also called for freedom of movement in the sense that the citizens were free to travel to any state. In fact, the Constitution allowed the states to control their home affairs, but they had to respect the rules of the Constitution.<sup>417</sup> To be sure of that, the system of Judicial Review was adopted in 1803 which was an examination made by the states' courts to see whether or not acts of Congress and the states' laws were unconstitutional. In case they were as such, they would be considered void.

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<sup>414</sup> Signers of the Declaration of Independence were from: Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Jersey, and Maryland. Brother C. Edward Quinn. Roots of the Republic. Signers of the Declaration of Independence. (Connecticut: The Bronx County Historical Society, 1996.) 114, 116-118.

<sup>415</sup> Steven Hockney.

<sup>416</sup> Daniel Webster (1782 – 1852) was a New Hampshire politician and lawyer, born in Salisbury. "Webster Daniel." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Thomas Baxter 51.

<sup>417</sup> Alice M. Baldwin 33.

The system was adopted for the purpose of protecting the rights of the American citizens against the tyranny of the federal or states' governments.<sup>418</sup>

As it is clear on Map 13,<sup>419</sup> during the ratification of the Constitution, political division emerged in the United States of America. In New England, Federalists spread especially in Connecticut; while the Anti-Federalists were the majority in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. In fact, the Federalist Party<sup>420</sup> was led by Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, and the Anti-Federalist Party led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.<sup>421</sup> New England wealthy people followed the first party which advocated

a strong central government, in contrast to a limited national government with strong state governments. The Federalists became a minority party after the failure of Hartford Convention 1814- 1815, according to which the Federalists suggested to establish peace with Britain, although the rest of the country was in war.<sup>422</sup> They also wanted to secede from the Union. After the War had ended, the convention was seen as an act of disloyalty from the Federalist Party. By the election of 1816, there were no more Federalist candidates, in a way that the last Federalist Rufus King was defeated.<sup>423</sup> By 1830, there were two political parties: the Democratic and Whig Parties.

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<sup>418</sup> The system of Judicial Review was introduced by John Marshall (1755- 1835), who was an American politician. [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 1171.

Alice M. Baldwin.

<sup>419</sup> Refer to Map 13: [Distribution of Votes in Ratification of the Constitution in New England, 1787-1790](#). 130.

<sup>420</sup> The Federalists were named Federalists because they advocated the federal form of government. Alice M. Baldwin.

<sup>421</sup> Alexander Hamilton (1755- 1804) was an American politician, born on Nevis in the Leeward Islands. He arrived in New Jersey in 1772. In 1784, he established the [Bank of New York](#), and five years later he was appointed as the first secretary of the treasury. "Hamilton Alexander." [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 814.

John Adams (1735- 1826) was an American politician, born in Massachusetts. He was elected as the second president of the United States of America from 1797 to 1801. "Adams John." [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 14.

Thomas Jefferson (1743- 1826) was the third president of the USA, born in Virginia. Among his writings: *Summary View of the Rights of British America*. "Jefferson Thomas." [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 961.

James Madison (1751- 1836) was the fourth American president, born in Virginia. He was elected for the presidency in 1808 till 1817. "Madison James." [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 1134.

<sup>422</sup> As a result of the British interference in the USA affairs, the Americans declared war against Britain in 1812 to 1815. [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 1982- 83.

<sup>423</sup> Rufus King (1755- 1827) was an American politician, born in Massachusetts. He was appointed ambassador to Britain both in 1796 and 1825. "King Rufus." [Britannica Concise Encyclopedia](#) 1014.





Each New England settlement established its own military organization in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was financed from fines, which were mainly needed in buying wood and food for the guard. The main threat to the colonies came from the Indians; however, by the end of the century the chief menace was from the Netherlands, France and Spain which were challenging England in the New World.<sup>424</sup> All men between sixteen and sixty years old had to possess arms in order to defend their communities. Women were not allowed to participate in the militia, because they were regarded as important members in the Puritan society who had to take care of their children and husbands. The Indians and slaves were also excluded from the military service and training, because their use of arms would constitute a danger. Another reason for the exemption of the slaves was that they had their duties towards their masters.<sup>425</sup> Yet, in 1653 the Plymouth Colony ordered all settlers, even over sixty years old, to participate in the military protection of the settlement, fearing the Dutch who went to war with England. The other Puritan settlements had followed almost the same policy. In 1630, Massachusetts passed a legislation which obliged all male settlers, with the exception of the ministers and magistrates, to join the military service. Twenty- two years later, the colony ordered even Scotsmen, slaves, and Indians to participate in the army. This shift in the Massachusetts policy could be justified with the fact that a number of Scottish prisoners of the armies which had been defeated by Oliver Cromwell<sup>426</sup> in 1651 were transported to Massachusetts.<sup>427</sup> Therefore, the colony decided to include the new Scottish settlers in defence. This participation in the military service was not to last for a long period, in the sense that a law passed in 1656 had rejected non- Puritan participation, and another allowed only the slaves to participate in 1693. Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Haven and New Hampshire settlements excluded the slaves by laws passed in 1660, 1676, 1690 and 1718 respectively. Instead slaves were given other tasks which did not need carrying arms such as: street cleaning, roadwork, and watch service.<sup>428</sup> In fact, arms used by the Puritan colonies consisted of halberds, muskets, swords, pikes, and other weapons.<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>424</sup> John W. Shy. "A New Look at Colonial Militia." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 20, No.2. (Apr., 1963.) 179.

<sup>425</sup> Benjamin Quarles. "The Colonial Militia and Negro Manpower." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Vol. 45, No. 4 (Mar. 1959.) 643- 644.

<sup>426</sup> Oliver Cromwell (1599- 1658) was an English soldier and politician born in Huntington, Cambridgeshire, England. In 1628 and 1640, he was elected to Parliament. He became the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1653 to 1658. He was succeeded by his son Richard Cromwell. "Cromwell Oliver." *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* 476.

<sup>427</sup> Diane Rapaport. "Scots for Sale: The Fate of Scottish Prisoners in Seventeenth- Century Massachusetts." *New England Ancestors*. Vol. 4, No. 1 (September 2003) 30-32.

<sup>428</sup> Benjamin Quarles 645- 647.

<sup>429</sup> Jack S. Radabaugh 12-13.



The English intervention in the colonial militia was remarkable in 1685 when King James II ordered Joseph Dudley,<sup>430</sup> a colonial governor, to take charge of the defence. The intervention increased in the New England region especially after the creation of the New England Dominion in 1686 by James II to govern all the Puritan colonies by one colonial governor. The King united all the Puritan settlements with New York, East Jersey, and West Jersey.<sup>431</sup>

With the outbreak of the 1775 war against Britain, the colonies<sup>432</sup> defended themselves with their local militia, which was numerous but not well armed. As a result, a continental army and navy were formed in the same year aiming principally to coordinate military efforts. George Washington,<sup>433</sup> a Virginian politician, was chosen to Command the army. Four major generals and eight brigadiers were also appointed to serve under the Commander in Chief. Other subordinates, two-thirds of whom came from the Puritan colonies, were appointed. The colonies realized that it was significant to create the Continental Army rather than relying upon the existing state militias to win the war. The Puritan colonies, mainly Massachusetts and Rhode Island, encouraged slaves to participate in the war on the colonies' side in return for their freedom.<sup>434</sup>

After the American Independence in 1776, the Constitution gave Congress<sup>435</sup> the right to control the military forces, both the army and the navy.<sup>436</sup> Military power of the states was transferred by the

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<sup>430</sup> Joseph Dudley (1647- 1720) was a colonial politician who served as governor of the Bay Colony in 1702. He was the son of Thomas Dudley, the first deputy governor of Massachusetts. Evelyn David 22.

<sup>431</sup> New York was a settlement established by the Dutch in 1624 as a commercial trading post. It was called New Amsterdam until 1664 when the colony was dominated by England. "New York." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

The two Jerseys were parts of New Jersey which was an English colony established in 1664. It had already been settled by the Dutch in the 1630s. It was divided into two separate colonies in 1674 and reunited in 1702. Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>432</sup> There were thirteen colonies: Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The colonies were classified into three main regions: New England, Middle, and Southern Regions. Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>433</sup> George Washington (1732- 1799) known as "the Father of his Country" was the first American president from 1789 to 1797. During the American Revolution, he was elected to command the Continental Army. Washington was an important figure who helped secure the ratification of the Constitution. "Washington George." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1986.

<sup>434</sup> Richard W. Stewart. The U.S. Army Center of Military History. Volume 1. The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775–1917. (United States: Washington, D.C., 2005.) 44- 52.

<sup>435</sup> United States Congress is a bicameral legislature, which is composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Both senators and representatives are elected. "Congress." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Constitution to be controlled by the federal Congress and the president. The Militia Act of 1792 stated that:

[...] each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia, by the Captain or Commanding Officer of the company, within whose bounds such citizen shall reside, and that within twelve months after the passing of this Act.<sup>437</sup>

Military forces in New England, particularly in Connecticut and Massachusetts, were more strengthened when agencies were created in 1830 to receive American people aging from seventeen to thirty- five willing to register to join the army.

In parallel with the establishment of the system of government, the Puritan settlers also tried to develop their economy. The latter was primarily based on agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce.

## **2. The Evolution of Economy in New England**

Although the early Puritans were mainly agricultural people, New England was not very suitable for farming; the colonists faced the problem of soil quality, which was thin and stony especially near the ocean. This problem together with long winters, which damaged many crops, made it difficult to make a living only from farming. Thus, the New Englanders developed in parallel with agriculture other activities such as fishing, manufacturing and commerce.

The New England government did not give land directly to individuals. Each settlement's General Court requested groups of people, chosen amongst the most prominent men in each town, to be in charge of the distribution of land in their areas. Those groups were supposed to distribute land according to the settler's presence in the Church- except in Rhode Island, size of the settler's family, the number of cattle, and the individual's social rank. The Church ministers or other important officials- such as

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<sup>436</sup> The right to control the military forces is mentioned in: Article 1, section 8, clauses 15 and 16 of the Constitution.

<sup>437</sup> Richard W. Stewart 66.

for instance the governor and the treasurer- were given larger areas of land. Pathways and waterways were reserved open for public use. During the 1630's a law was passed according to which all children born in Plymouth were given priority in land distribution than people who had just settled in the colony. However, officials in the Puritan colonies abused their power in the sense that they had complete authority to decide how the land would be distributed. For instance, the largest areas of land were given to wealthy people; while the poor were given the smallest pieces of land. The individual had the right of selling or buying more areas of land, but with the consent of the colony's officials.<sup>438</sup> In Robert R. Walcott's view the earliest land divisions did not conform to all the requirements, because they might be made before the days of regular records.<sup>439</sup> The following table shows details of the percentage of land in Massachusetts which was cultivated, used for pasturage, or kept as woodland:

**Table 6: Land Division in Massachusetts by 1830**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Acres Tillage</b>		<b>Pasturage</b>		<b>Woodland</b>		<b>Total</b>
1780	533	2,2%	3, 807	15, 9%			
1790	289	1,2%	2, 827	11,8%			
1800	753	3,2%	7, 565	32, 5%	12, 594	52, 6%	21,112
1810	865	3, 6%	8, 286	34, 7%	12,333	51, 6%	21,484
1820	771	3, 2%	8, 234	34, 4%	12, 299	51, 5%	21, 304
1830	958	4%	13, 667	57, 2%	9, 270	38, 8%	23, 895

Hugh M. Raup; Reynold E. Carlson. The History of Land Use in the Harvard Forest. (USA: Harvard Forest, 1941.) 25.

With the start of the Industrial Revolution in New England, the percentage of land cultivation and pasturage decreased by 1, 2% and 11, 8% respectively. People moved from rural areas to the towns where factories were built. However, during the ten years between 1800 and 1810, cultivation increased again. Land used for pasturage increased during the nineteenth century as people tried to supplement farming by raising animals. The percentage of woodland decreased from 52, 6 in 1800 to 38, 8 of the total land in 1830, a fact that was due to the expansion of Massachusetts towns.

<sup>438</sup> Henry William Elson 141.

<sup>439</sup> Robert R. Walcott. "Husbandry in Colonial New England." *The New England Quarterly* Vol. 9, No.2 (Jun., 1936.) 222.

The early crop grown in the Puritan colonies was the Indian corn, which became the staple crop during the seventeenth century. Rye, barley, pumpkins, and peas- which were familiar in England- were also grown in the colonies. Wheat did not flourish in New England, with the exception of the Plymouth and Connecticut regions. This was mainly because of cold climate and rocky soils; as a result, rye replaced wheat. Oats were also an important farm produce, since they were needed for horses. Non- edible crops were hemp and flax, grown throughout New England but mainly in Connecticut because of its rich soil.<sup>440</sup> Although growing tobacco was prohibited in New England, there were a few farmers in Connecticut who grew it for personal use. Tobacco's ban was for three main reasons: first, the Puritans believed all that hurt one's health was banned by God; second, the climate of New England was too cold and the soil was not good; third, after a number of years, tobacco would make the soil unfertile.<sup>441</sup> It is of some interest to note that the Puritans worked in their farms with manual tools: axes, which were used to cut trees, hoes used to break up the soil, and scythes to cut grain and grass.

The Puritan settlers also raised animals including chicken, sheep, cows, and pigs. In the first half of the eighteenth century, a number of farmers- particularly in the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies- began to develop two types of cattle: The first type was dairy cattle, which was developed chiefly to produce milk; the second type was beef cattle for the production of meat. In addition to milk and meat production, other items were also made from the cattle, such as wool, leather and glue.<sup>442</sup>

As the Puritan agricultural products grew, markets developed. In each town or village there was a place to hold the market, where settlers and Indians could be present. The market day in both Plymouth and Massachusetts was on Monday, in Connecticut and New Haven it was on Tuesday, in Rhode Island it was on Wednesday, and in the New Hampshire settlement it was on Thursday successively.<sup>443</sup>

Next to farming and animal husbandry, the New Englanders gave importance to manufacturing, because conditions in the colonies helped to develop it. These were: rivers which could provide power for manufacturing, and rich merchants were ready to

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<sup>440</sup> Robert R. Walcott 229, 230, 236.

<sup>441</sup> Two types of tobacco were grown in Connecticut: Oronoco and Sweetscented. Robert R. Walcott 236. Ann Meyer. Colonial New England. (Pennsylvania: Tradition Press, 2001.) 76.

<sup>442</sup> George Burrage. The Early American Colonies. (U.S.A: The MacMillan Company, 1999.) 51-56.

<sup>443</sup> George Burrage.

invest their money. In addition to the rivers and capital, another important condition was the labour force. Many people were working both in the farms and firms. Work in the manufactures was also undertaken by children of seven to twelve years old, and women who could accept lower payments than those of men.<sup>444</sup> Henry William Elson mentions a minority of people who contributed to the labour force in the region, including waifs, indentured servants, and the convicts.<sup>445</sup>

The development of manufacturing in the Puritan settlements passed through two main periods: pre-Industrial Revolution which was prior to 1790 and the Industrial Revolution (1790- 1840).<sup>446</sup> During the first period, the early colonial manufacturing consisted largely of cottage industry or the household manufacturing (making of farm tools, furniture, shoes, and cloth making), rum and iron manufacturing, shipbuilding, saw-making, and glass production. Sylvester Rooly,<sup>447</sup> a British merchant, emigrated from England in 1638 to the Rhode Island Colony, where he managed to establish a cotton mill, known as the Rooly Mill. The latter began operation nine years later, and was modelled on the English industries.<sup>448</sup> During the 1640's, interest in rum production developed in the Puritan colonies, namely in New Haven. The first rum manufacture was established by a group of English settlers who had recently arrived in the colony, which was dependent on the West Indies for the molasses from which rum was made. The Puritan colonies also had a successful iron manufacturing. In Massachusetts, a Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works was formed in 1654 for making iron in the colony. The neighbouring colonies of Rhode Island and New Haven also developed the same manufacturing. In 1664, Joseph Jenks,<sup>449</sup> a Rhode Islander businessman, built a

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<sup>444</sup> George Burrage 57.

<sup>445</sup> Henry William Elson 198- 200.

<sup>446</sup> The term Industrial Revolution was applied to the economic advance in the world during the 1830's. It was first mentioned in *la Revolution Industrielle* written by Louis- Auguste Blanqui. Pat Hudson. The Industrial Revolution. (London: Edward Arnold, 1992.) 11.

Chapter Three deals with the development of manufacturing in New England only during the period from 1620 to 1830.

<sup>447</sup> Sylvester Rooly (1609-1650), was an American cotton producer, born in England. He was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to an English inventor of cotton-spinning machinery. "Rooly Sylvester." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>448</sup> The Industrial Revolution started in England in the eighteenth century. "Industrial Revolution." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 919.

<sup>449</sup> Joseph Jenks (1632- 1717) was a businessman born in Blackfriars, London. In 1664, he was granted land in America for the employ of his sawmill. "Jenks Joseph." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

firm in Pawtucket, Rhode Island; but was destroyed in 1675 by the Narragansett Indians during King Philip's War. Stephen Goodyear,<sup>450</sup> an English settler, also established his firm in Wallingford, New Haven.<sup>451</sup> Further important manufacturing flourished, especially in Massachusetts and New Plymouth, was shipbuilding. Its development was motivated by the fact that these colonies were coastal regions. Furthermore, there was an increasing demand for ships for commerce and fishing. Caleb Peter and George Carr,<sup>452</sup> British merchants, were among the earliest colonists who launched shipyards in Salisbury, Massachusetts, between 1639 and the 1680's. In fact, at that time, one-third of the English vessels were imported from New England. The development of sawmills in the second half of the seventeenth century also helped shipbuilding to prosper. In 1665, Richard Currier and Thomas Macy,<sup>453</sup> English settlers, were authorized to build a sawmill on the west side of the Powow River, Massachusetts, with the privilege of using all the timber of the region. The New Hampshire Colony also developed the same type of manufacturing; by the late 1690's, there were fifty sawmills in the settlement. In the New Haven settlement, in the 1730's, there was also a sawmill, specifically in Hamden, southeastern of the colony. The Puritan settlements equally developed glass production. The first glass manufacture was established both in Salem, Massachusetts, and Connecticut in 1700. Another glass manufacture was founded in the former colony,

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<sup>450</sup> Stephen Goodyear (1598- 1657) was a rich English Puritan settler, born in London, England. He had settled in Connecticut then moved to New Haven in 1638. "Goodyear Stephen." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>451</sup> George Burrage 56.

<sup>452</sup> Peter Caleb (1600-1680) was a rich English merchant, born in England. He came with his family in 1629 to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. "Caleb Peter." CD. Encarta Encyclopedia. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

George Carr (1599- 1682) was born in London, and worked as an indentured servant for seven years from 1607 to 1614. Sixteen years later, he immigrated to Massachusetts. "Carr George." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>453</sup> Richard Currier (1616- 1686) was a planter in Massachusetts, born in Buckinghamshire, England. In 1642, he was sold after he had been an indentured servant to Francis Dove of Salisbury, Massachusetts. "Currier Richard." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Thomas Macy, a farmer and a whaler, was born in 1608 in England; and came to Salisbury, Massachusetts in 1639. He died on 19 April 1682. "Macy Thomas." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

forty years later. Window glass was the chief product of all of these early manufactures.<sup>454</sup>

Fishing played an important role in the development of the colonial economy, because it helped to promote other firms. For instance, some kinds of fish- as whales- were used in the production of both perfume and oil. In addition to whales, cod, halibut, herring, and mackerel were salted and dried each year for export. Gloucester, Salem, Marblehead, and Boston in the Massachusetts Bay, were the chief centres for the fishing manufacturing. Fish constituted a valuable product for export to both the English colonies and outside the American continent. In addition to England, New England's fish were shipped to Spain in return for citrus fruits, and to the West Indies for sugar, rum, and indigo, much of which went to England.<sup>455</sup> This gave birth to the Triangular Trade, in which the New Englanders exported rum to Africa in return for slaves, who were shipped to the West Indies for commodities including molasses. Then, the settlers shipped sugar and molasses to England for manufactured goods.

Furs and skins formed other commodities for commerce, which were either obtained by the colonists themselves or brought by the Indian hunters, who in return got otter, mink, bear, beaver, knives, hoes, hatchets, cloth, and trinkets. One of the leading fur merchants among the Puritan settlers was William Pynchon<sup>456</sup> of Massachusetts. Between 1652 and 1658, he shipped to England over eight thousand beaver skins from Springfield. In return, he purchased staples, which were sold both to the colonists and the Native Americans.<sup>457</sup> In fact, economically, the English benefited from the American colonies, the value of the English imports from the settlements gradually increased:

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<sup>454</sup> George Burrage 57.

<sup>455</sup> Much of the sugar, rum, and indigo.

<sup>456</sup> William Pynchon (1590-1662) was a merchant and trader, who arrived in New England in 1630. One of his famous writings is a theological treatise entitled *the Meritorious Price of our Redemption*. "Pynchon William." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>457</sup> Jack Greene 53- 55.

**Table 7**

**Value of Imports from the American Colonies to England, 1670- 1740  
(In Pound Sterling)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total</b>
1670	395,021
1680	415,311
1690	468,188
1700	572,585
1710	718,416
1720	761,099
1730	814,768
1740	1,015,535

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. U.S. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976.

The English imports from the American colonies increased especially during the eighteenth century, a fact that could prove the economic growth and independence of the colonies. For instance, the imports' value grew from £395, 021 in 1670 to reach £572, 585 in 1700.

During the early years of colonial New England, the process of manufacturing and commerce was slow. This was mostly due to the fact that transportation was not so developed. In fact, the first colonial roads, which are shown on map 14,<sup>458</sup> were simply paths. There were some wooden bridges, but they could be used only by walkers. Goods were transported on boats, horses, or on wagons. From the second half of the seventeenth century, the Massachusetts Colony took the lead in regulating transportation.<sup>459</sup>

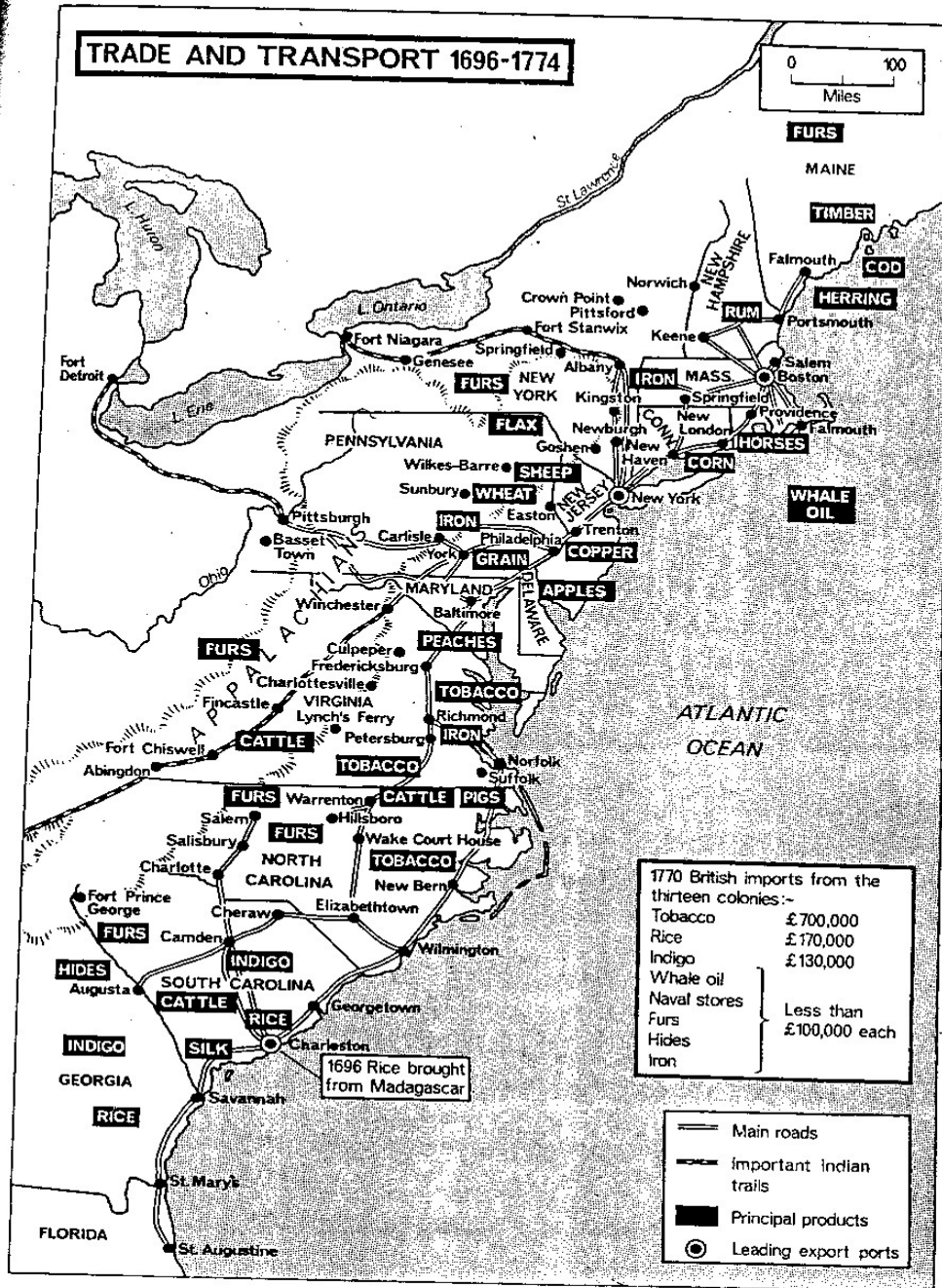
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<sup>458</sup> Refer to Map 14: Trade and Transport 1696- 1774. 140.

<sup>459</sup> Henry William Elson 144.



Map 6.



Martin Gilbert, op.cit., p. 17.

The second period in the history of manufacturing in New England was the Industrial Revolution. In 1790, Samuel Slater- an English businessman- had arrived at Pawtucket, Rhode Island where he established one year later a cotton- spinning mill which was founded with the financial aid of Moses Brown<sup>460</sup> and used the first practical power loom in the New World. For this reason, Slater became known as the Father of the Industrial Revolution in America. Similarly, the Massachusetts businessman Francis Cabot Lowell<sup>461</sup> launched in 1814 the Boston Manufacturing Company in Waltham. By 1830, twenty textile factories existed in Massachusetts which produced fifty million yards of cloth a year. In fact, what helped the growth of agriculture and industrialization in New England from 1790 to 1830 were different factors. Firstly, there was a number of inventions made by prominent American scientists, applied both in agriculture and industry. For instance, Oliver Evans invented a steam machine in Rhode Island in 1790; Cyrus McCormick<sup>462</sup> also invented the horse-drawn reaper in 1830 in Virginia, which helped in the mechanization of farming. Secondly, the New England agricultural economy was successful. The region became an essential mercantile and shipbuilding centre. For instance, cotton textile production appeared in rich agricultural areas which provided the factories with materials. Rivers were also an important source of energy for the machines' operation, which were as an example Yantic River in Connecticut, Blackstone River in Massachusetts, and Diamond River in New Hampshire. Thirdly, the development of transportation in the 1820's facilitated marketing. Fourthly, a number of investors including companies and individuals invested their money with a view

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<sup>460</sup> Samuel Slater (1769- 1835) was a British industrialist who emigrated to the New World in 1789, where he reproduced Arkwright's spinning and Carding machines which had been designed in England by the inventor Richard Arkwright. "Slater Samuel." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1721- 22.

Moses Brown (1738- 1836) was a Rhode Islander industrialist who financed a number of spinning factories during the American Industrial Revolution, such as the Beverly Cotton Manufactory and Slater Mill. "Brown Moses." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>461</sup> Francis Cabot Lowell (1775- 1817) was a Massachusetts businessman born in Newburyport. With Paul Moody- another New Englander industrialist- he established a textile industry in the early nineteenth century. The city of Lowell, Massachusetts is named for him. "Lowell Francis Cabot." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1115.

<sup>462</sup> Oliver Evans (1755- 1819) was an American inventor born in Newport, Rhode Island. He is best known for the invention of a carding device. In 1784, Evans constructed a flour mill. He invented two steam engines in 1790 and 1805. "Evans Oliver." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 632.

Cyrus McCormick (1809- 1884) was an American inventor born in Rockbridge, Virginia. He invented in 1831 the mechanical reaper, which improved the harvesting of grain. He was honoured at the 1855 Paris exposition. "McCormick Cyrus." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1190.

to launching business.<sup>463</sup> Table 8 is an example of the New England's share of capital investment which increased to nearly seventy percent in 1830. Massachusetts became an important cotton textile state by the same year and Connecticut's investment became lower than before. New Hampshire invested almost the same capital as Rhode Island in 1830:

**Table 8: Capital Invested in Cotton Textiles by Region and State as a Percentage of the Nation 1820- 1830**

<b>Region/State</b>	<b>1820</b>	<b>1830</b>
New England	49.5%	69.8%
Maine	1.6	1.9
New Hampshire	5.6	13.1
Vermont <sup>464</sup>	1.0	0.7
Massachusetts	14.3	31.7
Connecticut	11.6	7.0
Rhode Island	15.4	15.4
Total capital (thousands)	\$5,783	\$20,613

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Report on the Manufactures of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883.

Fifthly, the availability of labour force also motivated the growth of manufacturing in New England. Table 9 shows details of the percentage of farm labourers in New England from 1800 to 1830, which increased because of the growth of manufacturing in the region:

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<sup>463</sup> David R. Meyer. "Formation of Advanced Technology Districts: New England Textile Machinery and Firearms." *Economic Geography* 17 (March 1998.) 41.

<sup>464</sup> Vermont is a New England state, which was settled by the British in 1763. In 1777, it was established as an independent republic and in 1791 it became the fourteenth U.S. state. "Vermont." *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* 1952- 53.

**Table 9: Percentage of Farm Labourers by State, 1800- 1830**

Year/ State	1800	1810	1820	1830
Massachusetts	49%	52%	61%	64%
Connecticut	32%	40%	51%	60%
Rhode Island	29%	37%	48%	57%
New Hampshire	29%	35%	45%	55%

Pat Hudson 23.

As it is noticed, there is a difference in the percentage of farm labourers. Massachusetts, for instance, took the lead in industrialization during the early nineteenth century. Farm labourers' percentage increased from 49% in 1800 to 64% in 1830, while in New Hampshire the percentage of labourers in 1810 was lower than of the other states. The last factor which helped the growth of agriculture and industrialization was the population growth,<sup>465</sup> which resulted in the increase in the number of consumers; therefore more products necessitated the enlargement or creation of new markets on one hand, and in the increase in the labour force on the other.

The emergence of the Industrial Revolution in North America, particularly in New England, was due to the existence of Puritans in the region who believed in hard work. Max Weber,<sup>466</sup> a German sociologist, made a comparison between a number of Catholic countries such as Spain and France and the Netherlands as a Protestant country, which was economically developed. He concluded that Protestantism helped in the birth of Capitalism in the New World through the Puritans' belief in asceticism. Puritanism taught people to be serious, work hard, and feel confident in their own capacities.<sup>467</sup> The Puritans were against enjoyment, but not

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<sup>465</sup> The population increased to 400, 000 in Massachusetts, 300, 000 in Connecticut, New Hampshire 80, 000 and Rhode Island 60, 000. Henry William Elson 90- 93.

<sup>466</sup> Max Weber (1864- 1920) was a German sociologist and political economist. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* was one of his famous works, which dealt with the relationship between Calvinism and Capitalism. Quoted in "Weber Max." *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia* 1993.

