

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

# HISTORY OF FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND



**James Truslow Adams**

# **History of Founding of New England**

**Enriched edition.**

*Introduction, Studies and Commentaries by Colby Warren*

Published by

**MUSAICUM**

Books

- Advanced Digital Solutions & High-Quality eBook  
Formatting -

[musaicumbooks@okpublishing.info](mailto:musaicumbooks@okpublishing.info)

Edited and published by Musaicum Press, 2021  
EAN 4066338116956

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# Introduction

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At the heart of James Truslow Adams's *The Founding of New England* lies the persistent tension between spiritual aspiration and earthly necessity, as communities intent on building a disciplined moral commonwealth confront the unruly facts of climate, geography, commerce, and human temperament, meeting unfamiliar neighbors, scarcity, and distance with ritual, law, and compromise, and in the process fashioning institutions that reveal how conviction and contingency, cohesion and dissent, authority and liberty, could alternately reinforce and undermine one another in the making of a society that was at once transplanted, contested, and unmistakably new.

Composed as a work of narrative history in the early twentieth century, the book examines the seventeenth-century colonization of the region that came to be called New England, attending to the founding and growth of settlements along the North Atlantic seaboard and their political and religious frameworks. Adams writes as a synthesizing historian, guiding readers through the emergence of towns, regional coordination, and transatlantic ties without losing sight of the immediate realities of settlement. The result is a study grounded in historical research yet designed for the general reader, situated between scholarly analysis and lucid storytelling.

Without rehearsing every incident, Adams traces how groups of English migrants organized their communities, negotiated authority, and adapted Old World habits to New World conditions, offering a clear sense of the problems they tried to solve and the solutions they attempted. The voice is measured and reflective, with a preference for

causal explanation over anecdote, and the prose balances breadth of argument with concrete detail. Readers encounter a steady, cumulative narrative that privileges patterns over personalities, building an interpretive portrait of how belief, law, and environment interacted to shape daily life and public order in the early colonies.

Among the book's central themes are the interplay of religious purpose and civic organization, the continual adjustment between communal discipline and individual initiative, and the pressures of subsistence and trade that redirected high ideals into workable practices. Adams considers how settlers' expectations met the constraints of land and labor, and how leadership sought to define orthodoxy while managing conflict. The narrative also attends to relations with neighboring Native peoples as a persistent and consequential context for policy and survival, keeping the reader focused on how proximity, fear, diplomacy, and misunderstanding shaped choices without reducing the period to a single storyline.

Taken together, these strands illuminate the origins of long-lived habits of self-government, local autonomy, and communal responsibility that would echo far beyond the seventeenth century. For contemporary readers, the book's portrait of institution-building under pressure offers a lens on enduring debates about the balance between conscience and consensus, law and liberty, and the obligations neighbors owe one another. It helps explain how rules emerge from needs, how ideals bend without entirely breaking, and how communities justify boundaries and welcome newcomers, inviting reflection on how founding choices continue to frame public life in societies facing new migrations and shifting economies.

Adams's method is synthetic and interpretive rather than narrowly antiquarian, presenting a coherent framework that connects local episodes to larger developments across the region. The tone is judicious, and the organization is

purposeful, moving from settlement to structure, from immediate challenges to longer-term patterns. Because the book reflects the priorities and vocabulary of its early-twentieth-century moment, it also models how historical writing is itself part of history, an artifact to be read with attention to emphasis and silence. That duality—close narration joined to conscious interpretation—gives readers both a narrative to follow and an argument to consider.

Reading *The Founding of New England* today offers more than a tour of origins; it provides a disciplined meditation on how communities are made and remade when values collide with necessity. In a time of contested memory and intense public argument, Adams's account prompts careful thought about continuity and change, institutional resilience, and the costs of cohesion. Its measured pace and structural clarity reward patient reading, while its themes—the making of law, the reach of belief, the uses of power, the meeting of cultures—remain urgent. The book endures as an invitation to think historically about the present.