<sup>467</sup> Stephen Strehele. "The Sacred Roots of Capitalism: A Theological Analysis of Max Weber's Famous Thesis." *Religion, Nature and Art: The First International Conference* hosted at the Department of Theology, University of Notre Dame, Nov. 14- 16, 2007. Thomas Ogle. Indiana: IBM Press, 2009. 19.

against making money. For instance, Richard Baxter,<sup>468</sup> an English Puritan church leader, talked in one of his sermons in 1680 about the importance of money according to the Christ:

Diligent labour in a main vocation, whereby [a person] provides things needful for himself, and those that depend on him [...] The fruition and possession of goods and riches: for they are the good blessing of God being well used [...] The gathering [...] of treasure is not simply forbidden, for the word of God alloweth here for in some respect.<sup>469</sup>

The Puritans believed that if one worked very hard, God would reward him with prosperity; and if He gave a person an opportunity to make money and the latter refused, he would be considered sinful, because money is a gift from the Creator. In fact, what paved the way for the evolution of capitalism in Puritan New England was the emergence of entrepreneurs. For instance, in the early 1620's a number of rich men started plantations with the use of indentured servants. They launched their own enterprises and wanted to invest in order to have wealth.

These attempts made by the Puritan colonies to regulate their own affairs frightened England from losing power over her colonies. This pushed the mother country to change its policy in America.<sup>470</sup> Thus, the English Parliament passed a number of navigation acts, aiming at imposing more English control on colonial trade and making it more profitable for the mother country. Some of these important acts were the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, which required that the goods imported into England and its colonies had to be transported by English ships, or by the ships of the producing country. Third, three years later, another navigation act forbade the colonies from receiving goods in foreign ships. Forth, the Navigation Act of 1673 imposed a tax on certain American exports.<sup>471</sup>

As already mentioned, labour force in New England that was available was brought from different sources to work both in farming and manufacturing. These

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<sup>468</sup> Richard Baxter (1615- 1691) was an English religious man, known as the Chief of English Protestant Schoolmen. His writings included: *the Christian Directory* and *the Catholic Theology*. Davis Gore. A Social History of American Family Life. (New York: Owl Books, 1996.) 73.

<sup>469</sup> George Burrage 55.

<sup>470</sup> The prevailing philosophy in Europe at that time was mercantilism. It is an economic policy according to which colonies were established mainly to increase the wealth of the home country. George Talker, Henry Fitty, eds. Dictionary of Sociology. (England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1997.) 213.

<sup>471</sup> George Burrage 61.

sources were: the Puritans themselves, voluntary and involuntary indentured servants, illegal English immigrants, and the African slaves. Once farmers got land, they started farming by themselves with the help of their wives and children. When the latter got married, parents offered them land, livestock, and farm equipment. They were also helped by voluntary indentured servants, who accepted to work in the plantations for a limited period to pay for their transportation charges from England to New England. Another category of servants comprised those who were sentenced by the English government to involuntary indentured servant status as punishment for crimes. For instance, it was during the early 1630's that a law was enacted according to which death penalty was replaced by indentured servitude in the English colonies. It clearly stated that: "judges and prison authorities were encouraged to offer convicts a chance to migrate to America to work in the plantations instead of serving prison sentences."<sup>472</sup> England was not the only source for indentured servants, who were also brought from different regions, including Ireland. In 1653, a number of Irish beggars, jobless and homeless people were punished by being sent to work in the American plantations. Children were among these involuntary servants, most of whom were orphans. David Selleck,<sup>473</sup> a British merchant, was authorized to transport four hundred Irish children of twelve years old to North America, namely to Virginia and New England. Although the indentured servant was under the control of his master, and was not to marry without his consent, he had certain rights. The master had to provide him with food, clothes, and shelter. However, in case of escape, the servant was punished by doubling his period of service. After the indentured servant finished his term, he would become a freeman, and receive a grant of fifty acres of land.<sup>474</sup>

In addition to voluntary and involuntary indentured servants, it is estimated that in the period between the 1640's and the 1670's— during the Civil War in England and before the foundation of the Dominion of New England— nearly three hundred individual people left illegally England to the Puritan colonies. In fact, religious,

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<sup>472</sup> George Burrage 69.

<sup>473</sup> David Selleck (1614- 1654) was a prominent businessman born in England. He was the son of Robert Selleck of Overstowey and of Gauldon Manor. David supported direct tax to support the first public school in America. "Selleck David." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>474</sup> George Burrage 142.

political, social, and economic difficulties compelled these people to seek opportunities for better life.<sup>475</sup>

Another source of labour in the colonies was the African slaves. The first slaves in New England were brought from the West- Indies by Massachusetts in 1637, which legalized it four years later. The slave trade was also endorsed in the Plymouth and Connecticut colonies in 1643. By 1652, slavery was widespread in the Rhode Island Colony and was used for both trading and providing farms and industries with labour. By 1755, the number of slaves increased in Rhode Island in comparison to other Puritan colonies. The black population increased from 5.9% in 1708 to 11.5% in 1755, because of the economic development in Rhode Island. The latter brought 106.544 slaves from Africa between 1708 and 1807; therefore, strict laws were made to regulate the slave trade in the colony. It was in 1784 when a legislature was passed, according to which children of slaves born after March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1784 would be free at twenty first years old and girls at eighteen. As a result, the number of slaves decreased gradually by 1830.<sup>476</sup> Connecticut enacted the same legislature in the same year, but with an age of twenty-five for both sexes. In fact, the Puritans justified slavery as religiously acceptable, and believed that slaves were:

[...] the miserable children of Adam and Noah [...] were enslaved because they had sinned against God and that God, not their masters, had enslaved them. If the slaves were faithful and honest servants, God would prepare a mansion in Heaven for them.<sup>477</sup>

Further justification given by the Puritans was that slavery represented cheap labour needed in their plantations.<sup>478</sup>

During the Industrial Revolution, there was a change in the labour force. As the use of the power loom expanded in the New England cotton firms, children were no longer demanded but instead men and women constituted the main workforce. In fact,

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<sup>475</sup> In the seventeenth century, England witnessed religious tensions between the monarchs and Puritans, which led to political instability. Furthermore, poverty increased, partly as a result of the policy which required for the enclosure of the open fields of England in order to have land suitable, not for farming, but for raising sheep to support the woollen industry. Consequently, a number of people became jobless. George Burrage 71- 74.

<sup>476</sup> Lorenzo Johnston Greene 16, 30.

<sup>477</sup> Lorenzo Johnston Greene 286.

<sup>478</sup> Morison Hosmer. New Culture in a New World. (U. S. A: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968.) 73.

women worked mainly in spinning, weaving, and brewing factories. In addition, a number of farmers left their farms to work in the factories.

The economic development in New England created a demand for banking institutions. The Puritan colonies did not issue their own money for a variety of reasons: Firstly, they were not permitted by the English monarchs to mint coins; secondly, when trading the colonists used the English pound or bartered with both the Indians and the English to get goods they wanted; thirdly, the Puritans did not have experience in minting money, a task that needed expertise in the field of banking. In fact, most of the early settlers of Plymouth were religious men. However, the first coins in the colonies were silver shillings, threepences, and sixpences minted in Boston from 1652 to 1682 by an order of the Massachusetts' General Court.<sup>479</sup> Since silver and gold were expensive, some of the colonies, notably Rhode Island made in the first half of the eighteenth century an unauthorized and unsuccessful attempt to make paper money.<sup>480</sup>

There was a relationship between economic growth in New England and the development of banking system. Until 1671, there were only private banks led by families, who were not professional officers and the big percentage of loan was made to their members. The first attempt to found public banking was in 1671 when the General Court of Massachusetts ordered its creation by John Woodbridge, a New England Puritan.<sup>481</sup> A succession of other chartered banks was established. During the American Revolution (1775- 1783), the foundation of banks was interrupted because the economic activity was slow and there was a shortage of money. As a result, bills of credit- a promise to pay in the future- were used instead of paying the soldiers. After the War, the Bank of Massachusetts, founded by merchants, had been chartered in 1784; and re-established as the Massachusetts' National Bank in 1830. The New England banks increased in number from fifty- five to over eighty- nine in 1789 and 1830 respectively.

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<sup>479</sup> The new coin had the letters NE on one side and the denomination in Roman numerals on the other. Quoted in Morison Hosmer 304.

<sup>480</sup> Morison Hosmer 55- 56.

<sup>481</sup> John Woodbridge (1618- 1696) was an English religious man born in Stanton, England. He emigrated to New England, namely to Massachusetts, in 1634. There, he served as a town clerk in 1638 and a deputy to the General Court from 1639 to 1641. From 1663, he became a minister in Newbury Congregation. "Woodbridge John." *Encarta Encyclopedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.



The Puritans' process to establish their political and economic institutions did not proceed without obstacles, among which was the presence of a number of religious sects in the Puritan regions, a situation that the majority of settlers did not accept at first. They found themselves compelled by a number of circumstances to adopt with the situation. These circumstances can be summarized in the fact that legislation for religious freedom was imposed by the mother country, and religious changes were introduced in the Constitution after the American Independence.

### **3. Puritan Attitudes in New England towards Religious Minorities**

The New England colonies showed aggressive attitudes towards religious sects in civil and religious matters, because these sects were viewed as a threat to Puritanism. The attitudes were classified into two: attitudes against the Puritans, the Baptists in particular, who differed from the Puritans in the question of church state separation; and attitudes against the sects who completely disagreed with the Established Church in New England. These attitudes in all the New England colonies started to change with the end of the Commonwealth in England in 1659 and succession of the Stuart Charles II one year later.<sup>482</sup>

#### **a. Puritan Attitudes towards the Baptists**

The first aggressive attitude shown by the Puritans in New England was towards the Baptists. Massachusetts sentenced the Baptist Roger Williams in 1633 using the following words:

Mr Roger Williams [...] hath broached and divulged diverse new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates [...] and churches [...] and yet maintaineth the same without retraction: it is therefore ordered that the same Mr Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks [...] not to return any more without license from the court.<sup>483</sup>

Roger Williams was banished to Virginia; however, before the sentence became effective, he had continued his religious services for more than one month in Massachusetts with the support of the Massachusetts' governor, John Haynes. The latter tried in vain to send Roger Williams to England. The governor's successor, John Endicott, asked Williams to return to Massachusetts,

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<sup>482</sup> Commonwealth was a name given to the British Isles which were governed by Oliver Cromwell (1649- 1658) and his son Richard Cromwell (1658- 1659). "Commonwealth." Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 476.

<sup>483</sup> It is an authentic text. Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen 33- 34.

but he refused saying: "I feel safer down here among the Christian savages along Narragansett Bay than I do among the savage Christians of Massachusetts Bay Colony."<sup>484</sup> This alteration of attitudes was due to the change of authority in the colony.<sup>485</sup> However, six years later, a number of other Baptists including John Spur, Richard Sylvester, and Robert Lenthal, were fined by the Massachusetts' General Court for adopting Baptist views. In 1654, Henry Dunster,<sup>486</sup> another Baptist who was appointed as President of Harvard College, showed his protest against the practice of baptism in the colony of Massachusetts. Dunster declared that infant baptism was unbiblical because infants were unable to commit sins, and that only adults who should be baptized. As a result, he was forced to resign and was tried in the same year.

Attitudes towards the Baptists in the remaining Puritan colonies did not differ from that of the Massachusetts Bay. The latter sent a letter to Plymouth in which she urged the colony to take measures against the Baptists. The General Court wrote to the Plymouth as follows:

We have heard heretofore of [...] baptists arisen up in your jurisdiction, and convined [...], we well hoped that you will reduce such men [...] Particularly we understand that within this few weeks there have been in the region thirteen or fourteen persons rebaptized.<sup>487</sup>

Following this, the Plymouth Colony enacted a law in 1658 which did not grant the Baptists freeman status. A similar act was passed in Connecticut in 1684, which banned all people from holding public offices without being members of the official church. Attitudes in both New Hampshire and New Haven were similar but were not very perceptible, a situation that can be justified with the fact that both colonies were incorporated with Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1641 and 1695 respectively. In fact, the Puritans criticised the Baptists for their belief in the separation between government and Church. A fact that would create tension between the two institutions, in a way that each tried to impose its own norms for people's behaviour.

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<sup>484</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen.

<sup>485</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen.

<sup>486</sup> John Spur (1600- 1641) was an English Baptist, born at Derbyshire, England. "Spur John." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Richard Sylvester (1604- 1665) was an English politician, imprisoned in Massachusetts in 1639 on charges of heresy, but released one year later. "Sylvester Richard." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Robert Lenthal (1578- 1640) born in Lancashire was an unsuccessful cloth merchant in England. He emigrated to Massachusetts in the early 1630's. "Lenthal Robert." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

Henry Dunster (1612-1659) was the first president of Harvard College, born in England. He emigrated to New England in 1640 then exiled to the Plymouth Colony in 1654, where he passed the rest of his life. "Henry Dunster." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>487</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen.

Government would enact laws which had to be respected, and Church would require its adherents to follow certain principles and beliefs. Therefore, people would find themselves ruled by two authorities.<sup>488</sup>

## **b. Puritan Attitudes towards Non- Puritan Sects**

Two main factors encouraged the Puritan settlers to be strict about the presence of non-Puritans in their settlements: their belief in their superiority, and Charles I's attitudes against the Puritans in England. The Puritans believed that they were the chosen people of the Creator, and had to preserve their Christian community against those who would corrupt it. Their established institutions had to be followed by all those who wanted to live peacefully in their communities. The Puritans backed their attitudes with the following verse:

Everyone must obey the state authorities, because no authority exists without God's permission, and the existing authorities have been put there by God. Whoever opposes the existing authority opposes what God has ordered; and anyone who does so will bring judgment on himself.<sup>489</sup>

A further factor that may be added was the 1640's Civil War in England during which tensions between Puritans and Catholics augmented. Charles I's attitudes against the Puritans in England made the latter become intolerant with the Catholics in the New World.<sup>490</sup> Two decades later, more than ten thousand Quakers were persecuted by the King; and this encouraged Puritans in New England to persecute them too.

Measures against the non- Puritans included severe legislation, a heavy fine- from ten shillings to twenty pounds- whipping, hard labour, imprisonment of three years, confinement in the House of Correction, cutting one ear or tongue off, the offenders were left among wolves and bears to die, banishment either to the neighbouring colonies or to the mother country, and burning the dissenters' writings.

The Puritan attitudes towards the nine sects<sup>491</sup> differed from one region to another, depending on the number of the dissenters and on the region itself. The sects were maltreated especially in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut. The Massachusetts government enacted in 1647 a law which banned all non- Puritan worship, and clearly stated that:

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<sup>488</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen 42.

<sup>489</sup> (Romans 13: 1.2)

<sup>490</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen 34.

For more details of the Civil War refer to footnotes in section one of Chapter Three. 122.

<sup>491</sup>The sects were: the Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews, Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists, Universalists, Roman Catholics, and Unitarians.

[...] all and every Jesuit, seminary priest, missionary or other spiritual or ecclesiastical person made or ordained by any authority, power or jurisdiction, derived, challenged or pretended, from the Pope or See of Rome.<sup>492</sup>

The first enactment against Quakerism was made in 1657, according to which a fine of five to twenty pounds was imposed on persons who would help Quakers to get in Massachusetts or possess their writings. From 1657 to 1690, one hundred twenty- one Quakers were persecuted. Mary Dyer,<sup>493</sup> an English Quaker, was among the four Boston Martyrs, who was executed in 1660 because she was against the colony's aggressive attitudes towards the Quakers.<sup>494</sup> Plymouth and Connecticut, too, enacted laws in 1658 which did not grant freeman status to those who opposed Puritanism; and a freeman who converted to Quakerism or helped the Quakers would lose his status. New Haven enacted a law in 1693, which imposed a fine of twenty shillings on dissenters for creating separate groupings in private places.<sup>495</sup> New Hampshire did not pass as such laws until the mid 1800's which prevented non-Puritans from holding public office. Rhode Island offered religious toleration to all Christians; Roger Williams, who believed that the lack of religious liberty would lead to a civil war and that there were various ways to Heaven which meant that all religions were true, confirmed that:

It is the will and command of God, that [...]a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or Antichristian consciences and worships, be granted to all men in all Nations and Countries.<sup>496</sup>

However, Rhode Island changed its policy on religious freedom in the beginning of the eighteenth century, namely in 1729, when Roman Catholics were no longer permitted to vote and Jews were not permitted to hold offices. Michel Resé mentions the reason in the fact that both sects criticized the Rhode Island Church for its inability to teach the Gospel.<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> Morison Hosmer 61.

<sup>493</sup> Mary Dyer (1610-60), was an English Quaker, born in England. In 1633, she immigrated with her husband to New England, settling in Rhode Island and then in Massachusetts; where they were admitted to the Boston Church two years later. "Dyer Mary." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>494</sup> Alice Dickinson 32.

<sup>495</sup> Claude- Jean Bertrand. Les Etats-Unis. Histoire et Civilisation. (France: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1983.) 34.

<sup>496</sup> It an authentic text. Claude- Jean Bertrand 34.

<sup>497</sup> Michel Rezé, Ralf Bowen 37.

Presbyterian attitudes in the region, namely in Massachusetts, forced the Puritan settlers to react negatively against the sect. In 1646, Dr. Robert Child,<sup>498</sup> an English Presbyterian, presented a letter to the Massachusetts government, in which he protested against the lack of religious freedom for all the religious sects of the region. As a result Child was arrested and Laws and Liberties were introduced in 1648 to silence the dissatisfied. The document showed people's responsibilities and rights.<sup>499</sup>

The early eighteenth century witnessed the Puritan union against all the religious sects that existed in the region, in the sense that laws prevented the Puritans from starting business or intermarrying with Non- Puritans. The latter, according to the laws, were ordered to pay taxes since they resided in a Puritan area.

The Puritan aggressive attitudes were not always welcomed by a number of officials both in New England and England. Morison Hosmer demonstrates the reaction of a number of Massachusetts magistrates in 1658 who were against the death penalty for the Quakers who returned to the settlement after their exile. They proposed instead flogging and banishment.<sup>500</sup> In 1660, the monarch in England, Charles II, intervened to end the non- Puritan persecution in the new Continent. He sent a letter to the authorities in Massachusetts and in the other Puritan colonies, in which he obliged them to stop persecution and send the accused to England for trial.<sup>501</sup> The colonies found themselves obliged to accept the order, because refusal would lead to the King's decision to send a royal governor. Charles II's reaction in favour of the Non-Puritans was justified, first, with the fact that the monarch wanted to secure religious stability for the Catholics in New England, as a result the other sects profited from the situation.<sup>502</sup> Second, there was a political alliance between the Duke of York who was the King's brother and William Penn<sup>503</sup>- a Quaker leader. Third, Charles II was not pleased to see the English

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<sup>498</sup> Dr. Robert Child (1593- 1650) was a religious writer born in Norfolk, England. "Child Robert." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>499</sup> The Code stated that religious heresy, fornication, adultery, and other behaviour that violated the moral teachings of the colonists were identified as offenses; and mandated that people could not be punished without due process of law. Morison Hosmer 51.

<sup>500</sup> Morison Hosmer 60.

<sup>501</sup> The historian William Warren Sweet confirmed that the number of the persecuted Quakers in New England was more than that in England. William Warren Sweet. Religion in the Development of American Culture 1765- 1840. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952.) 66.

<sup>502</sup> An alliance was made in 1670 between Charles II and King Louis XIV of France (1643- 1715), according to which Charles II would declare the country Catholic and prevent the Puritans from persecuting the Catholics, in return Louis XIV would help England financially and send French soldiers to England in case of rebel against the King. William Warren Sweet 43.

<sup>503</sup> William Penn (1644–1718), born in London, was an English Quaker who established the Colony of Pennsylvania. Although his parents were Anglicans, Penn converted to Quakerism when he was twenty-two years old. In 1668, he was arrested after he had written *the Sandy Foundation Shaken* which attacked the doctrine of the Trinity. Penn immigrated to America in 1682. "Penn William." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

colonies self- governed, so he intervened. Forth, the King did not like New Haven, because two judges- Edward Whalley and William Goffe-<sup>504</sup> who had condemned his father were welcomed in the colony in 1660, and New Haven did not recognize for one year Charles II's restoration to the throne.<sup>505</sup> Twenty- six years later, the Religious Rights Act was passed by Parliament- during the governorship of Sir Edmund Andros- and gave the non- Puritans the right to worship freely. In the following century, Queen Anne (1702-1714) reacted negatively against the Puritan attempts to prohibit the establishment of non- Puritan sects in their settlements. Therefore, she enacted a law in the first year of her succession that forbade further executions and forced the settlements to allow non- Puritan religious sects the right to reside in their colonies.<sup>506</sup> In 1708, Connecticut granted religious freedom to the Jews, Anglicans, and the Unitarians, in the sense that these sects were allowed to establish churches and practise their services freely. In 1740, because it was recorded that a number of missionaries used force to convert non- English people into Christianity, the Connecticut General Court passed a law, prohibiting the use of threat or force to ensure conversion of the New England inhabitants to Christianity, but at the same time required these inhabitants to stop worshipping "false gods." A similar law was passed in the Massachusetts settlement in the same year. These attitudes in favour of the non-Puritans were strengthened during the early 1800's, first when in 1818, the Connecticut state<sup>507</sup> disestablished Congregationalism as the official state's faith on one hand, and permitted the Jews to have the right to vote and hold public office on the other; and second when the Plan of Union of 1830 called for:

[...] the forming of union congregations in communities where members of the two communions were found living side by side. These union congregations might call either a Congregational or Presbyterian minister, who would belong to a presbytery or association, depending upon his denominational affiliation. It was not intended that either denomination should absorb the other, but that they should live in close relationship and under the same roof.<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>504</sup> Edward Whalley (1607– 1675), born in England, was an English regicide who signed king Charles I's death warrant. He escaped to America with William Goffe, after the restoration in 1660. "Whalley Edward." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

William Goffe (1605-1679) was an English Puritan regicide born in England. He immigrated to New England with Edward Whalley in 1660. "Goffe William." Encarta Encyclopedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993-1997.

<sup>505</sup> The restoration of the English monarchy was in 1660, when Charles II became the King of England after Oliver Cromwell's abdication. Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1571.

<sup>506</sup> Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 231.

<sup>507</sup> In 1784, New Haven was considered a Connecticut city. Claude- Jean Bertrand 70.

<sup>508</sup> William Warren Sweet 100-1.

During this period, Congregational Churches were sometimes called Presbygational. In fact, during the nineteenth century, Presbyterianism was more influential in New England than the other existing religious doctrines, in a way that it had a great number of adherents. In addition, Presbyterian Churches followed the same creed as the Congregational ones, in the sense that both were Calvinistic. They differed only on church government.<sup>509</sup> This justified why Presbyterianism in particular and not another sect had an important power next to Puritanism in New England.

According to William Warren Sweet, religious diversity compelled the Congregational Churches to be flexible to suit the new changes encountered in New England and compete with the existing non- Puritan sects. The Churches tried to attract more adherents by offering religious toleration, a way that might convince people to convert to Congregationalism. The historian mentions an example of a number of Quakers who converted to Puritanism in Salem, Massachusetts in the early nineteenth century when a Church's minister said: "We have to be tolerant towards other people, who have the same right to decide their own faith."<sup>510</sup>

In all the New England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, there was a close tie between Church and government. This is why the Puritan governments were aggressive towards the dissenters, who were viewed as heretics. Despite this religious pluralism, New England succeeded in the creation of an educational system based on their religious values. It is of some interest to note that the New Englanders promoted education to advance and protect religion and help people read the Bible. The Puritans also succeeded in having an impact on their family and daily life. The Puritans' intellectual, family and daily accomplishments in the New World will be the object of the following chapter.

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<sup>509</sup> William Warren Sweet 3-4.

<sup>510</sup> William Warren Sweet 101.

## **Chapter Four:**

### **Puritanism in New England's Intellectual, Family and Daily Life (1620- 1830)**

The first Puritan educational establishments were built for the purpose of teaching religion, for the Puritans believed in the importance of learning so as to be able to read the Scriptures, and to prevent illiterate people from becoming sinners. The early settlers of New England were intellectuals, and had an idea about schooling. Next to the importance of learning, the value of religious belief in shaping family and daily life was among the Puritans' priorities.

This chapter will examine the origin and development of education in New England, and the motivations given by the Puritans for attempting to build an intellectual community. It will also clarify how the Puritans influenced American education and developed their newspapers, their cultural institutions, including libraries and the printing presses; and how literature served in the spread of the Puritan thought. The impact on family and daily life in New England will also be discussed in this chapter.

#### **1. Education**

The beginnings of education in the Puritan settlements dated from the early seventeenth century, for each colony desired that every person should be educated for main reasons. Firstly, God wanted the Christians to educate their children, because the success of their nation depended upon persons knowing the truth of God's Word. If the common man lost this truth, the nation would lose its freedom and prosperity. Since the first ministers of New England were educated in England, the Puritans could then develop their own system of education to guarantee the continuation of the ministry in their settlements. Secondly, the New Englanders believed that all children were sinful; therefore, it was their parents' task to teach them about religion. They, also, believed the world was created in a hierarchical form: Its Creator at the top, old people above the young, intellectual above the illiterate, and parents above children. The



latter were at the bottom of this hierarchy. Therefore, their parents' role was to educate them in order to provide them with better situation.<sup>511</sup>

### **a- Vocational Education and Informal Schooling**

Early New England Puritans developed three types of informal education: homeschooling, apprenticeship, and the Dame schools. The family was seen as “the essential unit of social organization and informal education in the colonies.”<sup>512</sup> Many homes were places of both teaching reading and writing, and giving vocational instruction. The mother was usually in charge of teaching reading and writing, while the father taught boys how to perform skills, including farming, raising cattle...etc, that they would need during adulthood. Girls learned cooking, weaving, sewing, soap and candle making, child-rearing and other chores in the house. The main reason why early Parents taught their children at home was that they wanted to strengthen relationship with their children, in order to ensure that their kids would receive good religious knowledge. They could decide how their children would be educated, because there were not laws that obliged children to follow certain curriculum. With the enactment of Education Acts during the 1640's which obliged children to go to schools, homeschooling was only practised by rural families, where schools were few or did not even exist. Yet, during the same period, a number of writings- including Homeschooling written by the Puritan John Merfis, advocated homeschooling rather than sending children to public schools.<sup>513</sup>

Besides family education, learning through apprenticeship was the most prevalent educational opportunity for orphans, particularly boys. But, starting from 1647 girls of poor families were given chance to apprenticeship as well.<sup>514</sup> In addition to learning a skill, as for instance trading, the master would instruct his apprentices in reading and writing. Each apprentice had the right to own a bed, a spoon, two chickens, and corn.<sup>515</sup> The majority of the apprentices usually started at the age of six and remained in the institution until fourteen years old. A contract was signed between the master and the child's parents, according to which

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<sup>511</sup> Ralph Sloane. The Intellectual Life of New England. (New York: Harper and Row Pub., Inc., 1957.) 108- 109.

<sup>512</sup> Ralph Sloane 111.

<sup>513</sup> John Merfis (1610- 1651) was an English Puritan born in Devon, England. He emigrated to New England in 1641. Ralph Sloane 88.  
Ralph Sloane 73- 90.

<sup>514</sup> Two hundred and sixty-seven apprentices, among them were thirty-two girls, were in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. Ralph Sloane 77.

<sup>515</sup> Ralph Sloane 200.

parents agreed to transfer their authority over their children to the master. However, after finishing their apprenticeship, the apprentices would be able to work on their own and start their own craft. Celia Bishop defines apprenticeship as a system that:

[...] involved a contractual arrangement between the parents and a vocational teacher who would bring the children into his home while training them in his trade. In exchange for this training, the child was indentured to the teacher for a stipulated amount of time.<sup>516</sup>

The system declined in New England in the early nineteenth century when formal institutions for the same aim were established. Educators saw the need to incorporate agricultural courses in the college curriculum, a fact that was recognized in New England by 1830.<sup>517</sup>

A third type of informal schooling was the Dame Schools, which were often established by a woman- usually a widow- who was in charge of teaching children, both boys and girls, from the neighbouring houses. Children were taught first a number of religious practices as prayers, alphabet, counting, and girls were additionally taught household chores. Hornbooks were used in these schools which included lessons on the alphabet and praying. When a boy finished his studies in the Dame School, he could either move to a higher level or go to work. Most girls stayed at home instead of carrying their further studies.

Informal education in New England developed in parallel with formal schooling. It was marked by the complete obedience to parental authority, in the sense that parents could decide on when, where and how their children should be educated. It paved the way for the start of schooling in several ways, and helped prepare children for elementary and secondary schools by teaching them reading, writing, and arithmetic.<sup>518</sup>

## **b- Formal Education**

The history of formal education in New England started during the 1630's, exactly in 1635 when the first public school was launched in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Prior to 1635, all the schools that existed in the New England settlements were organized and operated mostly by parents and women. There were neither special agencies or boards, nor schools under the

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<sup>516</sup> Celia Bishop. "The History of Home Schooling: 1600- 1700." In Literacy and Reading, ed. Charles Adler. (Maryland: University of Maryland, 2009.)12.

<sup>517</sup> Charles Adler 14.

<sup>518</sup> Celia Bishop 55- 71.

control of the government. The colonists developed different types of education: English education, Indian and African education; thus, different schools were founded for this aim including Grammar Schools, the Moving Schools, and schools for the handicapped.

The New England settlers inspired their idea of education not only from the Bible, but also from a number of European reformers including Jan Amos Comenius, Heinrich Pestalozzi and Johann Herbart.<sup>519</sup> Comenius believed that the role of education was to back religion, and that everything in human's life is controlled by the Creator. Therefore, teachers had to give more importance to religious education by introducing pictures with religious texts for more clarification. The two other reformers, Pestalozzi and Herbart, insisted on teaching ancient languages, namely Latin, Greek and Hebrew; and the study of literature and historical stories. The former thought that every aspect in the learner's daily life helped the constitution of his personality; therefore, children should be left to behave and act spontaneously, and should not be given ready-made answers but should know the answers themselves:

I wish to wrest education from the outworn order of doddering old teaching hacks as well as from the new-fangled order of cheap, artificial teaching tricks, and entrust it to the eternal powers of nature herself, to the light which God has kindled and kept alive in the hearts of fathers and mothers, to the interests of parents who desire their children grow up in favour with God and with men.<sup>520</sup>

The latter emphasized on the aim of education which should be to have productive people. Every child has his own abilities which are not innate but could only be developed by formal education. According to the reformer, five steps should be followed in schooling: preparation of a topic, its presentation, association of the learners with the topic through questions, summary of

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<sup>519</sup> Jan Amos Comenius (1592- 1670) was an educational reformer and churchman born in Moravia, the Czech Republic. His writings included *the Gate of Languages Unlocked* and *the World Illustrated*, published in 1631 and 1658 respectively. Smith Silber. *The Science of Education*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004.) 65.

Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746- 1827) was a Swiss educational reformer born in Zurich, Switzerland. At the age of seventeen, Pestalozzi entered the University of Zurich; and in 1767, he was imprisoned for editing a pamphlet, criticising the government injustice towards rural population who were not given the right to hold important offices. In 1774, he established a school for poor children, who used to beg in the streets. In addition to spinning and weaving, children were also thought reading, writing and arithmetic. Smith Silber 70.

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) was an educator and philosopher born in Oldenburg, Germany. He started his higher studies in 1794 in the University of Jena. Herbart had been a tutor to the sons of the Swiss governor, Kaspar Rotchy before he returned to his mother country in 1833. Among his publications were: *ABC's of Observation* (1804), *General Pedagogies* (1806), and *General Practical Philosophy* (1808). Smith Silber 66.

<sup>520</sup>Smith Silber 23.

the lecture, and application of what was learned in daily life. Besides European impact on education in New England, the English system of education was also influential. Apprenticeship, the Dame schools, and Grammar schools were all among the old institutions transplanted from England by the early Puritans in their communities.<sup>521</sup>

## **b.1 - Elementary and Secondary Education**

It was not until the 1630's that the first public schools appeared. The Latin Grammar School or Boston Latin School of 1635 was opened in Boston, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, mainly due to the Puritan clergyman John Cotton's efforts who offered half his property to the school.<sup>522</sup> He wanted to establish a school modelled on the Free Grammar School in England which taught ancient languages, namely Greek and Latin. It was initially launched in Philemon Pormort's house,<sup>523</sup> and founded primarily to provide education for the orphans and prepare them for higher studies. However, not all children were accepted to attend the school; it was exclusive to those children who had already studied. Subsequently, further schools were developed in the settlement.

The Education Acts of the 1640's, including the 1642 and 1647 Acts passed by the Massachusetts's General Court, stipulated for the establishment of schooling for children. This was to be achieved only with the help of parents and masters who would be fined in case of preventing their children and servants from the right of schooling. The first Act required that the family heads should be in charge of teaching their children and apprentices to read and write. The second Act- the Old Deluder Satan Act, so called for "Satan's purpose in keeping people from knowledge of the Scriptures"<sup>524</sup> - required from towns of fifty families to found an elementary school to teach reading and writing, and from towns of one hundred families or over to found a secondary school, called a Latin Grammar School, to prepare pupils for higher education. Therefore, a number of towns in the colony, namely Charlestown, Salem, Dorchester, Cambridge, and Roxbury, established their own schools by 1649.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>521</sup> Smith Silber 23- 30.

<sup>522</sup> John Cotton (1584-1652) was a Puritan clergyman, known as the Patriarch of New England. He was born in Derby, England, and educated at the University of Cambridge. In 1610, he was ordained a priest of the Church of England, and two years later he was chosen vicar of Saint Botolph's Church, Lincolnshire. In September 1633, Cotton arrived at the town of Boston in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. T. Cooper 120.

<sup>523</sup> Philemon Pormort (1598- 1638) was born in Lincolnshire, England. He was the master of the Latin Grammar School from 1635 till his death. Smith Silber 20.

<sup>524</sup> Smith Silber.

<sup>525</sup> Ralph Sloane 111.

From 1650 to 1719, other New England colonies soon followed Massachusetts' lead. Both Connecticut and New Haven colonies passed their Acts on Education in 1650 to enforce compulsory education; the 1650 Connecticut Code confirmed that:

[...] one cheife of that old deluder, Sathan, to keepe men from the knowledge of the scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in an unknowne tongue [...] so in these latter times, by perswading them from the use of tongues [...] so that at least, the true sence and meaning of the originall might bee clouded with false glosses of saint seeming deceivers; and that learning may not bee buried in the grave of our forefathers, [...] It is therefore ordered by this courte and authority thereof, That every townshipp within this jurissdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty howshoulders, shall then forthwith appointe one within their towne, to teach all such children [...]<sup>526</sup>

In the remaining colonies- Rhode Island, Plymouth, and New Hampshire- legislation for education was slow. Rhode Island passed its first law ten years after the Massachusetts law, because the colony followed a liberal policy, refused to impose education on people and rejected the Massachusetts model of education. Plymouth did not make its beginning till 1670, when the General Court passed a law, which required that public schools should be established. New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts when the law of 1647 was adopted. After it had been separated from Massachusetts, it enacted its own first school law in 1680 requiring all towns of fifty families or more to establish schools. In 1719, another act was passed which was similar to the Massachusetts law of 1647, but the penalty for failure to establish schools was increased. By 1740, forty- five public schools existed in New England.<sup>527</sup>

However, these Education Acts were not respected by all the towns of New England; thus, the General Court in almost all the settlements attempted to enforce them. The Massachusetts Bay Colony requested towns in 1668 to provide it with a written report on illiterate children from the age of nine years and upward, and imposed in 1671 fines on the towns, which ignored the provisions of the 1640's Education Acts. Enforcement of the latter was also the task of the other Puritan colonies in the period between 1670 and 1718.<sup>528</sup>

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<sup>526</sup>The Connecticut Code of 1650. The Pennsylvania Packet. Archiving Early America. <http://www.archive.org/details/codeof1650being00conn>

<sup>527</sup> Roger Mark. The American Educational Experiment. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.) 112.

<sup>528</sup> Roger Mark 114.

As a result of these official measures, there was subsequently an establishment of the Moving Schools. The teacher and his books moved during three years, settling in different rural places. This new type of schools aimed mainly at teaching children in isolated areas, such as, as an example St. Crowell in Boston, Massachusetts and Reddsin in Branford, Connecticut. Children in these rural areas could not walk to the town schools.<sup>529</sup>

Schooling in the colonies was initially financed by voluntary contributions of the colonists; many rich people contributed with grants of lands to establish schools. Education was also financed by benefactions made by the churches and philanthropists, but these donations were not enough to finance education; as a result all wealthy people were ordered- by statutes enacted from 1635 to 1658 in almost all the colonies- to support the establishment of schools. Taxes on trade and on religious bodies were another source of money used to finance schools.<sup>530</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the colonists used a variety of teaching textbooks, either brought from England or printed in New England. They used the Bible, Latin and Greek texts, *the Hornbook*, which was not really a book but a piece of wood covered with horn; *the Primer*, used till the nineteenth century; *the Book of Manners*; and other maths books, all of which were brought from the mother country. In 1690, *the New England Primer* replaced the other textbooks, and *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* was mostly used during the early nineteenth century.<sup>531</sup> The following table provides details of these books, their types and years of publication:

**Table 10: Textbooks Used in Early New England, the 17<sup>th</sup> C.**

Textbook/ Book	Year	Type
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<sup>529</sup> Roger Mark 405- 407.

<sup>530</sup> Roger Mark 410.

<sup>531</sup> *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* was the first American dictionary published in 1806 by the American author Noah Webster, who was born in 1758 in Hartford, Connecticut. Roger Mark 102.

-John Foxe's Actes and Monuments (Book of 1563 Martyrs.)	1563	Religious book
- Hornbook	1607	Single sheet of paper on paddle
- Battledore	1607	Folded piece of cardboard
- Bible	1607	Religious book
- Greenwood's Arithmetick	1629	Math text
- Comenius' Visible World	1658	Latin book
- Richard Baxter. The Poor Man's Family Book	1674	Religious book
- John Bunyan. The Pilgrim's Progress		
- New England Primer	1678	Religious book
	1690	British reader/ speller

David Keller. Education in Puritan New England. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.) 73.

Although there was a variety of textbooks use, the Puritans gave priority to religious teaching materials. In fact, these textbooks used in schools were introduced according to the religious morals of the Puritans, and were considered religious stories.

The school's curriculum was introduced according to the Puritan beliefs, but there was no definite curriculum. Teachers made it according to their cultural background and the books available with them. Moreover, subjects, except arithmetic and writing, were taught orally. In fact, in elementary schools, children were taught arithmetic, reading and writing the alphabet and syllables. They were also expected to memorize answers to some religious questions,<sup>532</sup> the Scripture, and Lord's Prayer. In secondary schools, pupils were expected to study Latin,

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<sup>532</sup> For instance, the first lesson, which the pupil had to memorize was the ABCs taken from the New England Primer:

- A- In Adam's Fall we sinned all.
- B- Thy life to mend, this Book attend.
- C- The Cat doth play, and after flay.
- D- A Dog will bite a thief at night.
- E- An Eagle's flight is out of sight.
- F. The idle Fool is whipt at school.

conjugations, vocabulary, mathematics, and geography in their first three years; and studied science, philosophy, and English literature in the fourth year.<sup>533</sup>

Children entered schools at the age of seven or eight years old and usually left school once they were able to read, write, and do math. Many left to become apprentices, and a few of the pupils were able to carry on to higher education. The children were gathered in one room, in which there was no light, except the light from the fireplace. Some of them sat on wooden benches, while the rest on the floor. From time to time, there was a change of their position during the class, which was according to the goodness or badness of the pupil's recitation. In addition, the pupils did not use pencils, or chalk; they wrote with a chunk of lead or with a feather pen on birch bark.<sup>534</sup>

School attendance was not compulsory in the Puritan colonies. This is why it was not regular, but depended upon the weather and the work at home needed to be done by children on farms. It is estimated that, during the early years of the colonial period, about four out of ten children did not go to school at all. In fact, parents preferred teaching their children a skill or keeping them in the farms instead of passing the time in schools. But, the wealthier people were able to provide tutors from England to teach their children, or send them to the mother country for better education.<sup>535</sup>

Class started from seven in the morning to five in the afternoon during summer, and at eight to four o'clock in the winter, from Monday to Saturday. Moreover, a number of schools in the New England colonies faced the problem of school terms, which were limited to the season when children were not busy with farming.<sup>536</sup> Discipline in schools was strict and the teachers' authority was never questioned. In case of making mistakes or not behaving well, children were whipped and forced to wear cards that stated their bad behaviour. The teachers were also allowed to punish their pupils, in case of not doing their assignments.

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<sup>533</sup> Galen Albert 21.

<sup>534</sup> Birch bark is the bark of a tree used like a paper for writing on.  
David Keller 65- 72.

<sup>535</sup> Galen Albert 73- 75.

<sup>536</sup> During the seventeenth century, two calendar systems were used by the Puritans: the Julian and the Gregorian Calendar. The former was shortly used in the settlements; the latter was used by a number of European countries such as, for instance, the Netherlands. This might justify the reason why the Puritans preferred using it in particular. The Calendar considered January the first month of a new year. The Julian Calendar was named after Julius Caesar, a Roman writer who introduced it in 46 B.C. The Gregorian Calendar was introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. "Liturgical Year." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.



Payment of teachers differed according to the school type. In private schools, they could receive their payment from the pupils' parents or the towns' inhabitants,<sup>537</sup> or they asked every pupil to bring a log, which was considered a way of paying the teacher for his services, and of keeping the fire burning to warm the room.<sup>538</sup> Another way of paying was that the teachers were paid in kind. In public schools, teachers were also paid by the towns' inhabitants. They usually received three pence a week for the elementary level and four pence for secondary level. However, in most cases teachers were paid by the General Court of the town where the school was built.<sup>539</sup>

Teachers- who were either college students or recent graduates- had a good status in their communities, because they had more education than the rest of the population; therefore, they had to be of high moral character. In addition to teaching, the teachers had other duties, such as cleaning the school, substituting for the minister, and ringing the Church bell. There was another group of people summoned by the school though not being teachers could serve as such when needed. The group included, for instance, William Johnson of Guildford, a Connecticut church member, who was in charge of teaching at the age of sixty.<sup>540</sup>

The early record of educating for the handicapped was during the nineteenth century. According to the historian David Keller, education of the disabled did not start in New England until the nineteenth century, simply because the Puritans believed that those disabled people were punished by the Creator for their parents' sins; therefore, they did not deserve to attend schools. It was only due to the efforts of Mason Fitch Cogswell, a Connecticut doctor, that schools for the disabled started in New England, where his daughter was among the seven handicapped pupils. The educator found in 1816 that there were four hundred deaf in New England, among whom were eighty- four in Connecticut. As a result, Cogswell- with the help of the educators Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, from Philadelphia, and Laurent Clerc, from France- established in 1817 the American School for the Deaf and Dump in Hartford, Connecticut for primary and secondary education. Twelve years later, John Dix Fisher, a Massachusetts

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<sup>537</sup> Most of the towns' inhabitants contributed to the teacher payment, even if they did not send their children to school. Galen Albert 22- 24.

<sup>538</sup> If the pupils did not bring wood, they had to sit far from the fireplace. Galen Albert 26.

<sup>539</sup> Galen Albert 27- 30.

<sup>540</sup> William Johnson of Guildford (1622- 1720) was an English Puritan born in England. He emigrated with his family to Massachusetts in the 1630's, where he served as a minister in one of its congregations. Galen Albert 31.

educator, established the New England Asylum for the Blind in Watertown, Massachusetts. By 1830, more than fifty pupils attended the school.<sup>541</sup>

Generally, the New England Puritans ignored non-European education, namely that of the Indians and Africans; because they believed that these people had limited mental capacity. The Massachusetts Bay Colony attempted to establish schools for the Indian converts, and one of these schools was financed by the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England, established in 1651 in the town of Natick.<sup>542</sup> In fact, schooling was left to the missionaries who taught the Indians English, religion, arithmetic, reading and writing. Education of the Africans started in the late years of the following century. Before that period, the foundation of schools for the Africans was a threatening action; the New England government used to punish severely the white teachers of African American children. However, two important factors obliged the New England authorities to accept African education in the late years of the eighteenth century: Firstly, by 1790 there was an increase in the number of the African population, which constituted 19% of the whole population in the United States:

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<sup>541</sup> Mason Fitch Cogswell (1761– 1830) was a Connecticut doctor born in Canterbury. After his mother's death, he was adopted by the governor of Connecticut and president of the Continental Congress Samuel Huntington. Cogswell served as the president of the Connecticut Medical Society from 1805 till 1815. "Cogswell Mason Fitch." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (1787- 1851) was an educationalist born in Philadelphia, who moved with his parents to Hartford, Connecticut when he was thirteen years old. He studied in Connecticut, then in England and France. Among his writings: *the Child's Book on Repentance* and *the Child's Book of the Soul* published in 1832 and 1836 respectively. "Gallaudet Thomas Hopkins." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

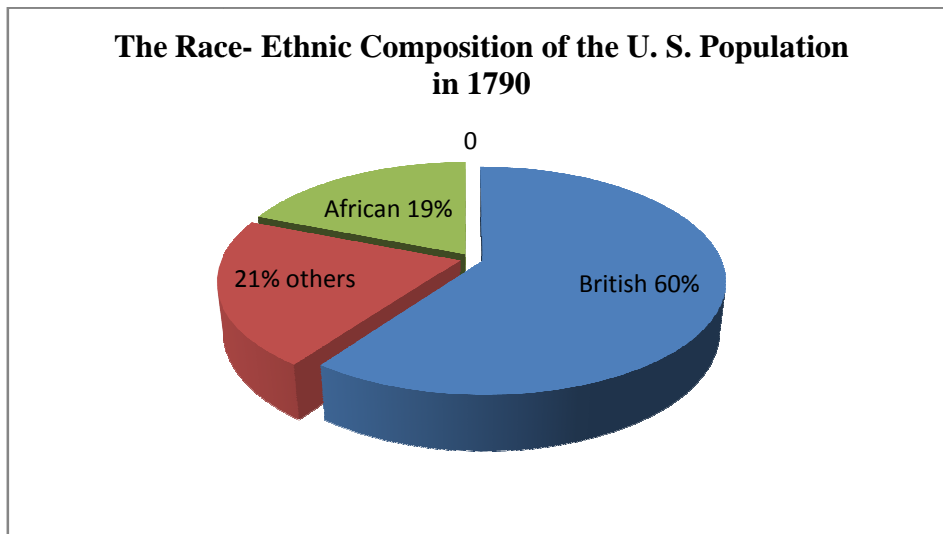
Laurent Clerc (1785- 1869) was born in *La Balme-les-Grottes*, France. When he was one year old, he lost his hearing and smelling because of a domestic accident. Because of his disabilities, he did not go to school until the "Institut National des Jeune Sourds-Muets" was established in France in 1797. "Clerc Laurent." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

John Dix Fisher (1797- 1850) was a Massachusetts merchant, physician and educationalist born in Needham. "Fisher John Dix." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

David Keller 68- 91.

<sup>542</sup> For more details of the Corporation, refer to the second section of Chapter Two: the Foundation of the Congregational Church.

Chart 5:



David Keller 122.<sup>543</sup>

New England was afraid of any protest against the neglect of the African education. Secondly, a number of African American writers such as William Hartten<sup>544</sup> advocated education for the blacks through their writings, and criticized the New England's attitudes towards the black population asking for equality. Following these circumstances, Massachusetts was the pioneer in enacting the Education Act of 1792 which gave the right to all children of all races to attend public schools. The latter did not provide good conditions for the African children, whose parents complained about the white maltreatment and discrimination. As a result, they founded a school in Boston in 1798 after their demand for a separate school for their children had been rejected. By 1830, there were thirteen segregated public schools in all New England. According to the historian David Keller, education for the slaves had a negative result, since it was a step towards their awareness and freedom:

Slaves who learned to read and write gained privacy, leisure time, and mobility. A few wrote their own passes and escaped from slavery. Literate slaves also taught others and served as conduits for information within a slave communication network.<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>543</sup> Others included both the Indians and Europeans (non-British.)

<sup>544</sup> William Hartten (1730- 1799) was an African American writer born in Boston, Massachusetts. His parents were brought to America by Hartten family. Among his writings was *Life and Lessons*. "Hartten William." *The Grolier Encyclopaedia*. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

<sup>545</sup> David Keller 102.

In parallel with the development of elementary and secondary schools in the colonies, the Puritans also attempted to found higher education, aiming principally at training the students for the ministry. The Massachusetts' governor John Winthrop stated that:

After God carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our ministers shall lie in the dust.<sup>546</sup>

During the seventeenth century, as noted by the historian Galen Albert, sixty percent of Harvard's graduates became ministers.<sup>547</sup>

## **b. 2- Higher Education**

In 1636, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony established Harvard College, which was the first college in the Puritan colonies.<sup>548</sup> It was located in Newtown, and named in 1639 after John Harvard,<sup>549</sup> an American clergyman, who offered £800 and three hundred twenty books to the College's library. Harvard remained the only institution of higher learning in New England until 1701 when the colonists in Branford, Connecticut founded the Collegiate School of Connecticut, which one year later opened in Killingworth, but moved again to New Haven in 1716. The College was named in 1718 after Elihu Yale, who helped the institution with money and books. Rhode Island established its own college- the Rhode Island College- in Warren in 1764 and was named again in 1804 after Nicholas Brown, who offered it a big sum of money. In 1769, Dartmouth College was established in Connecticut by Eleazar Wheelock,<sup>550</sup> a Connecticut Puritan, for both English and Indian education. The following table shows the exact details of early higher education in New England:

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<sup>546</sup> Galen Albert 22.

<sup>547</sup> Galen Albert.

<sup>548</sup> Six presidents of the United States: John Adams (1797 – 1801), John Quincy Adams (1825 – 1829), Rutherford B. Hayes (1877 – 1881), Theodore Roosevelt (1901 – 1909), Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933 – 1945), and John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1961 – 1963) enrolled at Harvard College. Ralph Sloane 301.

<sup>549</sup> John Harvard (1607- 1638) was an English clergyman born in Southwark, England. In 1637, he emigrated to New England and settled in Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was active as a minister. "Harvard John." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

<sup>550</sup> Elihu Yale (1649-1721) was an American businessman and colonial administrator born in Boston, Massachusetts. About 1670, he went to Madras, India, as an employee of the English East India Company, where collected a considerable fortune in private trade. In 1692, he returned to England in seven years later and became a governor of the East India Company. "Yale Elihu." The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

**Table 11: The Early Colleges of New England, 1636- 1774**

	Founded	Opened	Collegiate instruction began	First degrees conferred	First charter granted
Harvard	1636	1638	1638	1642	1640
Yale	1701	1702	1702	1706	1701
Rhode Island (Brown)	1764	1765	1765	1769	1765
Dartmouth	1769	1770	1770	1774	1769

Adopted from Galen Albert 22- 37.

Most of the colleges<sup>551</sup> in New England were founded in the eighteenth century.

The colleges obtained their charters by the General Courts of each colony. Harvard obtained its charter in 1640, which stated that its mission was “upholding and propagating of the Christian Puritan religion by a succession of learned and orthodox men.”<sup>552</sup> According to the charter, Henry Dunster, an English Puritan, was appointed as President of Harvard. Yale College’s charter, obtained in 1713, stated the same purpose, with Increase Mather,<sup>553</sup> a Puritan minister and theologian, as its first President. Dartmouth College was chartered in the same year of its foundation.

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Nicholas Brown (1769–1841) was a Rhode Islander merchant born in Providence. “Brown Nicholas.” The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

Eleazar Wheelock (1711 – 1779) was a Connecticut Puritan born in Windham, Connecticut. He served as a minister in the colony for several years starting from 1735. “Wheelock Eleazar.” The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

<sup>551</sup> The word university was first used in the United States of America in 1880. Galen Albert 54.

<sup>552</sup> Galen Albert 23.

<sup>553</sup> Henry Dunster (1616- 1671) was a Puritan settler, born in England. He emigrated to New England in 1630, where he settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, then appointed in 1635 as a minister in one of its churches. “Dunster Henry.” Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

Increase Mather (1639- 1723) was a Puritan theologian, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts and educated at Harvard College from which he graduated at the age of seventeen. He was appointed as pastor of the North Church, Boston from 1664 until his death. “Mather Increase.” The Grolier Encyclopaedia. CD. USA: Grolier, 1997.

With the exception of the Rhode Island College which had a single governing board, composed of a president; the other Puritan colonial colleges were managed by a Board of Trustees, which consisted of the president or chancellor, ministers, and officials. The Board was in charge of both financial and educational administration of the institution. By 1830, Brown College changed its administrative organization by adding a treasurer and teachers to the Governing Board. Students did not participate in the governance of colleges. This way of organization in New England explained the impact of religion on higher education, in the sense that the Puritans gave authority over education to religious men who were non-academic. However, Rhode Island excluded religious hands from decision- making, a fact that reflected its belief in the Church- government separation.

The admission requirements of these colleges were limited to the students' knowledge, age, attendance and discipline. Boys would not be admitted unless they were able to speak both Latin and Greek, and had to know about Cicero, a Roman writer, or other classical writers.<sup>554</sup> They generally enrolled in colleges at the age of fourteen to sixteen. Among other requirements, the students were required to attend regularly their classes and religious worship; and had to obey the college members. In case of not respecting the college's norms, the students were fined, whipped or dismissed from the college. With respect to the admission requirements of the Rhode Island College, students were not forced to prove their regular attendance of the Church.<sup>555</sup>

Students in these colleges studied for four years to obtain the Bachelor of Arts degree. They studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, ethics, and religion in their first year; geometry, history, logic, and philosophy were added in their second year; physics, astronomy, botany, economics, political science, and sociology in their third year; logic and maths were added in the fourth year; and starting from the 1750's, English literature was included in the curriculum. After graduation, the students could carry on their further studies for a Master's degree. It is estimated that Yale and Harvard Colleges graduated eight hundred and fifty ministers in a sixty- nine- year period.<sup>556</sup> Table 12 provides details of the ministers formed in the New England colleges

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<sup>554</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero (106- 143 BC) was a Roman writer, statesman, and orator; born in Arpinum, now Arpino, Italy. He is best known as Rome's Greatest Orator and as a Man of Letters. "Tullius Marcus." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>555</sup> Because of their small size, colonial colleges did not receive more than one hundred students. Galen Albert 53.  
Sacvan Bercovitch. *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. (U.S.A: Yale University Press, 1975.) 120- 122.

<sup>556</sup> Sacvan Bercovitch 131.

from the first years of the settlement through 1776. The ministers are classified into five groups according to their graduation dates:

**Table 12: Colonial New England Ministry by Generation by 1776**

First generation	Trained in England, ca. 1600- 1640
Second generation	Trained at Harvard College, 1642- 1675
Third generation	Trained at Harvard College, 1676- 1709
Fourth generation	Trained at Harvard and Yale colleges, 1710- 1744
Fifth generation	Trained at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton colleges, 1745- 1776

Harry S. Stout. The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.) 5.

Prior to 1782, there was no formal education in medicine. People could gain medical experience through their apprenticeship with a doctor, or studying medicine in England or in other parts of the world, which was the case of wealthy people. Diseases were treated at home by women, most of whom received experience from their mothers. Colonial women also served as midwives and nurses. Examples of people who learned about medicine outside New England were the New Haven Puritan Michael Wigglesworth, who went in 1663 to Bermuda to study;<sup>557</sup> and the Bostonian Thomas Nutch who was among the first people to go to France in 1720 studying obstetrics.<sup>558</sup> The absence of formal medical education was due to the lack of

<sup>557</sup> Bermuda, the Islands of Bermuda or the Bermudas, is situated in the east coast of America; and in 1707, it became a British colony. "Bermuda." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>558</sup> Michael Wigglesworth (1631–1705) was a church minister and writer born in England. He emigrated to America with his family to settle in Massachusetts in 1638 then moved again to New Haven. Among his famous writings was *the Day of Doom* published in 1662. "Wigglesworth Michael." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

specialized teachers. It was only in 1782 when Harvard Medical School was established in Boston; and fifteen years later, Geisel School of Medicine- also Dartmouth Medical School- was established in New Hampshire. The following century witnessed the foundation of two other medical institutions: the Medical Institution of Yale College founded in 1810 in Connecticut, where four teachers were appointed to teach thirty- seven students; and Warren Albert Medical School of Brown University established in Rhode Island in 1811. Henry William Elson describes the medical conditions in the colonies before the 1775 Revolution as crude:

The practice of medicine in the colonies was in a cruder state [...] The village doctor was indeed an important personage, quite equal to the schoolmaster or the innkeeper, and not much inferior to the minister. [...] He was present at every birth and every funeral [...,] and put his name with that of the lawyer to every will. His medical education was usually meagre, and often consisted only of a short apprenticeship with some noted physician. [...] The drugs used were few, and their rightful use was little known.<sup>559</sup>

The colonists made medicines from available resources, such as herbs to cure certain diseases, among which were: Yellow Fever, Smallpox, and Malaria.<sup>560</sup>

Starting from the nineteenth century, there were attempts to change the curriculum from classical- dominated by the study of Greek and Latin- to more scientific syllabus. James Nolan,<sup>561</sup> a New Hampshire educator, tried in vain to propose a new curriculum when he was a teacher in Brewster Academy, established in 1820 in New Hampshire. Nolan was against having learners as passive recipients of information and was for motivating them to think. The educator's proposal was opposed by the 1828 Yale Report, also called *Report of the Course of Instruction in Yale College by a Committee of the Corporation and the Academical Faculty*, a document written by the Massachusetts educator Jeremiah Day<sup>562</sup> and published by Yale

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Thomas Nutch (1701- 1781) was a Massachusetts obstetrician, born in Boston. He was a unique child of the Puritan minister Smith Nutch. "Nutch Thomas." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>559</sup> Henry William Elson. *History of the United States of America*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1904.) 206- 208.

<sup>560</sup> Sarah Feider. *History of America*. (U.S.A: Penn State University Press, 2000.) 39- 47.

<sup>561</sup> James Nolan (1793- 1843) was a New Hampshire educator born in the town of Derry. He graduated from the Brewster Academy with the class of 1813. He began his academic life as a teacher in a secondary school in Danbury, New Hampshire. Steve Grant. *Education in America*. (New York: Viking Penguin Publishing, 2010.) 95, 107.

<sup>562</sup> Jeremiah Day (1733- 1867) was a Connecticut academic, born in New Preston, Connecticut. From 1817 to 1846, he became president of Yale College, during which he published *Navigation and Surveying* in 1817, and *An Inquiry on Self-Determining Power of the Will, or Contingent Volition* twenty- one years later. Steve Grant 110.



College, which insisted on the classical study, stating that: "Only the classical languages could provide the necessary disciplines and furniture of the mind."<sup>563</sup> The historian Steve Grant mentioned an example of the Harvard College, where its book inventory consisted during the first years of the College's foundation of 51% books on religion, 27% classics and languages, 19% philosophy and history, 3% science and practical arts; while during the 1830's religious books composed 23% of the whole inventory and titles on medicine were added.<sup>564</sup>

The growing demand for academic reform was due to the economic advance taking place in New England, including advance in agriculture, industrialization and commerce. The reformers thought that colleges should prepare people for life, in the sense that the curriculum should give vocational education to the learners; who would work in farming, industry or banking. Economic growth created specialized professions, which also needed specialized people. The latter moved from their farms to the industrial cities in order to find work. Therefore, English grammar, literature and classical lectures were no longer useful for the new living changes.

In colonial times, women were less educated than men; and their education took place at home, where they could learn activities related to the house. According to the settlers, the women's role in life was to obey and serve their husbands, and educate their children. There was no reason to teach girls since they could not be church ministers or participate in government. A number of New England towns, as Farmington in Connecticut, did not admit girls into their schools, and passed laws in 1686 which stated that only male children were sent to schools.<sup>565</sup> The period from 1691 to 1740; the literacy rate for men and women was eighty- five and twenty- two percent, respectively. According to the historian Galen Albert, during the early years of the seventeenth century, no woman attended the colleges, except girls of rich families:

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<sup>563</sup> Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College; by a Committee of the Corporation and the Academical Faculty. New Haven: Hezekiah Howe, 1828. 4.

Demands for educational reforms had already started in other states in America. The educator Benjamin Rush, in Philadelphia, proposed in 1810 changing the curriculum, and wrote: "We occupy a new country. Our principle business should be to explore and apply its resources, all of which press us to enterprize and haste. Under these circumstances, to spend four or five years in learning two dead languages, is to turn our backs upon a gold mine, in order to amuse ourselves catching butterflies." The Union College in New York also succeeded in 1815 in modifying its curriculum. Jurgen Herbst. "The Yale Report of 1828." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. Vol. 11, No. 2 (November, 2004.) 213.

<sup>564</sup> Steve Grant 95- 120.

<sup>565</sup> Melvin I. Urosky. "Reforms and Response: Woman Education." *History of Education Quarterly*. Vol. 5, No. 1 (Mar., 1965.) 53.

[...] a colonial woman's education consisted in the main of training in how to conduct and care for a home. It was her principal business in life and for it she certainly was well prepared.<sup>566</sup>

Through Tables 13 and 14, Willy Mandolin gives statistics on literacy percentage in Massachusetts for both men and women, and compares the percentage in Ottun, a rural area and Boston, an urban area:

**Table 13: Literacy for Men and Women in Ottun, Boston, Massachusetts  
(1650- 1830)**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
1650- 1680	10%	02%
1680-1710	27	10
1710-1740	48	12
1740-1770	54	13
1770-1800	63	27
1800- 1830	73	49

Willy Mandolin. "History of Education in American." In Education and History, ed. Karin Joe. (USA: University Press, 1998.) 16.

**Table 14: Literacy for Men and Women in Boston, Massachusetts  
(1650- 1830)**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
1650- 1680	53%	08%
1680-1710	77	15
1710-1740	82	19
1740-1770	88	27

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<sup>566</sup> Galen Albert 15- 21.

1770-1800	90	43
1800- 1830	97	60

Willy Mandolin 17.

Literacy was lower in the countryside than in the city, a fact that might be due to the lack or small number of the educational institutions in rural areas on one hand, and to the Puritan view of the role of women on the other. By 1770, literacy was 54% for men and 13% for women in Ottun and 88% for men and 27% for women in Boston. However, percentage rose by 1830 in both areas because of the Industrial Revolution and its demands for specialized labour force.

The American Revolution of 1775 had two significant impacts on the early history of New England education. Firstly, learners were obliged to stop their studies and teachers to choose joining or not the American Revolutionary War. Secondly, the education of women developed during the War. When men were fighting in the War, women were needed to be in charge of their families, and trained to prepare themselves for unexpected situations. Furthermore, women had to be prepared for the important task which was to educate the nation's future leaders. As a result, from the 1780's to the 1800's, there was an increase in the number of female academies. For instance, there was in Connecticut an establishment of the Litchfield Female Academy and the Hartford Female Seminary in 1792 and 1823 by the American educators Sarah Pierce and Catharine Beecher respectively.<sup>567</sup> By 1830, three hundred fifty women were enrolled in the two educational institutions. The curriculum of both institutions

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<sup>567</sup> Sarah Pierce (1767- 1852) was an American writer and educator, born in Litchfield, Connecticut. She studied in New York then returned to Connecticut in 1779. "Pierce Sarah." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

Catharine Esther Beecher (1800- 1878) was an American educator born in East Hampton, New York. She was influenced by Presbyterianism. "Beecher Catharine Esther." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

consisted of teaching dancing, sewing, reading and writing, geography and history, arithmetic, and science.<sup>568</sup>

Decrease in the level of illiteracy by 1830 was a consequence of the Puritans' attempts to spread education in their communities. As seen on Map 15,<sup>569</sup> illiteracy level did not exceed 20% in New England. The development of education in New England was motivated by the emergence of a number of cultural institutions including libraries, printing presses, and newspapers. In fact, culture in New England was clearly influenced by the Puritan thought.

## 2. Cultural Institutions

The Puritans considered the libraries as an important place for vocational education; and aimed at sharing, through books, their knowledge with all. The history of libraries in New England experienced two significant periods: the colonial period when the Puritans imported most of their books from England; the printing press printed mostly school texts, newspapers and other materials. In the post colonial period, the libraries contained books printed mainly in America. According to Eugene R. Hanson, the American press printed 1,338 publications in 1804, while only sixty books were printed yearly from 1639 to 1776.<sup>570</sup>

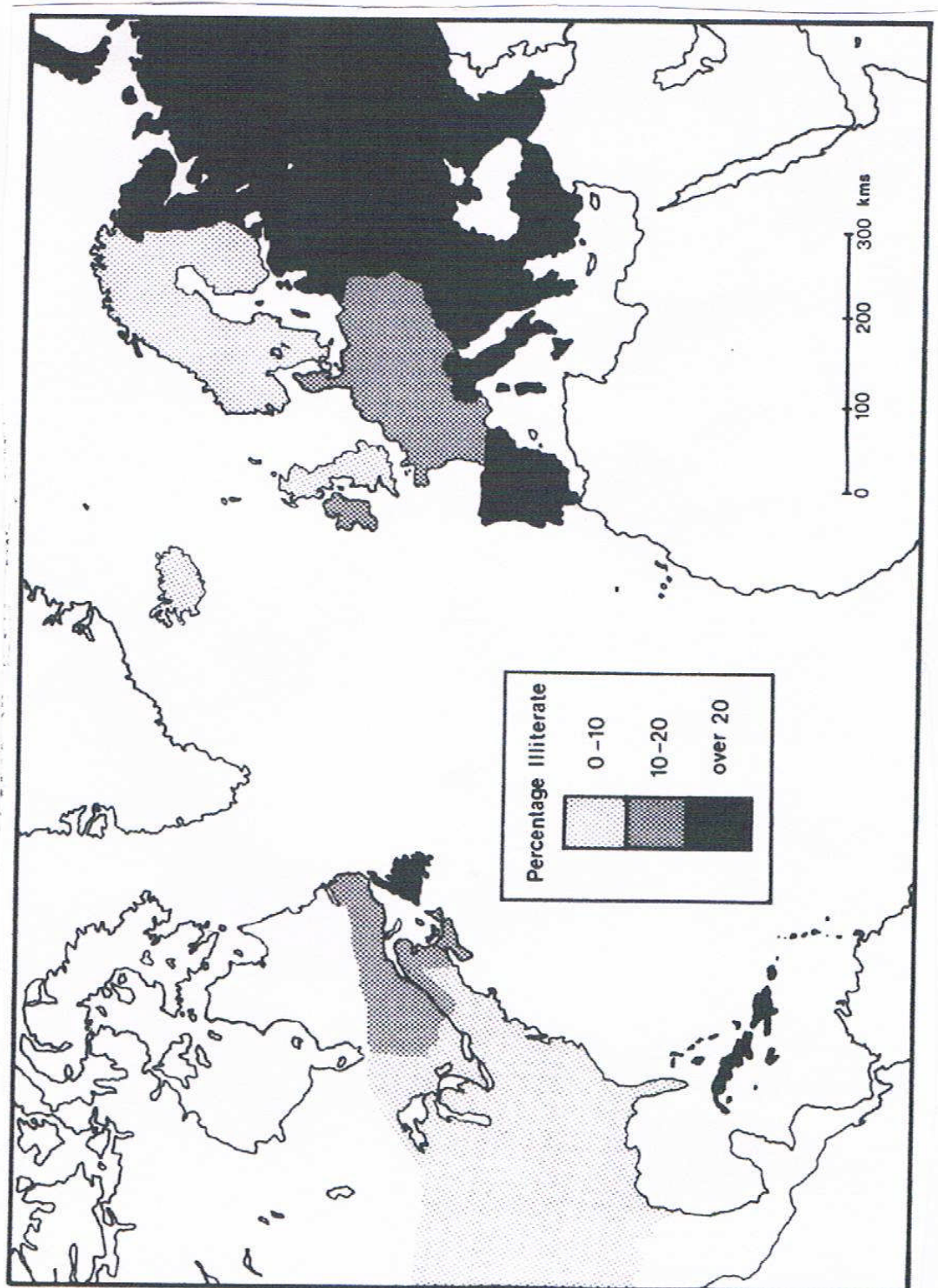
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<sup>568</sup> Willy Mandolin 40.

<sup>569</sup> Refer to Map 15: Levels of Illiteracy, 1830. 178.

<sup>570</sup> Eugene R. Hanson. College Libraries: The Colonial Period to the Twentieth Century. (U.S.A: Allen Press Limited, 1989.) 171-199.

Map 15: Levels of Illiteracy, 1830



In fact, the New England libraries were of four main types: Church, Academic, Public and School Libraries. Church libraries did not sell books, but offered the opportunity to people to consult them; the membership fee in these libraries was free. Church Libraries were supported by both tax money, and gifts of books and money offered by people interested in education. One example of these libraries was the Kings Chapel Library founded in Boston in 1698. A library board composed of two to four persons was appointed by the town church to be in charge of the library affairs.<sup>571</sup> As it is mentioned on Table 15, by 1661 each New England colony had at least four Church Libraries; Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut headed the list. The period starts with 1620, the year of the first Puritan settlement in New England and ends with 1661, one year before the integration of Plymouth with Massachusetts:

**Table 15: Church Libraries in New England, 1620- 1661**

	<b>1620- 1625</b>	<b>1626- 1631</b>	<b>1632- 1637</b>	<b>1638- 1643</b>	<b>1644- 1649</b>	<b>1650- 1655</b>	<b>1656- 1661</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Plymouth</b>	2	/	2	/	1	3	1	9
<b>New Hampshire</b>	/	1	1	/	2	/	/	4
<b>Massachusetts</b>	2	1	/	1	2	3	1	10
<b>Rhode Island</b>	1	/	1	1	2	2	1	08
<b>Connecticut</b>	2	3	1	/	1	1	1	09
<b>New Haven</b>	/	1	1	/	1	2	/	05
<b>Total</b>	7	5	6	2	9	11	4	44

Eugene R. Hanson 55.

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<sup>571</sup> Eugene R. Hanson 52- 55.

Academic Libraries started with the establishment of Harvard College in 1636 in Massachusetts, when the Puritan clergyman John Harvard offered his library to the College. The libraries were controlled by a college teacher, and characterized with the fact that they contained chiefly religious books, something that reflected the curriculum of the colleges. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Academic Libraries started to change, because more English books were brought to the libraries including dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and scientific books. The libraries, also, opened all the day from 8 to 11 am and from 1 to 3 pm; and were open even to people who did not study in the College, but were asked to pay dues to support them. This change occurred as a result of the alteration in the way of teaching, from a recitation to a seminar method, which demanded richer libraries and more research from both teachers and students.<sup>572</sup> The following table shows how book collections in the Academic Libraries increased by 1830 in comparison to 1770:

**Table 16: College Collections in New England Colleges in 1770 and 1830**

<b>Colleges</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>College Collections</b>
Harvard	1770	27.000
	1830	41.000
Yale	1770	4.000
	1830	8.500
Brown	1770	3.200
	1830	5.000
Dartmouth	1770	1.000
	1830	4.000

Eugene R. Hanson 61.

The book collection ranged from 1800 to 14000 in the four colleges in a period of six decades.

The first Public Library in New England was established in Boston in 1636, eight years after the establishment of the Bay Colony. Books were both brought from England and offered

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<sup>572</sup> Eugene R. Hanson 57- 58.

by Robert Keayne, a Massachusetts merchant.<sup>573</sup> Another Public Library, the Franklin Public Library, was founded in 1790 in the same colony when one of its towns, Exeter, changed its name to Franklin after the American Founding Father Benjamin Franklin<sup>574</sup> who offered books for the town. Other Public Libraries were built by 1830 such as: the Scoville Memorial Library in Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1803; and the New Hampshire library, Peterborough in 1830. All these libraries were accessible for all the New England residents and were free of charge.<sup>575</sup> Carleton B. Joeckel, in his *Government of the American Public Library*, defines the term Public Library to make the difference between it and other libraries:

The only really essential requirement in the definition of a public library is that its use should be free to all residents of the community on equal terms. [ . . . ] any library which has been officially charged with the responsibility, or has voluntarily assumed the responsibility, for providing free library service of a general nature to a particular community, or more or less definite portion of it, is considered to be a public library.<sup>576</sup>

Jesse H. Shera adds- to the fact that a Public Library was opened for all citizens of the town where the library was established- other features which made it different from the other types of libraries. The Public Library was established by the government, and supported by taxes or gifts. Even apprentices consulted Public Libraries, where they could find different books on agriculture, arts, and trade. This was a result of the rich book collection of the libraries.<sup>577</sup> From Table 17, it appears that by the early nineteenth century there were over three hundred Public Libraries in New England with a rich inventory:

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<sup>573</sup> Robert Keayne (1595-1656) was born in Windsor, England; and emigrated with his family to Massachusetts forty years later. He left all his money to the Massachusetts authorities for the public interest. "Keayne Robert." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>574</sup> Benjamin Franklin (1706 - 1790) - born in Boston, Massachusetts- was a scientist, an author, and a political leader, who participated in the American Revolutionary War of 1775. Ten years later, he became a governor in Pennsylvania, where he succeeded in the abolition of slavery. His famous writing was Poor Richard's Almanack, published in 1733. "Franklin Benjamin." Encyclopaedia Britannica. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 2001.

<sup>575</sup> Eugene R. Hanson 62.

<sup>576</sup> Carleton B. Joeckel. The Government of the American Public Library. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.) 10.

<sup>577</sup> Jesse H. Shera. The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England 1629-1855. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949.) 162.



**Table 17: New England Book Collections Prior to 1830**

<b>Number of Volumes in Library</b>	<b>Number of Public Libraries</b>
10,000 or more	6
5,000-9,999	13
3,000-4,999	12
1,000-2,999	50
800-999	16
500-799	34
300-499	46
100-299	141
Less than 100	68
<b>Total</b>	<b>386</b>

Carleton B. Joeckel 30.

Although Public Libraries served New England schools, School Library existed in colonial times. Initially, there was not a separated room for the book collection, but a teacher brought his own books to be used in his classes, or the pupils' parents offered books to the school. It was only in 1828 that Massachusetts enacted a law requiring schools to benefit from tax funds to buy books. Similarly, Connecticut and Rhode Island passed legislations in the two following years in favour of School Libraries. However, not all the New England schools had libraries, because most of them were built near Public Libraries.

In addition to the libraries, there were also seventy- six booksellers in the seventeenth century New England. It is estimated that in the 1680's, there were twenty-one booksellers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, nineteen in Connecticut, eighteen in Plymouth, ten in Rhode Island, five booksellers in New Haven, and three in the New Hampshire Colony. They were in charge of importing and selling different books including books of literature, history, politics, philosophy, science, and theology. John Tuper, a Connecticut bookseller, imported from England in a period of seven years books which cost £567. For the reason of more book distribution in New England,

Tuper organized an annual national book fair in 1801 in Connecticut, where all booksellers and publishers could sell their books to each other.<sup>578</sup>

Libraries for the Blacks in New England started firstly in Connecticut when David Ruggles, a bookseller, began his first collection of African American books. What motivated black librarianship to develop was the publication of a number of writings on the Blacks in the other parts of America, including *An Inquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes*, and *Biographical Sketches and Interesting Anecdotes of Persons of Colour* published by the Catholic priest Henry Gregoire in 1810 and 1826 respectively. Both books tried to affirm the fact that the black people had their own civilization and had the same intellectual capacities as the Whites.<sup>579</sup>

The following two charts<sup>580</sup> show the development and distribution of libraries in New England from 1780 to 1830. There was an increase in the number of libraries especially in the late years of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island were the leading states in New England, where libraries were numerous.

Ten newspapers were established in New England starting from 1690.<sup>581</sup> *Public Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestic* was the first paper edited in Massachusetts by

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<sup>578</sup> David Keller 75- 80.

John Tuper (1771– 1843) was a New England bookseller, born in Connecticut. His father was a teacher in a grammar school. In 1794, he visited both Virginia and Philadelphia where he sold books. “Tuper John.” *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>579</sup> David Ruggles (1810-1849) was a Connecticut businessman and an African American bookseller, born in Norwich, England. In 1826, he went to New York where he was in charge of a bookstore; and he returned to Connecticut sixteen years later. Among his writings: *the Mirror of Liberty* and *the Extinguisher*. “Ruggles David.” *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

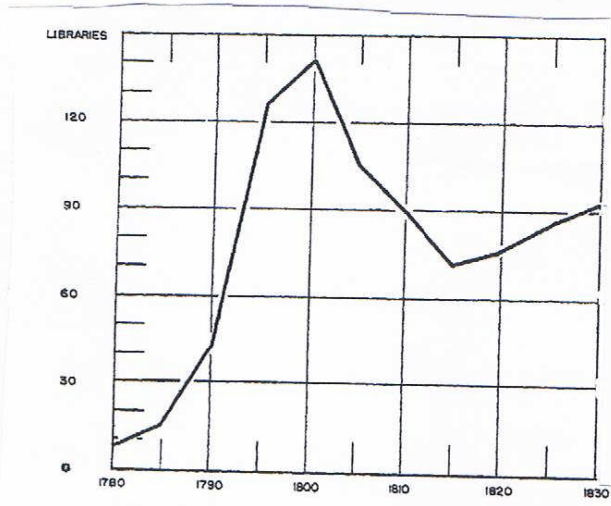
Henry Gregoire (1750- 1831) was a Catholic priest, born in France. In 1789, he became an important member in the *Society of the Friends of the Blacks* created in Paris. “Gregoire Henry.” *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Jesse H. Shera 200.

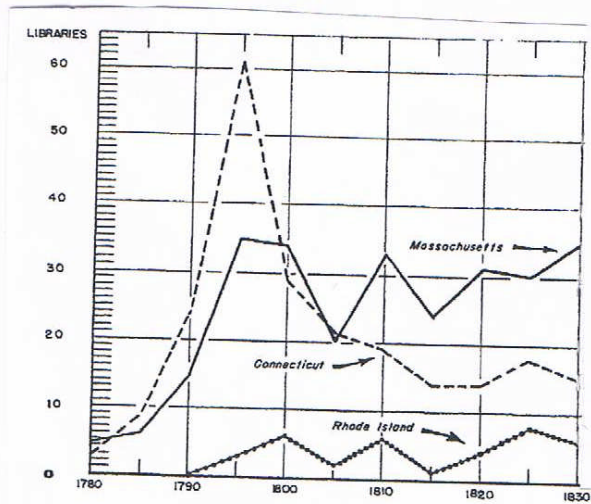
<sup>580</sup> Refer to Chart 6: Distribution of Libraries by Date of their Establishment in New England, 1780- 1830, and Chart 7: Distribution of Libraries by Date of their Establishment in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, 1780- 1830. 184.

<sup>581</sup> Before the emergence of the first newspapers in New England, people got news from Europe. Thomas Wild. *History of American Newspapers*. (New York: Weathervane Books, 1990.) 43.

**Chart 6: Distribution of Libraries by Date of their Establishment in New England, 1780- 1830**



**Chart 7: Distribution of Libraries by Date of their Establishment in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, 1780- 1830**



Jesse H. Shera 333, 334.

Benjamin Harris. It was followed by *the Boston News Letter* edited by John Campbell in 1704 in Massachusetts, *the Boston Gazette* by William Brooker in 1719, *the New England Corant* by James Franklin in 1721, *New England Weekly Journal* by Samuel Kneeland in Boston in 1727, and *the Weekly Rehearsal* established in 1731 in Boston and edited by Thomas Fleet. Four years later, the paper changed its name to *Boston Evening Post*. Other newspapers included: *the Hartford Courant* edited by Thomas Green in Connecticut in 1764, *the Essex Gazette* established in 1768 in Salem, Massachusetts edited by Samuel Hall; *Massachusetts Spy* edited in 1770 by Isaiah Thomas, and *the Columbian Continel* edited by Benjamin Russell in Boston in 1790.<sup>582</sup>

All the New England newspapers consisted of no more than three pages and were published weekly, except *Public Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestic* which appeared once a month and was suppressed after one issue. This was mainly due to the scarcity of paper, which was imported from England, and to the negative attitudes shown by the English monarch Charles II, who ordered that:

Whereas some have lately presumed to Print and Disperse a Pamphlet, Entitled, Publick Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestic [...] Without the least Privity and Countenance of Authority. The Governor and Council having had the perusal

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<sup>582</sup> Benjamin Harris (1673-1716) was an English writer and a bookseller born in London. In 1686, he emigrated to Massachusetts in New England. Adolf Min. *Famous People in History*. (USA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2001.) 24.

John Campbell (1653- 1727) was a Bostonian writer and publisher, born in Scotland. From 1702 to 1718, he was a postmaster in Boston which helped him to have ready access to newsworthy information. Perry Ralph Barton 225.

William Brooker (1687- 1779) was a Connecticut bookseller and publisher born in the town of Ashford. He moved with his family to Boston, Massachusetts in 1717. Adolf Min 5.

James Franklin (1697- 1735) was a Bostonian writer born in Massachusetts. He moved to Rhode Island where he published in 1727 *the Rhode-Island Almanack*. Adolf Min 16.

Samuel Kneeland (1696 - 1769) was a Bostonian publisher born in Massachusetts. He was in charge of printing different government documents, especially from 1727 to 1730. Adolf Min 27.

Thomas Fleet (1685–1758) was a Massachusetts printer, born in Shropshire, England. He emigrated to New England in 1712. Adolf Min 14.

Thomas Green (1742–1087) was a Massachusetts journalist born in Bellingham, England. Among his writings: *Real Democracy* and *A Harmony of the Spirit*. Adolf Min 21.

Samuel Hall (1738- 1774) was a Massachusetts author and publisher born in Salem. He was the son of the publisher John Hall. Adolf Min 23.

Isaiah Thomas (1749- 1831) was an American writer born in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1812, he established a library under the name of the American Antiquarian Society. Adolf Min 35.

Benjamin Russell (1761– 1845) was a Massachusetts journalist, born in Boston. He wrote different books, among which were: *The Fellowship of the Ring* and *Intellectual Property*. Adolf Min 31.

Thomas Wild 37- 65.

of said Pamphlet, and finding that therein contained Reflections of a very high nature: As also sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports, [...] manifest and declare their high Resentment and Disallowance of said Pamphlet, and Order that the same be Suppressed and called in; strictly forbidden any person or persons for the future to Set forth anything in Print without License first obtained from those that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the same.<sup>583</sup>

The papers cost two to four pence a copy. Before the American Revolution, the newspapers dealt with public affairs, news about the neighbouring regions and Europe; and mostly with religious matters, such as the Puritan principles and religious variety in New England. However, starting from 1775 the papers focussed mainly on the political situation of the region, independence, political appointments, and theories of government.

At first, newspaper development was slow, in the sense that there was a difference of fourteen years between the first newspaper's publication in 1690 and the second publication in 1704. This was mainly due to the small demand for local newspapers, because most papers were brought from England. The English authority did not allow freedom of press in the colonies, a fact that discouraged the colonists from publishing more newspapers. In 1704, the mother country passed the Revenue Act which imposed taxes on paper, making it more expensive.<sup>584</sup>

The development of the printing press also helped to motivate learning and spread the newspapers. The first printing press in the settlements was installed in 1639 in Harvard College for the purpose of publishing religious works.<sup>585</sup> By 1830, there were fourteen printing presses in New England, which were mainly in Massachusetts. The printers came from different places in Europe, including England, France, and the Netherlands; the American printer Thomas Fleet who came from England to Boston in 1712 is an example. The printing works included chiefly government papers such as laws, Church sermons, chapbooks, and primers. In fact before 1776, printing was controlled by England and no publication was made without its approval, so that the colonies' freedom of speech was restricted. Henry Welhey, one of the English officials in

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<sup>583</sup> It is an authentic text. Steven J. Shaw. "Colonial Newspaper Advertising: A Step toward Freedom of the Press." *The Business History Review* 08 (Autumn, 1959.) 420.

<sup>584</sup> Ralph Sloane 139- 141.

<sup>585</sup> Mexico was the first region in North America to have printing press brought by the Spanish in 1539. Ralph Sloane 141.

New England, stated in 1687 that: “there is no free [...] printing and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; [...] and printing has divulged them.”<sup>586</sup>

The long interval between the establishment of the first printing press in New England and the appearance of the first newspaper was due to several factors, including the fact that the early settlers were busy with their survival; news were brought from England, and the type of industrialization and trade developed in the early colonies did not need advertising. In fact, prior to the development of journalism, news generally came from private letters, sailors, merchants, and officials.<sup>587</sup>

### 3. Literature

The early New England literature, chiefly of the seventeenth century, did not start as original, because it was only a continuation or an evolution of English literature. This was mainly due to the fact that until 1776, New England was a British colonial territory; in addition, the early New England writers were Englishmen who thought and wrote according to their milieu in which they were born and raised. They brought with them their own style and content. Furthermore, the settlers’ writings were published in England instead of New England, which meant literary dependency. The English Pilgrim William Bradford, who emigrated to the New World when he was thirty- three years old, is an example of the early English writers of New England. His *Of Plymouth Plantation* was a history of the Pilgrims from 1608- the time before their emigration to America- until 1647. In their book *Concise Anthology of American Literature*, George McMichael and James S. Leonard write that:

Early colonial writers did not think of themselves or their writings as American. English settlers in the New World did not regularly call themselves Americans until the 1760’s, when they were well on their way to creating the national identity that finally emerged during the American Revolution. Before that time the colonists thought of themselves as Europeans.<sup>588</sup>

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<sup>586</sup> Henry Welhey (1652- 1699) was an English government official born in England. He served in the New England Dominion (1684- 1689). Adolf Min 52.

Eugene R. Hanson 201, 206.

<sup>587</sup> Advertisements were mostly printed at the back of the newspapers. Edwin Emery, Michael Emery. *The Press and America*. Fifth Edition. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984.) 24.

<sup>588</sup> George McMichael, James S. Leonard. *Concise Anthology of American Literature*. Sixth Edition. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2006.) 11.

Jacob Henry Ball explains the absence of American literature prior to 1776 and the delay in the birth of individuality in the American literature to the Americans' occupation with local interests, such as establishing their societies:

The hard struggle necessary to obtain a foothold in a wilderness is not favourable to the early development of a literature. Those who remained in England could not clear away the forest, till the soil, and conquer the Indians, but they could write the books and send them across the ocean. The early settlers were for the most part content to allow English authors to do this.<sup>589</sup>

From the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, three types of literature developed in New England: Puritan literature, African and Indian- American literature developed by the Puritans or the natives themselves, and Non- Puritans' literature. Starting from 1620, the Puritans' writing was mostly religious, including histories, diaries, poems, and sermons. Writers of the period included as an example William Bradford who wrote *Of Plymouth Plantation* which was one of the most important Puritan histories, in which he described the Pilgrims' voyage:

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast and furious ocean, [...] But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. [...] they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure.<sup>590</sup>

Although the Puritan religion did not promote the production of poetry in New England; Anne Bradstreet, who was the first female poet in New England, wrote different poems including *By Night when Others Soundly Slept* published in England in 1650 in which she described her relationship with God:

What to my Saviour shall I give  
Who freely hath done this for me?

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<sup>589</sup> Jacob Henry Ball. *Early American Literature Influenced by Religious Ideologies and Philosophies*. A Ph. D. Thesis. The University of Iowa, 2010. 10.

Before the English settlement of America, the Native American literature was spoken, whether chanted or told as a story. The Natives told stories about nature, animals, and plants. Jacob Henry Ball 23.

<sup>590</sup> Jacob Henry Ball 54.

I'll serve him here whilst I shall live  
And Love him to Eternity<sup>591</sup>

Jonathan Edwards' sermons such as *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* written in 1741 described Hell to remind people about the consequences of sinning:

The devils watch them; they are ever by them, at their right hand; they stand waiting for them, like greedy hungry lions that see their prey, and expect to have it, but are for the present kept back; if God should withdraw his hand, by which they are restrained, they would in one moment fly upon their poor souls.<sup>592</sup>

The post revolutionary period witnessed a marked shift in the New England literature which started to diverge from mostly religious to political. The rise of industrialization influenced greatly the way people thought and wrote. Ball suggests that the American independence in 1776 and the formation of the Republic on one side, and the impact of Thomas Paine's writings on the other were factors which helped the emergence of literary variation.<sup>593</sup> Paine's writings on deism, particularly *The Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* published in 1794, advocated freethinking based on reason and logic. Paine encouraged people not to accept truth as it was without the use of knowledge and reason. Thus, concerning religion and contrary to the Puritan thinking, there was not enough evidence to believe in the existence of supernatural facts.<sup>594</sup> He believed:

[.....] in one God, and no more; [...] But, [...] I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish Church, by the Roman Church, by the Greek Church, by the Turkish Church, by the Protestant Church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my own church. All national institutions of churches, whether Jewish, Christian or Turkish, appear to me no other than human inventions, set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolize power and profit.<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>591</sup> Jacob Henry Ball 61.

Anne Bradstreet (1612- 1672) was an English poet who settled in Massachusetts in 1630. She was born in Northampton, England. She wrote on politics, history, religion, and science. Among her writings: *The Flesh and the Spirit*, *Of the Four Ages of Man*, and *Upon Some Distemper of Body*. Adolf Min 2.

<sup>592</sup> Jacob Henry Ball 101.

<sup>593</sup> Thomas Paine (1737- 1809) was an American author, born in Thetford, England. In 1744, he emigrated to America, where he lived in new York. He published *the Common Sense* in 1776, *the Rights of Man* in 1791, and *the Age of Reason* three years later. Adolf Min 30.

<sup>594</sup> Supernatural facts may include as an example the existence of angels, miracles, and Trinity. Jacob Henry Ball 151.

<sup>595</sup> Jacob Henry Ball 173.



The Connecticut Wits or Hartford Wits formed during the 1780's represented a group of poets including David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, John Trumbull, and Lemuel Hopkins; who met to discuss matters on politics and literature and produced different poems in which they criticised political life in America after the independence.<sup>596</sup>

The Puritans also wrote books specifically for their children in order to teach and instruct them morally.<sup>597</sup> John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babies in Either England* was the first children's book published in New England in 1656, to be followed by *the New England Primer* published thirty four years later by Benjamin Harris. Both books taught children about Christianity through religious texts, imaginary stories, and images. One moral tale that appeared in *the Primer* was the martyrdom of John Rogers:

Mr. John Rogers, minister of the gospel in London, was the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign, and was burnt at Smithfield, February 14, 1554. His wife with nine small children and one [...] following him to the stake; with which sorrowful sight he was not in the least daunted, but with wonderful patience died courageously for the gospel of Jesus Christ.<sup>598</sup>

*The Primer* also consisted of instructive and educational questions and answers as lessons for children.<sup>599</sup>

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<sup>596</sup> David Humphreys (1752- 1818) was a Connecticut politician and poet, born in Derby, Connecticut. He worked as a tutor after his graduation in 1771 from Yale College. Among Humphreys' writings: *Life of General Israel Putnam*, and *A Poem on the Industry of the United States of America*. William Dowling. *Poetry and Ideology in Revolutionary Connecticut*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.) 122.  
Joel Barlow (1754- 1812) was an American businessman and poet, born in Redding, Connecticut. He wrote a number of poems under the title: *the Prospect of Peace*, and was in charge of *the American Mercury*, a weekly newspaper. William Dowling 120.  
John Trumbull (1756- 1843) was an American poet and painter, born in Lebanon, Connecticut. His father Jonathan Trumbull was Governor of Connecticut from 1769 to 1784. William Dowling 125.  
Lemuel Hopkins (1750-1801) was a physician and poet, born in Waterbury, Connecticut. He was among the founders of the Medical Society of Connecticut in 1792. Among his popular writings: *the Echo* and *the Political Greenhouse*. William Dowling 122.

William Dowling 123.

<sup>597</sup> During the colonial period, most children's books were imported from England. James Janeway's *A Token for Children* is an example. Jacob Henry Ball 72.

<sup>598</sup> Perry Ralph Barton 297.

<sup>599</sup> These are some questions and answers mentioned in the Primer:

Who was the first man?                      *Adam.*

Who was the first woman?                      *Eve.*

During the late eighteenth century, novel writing began in New England. It did not appear earlier, because the Puritans thought that reading novels was a pleasure leading to moral decline; Timothy Dwight, a Puritan minister, said that: “there is a great gulf fixed between novels and the Bible.”<sup>600</sup> The early novels were stories about orphans, beggars, factory children, and social misbehaviours. The first American novel was *the Power of Sympathy* written by the Massachusetts William Hill Brown in 1789, which was a story of man's seduction of his wife's sister and focused on the significance of women education to avoid such behaviours. *The Coquette* is another novel written by Hannah Webster Foster eight years later.<sup>601</sup> The novel, which was reprinted nine times between 1824 and 1830, dealt with the social conditions that led to people’s misbehaviour. According to Reuben Post Halleck, *the Coquette* reflects the rebellion of women in New England against social values and standards. Eliza Whartan, the principal character in the story, protested against her society in Massachusetts to gain freedom equal to that enjoyed by men. Eliza’s refusal to listen to her mother and friends’ pieces of advice resulted in her illegal marriage and death after giving birth to an illegitimate child.<sup>602</sup>

Dramatic literature- theatre and plays- to which the Puritans were hostile, started only during the eighteenth century. The Puritans believed that plays made the actors tired and dissipated, and rejected the fact that men played women’s roles. Theatres would also attract a big number of people and occupy most of their religious, professional, and familial time.<sup>603</sup> It

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Who was the first Murderer?	<i>Cain.</i>
Who was the first Martyr?	<i>Abel.</i>
Who was the first Translated?	<i>Enoch.</i>
Who was the oldest Man?	<i>Methuselah.</i>
Who built the Ark ?	<i>Noah.</i>

Quoted in Perry Ralph Barton 298- 302.

<sup>600</sup> Timothy Dwight (1752– 1817) was a Massachusetts Puritan theologian and writer, born in Northampton, Massachusetts. He was president of Yale College from 1795 to 1817. His first writing was *Valedictory Address*, published in 1776. Reuben Post Halleck 49.

Reuben Post Halleck. History of American Literature. (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2006.) 50.

<sup>601</sup> William Hill Brown (1765 – 1793) was the first American novelist, born in Boston, Massachusetts. Among his novels: *Harriot, or The Domestick Reconciliation* and *the Reformer*. Reuben Post Halleck 54.

Hannah Webster Foster (1758 – 1840) was a Massachusetts writer, born in Salisbury, Massachusetts. Her writings included *the Boarding School*, a novel published in 1798 and deals with women education. Reuben Post Halleck.

<sup>602</sup> Reuben Post Halleck 48- 58.

<sup>603</sup> Theatre in America was first introduced in 1716 in Virginia. Reuben Post Halleck 1.

was namely in 1767 when the Puritans rebelled in Massachusetts against an effort of a group of people to start a theatre in the region; the rebel was backed by different articles written in newspapers. The Massachusetts official Joseph Tisdale stated that: “[...] such exhibitions have a tendency to corrupt the morals of the people and are inconsistent with the sober deportment which Christians ought to maintain.”<sup>604</sup> As a result, a law was passed by the General Court to prohibit theatre and imposed a penalty of five pounds upon people who would try to perform plays. However, a vain effort to oppose the 1767 law was made by the English actor Lewis Hallam who asked the Massachusetts government to launch a theatre in Boston. Both Rhode Island and New Hampshire passed acts between 1768 and 1769 rejecting any attempt to establish theatres. After the independence, theatre became popular in the United States of America, but the Church ministers and officials in New England continued keeping their aggressive attitudes towards it. For instance, the Massachusetts governor, John Hancock,<sup>605</sup> expressed in 1788 his disagreement on the theatre establishment in the state:

[...] a number of aliens and foreigners lately entered the State, and in the metropolis of this government, under advertisement insulting to the habits and education of the Citizens, have been pleased to invite them to and exhibit before such as attended Stage Plays, Interludes, and Theatrical Entertainments, under the stile and appellation of "Moral Lectures"-This fact is so notorious that it is vain to attempt a concealment of its coming to our knowledge.<sup>606</sup>

In fact, the 1792 Massachusetts Bill annulled the 1767 law; and it was during the nineteenth century when the ministers realized that it was difficult to stop the theatre and decided to reform it to make it a place where the viewers can learn morals.<sup>607</sup>

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<sup>604</sup> Reuben Post Halleck 2.

<sup>605</sup> Joseph Tisdale (1681- 1770) was a Puritan official born in Taunton, Plymouth. He served as a governor advisor in the Plymouth Colony from 1620 to 1623. “Tisdale Joseph.” *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Lewis Hallam (1714–1768) was an English actor born in England. He emigrated to Virginia in 1752, then moved to Massachusetts four years later. “Hallam Lewis.” *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

John Hancock (1737- 1793) was an American official, born in Braintree, Massachusetts. He participated in the Revolutionary War and worked as governor of Massachusetts. “Hancock John.” *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>606</sup> It is an authentic text. Garff B. Wilson. *Three Hundred Years of American Drama and Theatre*. (USA: Prentice-Hall, 1973.) 10.

<sup>607</sup> Garff B. Wilson 11- 28.

Theatres in New England- which were built only in Massachusetts during the eighteenth century - did not only function as theatres but also as places for arranging concerts, or as museums. The list included the Concert Hall established in 1752 by John Sendder, the Board Alley Theatre established in 1792 by Adam Lenear, the Federal Street Theatre or the Boston Theatre founded by John Steele Tyler in 1793, the Columbian Museum founded in 1795 by Daniel Bowen, and the Haymarket Theatre launched by Charles Stuart Powell one year later. The first New England playwright was Richard Dowell Bern, who wrote eleven plays among which were: *the Black girl and Autumn*.<sup>608</sup>

During the late 1700's and early 1800's, African and Native American literature developed in New England by either the Natives themselves or by the white writers. Phillis Wheatley was the first African American poet in America and New England, who published in 1773 her *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, which addressed different themes including her childhood, slavery and Christianity. An example is *On Being Brought from Africa to America*, in which Wheatley thanked the Creator for showing her the right religious path which was Christianity:

Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,  
Taught my benighted soul to understand  
That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too:  
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.  
Some view our sable race with scornful eye,  
"Their colour is a diabolic dye."  
Remember, Christians, Negroes, black as Cain,  
May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train.<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>608</sup> John Sendder (1698- 1761) was a Virginian playwright who settled in Massachusetts in 1750. "Sendder John." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Adam Lenear (1728- 1800) was a Bostonian businessman and playwright. He came with his family from France to New England when he was sixteen years old. "Lenear Adam." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

John Steele Tyler (1727- 1796) was a Puritan author born in Salem, Massachusetts. "Tyler John Steele." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Daniel Bowen (1739- 1830) was born and raised in England. He emigrated to Massachusetts in 1795, where he began his theatre. "Bowen Daniel." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Charles Stuart (1743- 1799) was a Virginian playwright who emigrated to Connecticut in 1790 then moved to Boston two years later. "Stuart Charles." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Richard Dowell Bern (1730- 1768) was a Massachusetts playwright, born in Worcester, Massachusetts. "Bern Richard Dowell." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>609</sup> Anne Applegate 119.

Lemuel Haynes, another African writer from Connecticut, **published in 1776 his essay *Liberty Further Extended: Or Free Thoughts on the Illegality of Slave-Keeping, which was against slavery and for liberty which was essential because it was a right granted by the Creator.***<sup>610</sup>

Writings on the Indians also interested a number of authors as Catharine Maria Sedgwick, a Massachusetts novelist, who wrote *Hope Leslie* in 1827 in which she tried to express her sympathetic attitudes towards the Indian culture. The novel criticized the Puritans' negative attitudes towards the Natives, a fact that contradicted their religious teachings. As a result of Sedgwick's writings, female literature was strongly criticized. Three years later, namely in 1830, William Apess<sup>611</sup> a Native American writer- wrote *A Son of the Forest*, in which he described his childhood:

I felt convinced that Christ died for all mankind – that age, sect, colour, country, or situation make no difference. I felt an assurance that I was included in the plan of redemption with all my brethren.<sup>612</sup>

Religious diversity in New England resulted in literary diversity too. Examples included different writers who were from different origins, religious affiliations, and countries. The Rhode Islander Elizabeth Ashbridge wrote in the 1770's a story of her personal life and conversion into Quakerism. During the same period, Mohegan Samson Occom, who was a minister in a Presbyterian Church in Connecticut and a Native American writer, published different pamphlets. Decades later, exactly in 1830, the African writer Kuo'a Allontau wrote on

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<sup>610</sup> Phillis Wheatley (1753- 1784) was an African slave brought in 1761 from Senegal to Boston, Massachusetts. She was purchased by John Wheatley, who sent her to school to learn classics and the Bible. Phillis started writing when she was twelve years old, and in 1770 published her first poem. Anne Applegate. *Phillis Wheatley: Her Critics and her Contribution*. (Illinois: Illinois University Press, 1989.) 120.

Lemuel Haynes (1753–1833) was a New England writer, born in West Hartford, Connecticut. Most of his writings were against slavery. Anne Applegate. 121

Anne Applegate 123- 127.

<sup>2</sup> Catharine Maria Sedgwick (1789 – 1867), was a Massachusetts writer, born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Most of her writings criticized religious intolerance in America. "Sedgwick Catharine Maria." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

William Apess (1798–1839) was a clergyman and writer, born in Massachusetts. "Apess William." *Encarta Encyclopaedia*. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>612</sup> Anne Applegate 135.

his life and experiences as an African in Massachusetts. All of their writings reflected different subjects, styles, and religious concerns.<sup>613</sup>

In fact, New England literature reflected the Puritans' behaviour in their societies and helped influence their thought and change their moral life. The latter was represented in the Puritans' relations with their family and with other people.

## 4. Impact of Puritanism on Family and Daily Life

New England first families focused on living religious and simple life. Every society member, the father, mother, and the child was expected to show his or her religious discipline, which should be represented in their family life (in their marriage, divorce, child naming and rearing, and inheritance), and in their daily life (cooking, dress, entertainment, and attitudes towards other people in society.)

### a. Puritan Family Life

According to the Puritan belief, a family was the basic part of a society, where its members would find a secure place to worship God perfectly. William Gouge,<sup>614</sup> an English Puritan clergyman, defined family as:

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<sup>613</sup> Mohegan Samson Occom (1723 –1792) was an Amerindian writer from the Mohegan tribe, Connecticut. When he was twenty years old, Occom converted to Presbyterianism. “Occom Mohegan Samson.” Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Kuoa Allontau (1720- 1786) was an African American writer, born in Salem, Massachusetts. His parents were brought as slaves by Allontau family. “Allontau Kuoa.” Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Elizabeth Ashbridge (1713–1755) was an American writer born in Cheshire, England. In 1732, she emigrated to New York to work as an indentured servant. Then, she moved- four years later- to Rhode Island, where she converted to Quakerism. “Ashbridge Elizabeth.” Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

Anne Applegate, op.cit., p. 138.

<sup>614</sup> William Gouge (1575–1653) was a Puritan religious man and a writer, born in Middlesex, England. After his graduation, he worked as a teacher in King's College in Cambridge. From 1607 to 1620, he was minister in Blackfriars Church. His writings included *Commentary on Hebrews*, and *the Whole Armour of God, and Of Domestical Duties*. “Gouge William.” Encarta Encyclopaedia. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. CD. 1993- 1997.

[...] a little church and a little commonwealth [...] whereby trial may be made of such as are fit for any place of authority, or of subjection in church or commonwealth. Or rather it is a school wherein the first principles and grounds of government and subjection are learned: whereby men are fitted to greater matters in church or commonwealth.<sup>615</sup>

A family was a result of the Covenant or contract established between a man and a woman, which passed through important steps. After parents finished negotiating the dowry, banns- a statement of marriage- had to be made more than one week before the wedding in the Congregation of the area where the man and woman lived. At the ceremony, the wife was asked by the minister to obey her husband who was also asked to take care of her.

Marriage was important because of two main reasons: firstly, the Creator ordered people to get married “Then the Lord God said it is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him.”<sup>616</sup> Secondly, the Puritans saw it dangerous for men and especially for women to stay single, because this would help people establish illegal relations. From 1636 to 1640, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Plymouth ordered that single men could not live in the colonies without the approval of the town where they resided. Although parents’ influence on their children was strong, males had the right to accept or refuse their future spouses. However, during the beginning of the nineteenth century, arranged marriage was no longer common in the New England society. People, influenced by Romanticism,<sup>617</sup> preferred to marry for love. The movement advocated imagination and emotion over rationality.<sup>618</sup>

Divorce for only serious problems- as infertility, violence, adultery, bigamy, or neglect of family- was allowed in New England, and both partners could ask for it. However, the divorce rate was low in the seventeenth century; only one divorce was marked in Plymouth to the 1640’s and forty others in Massachusetts between 1628 and 1690. The first divorce in New England was recorded in Massachusetts in 1639 because of the husband’s regular absence and neglect. But the number increased especially in the late eighteenth century; there were more

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<sup>615</sup> Galen Albert 119.

<sup>616</sup> (Genesis 2: 18.)

<sup>617</sup> Romanticism was a literary, artistic, and philosophical movement that began in Europe in the 18th century [...] It emphasized the individual, the subjective, the irrational, the imaginative, the personal, the spontaneous, the emotional, the visionary, and the transcendental. Among its attitudes were a deepened appreciation of the beauties of nature; a general exaltation of emotion over reason and of the senses over intellect. “Romanticism.” Quoted in Britannica Concise Encyclopedia 1597.

<sup>618</sup> Galen Albert 123- 130.

than one hundred petitions for divorce between 1779 and 1799 in Massachusetts, and fifty- two others in Connecticut between 1781 and 1794. Most of the divorce petitions were filed by women, which meant a transition in the woman's economic status; in a way that after the Industrial Revolution women became economically independent and could earn their own living from working outside without the need for men. It is estimated that the divorce rate was lower in rural areas, where women were dependent on their husbands than in the cities.

In most divorce cases, the father had the custody of the children; who could also stay with their mother but only when their father died. The Puritans believed that women were neither economically nor physically able to protect their children. The Puritans aimed from this act to limit the divorce rate; women avoided separation because they feared their husbands would have the right to care for their children away from the mothers. In case of death of both parents, children were sent to their relatives, or to one of the town's families, who would rear them in exchange for their services.<sup>619</sup>

Mothers' prevention of having the right to rear their children did not mean that the Puritans belittled from their significance. The Puritans believed in the value of motherhood; thus, neglect and maltreatment of women was a sin. Robert Cleaver,<sup>620</sup> an English Puritan, taught in one of his sermons that:

A wife is called by God himself an helper, and not an impediment or a necessary evil, as some unadvisedly do say [...] These and such like sayings, tending to the dispraise of women, some maliciously and indiscreetly do vomit out, contrary to the mind of the Holy Ghost, who said that she was ordained as a helper, and not a hinderer.<sup>621</sup>

Sexual relation before marriage was regarded as a serious sin; therefore, heavy whipping, fine of no less than five pounds, sending the offender to the House of Correction for a month, disenfranchisement, and forcing the man to marry his partner were among strict

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<sup>619</sup> David Hackett Fischer. Albion's seed: four British folkways in America. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.) 89- 101.

<sup>620</sup> Robert Cleaver (1538-1613) was an English theologian and writer, born in Lancashire, England. From 1581 to 1610, he wrote *An Exposition on the Ten Commandments, the Patrimony of Christian Children, and other works*. "Cleaver Robert." Encarta Encyclopaedia. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. CD. 1993- 1997.

<sup>621</sup> David Hackett Fischer 102.



punishments opposed on the offender. However, man suffered more severely than woman in New England. In the words of the historian David Hackett Fischer:

[...] sexual intercourse before marriage was regarded as a pollution which had to be purged before they could take its place in society and-most important-before their children could be baptized.<sup>622</sup>

As a result of these strict measures, prenuptial pregnancy was few in seventeenth and early eighteenth century New England. Table 18 represents the number of premarital pregnancies in nine Massachusetts towns, which were the most populated towns in the colony.<sup>623</sup>

**Table 18: Rates of Prenuptial Pregnancy in Nine Massachusetts Towns by 1709**

Town	Year	7 mos.	8 mos.	8.5 mos.	9 mos.
<b>Hingham</b>	pre-1660	0	0	0	0
	1661-80	5	0	0	1
<b>Watertown</b>	pre-1660	0	3	0	0
	1661-80	0	0	0	8
<b>Nantucket</b>	pre-1699	0	1	0	1
	1700-1709	0	0	0	3
<b>Dedham</b>	1661-69	4	0	2	1
	1671-80	2	0	2	1
<b>Andover</b>	1655-74	0	0	0	0
	1675-99	0	0	0	5
<b>Topsfield</b>	1660-79	1	0	1	3
	1680-99	0	0	1	2
<b>Salem</b>	1651-70	0	0	0	5
	1671-1700	3	0	0	0
<b>Boston</b>	1651-55	3	0	6	3
<b>Ipswich</b>	1651-87	3	0	1	2

David Hackett Fischer 104.

<sup>622</sup> David Hackett Fischer 103.

<sup>623</sup> Till 1709, thirty- two towns were founded in Massachusetts: Andover, Boston, Braintree, Cambridge, Charlestown, Cohasset, Concord, Dedham, Dorchester, Gloucester, Haverhill, Hingham, Hull, Ipswich, Lynn, Manchester, Marblehead, Medford, Nantucket, Newbury, Reading, Rowley, Roxbury, Salem, Salisbury, Sudbury, Topsfield, Watertown, Wenham, Weymouth, Winnisimmet, and Woburn. David Hackett Fischer 302.

In the towns of Hingham and Andover, the number of prenuptial pregnancy was zero before 1660. The number ranged from five to twelve premarital pregnancies in all the Massachusetts towns. There were twelve cases in Dedham in a period of nineteen years, from 1661 to 1680; and twelve pregnancies in Boston in a period of only five years.

Parents were required to baptize their first child, in order to make him enter into the Covenant of the Creator and purify him from the sin inherited from his father Adam.<sup>624</sup> Child baptism was made the same day or the day after birth in the presence of all the family. Parents were also required to name their children. In seventeenth and eighteenth century New England, child naming was based on the Bible; ninety percent of male and female names in Massachusetts were taken from the Bible. The Puritans followed three ways in naming their children: the first way was that they did not choose a specific name, but did so at random, in a way that they opened the Bible and pointed to any word. Therefore, the selected name could be Notwithstanding or Maybe Barnes.<sup>625</sup> The second way was that the Puritans choose certain names of religious people, such as Mary, the mother of Jesus; and John, one of the twelve apostles, aiming mainly at having children with the same moral qualities of those people.<sup>626</sup> But, the Puritans forbade the use of certain names, as for instance, Jesus, Christ, Gabriel, and Emmanuel; because ordinary people could not be named after the prophet or angles. The latter are immortal as different from human beings. The third way the Puritans followed in child naming was that they used the necronym of the child who had recently died for a newborn child of the same sex. It is noteworthy to mention that the Puritans' choice of Biblical names was according to their social ranks. For instance, Anos was the name of a herdsman used by ordinary families, and Hezekiah which was the name of the thirteenth King of Judah was used by rich families.<sup>627</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> The Puritans believed that the first sinner was Adam, whose sin was inherited by all mankind on earth. God ordered Adam and Eve to eat from all the trees except from one tree. But, Satan convinced Eve to eat the forbidden fruit, and give some to Adam. As a result, they disobeyed God. (GENESIS 2:16-17, 3: 5-6.)

<sup>625</sup> The longest name in the Bible is Mahershalalhasbaz. David Hackett Fischer 94.

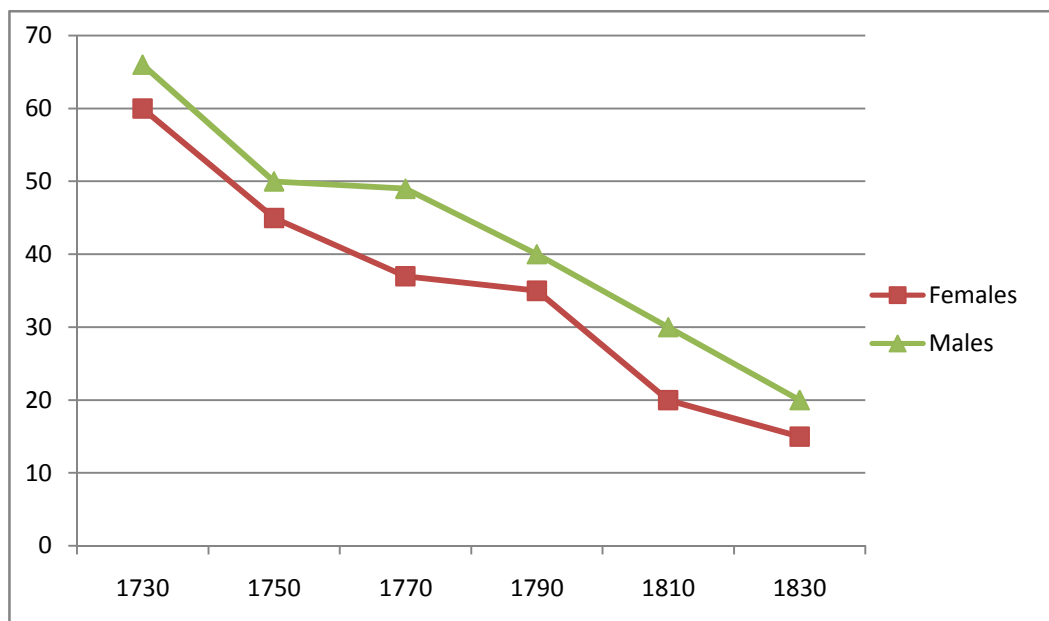
<sup>626</sup> The twelve apostles were: Simon Peter, James the Greater, John, Andrew, Philip of Bethsaida, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James the Lesser, Simon the Zealot, Thaddeus-Judas, and Judas Iscariot. "Apostles." Encarta Encyclopaedia. CD. United Kingdom. Deluxe Edition. 1993- 1997.

<sup>627</sup> David Hackett Fischer 93- 97.

Refer to Appendix 10: The Most Frequent Biblical Male/ Female Names in Seventeenth Century New England.

By the eighteenth and nineteenth century, child naming from the Bible gradually declined, only fifteen percent of the newborns were religiously named. This was mainly due to the transformation of the Puritan society and the decline of the Puritan customs. The decline was especially after the Great Awakening which began in the 1730's, during which the Congregational Churches started to lose their power to enforce religious morals on people.<sup>628</sup> Sarah Feider suggests 1776 as the exact date when there was a shift from biblical to secular names, and points out that parents started to name their children after politicians, national figures or novel characters. Population growth in New England resulted in the need of people to use different names to distinguish between children who had the same family name. The town of Boston in Massachusetts provides an example, where more than nine hundred children named John in 1750.<sup>629</sup> Chart 8 represents the percentage of male and female child naming from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century:

**Chart 8: The Percentage of Biblical Names in New England  
(1730- 1830)**



Adapted from Gloria L. Donald. *The Christian Home*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.) 91- 120.

<sup>628</sup> For more details of the Great Awakening, refer to Chapter Two, Section Three: Classification of the Main Religious Groups in New England.

<sup>629</sup> Sarah Feider 71, 74.

The percentage of males with biblical names fell from sixty- six percent in 1730 to twenty percent by 1830, and from sixty to fifteen for females in the same period.

Puritans' attitude towards naming was related to child rearing, because they saw their children as a blessing from the Creator. But, they believed that because Adam sinned, so all children were born ready to sin. Therefore, it was the parents' obligation to strictly rear their children. They had to name their children, provide them with schooling and good discipline. Children were taught to respect old people, who were awarded by their Creator with long life. Old age was a sign of goodness, because "everything in the world happened according to God's purpose. [...] The small numbers of godly men and women who lived to old age were the saving remnant of the race."<sup>630</sup> In fact, old people could help the young with their life experience and wisdom. Old men and women were called by their grandsons as Grandsire and Granmam respectively.<sup>631</sup>

In case children did not behave well, parents punished them in two ways: Physically, by beating them, keeping them from eating their meals, or by making children do more chores. Morally, by showing them from the Bible that they sinned and the Creator would punish the sinner. For instance, the following verse "Anyone who curses his father or his mother shall be put to death; he is responsible for his own death"<sup>632</sup> was shown in case the child disobeyed his parents. In the early nineteenth century, two important writings rejected physical punishment; Peter Wish's 1821 *Advice to Parents* and Ann Satall's 1827 *The Angels of God* considered children innocent creatures who needed an affectionate rearing and strongly advised parents to avoid physical discipline which would make children aggressive.<sup>633</sup>

Fertility rate decreased in the early nineteenth century; it is estimated that by 1830, a typical family in New England had four children in comparison to the early centuries when most families had more than ten children. Cultural and religious factors played a significant role in the decline of fertility in New England. The change of the role of woman in the society had an impact on the number of children; literate women had fewer children. This is why fertility rate was higher in rural than in the urban areas. Farmers preferred to have more male children to help them in their farm occupations, and those who had girls did not like to limit fertility till they had a male. Another reason was mentioned by Sarah Feider who asserts that Puritanism

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<sup>630</sup> David Hackett Fischer 104.

<sup>631</sup> The oldest woman in colonial New England was Anne Pollard of Boston, who lived one hundred four years. David Hackett Fischer 107- 125.

<sup>632</sup> (Leviticus 20: 9)

<sup>633</sup> David Hackett Fischer 97- 99.

encouraged people to have children, and that pre-nineteenth century families were more religious than nineteenth century families.<sup>634</sup>

Two inheritance systems were followed in New England: partible or multigeniture inheritance, according to which the deceased's property would be shared among the heirs; and primogeniture, which gave right to the eldest son to own the family estate. All the New England colonies followed the former system, except Rhode Island, which would follow it until 1830.<sup>635</sup>

## **b. Puritan Daily Life**

Cooking in New England was a continuation of the English one and a mixture with the Indian cooking. Its main menu was composed of meat, including duck, rabbit, and pigeon; a common meat dish was boiled meat. Fish, including lobster, oyster, and cod; a popular New England fish soup was fish chowder. Bread included cheate bread and cornbread. Vegetables included turnip, carrot, onion, cabbage, potatoes, artichoke, and beet. The Puritan food added Indian fruits to their menu, such as blueberries, cranberries, blackberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and apple orchards. Pudding and pie were the two main desserts made by the early Puritan women. During the 1800's, European immigrants, particularly from western Europe, influenced the New England cooking by adding to its menu, for instance, corned beef and apple strudel.<sup>636</sup>

Next to cooking, the Puritans developed their own way of dress, which was mostly formal and generally not black or grey. They believed that the two colours suited more the officials, old men and women than the rest of people. Their preferable colours were russet, purple, green and brown; and their dress included:

Pair shoes, pair Irish stockings, shirts, suits of doublet and hose, plain falling bands, waistcoat of green cotton bound with red tape, leather girdle, Monmouth cap, red knot cap, and leather gloves.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>634</sup> Sarah Feider 85.

<sup>635</sup> Robert B. Morris. "Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America." *Columbia Law Review* 27 (Jan. 1927.) 24-51.

<sup>636</sup> Sarah Feider 300.

<sup>637</sup> David Hackett Fischer 140.

To prevent luxury and extravagance, sumptuary laws were passed in New England in the early 1630's, which forbade people from wearing new fashions, or long hair.<sup>638</sup>

The Puritans believed that entertainment was a waste of time and had no biblical justification. Therefore, till the nineteenth century they outlawed some kinds of entertainment such as the celebration of Christmas, and games as gambling and dice.<sup>639</sup> Reading for men and card playing for women were the only preferable free time activities. The Puritans liked card playing because:

It fit the Puritan ideals - it was quiet, could not be played under the influence of alcohol, required skills of logic and arithmetic, and did not require any kind of betting to be played.<sup>640</sup>

In addition to reading and card playing, the Puritan family used to gather in a special day called Thanksgiving, celebrated on the fourth Thursday of each November to commemorate the Pilgrims' first year in New England. The Puritans gathered with their relatives and invited their friends, neighbours, and even the Indians to thank them for their help; and introduced sermons to remind people about religion and renew their Covenant with the Creator and their family members. The festival commemorates the first winter when more than fifty settlers died, because of food insufficiency, disease, and cold weather.<sup>641</sup> Months later, after the first winter in New England, the Pilgrims gathered and invited members in the Wampanoag tribe to celebrate their first successful harvest and the end of troubles.<sup>642</sup> Sarah Feider describes the winter of 1620 as terrible:

The ground was hard, frozen and covered in snow. The wind was blustery and there was a great deal of rain. For a ship full of people, very sick people and low on food, the conditions were harsh.<sup>643</sup>

Traditional food was served at Thanksgiving, including mainly mashed potatoes, sweet corn, green beans, and salads. In fact, Thanksgiving began to be celebrated in the other

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<sup>638</sup> David Hackett Fischer 140- 141.

<sup>639</sup> The Puritans believed that December 25<sup>th</sup> was not the exact date of the Christ's birth who was born in September. David Hackett Fischer 304.

<sup>640</sup> David Hackett Fischer 306.

<sup>641</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census. Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976.

<sup>642</sup> For more details of the Wampanoag tribe and its relations with the Pilgrims, refer to the first section in chapter two.

<sup>643</sup> Sarah Feider 310.

colonies starting from 1632; and in 1789 the day was proclaimed and made national by the American President George Washington.<sup>644</sup>

Equally important in the Puritan daily life was their attitude towards the poor and the absence of social distinctions. People in New England were required by the authorities to look after the needy. The historian Sarah Feider mentions a case that appeared in 1830 in Massachusetts of a rich man from the Hammonds family<sup>645</sup> who was punished because he refused to help the poor. In fact, charity and social equality were two important characteristics of the early Puritans, and distinction between people was only made according to one's age and his reputation.<sup>646</sup> But, certain titles and names were used to address people such as: Your Honour, Your Excellency, Mister, Mistress, and Goodman.<sup>647</sup>

The way the Puritans saw their families reflected the Puritan impact on their way of living, in the sense that they believed in the leadership of man in his family. The Puritans justified this by the fact that God named the Human race man not woman, and that when Eve had sinned, God spoke to Adam about this sin, because He considered\_him the leader of his family and responsible for what had happened in his family. God said to Eve: "He shall rule over you."<sup>648</sup>

Puritanism greatly influenced the early intellectual life of New England. The Puritans believed that education was a good way to please the Creator, and quickly established schools, colleges, and libraries to encourage people to write and read. The impact of Puritanism also contributed to the shaping of early family and daily life of the New Englanders.

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<sup>644</sup> Sarah Feider 314- 116.

Refer to Appendix 11: General Thanksgiving.

<sup>645</sup> The Hammonds were among the first families who came to Massachusetts during the early years of the colony. Sarah Feider 325.

<sup>646</sup> Social distinction was refused only among the Puritans. The Indians, indentured servants, and slaves were people created to serve the Puritans. Sarah Feider.

<sup>647</sup> Sarah Feider.

<sup>648</sup> Sarah Feider 327.  
(GENESIS 3: 16.)

## Conclusion

The Protestant Reformation in Europe was adopted by a number of religious movements headed by Catharism in the eleventh century, but the term Protestant was officially applied in 1529 to the followers of Martin Luther who asked for Church reforms in Germany. The movements were dissatisfied with the Roman Catholic forms of worship, and asked for religious changes, which chiefly included the omission of certain services and sacraments not prescribed in the Scriptures, the supremacy of the Bible, and simple decoration of the Church. The protest also spread to England where the theologian John Wycliffe sent to Parliament in 1395 the Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards claiming the corruption of the Catholic Church, to be considered the first protest in England. Further protest was made in England, but now by the monarch himself; Henry VIII's policy helped Protestantism develop in the country. The King translated the Bible into English and ended the papal authority over England, claiming himself the supreme power over the Anglican Church. These measures did not please certain theologians who protested that the Established Church was still similar to the Catholic Church and needed more reforms. As a result, they were persecuted by the King and his successors. During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, terms such as Protestants, Puritans, Nonconformists, Presbyterians, and Separatists described all those who did not accept religious conformity to the English Church.

Persecution and failure to reform the Anglican Church did not discourage the Puritans who went on with their demands and wished to reform the Church from within; however, by the early seventeenth century few of them preferred to completely separate and establish their own Congregations in England. The Separatists escaped to Holland in 1607, then to New England thirteen years later to establish Plymouth as the first Puritan colony in America. Later, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven were established by the first group of Puritans- the Non-Separatists- who emigrated to New England fearing the Roman Catholic policy of Charles I. In fact, both groups feared religious persecution of the monarchs, whether Anglican or Catholic, but emigration of the Non-Separatists was legal because it was authorized by Charles I. There in the New World, another division appeared between



the Puritans and the Baptists, followers of Roger Williams. Unlike the other Puritans, the Baptists believed in the separation between Church and government, and in adult instead of infant Baptism; a fact that led to their persecution. This persecution and early religious division among the New England settlers was the first shortcoming of the Puritans in America, who had complained about religious persecution and lack of toleration in the mother country, but did not allow religious freedom in their colonies. Even the Indians were killed in wars and Africans were enslaved and obliged to work without money.

The Puritans viewed the New World as the land of dreams, where they could worship freely without being persecuted by the English monarchs. America was the appropriate place for them, because of two main reasons: Firstly, the Virginians had already settled and succeeded in North America; secondly, New England was inhabited only by the Indians, which meant that the Puritans would be the first Christians there, so they could establish their religion without being prevented by the English authority on one side, and spread their ideologies and beliefs over the Indians on the other. The early settlers introduced their Puritan ideas that impacted the way in which they established their Church, government, economy, and coexisted with the others.

The influence of religion in New England began as the early Puritans established their Churches, following a Congregational polity, according to which each Church was non-hierarchical and was self-governed by its own members or ministers. The Congregation was based on a Covenant between the Creator and the Puritans who agreed to gather in a church for His worship in return for salvation. The idea of Covenant had a significant impact on the development of the Puritan society, in a way that the Puritans established Covenants between one another: the ruler and the ruled, husband and wife, master and servant....etc, so that each one was obliged to respect this kind of relationship, either religious, professional or personal.

In fact, the Puritans' belief that God created Covenants to deal with his prophets- including Adam, Abraham, and Christ- inspired them to establish their own Covenants to organize their political life. Some of them were charters granted by the English monarchs to the settlers, others were written by the Puritans themselves such as, as an

example, the Mayflower Compact, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, and the New Haven Code. Next to the Covenant, Consent also gave birth to the first democratic political institution in New England which was the Town Meeting. People used to meet to discuss the towns' preoccupations then a decision would be taken after the majority's consent. Puritan beliefs and principles also motivated the New England colonies to protest in 1775 against Britain and end the Covenant because she failed to protect the interests of her colonies. In the area of economic development, the Puritans succeeded in developing an economy based on agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce, a fact that was due to their belief in the value of hard work. Although New England was not very useful for agriculture, the Puritans developed staples and non-edible crops.

The New England intellectual life was also influenced by the Puritan thought. Education was put in higher priority to make certain that people could read the Bible, and educate good individuals who would obey the laws of their communities. The Puritans developed education according to their biblical beliefs and experiences in England. The English universities, for instance, were a model for New England higher education, in a way that the seventeenth and eighteenth century curriculum was mainly based on classical courses. However, New England colleges did not start as universities as it was the case in England. Women education was slow at first; girls had the chance to study in Dame Schools or receive vocational education, but were not allowed to attend colleges as boys. The Puritans thought that women's role in taking care of their husbands and children was more important than schooling. The spread of libraries and writing- including newspapers and literature- contributed to the development of education and of the Puritan thought in particular. The Puritan literature started with writers born and raised in England, who brought with them their own style. The Puritans' impact on early New Englanders extended even to their family and daily life, particularly on their relationship between relatives and between other people; including as an example the poor and the old.

By 1830, Puritanism was still the main religion in New England; but religious, political, and economic circumstances affected its dominance and made the Puritans lose their influence and prevented them from imposing their rules and beliefs on the New Englanders and on people coming from different races and religions. The Puritans

did not tolerate religious diversity and persecuted people of other faiths, a weakness that made people distrust the Puritans who had complained about the English monarch's persecution. Beginning from 1629, different religious sects emigrated from Europe to New England, with no opposition from the English authority which changed its policy in the region, especially after the succession of the Catholic King James II. Rationalism and Deism also discouraged the intervention of religion in secular affairs and stressed the right of people to discover their God through nature without the help of priests, which motivated religious freedom. With the independence of the American colonies and the creation of the Federation, the New England states had their separate governments but were not independent of the Federal Government. Federation and the Constitution limited the states' power and called for religious freedom. The economic growth in New England, especially after the Industrial Revolution, obliged people to adopt with the new changes. Women, for instance, who long times ago had not been allowed to attend schools and work outside the home, did no longer follow their religious beliefs which denied female education.

## Appendix 1

### *The Church Canons (A.D. 325)*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of his Father, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God.

By whom all things were made, both which be in heaven and in earth. Who for us men and for our salvation came down [from heaven] and was incarnate and was made man. He suffered and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven. And he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost. And whosoever shall say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that before he was begotten he was not, or that he was made of things that were not, or that he is of a different substance or essence [from the Father] or that he is a creature, or subject to change or conversion—all that so say, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes them.

#### **Canon 1**

If any one in sickness has been subjected by physicians to a surgical operation, or if he has been castrated by barbarians, let him remain among the clergy; but, if any one in sound health has castrated himself, it behoves that such an one, if [already] enrolled among the clergy, should cease [from his ministry], and that from henceforth no such person should be promoted. But, as it is evident that this is said of those who wilfully do the thing and presume to castrate themselves, so if any have been made eunuchs by barbarians, or by their masters, and should otherwise be found worthy, such men the Canon admits to the clergy.

#### **Canon 2**

Forasmuch as, either from necessity, or through the urgency of individuals, many things have been done contrary to the Ecclesiastical canon, so that men just converted from heathenism to the faith, and who have been instructed but a little while, are straightway brought to the spiritual laver, and as soon as they have been baptized, are advanced to the episcopate or the presbyterate, it has seemed right to us that for the time to come no such thing shall be done. For to the catechumen himself there is need of time and of a longer trial after baptism. For the apostolical saying is clear, "Not a novice; lest, being lifted up with pride, he fall into condemnation and the snare of the devil." But if, as time goes on, any sensual sin should be found out about the person, and he should be convicted by two or three witnesses, let him cease from the clerical office. And whoso shall transgress these [enactments] will imperil his own clerical position, as a person who presumes to disobey the great Synod.

#### **Canon 3**

The great Synod has stringently forbidden any bishop, presbyter, deacon, or any one of the clergy whatever, to have a *subintroducta* dwelling with him, except only a mother, or sister, or aunt, or such persons only as are beyond all suspicion.

#### **Canon 4**

It is by all means proper that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops in the province; but should this be difficult, either on account of urgent necessity or because of distance, three at least should meet together, and the suffrages of the absent [bishops] also being given and communicated in writing, then the ordination should take place. But in every province the ratification of what is done should be left to the Metropolitan.

## ***Canon 5***

clergy or of the laity, who have been excommunicated in the several provinces, let the provision of the canon be observed by the bishops which provides that persons cast out by some be not readmitted by others. Nevertheless, inquiry should be made whether they have been excommunicated through captiousness, or contentiousness, or any such like ungracious disposition in the bishop. And, that this matter may have due investigation, it is decreed that in every province synods shall be held twice a year, in order that when all the bishops of the province are assembled together, such questions may by them be thoroughly examined, that so those who have confessedly offended against their bishop, may be seen by all to be for just cause excommunicated, until it shall seem fit to a general meeting of the bishops to pronounce a milder sentence upon them. And let these synods be held, the one before Lent, (that the pure Gift may be offered to God after all bitterness has been put away), and let the second be held about autumn.

## ***Canon 6***

Let the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis prevail, that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these, since the like is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch and the other provinces, let the Churches retain their privileges. And this is to be universally understood, that if any one be made bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great Synod has declared that such a man ought not to be a bishop. If, however, two or three bishops shall from natural love of contradiction, oppose the common suffrage of the rest, it being reasonable and in accordance with the ecclesiastical law, then let the choice of the majority prevail.

## ***Canon 7***

Since custom and ancient tradition have prevailed that the Bishop of Ælia should be honoured, let him, saving its due dignity to the Metropolis, have the next place of honour.

## ***Canon 8***

Catholic and Apostolic Church, the great and holy Synod decrees that they who are ordained shall continue as they are in the clergy. But it is before all things necessary that they should profess in writing that they will observe and follow the dogmas of the Catholic and Apostolic Church; in particular that they will communicate with persons who have been twice married, and with those who having lapsed in persecution have had a period [of penance] laid upon them, and a time [of restoration] fixed so that in all things they will follow the dogmas of the Catholic Church. Wheresoever, then, whether in villages or in cities, all of the ordained are found to be of these only, let them remain in the clergy, and in the same rank in which they are found. But if they come over where there is a bishop or presbyter of the Catholic Church, it is manifest that the Bishop of the Church must have the bishop's dignity; and he who was named bishop by those who are called Cathari shall have the rank of presbyter, unless it shall seem fit to the Bishop to admit him to partake in the honour of the title. Or, if this should not be satisfactory, then shall the bishop provide for him a place as Chorepiscopus, or presbyter, in order that he may be evidently seen to be of the clergy, and that there may not be two bishops in the city.

## ***Canon 9***

If any presbyters have been advanced without examination, or if upon examination they have made confession of crime, and men acting in violation of the canon have laid hands upon them, notwithstanding their confession, such the canon does not admit; for the Catholic Church requires that [only] which is blameless.

## ***Canon 10***

If any who have lapsed have been ordained through the ignorance, or even with the previous knowledge of the ordainers, this shall not prejudice the canon of the Church; for when they are discovered they shall be deposed.

### ***Canon 11***

Prayers, but without oblation.

### ***Canon 12***

As many as were called by grace, and displayed the first zeal, having cast aside their military girdles, but afterwards returned, like dogs, to their own vomit, (so that some spent money and by means of gifts regained their military stations); let these, after they have passed the space of three years as hearers, be for ten years prostrators. But in all these cases it is necessary to examine well into their purpose and what their repentance appears to be like. For as many as give evidence of their conversions by deeds, and not pretence, with fear, and tears, and perseverance, and good works, when they have fulfilled their appointed time as hearers, may properly communicate in prayers; and after that the bishop may determine yet more favourably concerning them. But those who take [the matter] with indifference, and who think the form of [not] entering the Church is sufficient for their conversion, must fulfil the whole time.

### ***Canon 13***

Prayers only. But in general, and in the case of any dying person whatsoever asking to receive the Eucharist, let the Bishop, after examination made, give it him.

### ***Canon 14***

Catechumens who have lapsed, the holy and great Synod has decreed that, after they have passed three years only as hearers, they shall pray with the catechumens.

### ***Canon 15***

On account of the great disturbance and discords that occur, it is decreed that the custom prevailing in certain places contrary to the Canon, must wholly be done away; so that neither bishop, presbyter, nor deacon shall pass from city to city. And if any one, after this decree of the holy and great Synod, shall attempt any such thing, or continue in any such course, his proceedings shall be utterly void, and he shall be restored to the Church for which he was ordained bishop or presbyter.

### ***Canon 16***

Neither presbyters, nor deacons, nor any others enrolled among the clergy, who, not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor regarding the ecclesiastical Canon, shall recklessly remove from their own church, ought by any means to be received by another church; but every constraint should be applied to restore them to their own parishes; and, if they will not go, they must be excommunicated. And if anyone shall dare surreptitiously to carry off and in his own Church ordain a man belonging to another, without the consent of his own proper bishop, from whom although he was enrolled in the clergy list he has seceded, let the ordination be void.

### ***Canon 17***

Forasmuch as many enrolled among the Clergy, following covetousness and lust of gain, have forgotten the divine Scripture, which says, "He has not given his money upon usury," and in lending money ask the hundredth of the sum [as monthly interest], the holy and great Synod thinks it just that if after this decree any one be found to receive usury, whether he accomplish it by secret transaction or otherwise, as by demanding the whole and one half, or by using any other contrivance whatever for filthy lucre's sake, he shall be deposed from the clergy and his name stricken from the list.

### ***Canon 18***

It has come to the knowledge of the holy and great Synod that, in some districts and cities, the deacons administer the Eucharist to the presbyters, whereas neither canon nor custom permits that they who have no right to offer should give the Body of Christ to them that do offer. And this also has been made known, that certain deacons now touch the Eucharist even before the bishops. Let all such practices be utterly done away, and let the deacons remain within their own bounds, knowing that they are the ministers of the bishop and the inferiors of the presbyters. Let them receive the Eucharist according to their order, after the presbyters, and let either the bishop or the presbyter administer to them. Furthermore, let not the deacons sit among the presbyters, for that is contrary to canon and order. And if, after this decree, any one shall refuse to obey, let him be deposed from the diaconate.

### ***Canon 19***

Catholic Church, it has been decreed that they must by all means be rebaptized; and if any of them who in past time have been numbered among their clergy should be found blameless and without reproach, let them be rebaptized and ordained by the Bishop of the Catholic Church; but if the examination should discover them to be unfit, they ought to be deposed. Likewise in the case of their deaconesses, and generally in the case of those who have been enrolled among their clergy, let the same form be observed. And we mean by deaconesses such as have assumed the habit, but who, since they have no imposition of hands, are to be numbered only among the laity.

### ***Canon 20***

Forasmuch as there are certain persons who kneel on the Lord's Day and in the days of Pentecost, therefore, to the intent that all things may be uniformly observed everywhere (in every parish), it seems good to the holy Synod that prayer be made to God standing.....

## Appendix 2

### A Chronological List of the Roman Catholic Popes (1305- 1455)

Pope Clement V (1305- 1314)

Pope John XXII (1316- 1334)

Pope Benedict XII (1334- 1342)

Pope Clement VI (1342- 1352)

Pope Innocent VI (1352- 1362)

Pope Urban V (1362- 1370)

Pope Gregory XI (1370- 1378)

Pope Urban VI (1378- 1389)

Pope Boniface IX (1389- 1404)

Pope Clement VII (1378- 1394)

Pope Benedict XIII (1394- 1417)

Pope Innocent VII (1404- 1406)

Pope Gregory XII (1406- 1417)

Pope Alexander V (1409- 1410)

Pope John XXIII (1410- 1415)

Pope Martin V (1417- 1431)

Pope Clement VIII (1423- 1429)

Pope Benedict XIV (1425- 1430)

Pope Eugene IV (1431- 1447)

Pope Felix V (1439- 1449)

Pope Nicholas V (1447- 1455)

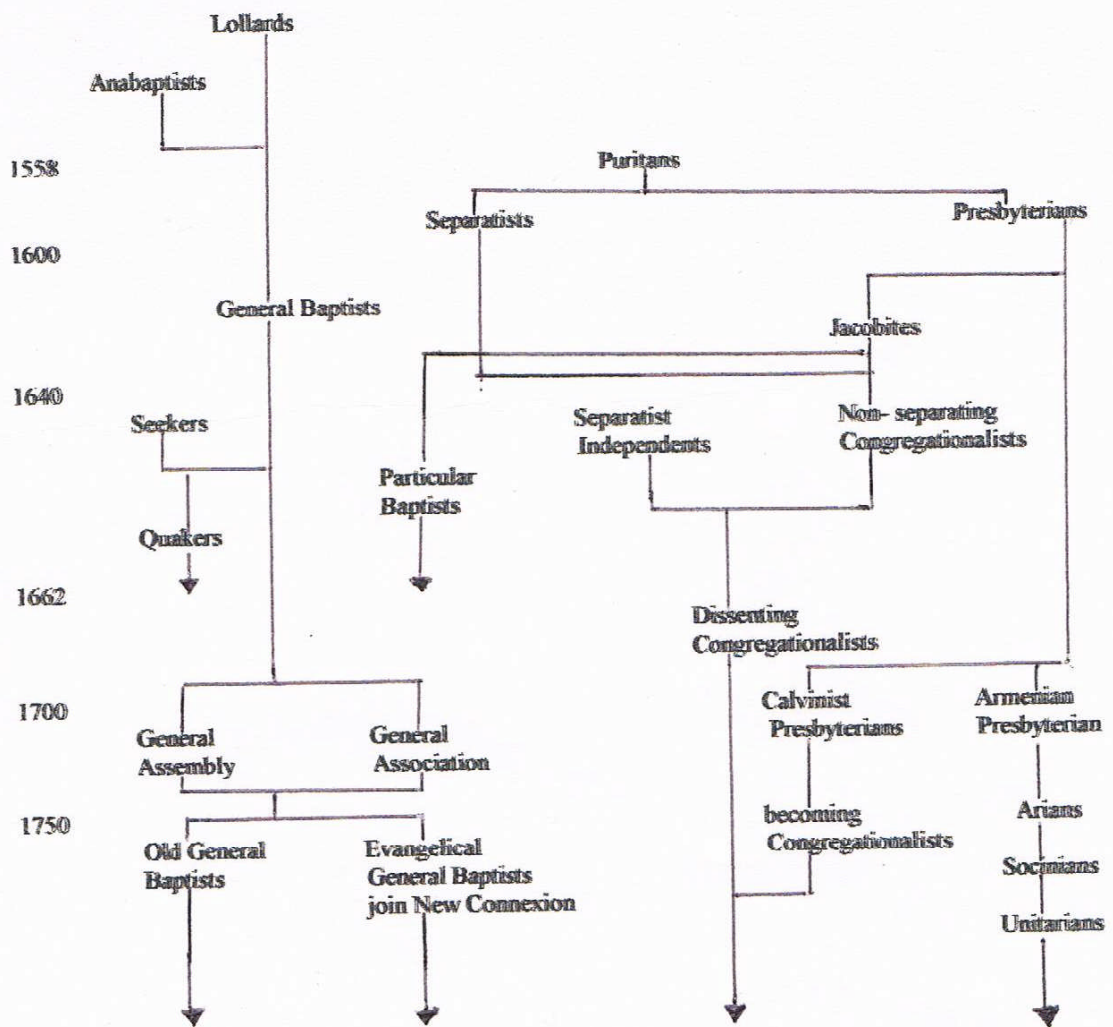
 The Avignon Papacy (1309- 1378)

 The Anti- popes

 The Roman Catholic Official Popes



## The Evolution of Old Dissent



Source: Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters. From the Reformation to the French Revolution, England*. Oxford University Press, 2002, p.6.

## Appendix 4

### Location and Date of the Congregational Churches Founded by 1650

Plymouth, 1620	Dedham (Massachusetts), 1638
Salem (Massachusetts), 1629	Sandwich (Massachusetts), 1638
Boston (Massachusetts), 1630	Barnstable, West (Massachusetts), 1639
Dorchester (Massachusetts), 1630	Barnstable, East (Massachusetts), 1639
Watertown (Massachusetts), 1630	Quincy (Massachusetts), 1639
Roxbury (Massachusetts), 1631	Rowley (Massachusetts), 1639
Charlestown (Massachusetts), 1632	Salisbury (Massachusetts), 1639
Duxbury (Massachusetts), 1632	Yarmouth (Massachusetts), 1639
Lynn (Massachusetts), 1632	Portsmouth (New Hampshire), 1640
Marshfield (Massachusetts), 1632	Edgartown (Massachusetts), 1641
Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1633	Haverhill (Massachusetts), 1641
Scituate (Massachusetts), 1634	Gloucester (Massachusetts), 1642
Hingham (Plymouth), 1635	Norwell (Massachusetts), 1642
Newbury (Massachusetts), 1635	Woburn (Massachusetts), 1642
Weymouth (Massachusetts), 1635	Martha's Vineyard (Massachusetts), 1642
Concord (Massachusetts), 1636	Eastham (Massachusetts), 1643
Springfield (Massachusetts), 1637	Wenham (Massachusetts), 1644
Taunton (Massachusetts), 1637	North Andover (Massachusetts), 1645
Windsor (Connecticut), 1637	Wakefield (Massachusetts), 1645
Yale (New Haven), 1638	Malden (Massachusetts), 1650

## Appendix 5

### The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629

CHARLES, BY THE, GRACE, OF GOD, Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the Fayth, &c. To all to whome this Presents shall come Greeting. WHEREAS, our most Deare and Royall Father, Kinge James, of blessed Memory, by his Highnes Letters-patents bearing Date at Westminster the third Day of November, in the eighteenth Yeare of His Raigne, HATH given and graunted vnto the Councill established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of Newe England in America, and to their Successors and Assignes for ever all that Parte of America, lyeing and being in Breadth, from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctiall Lyne, to forty eight Degrees Of the saide Northerly Latitude inclusively, and in Length, of and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout the Maine Landes from Sea to Sea; together also with all the Firme Landes, Soyles, Groundes, Havens, Portes, Rivers, Waters, Fishing, Mynes, and Myneralls, as well Royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes ind Mvneralls, precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Comodities, Jurisdiccons, Royalties, Priviledges, Franchiesies, and Prehemynences, both within the said Tract of Land vpon the Mayne, and also within the Islandes and Seas adjoining: PROVIDED alwayes, That the saide Islandes, or any the Premisses by the said Letters-patents intended and meant to be graunted, were not then actuallie possessed or inhabited, by any other Christian Prince or State, nor within the Boundes, Lymitts, or Territories of the Southerne Colony, then before graunted by our saide Deare Father, to be planted by divers of his loveing Subjects in the South Partes. TO HAVE and to houlde, possess, and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid Continent, Landes Territories, Islandes, Hereditaments, and Precincts, Seas, Waters, Fishings, with all, and all manner their Comodities, Royalties, Liberties, Prehemynences, and Proffits that should from thenceforth arise from thence, with all and singuler their Appurtenances, and every Parte and Parcell thereof, vnto the saide Councill and their Successors and Assignes for ever, to the sole and proper Vse, Benefitt, and Behoofe of them the saide Councill, and their Successors and Asignes for ever: To be houlden of our saide most Deare and Royall Father, his Heires and Successors, as of his Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and comon Soccage, and not in Capite nor by Knight's Service: YEILDINGE and paying therefore to the saide late Kinge, his heires and Successors, the fifte Parte of the Oare of Gould and Silver, which should from tyme to tyme, and at all Tymes then after happen to be found, gotten, had, and obteyned in, att, or within any of the saide Landes, Lymitts, Territories, and Precincts, or in or within any Parte or Parcell thereof, for or in Respect of all and all Manner of Duties, Demaunds and Services whatsoever, to be don, made, or paide to our saide Dear Father the late Kinge his Heires and Successors, as in and by the saide Letters-patents (amongst sundrie and other Clauses, Powers, Priviledges, and Grauntes therein conteyned), more at large appeareth:

AND WHEREAS, the saide Councill established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the plantinge, ruling, ordering, and governing of Newe England in America, have by their Deede, indented vnder their Comon Seale, bearing Date the nyneteenth Day of March last past, in the third Yeare of our Raigne, given, graunted, bargained, sould, enfeofled, aliened, and confirmed to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knightes, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, and Symon Whetcombe, their Heires and Assignes, and their Associats for ever, all that Parte of Newe England in America aforesaid, which lyes and extendes betweene a greate River there comonlie called Monomack alias Merriemack, and a certen other River there, called Charles River, being in the Bottome of a certayne Bay there, comonlie called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay, and also all and singuler those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the Space of three English Myles on the South Parte of the said Charles River, or of any, or everie Parte thereof; and also, all and singuler the Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing and being within the Space of three English Myles to the Southward of the Southermost Parte of the saide Bay called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay; and also, all those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, which lye, and be within the space of three English Myles to the Northward of the said River called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the Northward of any and every Parte thereof, and all Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the Lymitts aforesaide, North and South in Latitude and breath, and in Length and Longitude, of and within all the Breadth aforesaide, throughout the Mayne Landes there, from the Atlantick and Westernne Sea and Ocean on the East Parte, to the South Sea on the West Parte; and all Landes and Groundes, Place and Places, Soyles, Woodes and Wood Groundes, Havens, Portes, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the said Boundes and Lymitts, and everie Parte and Parcell thereof; and also, all Islandes lyeing in America aforesaide, in the saide Seas or either of them on the Westernne or Eastern Coastes or Partes of the said Tractes of Lande, by the saide Indenture mencoed to be

given, graunted, bargained, sould, enfeofled, aliened, and confirmed, or any of them; and also, all Mynes and Myneralls, as well Royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes and Myneralls whatsoever, in the saide Lands and Premisses, or any Parte thereof; and all Jurisdiccions, Rights, Royalties, Liberties, Freedomes, Ymmunities, Priviledges, Franchises, Preheminences, and Comodities whatsoever, which they, the said Councell established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of Newe England in America, then had, or might vse, exercise, or enjoy, in or within the saide Landes and Premisses by the saide Indenture mencoed to be given, graunted, bargained, sould, enfeoffed, and confirmed, or in or within any Parte or Parcell thereof:

To HAVE and to hould, the saide Parte of Newe England in America, which lyes and extends and is abutted as aforesaide, and every Parte and Parcell thereof; and all the saide Islandes, Rivers, Portes, Havens, Waters, Fishings, Mynes, and Myneralls, Jurisdiccions, Franchises, Royalties, Liberties, Priviledges, Comodities, Hereditaments, and Premisses whatsoever, with the Appurtenances vnto the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, their Heires and Assignes, and their Associatts, to the onlie proper and absolute vse and Behoofe of the said Sir Henry Rosawell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whettcombe, their Heires and Assignes, and their Associatts forevermore; TO BE HOULDEN of Vs. our Heires and Successors, as of our Mannor of Eastgreenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and comon Socage, and not in Capite, nor by Knightes Service; YEILDING and payeing therefore vnto Vs. our Heires and Successors, the fite Parte of the Oare of Goulde and Silver, which shall from Tyme to Tyme, and at all Tymes hereafter, happen to be founde, gotten, had, and obteyned in any of the saide Landes, within the saide Lymitts, or in or witllin any Parte thereof, for, and in Satisfaccon of all manner Duties, Demaundes, and Services whatsoever to be done, made, or paid to Vs. our Heires or Successors, as in and by the said recited Indenture more at large maie appeare.

NOWE Knowe Yee, that Wee, at the humble Suite and Peticon of the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, and of others whome they have associated vnto them, HAVE, for divers good Causes and consideracons, vs moveing, graunted and confirmed, and by theis Presents of our especiall Grace, certen Knowledge, and meere mocon, doe graunt and confirme vnto the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, and to their Associatts hereafter named; (videlicet) Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, Isaack Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mathew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, their Heires and Assignes, all the saide Parte of Newe England in America, lyeing and extending betweene the Boundes and Lvmytts in the said recited Indenture expressed, and all Landes and Groundes, Place and Places, Soyles, Woods and Wood Groundes, Havens, Portes, Rivers, Waters, Mynes, Mineralls, Jurisdiccions, Rightes, Royalties, Liberties, Freedomes, Immunities, Priviledges, Franchises, Preheminences, Hereditaments, and Comodities whatsoever, to them the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, their Heires and Assignes, and to their Associatts, by the saide recited Indenture, given, graunted, bargayned, solde, enfeoffed, aliened, and confirmed, or mencoed or intended thereby to be given, graunted, bargayned, sold, enfeoffed, aliened, and confirmed: To HAVE, and to hould, the saide Parte of Newe England in America, and other the Premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted and confirmed, and every Parte and Parcell thereof with the Appurtenances, to the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Gode, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Bromine, Thomas Hutchins, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, their Heires and Assignes forever, to their onlie proper and absolute Vse and Behoofe for evermore; To be holden of Vs. our Heires and Successors, as of our Mannor of Eastgreenewich aforesaid, in free and comon Socage, and not in Capite, nor by Knights Service; AND ALSO YEILDING and paying therefore to Vs. our Heires and Successors, the fite parte onlie of all Oare of Gould and Silver, which from tyme to tyme, and aft all tymes hereafter shalbe there gotten, had, or obteyned for all Services, Exaccons and Demaundes whatsoever, according to the Tenure and Reservacon in the said recited Indenture expressed.

AND FURTHER, knowe yee, that of our more especiall Grace, certen Knowledg, and meere mocon, Wee have given and graunted, and by theis Presents, doe for Vs. our Heires and Successors, give and graunte onto the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John

Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Gode, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, their Heires and Assignes, all that Parte of Newe England in America, which lyes and extendes betweene a great River there, comonlie called Monomack River, alias Merrimack River, and a certen other River there, called Charles River, being in the Bottome of a certen Bay there, comonlie called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay; and also all and singuler those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the Space of Three Englishe Myles on the South Parte of the said River, called Charles River, or of any or every Parte thereof; and also all and singuler the Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the Space of Three Englishe Miles to the southward of the southermost Parte of the said Baye, called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay: And also all those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, which lye and be within the Space of Three English Myles to the Northward of the saide River, called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the Norward of any and every Parte thereof, and all Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the Lymitts aforesaide, North and South, in Latitude and Bredth, and in Length and Longitude, of and within all the Bredth aforesaide, throughout the mayne Landes there, from the Atlantick and Westerne Sea and Ocean on the East Parte, to the South Sea on the West Parte; and all Landes and Groundes, Place and Places, Soyles, Woodes, and Wood Groundes, Havens, Portes, Rivers, Waters, and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the said Boundes and Lymytts, and every Parte and Parcell thereof; and also all Islandes in America aforesaide, in the saide Seas, or either of them, on the Westerne or Easterne Coastes, or Partes of the saide Tracts of Landes hereby mencoed to be given and graunted, or any of them; and all Mynes and Mynerals as well Royal mynes of Gold and Silver and other mynes and mynerals, whatsoever, in the said Landes and Premisses, or any parte thereof, and free Libertie of fishing in or within any the Rivers or Waters within the Boundes and Lymytts aforesaid, and the Seas therevnto adjoining; and all Fishes, Royal Fishes, Whales, Balan, Sturgions, and other Fishes of what Kinde or Nature soever, that shall at any time hereafter be taken in or within the saide Seas or Waters, or any of them, by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassell, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browner, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, their Heires and Assignes, or by any other person or persons whatsoever there inhabiting, by them, or any of them, to be appointed to fishe therein.

PROVIDED alwayes, That yf the said Landes, Islandes, or any other the Premisses herein before menconed, and by theis presents, intended and meant to be graunted, were at the tyme of the graunting of the saide former Letters patents, dated the Third Day of November, in the Eighteenth Yeare of our said deare Fathers Raigne aforesaide, actuallie possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State, or were within the Boundes, Lymytts or Territories of that Southerne Colony, then before graunted by our said late Father, to be planted by divers of his loveing Subiects in the south partes of America, That then this present Graunt shall not extend to any such partes or parcells thereof, soe formerly inhabited, or lyeing within the Boundes of the Southerne Plantacon as aforesaide, but as to those partes or parcells soe possessed or inhabited by such Christian Prince or State, or being within the Bounders aforesaide shal be vtterlie voyd, theis presents or any Thing therein conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. To HAVE and hould, possesse and enjoye the saide partes of New England in America, which lye, extend, and are abutted as aforesaide, and every parse and parcell thereof; and all the Islandes, Rivers, Portes, Havens, Waters, Fishings, Fishes, Mynes, Myneralls, Jurisdiccons, Franchises, Royalties, Liberties, Priviledges, Comodities, and Premisses whatsoever, with the Appurtenances, vnto the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noweil, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcroft, their Heires and Assignes forever, to the onlie proper and absolute Vse and Behoufe of the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradocke, George Harwood, Increase Noweil, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcroft, their Heires and Assignes forevermore: To BE HOLDEN of Vs. our Heires and Successors, as of our Manor of Eastgreenwich in our Countie of Kent, within our Realme of England, in free and comon Soccage, and

not in Capite, nor by Knights Service; and also yeilding and paying therefore, to Vs. our Heires and Successors, the fite Parte onlie of all Oare of Gould and Silver, which from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obteyned, for all Services, Exaccons, and Demaundes whatsoever; PROVIDED alwaies, and our expresse Will and Meaning is, that onlie one fite Parte of the Gould and Silver Oare above mencoed, in the whole, and noe more be reserved or payeable vnto Vs. our Heires and Successors, by Collour or Vertue of theis Presents, the double Reservacons or rentals aforesaid or any Thing herein conteyned notwithstanding. AND FORASMUCH, as the good and prosperous Successe of the Plantacon of the saide Partes of Newe-England aforesaide intended by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey John Ven, Mathew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, to be speedily sett vpon, cannot but chiefly depend, next vnder the Blessing of Almighty God, and the support of our Royall Authoritie vpon the good Government of the same, To the Ende that the Affaires and Buyssinnes which from tyme to tyme shall happen and arise concerning the saide Landes, and the Plantation of the same maie be the better mannged and ordered, WEE HAVE FURTHER hereby of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Mocon, Given, graunted and confirmed, and for Vs. our Heires and Successors, doe give, graunt, and confirme vnto our said trustie and welbeloved subjects Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endicott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Yen, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte: AND for Vs. our Heires and Successors, Wee will and ordeyne, That the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endicott, Svmon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, and all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the Company and Society hereafter mencoed, shall from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes forever hereafter be, by Vertue of theis presents, one Body corporate and politique in Fact and Name, by the Name of the Governour and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe-England, and them by the Name of the Governour and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe-England, one Bodie politique and corporate, in Deede, Fact, and Name; Wee doe for vs. our Heires and Successors, make, ordeyne, constitute, and confirme by theis Presents, and that by that name they shall have perpetuall Succession, and that by the same Name they and their Successors shall and maie be capeable and enabled aswell to implead, and to be impleaded, and to prosecute, demaund, and aunswere, and be aunswared veto, in all and singuler Suites, Causes, Quarrells, and Acons, of what kinde or nature soever. And also to have, take, possesse, acquire, and purchase any Landes, Tenements, or Hereditaments, or any Goodes or Chattells, and the same to lease, graunte, demise, alien, bargaine, sell, and dispose of, as other our liege People of this our Realme of England, or any other corporacon or Body politique of the same may lawfully doe.

AND FURTHER, That the said Governour and Companye, and their Successors, maie have forever one comon Seale, to be vsed in all Causes and Occasions of the said Company, and the same Seale may alter, change, breake, and newe make, from tyme to tyme, at their pleasures. And our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs. our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte, That from henceforth for ever, there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor, and eighteene Assistants of the same Company, to be from tyme to tyme constituted, elected and chosen out of the Freemen of the saide Company, for the tyme being, in such Manner and Forme as hereafter in theis Presents is expressed, which said Officers shall applie themselves to take Care for the best disposing and ordering of the generall buysines and Affaires of, for, and concerning the said Landes and Premisses hereby mencoed, to be graunted, and the Plantacion thereof, and the Government of the People there. AND FOR the better Execucon of our Royall Pleasure and Graunte in this Behalf, WEE doe, by theis presents, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, nominate, ordeyne, make, & constitute; our welbeloved the saide Mathewe Cradocke, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the saide Thomas Goffe, to be Deputy Governor of the saide Company, and the saide Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Browne, George Foxcrofte, William Vassall, and William Pinchion, to be the present Assistants of the saide Company, to continue in the saide

several Offices respectivelie for such tyme, and in such manner, as in and by theis Presents is hereafter declared and appointed.

AND FURTHER, Wee will, and by theis Presents, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, doe ordoyne and graunte, That the Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, or in his Absence by Occasion of Sicknes or otherwise, the Deputie Governor for the tyme being, shall have Authoritie from tyme to tyme vpon all Occasions, to give order for the assembling of the saide Company, and calling them together to consult and advise of the Bussinesses and Affaires of the saide Company, and that the said Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company, for the tyme being, shall or maie once every Moneth, or oftener at their Pleasures, assemble and houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie of themselves, for the better ordering and directing of their Affaires, and that any seaven or more persons of the Assistants, together with the Governor, or Deputie Governor soe assembled, shalbe saide, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shalbe a full and sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the said Company, for the handling, ordering, and dispatching of all such Buysinesses and Occurrents as shall from tyme to tyme happen, touching or concerning the said Company or Plantacon; and that there shall or maie be held and kept by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and seaven or more of the said Assistants for the tyme being, vpon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas Termes respectivelie forever, one grease generall and solempne assemblie, which foure generall assemblies shalbe stiled and called the foure grease and generall Courts of the saide Company; IN all and every, or any of which saide grease and generall Courts soe assembled, WEE DOE for Vs. our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, That the Governor, or in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, and such of the Assistants and Freeman of the saide Company as shalbe present, or the greater number of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants at the least to be seaven shall have full Power and authoritie to choose, nominate, and appointe, such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admits; and to elect and constitute such Officers as they shall thinke fitt and requisite, for the ordering, manning, and dispatching of the Affaires of the saide Govenor and Company, and their Successors; And to make Lawes and Ordinnces for the Good and Welfare of the saide Company, and for the Government and ordering of the saide Landes and Plantacon, and the People inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meete, soe as such Lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Reaime of England. AND, our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs, our Heires and Successors, establish and ordeyne, That yearly once in the yeare, for ever hereafter, namely, the last Wednesday in Easter Tearme, yearly, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company and all other officers of the saide Company shalbe in the Generall Court or Assembly to be held for that Day or Tyme, newly chosen for the Yeare ensuing by such greater parse of the said Company, for the Tyme being, then and there present, as is aforesaide. AND, yf it shall happen the present governor, Deputy Governor, and assistants, by theis presents appointed, or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their Roomes, or any of them, or any other of the officers to be appointed for the said Companv, to dye, or to be removed from his or their severall Offices or Places before the saide generall Day of Eleccion (whome Wee doe hereby declare for any Misdemeanor or Defect to be removeable by the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, and Company, or such greater Parte of them in any of the publique Courts to be assembled as is aforesaid) That then, and in every such Case, it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, and Company aforesaide, or such greater Parte of them soe to be assembled as is aforesaide, in any of their Assemblies, to proceade to a new Eleccion of one or more others of their Company in the Roome or Place, Roomes or Places of such Officer or Officers soe dyeing or removed according to their Discrecons, And, Mediatly vpon and after such Eleccion and Eleccions made of such Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistant or Assistants, or any other officer of the saide Company, in Manner and Forme aforesaid, the Authoritie, Office, and Power, before given to the former Governor, Deputie Governor, or other Officer and Officers soe removed, in whose Steade and Place newe shabe soe chosen, shall as to him and them, and everie of them, cease and determine

PROVIDED alsoe, and our Will and Pleasure is, That aswell such as are by theis Presents appointed to be the present Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the said Company, as those that shall Succeed them, and all other Officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid, shall, before they undertake the Execucon of their saide Offices and Places respectivelie, take their Corporal Oathes for the due and faithfull Performance of their Duties in their severall Offices and Places, before such Person or Persons as are by theis Presents hereunder appointed to take and receive the same; That is to saie, the saide Mathewe Cradock, whoe is hereby nominated and appointed the present Governor of the saide Company, shall take

the saide Oathes before one or more of the Masters of our Courte of Chauncery for the Tyme being, vnto which Master or Masters of the Chauncery, Wee doe by theis Presents give full Power and Authoritie to take and administer the said Oathe to the said Governor accordinglie: And after the saide Governor shalbe soe sworne, then the said Deputy Governor and Assistants, before by theis Presents nominated and appointed, shall take the said severall Oathes to their Offices and Places respectivelie belonging, before the said Mathew Cradock, the present Governor, soe formerlie sworne as aforesaide. And every such person as shall be at the Tyme of the annuall Eleccion, or otherwise, vpon Death or Removeall, be appointed to be the newe Governor of the said Company, shall take the Oathes to that Place belonging, before the Deputy Governor, or two of the Assistants of the said Company at the least, for the Tyme being: And the newe elected Deputie Governor and Assistants, and all other officers to be hereafter chosen as aforesaide from Tyme to Tyme, to take the Oathes to their places respectivelie belonging, before the Governor of the said Company for the Tyme being, vnto which said Governor, Deputie Governor, and assistants, Wee doe by theis Presents Give full Power and Authoritie to give and administer the said Oathes respectively, according to our true Meaning herein before declared, without any Comission or further Warrant to be had and obteyned of our Vs. our Heires or Successors, in that Behalf. AND, Wee doe further, of our especial Grace, certen Knowledge, and meere mocon, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors for ever by theis Presents, That it shalbe lawfull and free for them and their Assignes, at all and every Tyme and Tymes hereafter, out of any our Realmes or Domynions whatsoever, to take, leade, carry, and transport, for in and into their Voyages, and for and towards the said Plantacon in Newe England, all such and soe many of our loving Subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving Subjects, and live under our Allegiance, as shall willinglie accompany them in the same Voyages and Plantacon; and also Shippmg, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Municon, Powder, Shott, Come, Victualls, and all Manner of clothing, Implements, Furniture, Beastes, Cattle, Horses, Mares, Merchandizes, and all other Thinges necessarie for the saide Plantacon, and for their Vse and Defence, and for Trade with the People there, and in passing and returning to and fro, any Lawe or Statute to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding; and without payeing or yeilding any Custome or Subsidie, either inward or outward, to Vs. our Heires or Successors, for the same, by the Space of seaven Yeares from the Day of the Date of theis Presents. PROVIDED, that none of the saide Persons be such as shalbe hereafter by especiall Name restrayned by Vs. our Heires or Successors. AND, for their further Encouragement, of our especiall Grace and Favor, Wee doe by theis Presents, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, yeild and graunt to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, and every of them, their Factors and Assignes, That they and every of them shalbe free and quits from all Taxes, Subsidies, and Customes, in Newe England, for the like Space of seaven Yeares, and from all Taxes and Imposicons for the Space of twenty and one Yeares, vpon all Goodes and Merchandizes at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter, either vpon Importacon thither, or Exportacon from thence into our Realme of England, or into any other our Domynions by the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, their Deputies, Factors, and Assignes, or any of them; EXCEPT onlie the five Pounds per Centum due for Custome vpon all such Goodes and Merchandizes as after the saide seaven Yeares shalbe expired, shalbe brought or imported into our Realme of England, or any other of our Dominions, according to the auncient Trade of Merchants, which five Poundes per Centum onlie being payde, it shall be thenceforth lawfull and free for the said Adventurers, the same Goodes and Merchandizes to export and carry out of our said Domynions into forraigne Partes, without any Custome, Tax or other Dutie to be paid to Vs. our Heires or Successors, or to any other Officers or Ministers of Vs. our Heires and Successors. PROVIDED, that the said Goodes and Merchandizes be shipped out within thirteene Monethes, after their first Landing within any Parte of the saide Domynions.

AND, Wee doe for Vs. our Heires and Successors, give and graunte vnto the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That whensoever, or soe often as any Custome or Subsidie shall growe due or payable vnto Vs our Heires, or Successors, according to the Lymittacon and Appointment aforesaide, by Reason of any Goodes, Wares, or Merchandizes to be shipped out, or any Retorne to be made of any Goodes, Wares, or Merchandize vnto or from the said Partes of Newe England hereby moncoed to be graunted as aforesaid, or any the Landes or Territories aforesaide, That then, and soe often, and in such Case, the Farmors, Customers, and Officers of our Customes of England and Ireland, and everie of them for the Tyme being, vpon Request made to them by the saide Governor and Company, or their Successors, Factors or Assignes, and vpon convenient Security to be given in that Behalf, shall give and allowe vnto the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, and to all and everie Person and Persons free of that Company, as aforesaide, six Monethes Tyme for the Payement of the one halfe of all such Custome and Subsidy as shalbe due and payable unto Vs. our Heires and Successors, for the same; for which theis our Letters patent, or the Duplicate, or the inrollemt thereof, shalbe vnto our saide Officers a sufficient Warrant and Discharge. NEVERTHELESS, our Will and Pleasure is, That yf any of



the saide Goodes, Wares, and Merchandize, which be, or shalbe at any Tyme hereafter landed or exported out of any of our Realmes aforesaide, and shalbe shipped with a Purpose not to be carried to the Partes of Newe England aforesaide, but to some other place, That then such Payment, Dutie, Custome, Imposicon, or Forfeiture, shalbe paid, or belonge to Vs. our Heires and Successors, for the said Goodes, Wares, and Merchandize, soe fraudulently sought to be transported, as yf this our Graunte had not been made nor graunted. AND, Wee doe further will, and by theis Presents, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, firmlie enioine and comaunde, as well the Treasurer, Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer, of Vs. our Heires and Successors, as also all and singuler the Customers, Farmors, and Collectors of the Customes, Subsidies, and Imposts and other the Officers and Ministers of Vs our Heires and Successors whatsoever, for the Tyme Being, That they and every of them, vpon the strewing forth vnto them of theis Letters patents, or the Duplicate or exemplificacon of the same, without any other Writt or Warrant whatsoever from Vs. our Heires or Successors, to be obteyned or sued forth, doe and shall make full, whole, entire, and due Allowance, and cleare Discharge vnto the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, of all Customes, Subsidies, Imposicons, Taxes and Duties whatsoever, that shall or maie be claymed by Vs. our Heires and Successors, of or from the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, for or by Reason of the said Goodes, Chattels, Wares, Merchandizes, and Premises to be exported out of our saide Domyinions, or any of them, into any Parte of the saide Landes or Premises hereby mencoed, to be given, graunted, and confirmed, or for, or by Reason of any of the saide Goodes, Chattells, Wares, or Merchandizes to be imported from the said Landes and Premises hereby mencoed, to be given, graunted, and confirmed into any of our saide Dominions, or any Parte thereof as aforesaide, excepting onlie the saide five Poundes per Centum hereby reserved and payeable after the Expiracon of the saide Terme of seaven Yeares as aforesaid, and not before: And theis our Letters-patents, or the Inrollment, Duplicate, or Exemplificacon of the same shalbe for ever hereafter, from time to tyme, as well to the Treasurer, Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer of Vs. our Heires and Successors, as to all and singuler the Customers, Farmors, and Collectors of the Customes, Subsidies, and Imposts of Vs. our Heires and Successors, and all Searchers, and other the Officers and Ministers whatsoever of Vs. our Heires and Successors, for the Time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in this Behalf.

AND, further our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Vs. our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and declare, and graunte to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That all and every the Subiects of Vs. our Heires or Successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saide Landes and Premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted, and every of their Children which shall happen to be borne there, or on the Seas in goeing thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and Immunities of free and naturall Subiects within any of the Domyinions of Vs. our Heires or Successors, to all Intents, Construccions, and Purposes whatsoever, as yf they and everie of them were borne within the Realme of England. And that the Governor and Deputie Governor of the said Company for the Tyme being, or either of them, and any two or more of such of the saide Assistants as shalbe therevnto appointed by the saide Governor and Companv at any of their Courts or Assemblies to be held as aforesaide, shall and maie at all Tymes, and from tyme to tyme hereafter, have full Power and Authoritie to minister and give the Oathe and Oathes of Supremacie and Allegiance, or either of them, to all and everie Person and Persons, which shall at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter goe or passe to the Landes and Premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted to inhabite in the same. AND, Wee doe of our further Grace, certen Knowledg and meere Mocon, give and graunte to the saide Governor and Companv, and their Successors, That it shall and male be lawfull, to and for the Governor or Deputie Governor, and such of the Assistants and Freemen of the said Company for the Tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their generall Courts aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially sumoned and assembled for that Purpose, or the greater Parte of them (whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor, and six of the Assistants to be alwaies seaven) from tyme to tyme, to make, ordeine, and establishe all Manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordilmces, Direccions, and Instruccions, not contrairie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England, aswell for selling of the Formes and Ceremonies of Governmt and Magistracy fitt and necessary for the said Plantacon, and the Inhabitants there, and for nameing and setting of all sorts of Officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall finde needefull for that Governement and Plantacon, and the distinguishing and setting forth of the severall duties, Powers, and Lymytts of every such Office and Place, and the Formes of such Oathes warrantable by the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of England, as shalbe respectivelie ministred vnto them for the Execucon of the said severall Offices and Places; as also, for the disposing and ordering of the Eleccions of such of the said Officers as shalbe annuall, and of such others as shalbe to succede in Case of Death or Remove all and ministering the said Oathes to the newe elected Officers, and for Imposicons of lawfull Fynes, Mulcts, Imprisonment, or other lawfull Correccion, according to the Course of other Corporacons in this our Realme of England, and for the directing, ruling, and disposing of all other Matters and

Things, whereby our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceable, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversacon, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Saulor of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intencon, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plantacion. WILLING, comaunding, and requiring, and by theis Presents for Vs. our Heiress Successors, ordoyning and appointing, that all such Orders, Lawes, Statuts and Ordinnces, Instrucons and Direccons, as shalbe soe made by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and such of the Assistants and Freemen as aforesaide, and published in Writing, under their comon Seale, shalbe carefullie and duly observed, kept, performed, and putt in Execucon, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the same; and theis our Letters-patents, or the Duplicate or exemplificacon thereof, shalbe to all and everie such Officers,-superior and inferior, from Tyme to Tyme, for the putting of the same Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinuces, Instrucons, and Direccons, in due Execucon against Vs. our Heires and Successors, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

AND WEE DOE further, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, give and graunt to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors by theis Presents, that all and everie such Chiefe Comaunders, Captaines, Governors, and other Officers and Ministers, as by the said Orders, Lawes, Statuts, Ordinnces, Instrucons, or Direccons of the said Governor and Company for the Tyme being, shalbe from Tyme to Tyme hereafter vmployed either in the Government of the saide Inhabitants and Plantacon, or in the Waye by Sea thither, or from thence, according to the Natures and Lymitts of their Offices and Places respectively, shall from Tyme to Tyme hereafter for ever, within the Precincts and Partes of Newe England hereby mencoed to be graunted and confirmed, or in the Waye by Sea thither, or from thence, have full and Absolute Power and Authoritie to correct, punishe, pardon, governe, and rule all such the Subiects of Vs. our Heires and Successors, as shall from Tyme to Tyme adventure themselves in any Voyage thither or from thence, or that shall at any Tyme hereafter, inhabite within the Precincts and Partes of Newe England aforesaid, according to the Orders, Lawes, Ordinnces, Instrucons, and Direccons aforesaid, not being repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of our Realme of England as aforesaid. AND WEE DOE further, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, by theis Presents, that it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Chiefe Comaunders, Governors, and officers of the said Company for the Time being, who shalbe resident in the said Parte of Newe England in America, by theis presents graunted, and others there inhabiting by their Appointment and Direcon, from Tyme to Tyme, and at all Tymes hereafter for their speciall Defence and Safety, to incounter, expulse, repell, and resist by Force of Armes, aswell by Sea as by Lande, and by all fitting Waies and Meanes whatsoever, all such Person and Persons, as shall at any Tyme hereafter, attempt or enterprise the Destruccon, Invasion, Detriment, or Annoyance to the said Plantation or Inhabitants, and to take and surprise by all Waies and Meanes whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, with their Shippes, Armour, Municons and other Goodes, as shall in hostile manner invade or attempt the defeating of the said Plantacon, or the Hurt of the said Company and Inhabitants: NEVERTHELESS, our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kinges, Princes and States, that yf any Person or Persons which shall hereafter be of the said Company or Plantacon or any other by Lycense or Appointment of the said Governor and Company for the Tyme being, shall at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter, robb or spoyle, by Sea or by Land, or doe any Hurt, Violence, or vnlawful Hostilitie to any of the Subjects of Vs. our Heires or Successors, or any of the Subjects of any Prince or State, being then in League and Amytie with Vs. our Heires and Successors, and that upon such injury don and vpon iust Complaint of such Prince or State or their Subjects, WEE, our Heires and Successors shall make open Proclamacon within any of the Partes within our Realme of England, comodious for that purpose, that the Person or Persons haveing comitted any such Roberie or Spoyle, shall within the Terme lymytted by such a Proclamacon, make full Restitucon or Satisfaccon of all such Iniureis don, soe as the said Princes or others so complaying, maie hould themselves fullie satisfied and contented; and that yf the said Person or Persons, haveing comitted such Robbery or Spoile, shall not make, or cause to be made Satisfaccon accordnglie, within such Tyme soe to be lymytted, that then it shalbe lawfull for Vs. our Heires and Successors, to putt the said Person or Persons out of our Allegiance and Proteccon, and that it shalbe lawfull and free for all Princes to prosecute with Hostilitie, the said Offendors, and every of them, their and every of their Procurers, Ayders, Abettors, and Comforters in that Behalf: PROVIDED also, and our expresse Will and Pleasure is, And Wee doe by theis Presents for Vs. our Heires and Successors ordeyne and appoint That theis Presents shall not in any manner envre, or be taken to abridge, barr, or hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever, to vse and exercise the Trade of Fishing vpon that Coast of New England in America, by theis Presents mencoed to be graunted. But that they, and every, or any of them shall have full and free Power and Liberty to continue and vse their said Trade of Fishing vpon the said Coast, in any the Seas therevnto adioyning, or

any Armes of the Seas or Saltwater Rivers where they have byn wont to fishe, and to build and sett vp vpon the Landes by theis Presents graunted, such Wharfes, Stages, and Workehouses as shalbe necessarie for the salting, drying, keeping, and packing vp of their Fish, to be taken or gotten vpon that Coast; and to cutt down, and take such Trees and other Materialls there groweing, or being, or shalbe needefull for that Purpose, and for all other necessarie Easements, Helpes, and Advantage concerning their said Trade of Fishing there, in such Manner and Forme as they have byn heretofore at any tyme accustomed to doe, without making any wilfull Waste or Spoyle, any Thing in theis Presents conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. AND WEE DOE further, for Vs. our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors by theis Presents that theis our Letters-patents shalbe firme, good, effectuell, and availeable in all Thinges, and to all Intents and Construccons of Lawe, according to our true Meaning herein before declared, and shalbe construed, reputed, and adjudged in all Cases most favourablie on the Behalf, and for the Benefist and Behoofe of the saide Governor and Company and their Successors: ALTHOUGH expresse mencon of the true yearely Value or certainty of the Premisses or any of them; or of any other Guiftes or Grauntes, by Vs. or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors to the foresaid Governor or Company before this tyme made, in theis-Presents is not made; or any Statute, Acte, Ordinnce, Provision, Proclamacon, or Restrainte to the contrarie thereof, heretofore had, made, published, ordeyned, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or Thing whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

IN WITNES whereof, Wee have caused theis our Letters to be made Patents.

WITNES ourself, at Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the fourth Yeare of our Raigne.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo,

Wolseley.

Praedictus Matthaeus Cradocke Juratus est de Fide et Obedientia Regi et Successoribus suis, et de Debita Executione Officii Gubernatoris Juxta Tenorem Praesentium, 18<sup>o</sup> Martii, 1628. Coram me Carolo Casare Milite in Cancellaria Mro.

CHAR.CAESAR.

The Great Seal of England appendant by a parti-coloured silk string.

The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe. Washington, DC : Government Printing Office, 1909.

## Appendix 6

### Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations - July 15, 1663

CHARLES THE SECOND, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all to whome these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas wee have been informed, by the humble petition of our trustie and well beloved subject, John Clarke, on the behalf of Benjamine Arnold, William Brenton, William Codington, Nicholas Easton, William Boulston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuell Gorton, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Olnie, Gregorie Dexter, John Cogeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, Samuell Wildbore, William Ffield, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas Harris, and William Dyre, and the rest of the purchasers and ffree inhabitants of our island, called Rhode-Island, and the rest of the colonie of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New-England, in America, that they, pursueing, with peaceable and loyall minces, their sober, serious and religious intentions, of goalie edifieing themselves, and one another, in the holie Christian ffaith and worshipp as they were perswaded; together with the gaineing over and conversione of the poore ignorant Indian natives, in those partes of America, to the sincere professione and obedienc of the same ffaith and worship, did, not onlie by the consent and good encouragement of our royall progenitors, transport themselves out of this kingdome of England into America, but alsoe, since their arrivall there, after their first settlement amongst other our subjects in those parts, Nor the avoideing of discorde, and those manic evils which were likely to ensue upon some of those oure subjects not beinge able to beare, in these remote parties, their different apprehensiones in religious concernements, and in pursueance of the afforesayd ends, did once againe leave their desireable stationies and habitationes, and with excessive labour and travell, hazard and charge, did transplant themselves into the middest of the Indian natives, who, as wee are informed, are the most potent princes and people of all that country; where, by the good Providence of God, from whome the Plantationes have taken their name, upon their labour and industrie, they have not onlie byn preserved to admiration, but have increased and prospered, and are seized and possessed, by purchase and consent of the said natives, to their ffull content, of such lands, islands, rivers, harbours and roades, as are verie convenient, both for plantationes and alsoe for buildings of shippes, suplye of pypestaves, and other merchandise; and which lyes verie commodious, in manic respects, for commerce, and to accommodate oure southern plantationes, and may much advance the trade of this oure realme, and greatlie enlarge the territories thereof; they haveinge, by neare neighbourhoode to and friendlie societie with the greate bodie of the Narragansett Indians, given them encouragement, of their owne accorde, to subject themselves, their people and lances, unto us; whereby, as is hoped, there may, in due tyme, by the blessing of God upon their endeavours, bee layd a sure ffoundation of happinesse to all America:

And whereas, in their humble addresse, they have ffreely declared, that it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted), to hold forth a livlie experiment, that a most flourishing civill state may stand and best bee maintained, and that among our English subjects. with a full libertie in religious concernements; and that true pietye rightly grounded upon gospell principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereigntye, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyaltye: Now know bee, that wee beinge willinge to encourage the hopefull undertakeinge of oure sayd lovall and loveinge subjects, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civill and religious rights, appertaining to them, as our loveing subjects; and to preserve unto them that libertye, in the true Christian ffaith and worshipp of God, which they have sought with soe much travaill, and with peaceable myndes, and lovall subjectione to our royall progenitors and ourselves, to enjoye; and because some of the people and inhabitants of the same colonie cannot, in their private opinions, conforms to the publique exercise of religion, according to the litturgy, formes and ceremonyes of the Church of England, or take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalfe; and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those places, will (as wee hope) bee noe breach of the unitie and unifformitie established in this nation: Have therefore thought ffit, and doe hereby publish, graunt, ordeyne and declare, That our royall will and pleasure is, that noe person within the sayd colonie, at any tyme

hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and their owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of lince hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civill injurye or outward disturbance of others; any lawe, statute, or clause, therein contayned, or to bee contayned, usage or custome of this realme, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding. And that they may bee in the better capacity to defend themselves, in their just rights and libertyes against all the enemies of the Christian ffaith, and others, in all respects, wee have further thought fit, and at the humble petition of the persons aforesayd are gratusly pleased to declare, That they shall have and enjoye the benefist of our late act of indempnity and ffree pardon, as the rest of our subjects in other our dominions and territoryes have; and to create and make them a bodye politique or corporate, with the powers and priviledges hereinafter mentioned.

And accordingly our will and pleasure is, and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee have ordeyned, constituted and declared, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, doe ordeyne, constitute and declare, That they, the sayd William Brenton, William Codington, Nicholas Easton, Benedict Arnold, William Boulston, John Porter, Samuell Gorton, John Smith, John Weekes, Roger Williams, Thomas Olneye, Gregorie Dexter, John Cogeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, William Dyre, Samuell Wildbore, Richard Tew, William Ffeild, Thomas Harris, James Barker, Rainsborrow,- Williams, and John Nicksonj and all such others as now are, or hereafter shall bee admitted and made ffree of the companv and societie of our collonie of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England, shall bee, from tyme to tyme, and forever hereafter, a bodie corporate and politique, in fact and name, by the name of The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America; and that, by the same name, they and their successors shall and may have perpetuall succession, and shall and may bee persons able and capable, in the lawe, to sue and bee sued, to pleade and be impleaded, to answeare and bee answered unto, to defend and to be defended, in all and singular suites, causes, quarrels, matters, actions and thinges, of what kind or nature soever; and alsoe to have, take, possessej acquire and purchase lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any goods or chattels, and the same to lease, graunt, demise, aliene, bargaine, sell and dispose of, at their owne will and pleasure, as other our liege people of this our realme of England, or anie corporation or bodie politique within the same, may be lawefully doe: And further, that they the sayd Governor and Company, and their successors, shall and may, forever hereafter, have a common scale, to serve and use for all matters, causes, thinges and affaires, whatsoever, of them and their successors; and the same scale to alter, change, breake, and make new, from tyme to tyme, at their will and pleasure, as they shall thinke bitt.

And farther, wee will and ordeyne, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successours, doe declare and apoynt that, for the better ordering and managing of the adaires and business of the sayd Company, and their successours, there shall bee one Governour, one Deputie-Governour and ten Assistants, to bee from tyme to tyme, constituted, elected and chosen, out of the freemen of the sayd Company, for the tyme beinge, in such manner and fforme as is hereafter in these presents expressed; which sayd officers shall aplye themselves to take care for the best disposeinge and orderings of the generall businesse and adaires of, and concerneinge the lances and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned, to be graunted, and the plantation thereof and the government of the people there. And for the better execution of our royall pleasure herein, wee doe, for us, our heires and successours, assign, name, constitute and apoynt the aforesayd Benedict Arnold to bee the first and present Governor of the sayd Company, and the sayd William Brenton, to bee the Deputy-Governor, and the sayd William Boulston, John Porter, Roger Williams, Thomas Olnie, John Smith, John Greene, John Cogeshall, James Barker, William Ffeild, and Joseph Clarke, to bee the tenn present Assistants of the sayd Companye, to continue in the sayd severall offices, respectively, untill the first Wednesday which shall bee in the month of May now next comeing. And farther, wee will, and by these presents, for us, our heires and successours, doe ordeyne and graunt, that the Governor of the sayd Company, for the tyme being, or, in his absence, by occasion of sicknesse, or otherwise, by his leave and permission, the Deputy-Governor, Ror the tyme being, shall and may, ffrom tyme to tyme, upon all occasions, give order Ror the assemblinge of the sayd Company and callinge them together, to consult and advise of the businesse and affaires of the sayd Company.

And that forever hereafter, twice in every year, that is to say, on every first Wednesday in the month of May, and on every last Wednesday in October, or oftener, in case it shall bee requisite, the Assistants, and

such of the ffreemen of the Company, not exceedings six persons For Newport, doure persons ffor each of the respective townes of Providence, Portsmouth and Warwicke, and two persons for each other place, towne or city, whoe shall bee, from tyme to tyme, thereunto elected or deputed by the majour parte of the ffreemen of the respective townes or places For which they shall bee so elected or deputed, shall have a generall meetings or Assembly then and there to consult, advise and determine, in and about the affaires and businesse of the said Company and Plantations. And farther, wee doe, of our especiall grace, certayne knowledge, and meere motion, give and graunt unto the sayd Governour and Company of the English Colonie of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America, and their successours, that the Governour, or, in his absence, or, by his permission, the Deputy-Governour of the sayd Company, for the tyme beinge, the Assistants, and such of the Freemen of the sayd Company as shall bee soe as aforesayd elected or deputed, or soe many of them as shall bee present aft such meetinge or assemblie, as aBoresayde, shall bee called the Generall Assemblie; and that they, or the greatest parte of them present, whereof the Governour or Deputy-Governour, and sixe of the Assistants, at least to bee seven, shall have, and have hereby given and graunted unto them, ffull power authority, Prom tyme tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, to apoynt, alter and change, such dayes, tymes and places of meetinge and Generall Assemblie, as theye shall thinke ffitt; and to choose, nominate, and apoynt, such and soe manye other persons as they shall thinke ffitt, and shall be willing to accept the same, to bee Free of the sayd Company and body politique, and them into the same to admits; and to elect and constitute such offices and officers, and to graunt such needfull commissions, as they shall thinke Ott and requisite, ffor the ordering, managing and dispatching of the affaires of the sayd Governour and Company, and their successours; and from tyme to tyme, to make, ordeyne, constitute or repeal, such lawes statutes, orders and ordinances, fformes and ceremonies of government and magistracye as to them shall seeme meete for the good nad welfare of the sayd Company, and ffor the government and ordering of the lances and hereditaments, hereinafter mentioned to be graunted, and of the people that doe, or aft any tyme hereafter shall, inhabitt or bee within the same; soe as such lawes, ordinances and constitutiones, soe made, bee not contrary and repugnant unto, butt, as neare as may bee, agreeable to the lawes of this our realme of England, considering the nature and constitutions of the place and people there; and alsoe to apoynt, order and direct, erect and settle, such places and courts of jurisdiction, ffor the heareinge and determillinge of all actions, cases, matters and things, happening within the sayd collonie and plantations, and which shall be in dispute, and depending there, as they shall thinke ffitt; and alsoe to distinguish and sett forth the severall names and titles, duties, powers and limitts, of each court, office and officer, superior and inferior; and alsoe to contrive and apoynt such formes of oaths and attestations, not repugnant, but, as neare as may bee, agreeable, as aforesayd, to the lawes and statutes of this oure realme, as are conveniente and requisite, with respect to the due administration of justice, and due execution and discharge of all offices and places of trust by the persons that shall bee therein concerned; and alsoe to regulate and order the wave and manner of all elections to offices and places of trust, and to prescribe, limitts and distinguish the numbers and bounces of all places, townes or cityes, within the limitts and bounds herein after mentioned, and not herein particularlie named, who have, and shall have, the power of electing and sending of ffreemen to the sayd Generall Assembly; and alsoe to order, direct and authorize the imposing of lawfull and reasonable Dynes, mulcts, imprisonments, and executing other punishments pecuniary and corporal, upon offenders and delinquents, according to the course of other corporations within this oure kingdom of England; and agayne to alter, revoke, annull or pardon, under their common scale or otherwyse, such Dynes, mulcts, imprisonments, sentences, judgments and condemnations, as shall bee thought Bitt; and to direct, rule, order and dispose of, all other matters and things, and particularly that which relates to the makinge of purchases of the native Indians, as to them shall seeme meete; wherebv oure sayd people and inhabitants, in the sayd Plantationes, may be soe religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as that, by their good life and orderlie conversations, they may win and invite the native Indians of the countrie to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God, and Saviour of mankinde; willing, commanding and requiring, and by these presents, for us, oure heires and successours, ordeyneing and apoynting, that all such [awes, statutes, orders and ordinances, instructions, impositions and directiones, as shall bee soe made by the Governour, deputye-Governour, Assistants and Freemen. Or such number of them as aforesayd, and published in writinge, under their common scale, shall bee carefully and duely observed, kept, performed and putt in execution, accordinge to the true intent and meaning of the same.

And these our letters patent, or the duplicate or exemplification thereof, shall bee to all and everie such officer, superiour or inferiour, From tyme to tyme, for the putting of the same orders, lawes, statutes, ordinances, instructions and directions, in due execution, against us, oure heires and successours, a sufficient warrant and discharge. And further, our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby, for US, oure heires and successours, establish and ordeyne, that yearelie, once in the yeare, forever hereafter, namely,

the aforesayd Wednesday in May, and at the towne of Newport, or elsewhere, if urgent occasion doe require, the Governour, Deputy-Governour and Assistants of the sayd Company, and other officers of the sayd Company, or such of them as the Generall Assemblye shall thinke Bitt, shall bee, in the sayd Generall Court or Assembly to bee held from that daye or tyme, newly chosen for the year ensuing, by such greater part of the sayd Company, for the tyme beinge, as shall bee then and there present; and if itt shall happen that the present Governour, Deputy-Governour and Assistants, by these presents apoynted, or any such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their roomes, or any of them, or any other the officers of the sayd Company, shall die or bee removed From his or their severall offices or places, before the sayd generall day of election, (whom wee doe hereby declare, for any misdemeanour or default, to be removeable by the Governour, Assistants and Company, or such greater parte of them, in any of the sayd publique courts, to bee assembled as aforesayd), that then, and in every such case, it shall and may bee lawfull to and ffor the sayd Governour, Deputy-Governour, Assistants and Company aforesayde, or such greater parte of them, soe to bee assembled as is aforesayde, in any their assemblies, to proceede to a new election of one or more of their Company, in the roome or place, roomes or places, of such officer or officers, soe dyeinge or removed, according to their discretiones; and immediately upon and after such elections or elections made of such Governour, Deputy-Governour or Assistants, or any other officer of the sayd Company, in manner and forme aforesayde, the authoritie, office and power, before given to the fformer Governour, Deputy-Governour, and other officer and officers, soe removed, in whose steade and place new shall be chosen, shall, as to him and them, and every of them, respectively, cease and determine:

Provided, allwayes, and our will and pleasure is, that as well such as are by these presents apoynted to bee the present Governour, Deputy-Governour and Assistants, of the sayd Company, as those that shall succede them, and all other officers to bee apoynted and chosen as aforesayde, shall, before the undertakeinge the execution of the sayd offices and places respectively, give their solemn engagement, by oath, or otherwise, for the due and faythfull perfonnance of their duties in their severall offices and places, before such person or persons as are by these presents hereafter apoynted to take and receive the same, that is to say: the sayd Benedict Arnold, whoa is hereinbefore nominated and apoynted the present Governour of the sayd Company, shall give the aforesayd engagement before William Brenton, or any two of the sayd Assistants of the sayd Company; unto whome, wee doe by these presenter give Bull power and authority to require and receive the same; and the sayd William Brenton, whoe is hereby before nominated and apoynted the present DeputyGovernour of the sayd Company, shall give the aforesaved engagement before the sayd Benedict Arnold, or any two of the Assistants of the sayd Company; unto whome wee doe by these presents give ffull power and authority to require and receive the same; and the sayd William Boulston, John Porter, Roger Williams, Thomas Olneye, John Smith, John Greene, John Cogeshall, James Barker, William Ffeild, and Joseph Clarke, whoe are hereinbefore nominated apoynted the present Assistants of the sayd Company, shall give the sayd engagement to their offices and places respectively belonging, before the sayd Benedict Arnold and William Brenton, or one of them; to whome, respectively wee doe hereby give dull power and authority to require, administer or receive the same: and further, our will and pleasure is. that all and every other future Governour or Deputy-Governour, to bee elected and chosen by vertue of these presents, shall give the sayd engagement before two or more of the sayd Assistants of the sayd Company ffor the tyme beinge; unto whome wee doe by these presents give full power and authority to require, administer or receive the same; and the sayd Assistants, and every of them, and all and every other officer or officers to bee hereafter elected and chosen by vertue of these presents, from tyme to tyme, shall give the like engagements, to their offices and places respectively belonging bofere the Governour or Deputy-Governour for the tyme being; unto which sayd Governour, or Deputy-Governour, wee doe by these presents give full power and authority to require, administer or receive the same accordingly.

And wee doe likewise, for vs, oure heires and successours, give and graunt vnto the sayd Governour and Company and their successours by these presents, that, for the more peaceable and orderly Government of the sayd Plantations, it shall and may bee lawfull ffor the Governour, Deputy-Governour, Assistants, and all other officers and ministers of the sayd Company, in the administration of justice, and exercise of government, in the sayd Plantations, to vse, exercise, and putt in execution, such methods, rules, orders and directions, not being contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of this oure realme, as have byn heretofore given, vsed and accustomed, in such cases respectively, to be putt in practice, untill att the next or some other Generall Assembly, special provision shall be made and ordeyned in the cases aforesayd. And wee doe further, for vs. oure heroes and successours, give and graunt vnto the sayd Governour and Company, and their successours, by these presents, that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayd Governour, or in his absence, the Deputy-Governour, and majour parte of the sayd Assistants, for the

tyme being, aft any tyme when the sayd Generall Assembly is not sitting, to nominate, apoynt and constitute, such and soe many commanders, governours, and military officers, as to them shall seeme requisite, for the leading, conducting and travneing vpp the inhabitants of the sayd Plantations in martiall affaires, and for the defence and safeguard of the sayd Plantations; and that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for all and every such commander, governour and military officer, that shall bee soe as aforesayd, or by the Governour. or, in his absence, the Deputy-Governour, and six of the sayd Assistants, and majour parte of the Freemen of the sayd Company present att any Generall Assemblies, nominated, apoynted and constituted accordinge to the tenor of his and their respective commissions and directions, to assemble, exercise in arms, martiall array, and putt in warlyke posture, the inhabitants of the sayd collonie, For their speciall defence and safety; and to lead and conduct the sayd inhabitants, and to encounter, expulse, expell and resist, by force of armes, as well by sea as by lance; and alsoe to kill, slay and destroy, by all fitting wayes, enterprises and meaner, whatsoever, all and every such person or persons as shall, aft any tyme hereafter, attempt or enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of the sayd inhabitants or Plantations; and to vse and exercise the lawe martiall in such cases only as occasion shall necessarily require; and to take or surprise, by all wayes and meanes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons, with their shipp or shippes, armor, ammuniton or other goods of such persons, as shall, in hostile manner, invade or attempt the defeating of the sayd Plantations, or the hurt of the sand Company and inhabitants; and vpon just causes, to invade and destroy the native Indians, or other enemyes of the sayd Collony. Neverthelesse, our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to the rest of oure Collonies in New England, that itt shall not bee lawfull ffor this our sayd Collony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in America, in New-England, to invade the natives inhabiting within the bounces and limitts of their sayd Collonies without the knowledge and consent of the sand other Collonies. And itt is hereby declared, that itt shall not bee lawfull to or ffor the rest of the Collonies to invade or molest the native Indians, or any other inhabitants, inhabiting within the bounds and lymitts hereafter mentioned (they having subjected themselves vnto vs. and being by vs taken into our speciall protection), without the knowledge and consent of the Governour and Company of our Collony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations.

Alsoe our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare unto all Christian Kings, Princes and States, that if any person, which shall hereafter bee of the sayd Company or Plantations, or any other, by apoyntment of the sayd Governour and Company for the tyme beinge, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter, rob or spoyle, by sea or land, or do any hurt, unlawfull hostility to any of the subjects of vs, oure heires or successours, or any of the subjects of any Prince or State, beinge then in league with vs, oure heires, or successours, vpon complaint of such injury done to any such Prince or State, or their subjects, wee, our hearer and successours, will make open proclamation within any parts of oure realme of England, ffitt ffor that purpose, that the person or persons committing any such robbery or spoyle shall, within the tyme lymitted by such proclamation, make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries, done or committed, soe as the sayd Prince, or others soe complaineinge, may bee fully satisfied and contented; and if the sayd person or persons whoe shall commits any such robbery or spoyle shall not make satvsfaction, accordingly, within such tyme, soe to bee lymitted, that then wee, oure heires and successours, will putt such person or persons out of oure allegiance and protection; and that then itt shall and may bee lawfull and Tree ffor all Princes or others to prosecute, with hostility, such offenders, and every of them, their and every of their procurers, adders, abettors and counsellors, in that behalfa; Provided alsoe, and oure expresse will and pleasure is, and wee doe, by these presents, For vs. our heirs and successours, ordeyne and apoynt, that these presents shall not, in any manner, hinder any of oure lovinge subjects, whatsoever, ffrom vseing and exercising the trade of ffishing vpon the coast of New-England, in America; butt that they, and every or any of them, shall have ffull and ffree power and liberty to continue and vse the trade of ffishing vpon the sayd coast, in an of the seas thereunto adjoyninge, or any armes of the seas, or salt water, rivers and creeks, where they have been accustomed to ffish; and to build and to sett upon the waste land, belonginge to the sayd Collony and Plantations, such wharfes, stages and worke-houses as shall be necessary for the salting, drying and keepeing of their dish, to be taken or gotten upon that coast. And fforther, for the encouragement of the inhabitants of our sayd Collony of Providence Plantations to sett vpon the businesse of takeing whales, itt shall bee lawfull For them, or any of them, having struck whale, dubertus, or other greate ffish, itt or them, to pursue unto any parte of that coaste, and into any bay, river, cove, creeke or shoare, belonging thereto, and itt or them, vpon sayd coaste, or in the sand bay, river, cove, creeke or shoare, belonging thereto, to kill and order for the best advantage, without molestation, they makeing noe wilfull waste or spoyle, any thinge in these presents conteyned, or any other matter or thing, to the contrary notwithstanding. And further alsoe, wee are gratusly pleased, and doe hereby declare, that if any of the inhabitants of oure sayd Collony doe sett upon the plantings of vineyards (the soyle and clymate both seemeing naturally to coneur to the



production of wyne), or bee industrious in the discovery of ffishing banks, in or about the sayd Collony, wee will, ffrom tyme to tyme, give and allow all due and fitting encouragement therein, as to others in cases of tyke nature. And further, of oure more ample grace, certayne knowledge, and meere motion, wee have given and graunted, and by these presents, ffor vs. oure heires and successours, doe Five and graunt vnto the sayd Governour and Company of the English Collony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New-England in America, and to every inhabitant there, and to every person and persons trading thither, and to every such person or persons as are or shall bee Tree of the sayd Collony, full power and authority, from tyme to tyme, and aft all tymes hereafter, to take, shipp, transport and carry away, out of any of our realmes and dominions for and towards the plantation and defence of the sayd Collony, such and soe many of oure loveing subjects and strangers as shalt or will willingly accompany them in and to their sayd Collony and Plantation; except such person or persons as are or shall be therein restrained by vs. oureheires and successours, or any law or statute of this realme: and also to shipp and transport all and all manner of goods, chattels, merchandises, and other things whatsoever, that are or shall bee vsefull or necessary ffor the sayd Plantations, and defence thereof, and vsually transported, and nott prohibited by any lawe or statute of this our realme; yielding and paying vnto vs. our heires and successours, such the rluties, customes and subsidies, as are or ought to bee payd or payable for the same.

And fforther, our will and pleasure is, and wee doe, For us, our heires and successours, ordeyn, declare and graunt, vnto the sayd Governour and Company, and their successours, that all and every the subjects of vs. our heires and successours, which are already planted and settled within our sayd Collony of Providence Plantations, or which shall hereafter Roe to inhabit within the sayd Collony' and all and every of their children, which have byn borne there, or which shall happen hereafter to bee borne there, or on the sea, goeing thither, or retourneing from thence, shall have and enjoye all libertyes and immunityes of fires and naturall subjects within any the dominions of vs. our heires or successours, to all intents, constructions and purposes, whatsoever, as if they, and every of them, were borne within the realme of England. And fforther, know ye, that wee, of our more abundant grace, certain knowledge and meere motion, have given, graunted and confirmed, and, by these presents, for vs. our heires and successours, doe give, graunt and confirms, vnto the sayd Governour and Company, and their successours, all that parte of Our dominiones in New-England, in America, conteyneing the Nahantick and Nanhyganset Bay, and cuntryes and partes adjacent, bounded on the west, or westerly, to the middle or channel of a river there, commonly called and known by the name of Pawcatuck, alias Pawcawtuck river, and soe along the sayd river, as the greater or middle streame thereof reacheth or lyes vpp into the north cuntrye, northward, unto the head thereof, and from thence, by a streight lyne drawn due north, vntill itt meete with the south lyne of the Massachusetts Collonie; and on the north, or northerly, by the aforesayd south or southerly lyne of the Massachusettes Collony or Plantation, and extending towards the east, or eastwardly, three English miles to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of the aforesayd Narragansett Bay, as the sayd bay lyeth or extendeth itself from the ocean on the south, or southwardly, vnto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the towne of Providence, and from thence along the eastwardly side or banke of the sayd river (higher called by the name of Seacunck river), vp to the ffalls called Patuckett ffalls, being the most westwardly lyne of Plymouth Collony, and soe from the sayd Balls, in a streight lyne, due north, untill itt meete with the aforesayd line of the Massachusetts Collony; and bounded on the south by the ocean: and, in particular, the lands belonging to the townes of Providence, Pawtuxet, Warwicke; Misquammacok, alias Pawcatuck, and the rest vpon the maine land in the tract aforesayd, together with Rhode-Island, Blocke-Island, and all the rest of the islands and banks in the Narragansett Bay, and bordering vpon the coast of the tract aforesayd (Ffisher's Island only excepted), together with all firme lands, soyles, grounds, havens. ports rivers, waters, ffishings, mines royall, and all other mynes, mineralls, precious stones, quarries, woods, wood-grounds, rocks' slates, and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, priviledges, franchises, prehemines and hereditaments, whatsoever, within the sayd tract, bounds, lances, and islands, aforesayd, or to them or any of them belonging, or in any wise appertaining: to have and to hold the same, Into the sayd Governour and Companv, and their successours, forever, vpon trust, for the vse and benefit of themselves and their associates, ffreemen of the sayd Collony, their heires and assignas, to be holden of vs. our heires and successours, as of the Mannor of East-Greenwich, in our county of Kent, in free and comon soccage, and not in capite, nor by knight service; Wilding and paying therefor, to vs. our heires and successours, only the Fifth part of all the oare of Fold and silver which, from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter, shall bee there gotten, had or obtained, in lieu and satisfaction of all services, duties, Dynes, forfeitures, made or to be made, claimes and demands, whatsoever, to bee to vs. our heires or successours, therefor or thereout rendered, made or paid; any graunt, or clause in a late graunt, to the Governour and Company of Connecticutt Colony, in America, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; the aforesavd

Pawcatuck river haven byn yielded, after much debate, for the fixed and certain bounces betweene these our sayd Colonies, by the agents thereof; w hoe have alsoe agreed, that the sayd Pawcatuck river shall bee alsoe called alias Norrogansett or Narragansett river; and to prevent future disputes, that otherwise might arise thereby, forever hereafter shall bee construed, deemed and taken to bee the Narragansett river in our late Irrupt to Connecticut (colony mentioned as the easterly bounds of that Colony. And further, our will and pleasure is, that in all matters of publike controversy which may fall out betweene our Colony of Providence Plantations, and the rest of our Colonies in New-England, lit shall and may bee lawfull to and for the Governour and Company of the sayd Colony of Providence Plantations to make their appeales therein to vs. our heirs and successours. for redresse in such cases, within this our realme of England: and that itt shall bee lawfull to and for the inhabitants of the sayd Colony of Providence Plantations, without let or molestation, to passe and repasse with freedome, into and thorough the rest of the English Collonies, vpon their lawfull and civill occasions, and to converse, and hold commerce and trade, wit: such of the inhabitants of our other English Collonies as shall bee willing to admits them thereunto, they behaveing themselves peaceably among them; any act, clause or sentence, in any of the sayd Collonies provided, or that shall bee provided, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding. And lastly, wee doe, for vs. our heires and successours, ordeyne and graunt vnto the sayd Governor and Company, and their successours, and by these presents, that these our letters patent shall be firme, good, effectuall and available in all things in the lawe, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, according to our true intent and meaning hereinbefore declared; and shall bee construed, reputed and adjudged in all cases most favorably on the behalfe, and for the benefit and behoofe, of the sayd Governor and Company, and their successours; although empress mention of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs. or by any of our progenitors or predecessors, heretofore made to the sayd Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, New-England, in America, in these presents is not made, or any statute, act, ordinance, provision. proclamation or restriction, heretofore had, made, enacted ordeyned or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding; In witnes whereof, wee have caused these our letters to bee made patent. Witnes our Selve att Westminster, the eighth day of July, in the Fifteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the King:

The commonwealth of England had claimed the right, in 1651, to appoint a governor for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, with a provincial council, to be elected by the freeholders and accepted by himself. After the restoration an agent was sent to England, who obtained this charter from Charles II.

The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909.

## Appendix 7

### The Constitution of the United States

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

#### Article I

**Section 1.** All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

**Section 2.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

**Section 3.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

**Section 4.** The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

**Section 5.** Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

**Section 6.** The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time: and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

**Section 7.** All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the

Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

**Section 8.** The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;--And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

**Section 9.** The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

**Section 10.** No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## Article II

**Section 1.** The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:--"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

**Section 2.** The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

**Section 3.** He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

**Section 4.** The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

### Article III

**Section 1.** The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

**Section 2.** The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;--to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;--to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;--to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;--to Controversies between two or more States;--between a State and Citizens of another State;--between Citizens of different States;--between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

**Section 3.** Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

### Article IV

**Section 1.** Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records, and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

**Section 2.** The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.



A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

**Section 3.** New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

**Section 4.** The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

#### Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

#### Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

#### Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth

**In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,**

George Washington--President and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts: Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut: William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York: Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey: William Livingston, David Brearly, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

Delaware: George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

Maryland: James McHenry, Daniel of Saint Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Virginia: John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina: William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson

South Carolina: John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

Georgia: William Few, Abraham Baldwin

## Appendix 8

### Mayflower Compact: 1620

#### Agreement Between the Settlers at New Plymouth: 1620

**IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.** We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King *James*, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of *Virginia*; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. **IN WITNESS** whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at *Cape-Cod* the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *James*, of *England, France, and Ireland*, the eighteenth, and of *Scotland* the fifty-fourth, *Anno Domini*; 1620.

Mr. John Carver,  
Mr. William Bradford,  
Mr Edward Winslow,  
Mr. William Brewster.  
Isaac Allerton,  
Myles Standish,  
John Alden,  
John Turner,  
Francis Eaton,  
James Chilton,  
John Craxton,  
John Billington,  
Joses Fletcher,  
John Goodman,  
Mr. Samuel Fuller,  
Mr. Christopher Martin,  
Mr. William Mullins,  
Mr. William White,  
Mr. Richard Warren,  
John Howland,

Mr. Steven Hopkins,  
Digery Priest,  
Thomas Williams,  
Gilbert Winslow,  
Edmund Margesson,  
Peter Brown,  
Richard Britteridge  
George Soule,  
Edward Tilly,  
John Tilly,  
Francis Cooke,  
Thomas Rogers,  
Thomas Tinker,  
John Ridgdale  
Edward Fuller,  
Richard Clark,  
Richard Gardiner,  
Mr. John Allerton,  
Thomas English,  
Edward Doten,  
Edward Liester.

The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories,  
and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America  
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Washington, DC : Government Printing Office, 1909.

## Appendix 9

### **The Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; May 19, 1643**

*The Articles of Confederation between the Plantations under the Government of the Massachusetts, the Plantations under the Government of New Plymouth, the Plantations under the Government of Connecticut, and the Government of New Haven with the Plantations in Combination therewith:*

Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we can not according to our desire with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity. And forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry Insolence and outrages upon several Plantations of the English and have of late combined themselves against us: and seeing by reason of those sad distractions in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect. We therefore do conceive it our bounder duty, without delay to enter into a present Consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all our future concerns: That, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles: Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or Jurisdictions above named, and they jointly and severally do by these presents agree and conclude that they all be and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England.

2. The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed that the Plantations which at present are or hereafter shall be settled within the limits of the Massachusetts shall be forever under the Massachusetts and shall have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves in all cases as an entire body, and that Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven shall each of them have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits; and in reference to the Plantations which already are settled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall settle within their limits respectively; provided no other Jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this Confederation, nor shall any other Plantation or Jurisdiction in present being, and not already in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these Confederates, be received by any of them; nor shall any two of the Confederates join in one Jurisdiction without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in the sixth article ensuing.

4. It is by these Confederates agreed that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this Confederation soever they fall, shall both in men, provisions and all other disbursements be borne by all the parts of this Confederation in different proportions according to their different ability in manner following, namely, that the Commissioners for each Jurisdiction from time to time, as there shall be occasion, bring a true account and number of all their males in every Plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several Jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to threescore, being inhabitants there. And that according to the different numbers which from time to time shall be found in each Jurisdiction upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the war be borne by the poll: each Jurisdiction or Plantation being left to their own just course and custom of rating themselves and people according to their different estates with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst themselves though the Confederation take no notice of any such privilege: and that according to their different charge of each Jurisdiction and Plantation the

whole advantage of the war (if it please God so to bless their endeavors) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionately divided among the said Confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of these Jurisdictions or any Plantation under or in combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whomsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that Jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the Confederates without any further meeting or expostulation shall forthwith send aid to the Confederate in danger but in different proportions; namely, the Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of the rest, forty-five so armed and provided, or any less number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if such Confederate in danger may be supplied by their next Confederates, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help there, and seek no further for the present: the charge to be borne as in this article is expressed: and at the return to be victualled and supplied with powder and shot for their journey (if there be need) by that Jurisdiction which employed or sent for them; but none of the Jurisdictions to exceed these numbers until by a meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation a greater aid appear necessary. And this proportion to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in each Jurisdiction which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in any such case of sending men for present aid, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered: and if it appear that the fault lay in the parties so invaded then that Jurisdiction or Plantation make just satisfaction, both to the invaders whom they have injured, and bear all the charges of the war themselves, without requiring any allowance from the rest of the Confederates towards the same. And further that if any Jurisdiction see any danger of invasion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in such a case three magistrates of the Jurisdiction may summon a meeting at such convenient place as themselves shall think meet, to consider and provide against the threatened danger; provided when they are met they may remove to what place they please; only whilst any of these four Confederates have but three magistrates in their Jurisdiction, their requests, or summons, from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till there be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed, that for the managing and concluding of all Stairs and concerning the whole Confederation two Commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these four Jurisdictions: namely, two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New Haven, being all in Church-fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their several General Courts respectively to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of our war, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more Confederates for Plantations into combination with any of the Confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a Confederation for amity, offense, and defence: not intermeddling with the government of any of the Jurisdictions, which by the third article is preserved entirely to themselves. But if these eight Commissioners when they meet shall not all agree yet it [is] concluded that any six of the eight agreeing shall have power to settle and determine the business in question. But if six do not agree, that then such propositions with their reasons so far as they have been debated, be sent and referred to the four General Courts; namely, the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; and if at all the said General Courts the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the Confederates and all their members. It is further agreed that these eight Commissioners shall meet once every year besides extraordinary meetings (according to the fifth article) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this Confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September. And that the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted the second meeting, shall be at Boston in the Massachusetts, the third at Hartford, the fourth at New Haven, the fifth at Plymouth, the sixth and seventh at Boston; and then Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, and so in course successively, if in the meantime some middle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be commodious for all the Jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed that at each meeting of these eight Commissioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary, they or six of them agreeing as before, may choose their President out of themselves whose office work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting: but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the precedent article is agreed.

**8.** It is also agreed that the Commissioners for this Confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the Plantations are interested, for preserving of peace among themselves, for preventing as much as may be all occasion of war or differences with others, as about the free and speedy passage of justice in every Jurisdiction, to all the Confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one Plantation to another without due certificate, how all the Jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the Confederates through such miscarriages. It is also agreed that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederated Jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the Jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof; the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof. And that upon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the Jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates, or some of them of that Jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or other person who pursues him. And if there be help required, for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.

**9.** And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, especially to the smaller Plantations in these United Colonies, it is agreed that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, nor New Haven, nor any of the members of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves, or this Confederation, or any part thereof in any war whatsoever (sudden exigencies, with the necessary consequents thereof excepted), which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit, without the consent and agreement of the forementioned eight Commissioners, or at least six of them, as in the sixth article is provided: and that no charge be required of any of the Confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the said Commissioners have met, and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several Confederates in proportion according to the fourth article

**10.** That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any Jurisdiction, or two as in the fifth article, ii) any of the Commissioners come not, due warning being given or sent, it is agreed that four of the Commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each Jurisdiction, as well as six might do if all met; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

**11.** It is further agreed that if any of the Confederates shall hereafter break any of these present articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of the other Jurisdictions; such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the Commissioners for the other Jurisdictions, that both peace and this present Confederation may be entirely preserved without violation.

**12.** Lastly, this perpetual Confederation, and the several articles and agreements thereof being read and seriously considered, both by the General Court for the Massachusetts, and by the Commissioners for Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were fully allowed and confirmed by three of the forenamed Confederates, namely, the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven; only the Commissioners for Plymouth having no commission to concludes desired respite until they might advise with their General Court; whereupon it was agreed and concluded by the said Court of the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for the other two Confederates, that, if Plymouth consent, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is, and shall continue, firm and stable without alteration: but if Plymouth come not in yet the other three Confederates do by these presents confirm the whole Confederation, and all the articles thereof; only in September next when the second meeting of the Commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of the sixth article, which concerns number of Commissioners for meeting and concluding the affairs of this Confederation to the satisfaction of the Court of the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for the other two Confederates, but the rest to stand unquestioned.

In testimony whereof, the General Court of the Massachusetts by their Secretary, and the Commissioners for Connecticut and New Haven, have subscribed these present articles of this nineteenth of the third month, commonly called May, Anno Domini 1643.

At a meeting of the Commissioners for the Confederation held at Boston the 7th of September, it appearing that the General Court of New Plymouth and the several townships thereof have read, considered, and approved these Articles of Confederation, as appeareth by commission of their General Court bearing date the 29th of August, 1643, to Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Collier to ratify and confirm the same on their behalf: we therefore, the Commissioners for the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, do also from our several Governments subscribe unto them.

The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America  
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## Appendix 10

### The Most Frequent Biblical Male Names in Seventeenth Century New England

John	Jacob	Israel	Ichabod
Samuel	Silas	Edmund	Zebediah
Joseph	Gideon	Peleg	Simeon
William	Thaddeus	Richard	Andrew
Jonathan	Elisha	Nehemiah	Luke
Thomas	Abner	Jedidiah	Zebulon
James	Job	Adam	Amos
Benjamin	Enos	Elijah	Charles
Daniel	Edward	Paul	Obed
David	Eleazar	Nicholas	Judah
Ebenezer	Philip	Azariah	Phineas
Nathaniel	Michael	Jonas	Abiiah
Isaac	Solomon	Ezra	Eliphalet
Josiah	Noah	Levi	Samson
Moses	Zachariah	Barnabas	Reuben
Ephraim	Roger	George	Jesse
Timothy	Abraham	Lemuel	Asahel
Joshua	Simon	Alexander	Abel
Nathan	Enoch	Uriah	Micah
Aaron	Isaiah	Seth	Jotham
Robert	Oliver	Jabez	Henry
Stephen	Francis	Matthew	Sylvanus
Jeremiah	Gershom	Zacchaeus	
Hezekiah	Martin	Caleb	
Elias	Peter	Ezekiel	

## The Most Frequent Biblical Female Names in Seventeenth Century New England

Mary	Ruth
Elizabeth	Susanna
Sarah	Mehetabel
Hannah	Deborah
Abigail	Esther
Lydia	Mercy
Anne	Margaret
Anna	Bethia
Rebecca	Jane
Martha	Rachel
Patience	
Abiah	
Hopetill	
Joanna	

## Appendix 11

### General Thanksgiving

#### By the PRESIDENT of the United States Of America A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey His will, to be grateful for His benefits, and humbly to implore His protection and favour; and Whereas both Houses of Congress have, by their joint committee, requested me "to recommend to the people of the United States a DAY OF PUBLIC THANKSGIVING and PRAYER, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many and signal favours of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness:"

NOW THEREFORE, I do recommend and assign THURSDAY, the TWENTY-SIXTH DAY of NOVEMBER next, to be devoted by the people of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being who is the beneficent author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be; that we may then all unite in rendering unto Him our sincere and humble thanks for His kind care and protection of the people of this country previous to their becoming a nation; for the signal and manifold mercies and the favorable interpositions of His providence in the course and conclusion of the late war; for the great degree of tranquility, union, and plenty which we have since enjoyed;-- for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish Constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted;-- for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge;-- and, in general, for all the great and various favours which He has been pleased to confer upon us.

And also, that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations and beseech Him to pardon our national and other transgressions;-- to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually; to render our National Government a blessing to all the people by constantly being a Government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed; to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations (especially such as have shewn kindness unto us); and to bless them with good governments, peace, and concord; to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us; and, generally to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

GIVEN under my hand, at the city of New-York, the third day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

(signed) G. Washington

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**Abstract:**

The Puritans emigrated in the early seventeenth century to New England to establish a community based on religious freedom and toleration. There, Puritanism had a strong impact on political, economic, social, and personal life. The way the Puritans established their Church, government, economy, education and the way they dealt with the others- including the Indians, the Africans, and religious minorities- reflected their beliefs and principles. Therefore, this research work is concerned with the origin of Puritanism in Europe and the reasons for the Puritans' emigration to America, and with their plan for establishing "a city upon a hill," a city viewed by the entire world. Therefore, the Puritans should be a model of good behaviour and qualities. These objectives and aims are discussed in four chapters. The first chapter analyses the birth of religious protest in Western Europe and its development to Puritanism in England, and the driving forces behind the Puritans' departure for North America. The three other chapters examine the establishment and impact of Puritanism in New England.

**Keywords:**

Roman Catholicism; Catharism; Waldenses; Lollardy; Lutheranism; Protestantism; Puritans; Reformation; Persecution; Exploration.