# Synopsis

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James Truslow Adams presents the founding of New England as a transatlantic process shaped by religious conviction, economic opportunity, and political upheaval. He establishes the English background of Puritanism and nonconformity, the pressures of early Stuart governance, and the practical considerations of migration and capital. Rather than treating settlements as isolated experiments, he follows the movement of ideas, people, and institutions across the Atlantic, emphasizing the interplay of belief and necessity. The book's narrative sets out the questions that drive its analysis: how a religiously motivated colonizing effort organized itself, stabilized communities, and negotiated authority while confronting a challenging environment and diverse neighbors.

Adams distinguishes between separatist Plymouth and the larger corporate venture of Massachusetts Bay, tracing how differing religious aims and organizational forms affected early choices. He outlines the establishment of Plymouth in 1620 and the firmer institutional footing of Massachusetts after 1630, connecting charter arrangements, migration waves, and leadership to evolving colonial policy. The emphasis falls on covenantal community-making, where religious discipline underwrote social cohesion and civic order. He follows the building of towns, courts, and congregations, offering a measured account of how settlement patterns, land allocation, and collective labor produced durable nuclei of governance that could sustain growth while guarding communal boundaries.

The study turns to the mechanisms of everyday life that gave New England its distinctive profile. Adams examines

congregational church polity, town meeting practices, and local magistracy, showing how they interlocked to shape participation and control. He attends to family structure, education, and literacy as tools of religious and civic formation, noting their role in sustaining shared norms. The result is a portrait of a disciplined society that prized order, communal obligations, and watchfulness, even as it experimented with forms of consent. The tension between spiritual uniformity and individual aspirations is treated as a continuing problem rather than a settled principle.

Adams interprets dissent and dispersion as central to the region's development. He situates challenges to orthodoxy, including disputes over authority and conscience, within the legal and ecclesiastical frameworks the founders built. From these conflicts arose new jurisdictions in the Narragansett Bay area and along the Connecticut River, where settlers adapted institutional models to local needs. The book traces how boundary making, compacts, and codes reflected both continuity with Massachusetts and deliberate departures from it. By focusing on the debates that produced alternative communities, Adams highlights the emergence of a more diverse New England without reducing those outcomes to mere reactions against repression.

Relations with Indigenous peoples occupy a sustained place in the narrative. Adams follows the overlapping spheres of trade, diplomacy, and settlement, and he examines how differing conceptions of land and sovereignty shaped encounters. He charts escalating tensions that led to warfare in the 1630s and the 1670s, and considers how those conflicts altered demography, authority, and strategy within the colonies. The formation of intercolonial cooperation for defense is presented as both pragmatic and revealing of political culture. Throughout, he evaluates the costs of expansion and the hardening of boundaries, situating New England's trajectory within a broader contest for power and survival.

Economic life and imperial policy receive parallel treatment. Adams details the growth of fisheries, timbering, and shipbuilding, and the rise of regional and Atlantic trade networks connecting New England to Europe and the Caribbean. He assesses the impact of mercantilist regulation and the Navigation Acts on colonial shipping and markets, alongside local adaptations that reinforced autonomy. The narrative also addresses generational change, as descendants recalibrated the intensity of founding ideals to meet social and commercial realities. Rather than depicting decline or triumph, Adams traces accommodation and negotiation, where law, custom, and profit modified the earliest program without wholly displacing its aspirations.

By weaving political, religious, social, and economic strands, Adams argues that New England's founding created institutions and habits that outlasted immediate circumstances. His synthesis underscores the complexity of a regional order that claimed moral purpose while entrenching hierarchy and exclusion, and that prized participation while restricting its scope. The book's measured judgments and reliance on diverse sources established a benchmark for interpreting early colonial history. Without insisting on a single legacy, it shows how a cluster of small communities generated an enduring vocabulary of covenant, consent, and vigilance—terms that continued to shape debates about belonging, authority, and identity in American life.

# Historical Context

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James Truslow Adams's subject begins in the early seventeenth century North Atlantic, when English colonization pressed beyond Virginia into the colder shores labeled "New England." The Stuart monarchy licensed joint-stock ventures and proprietors to plant settlements under royal charters, while religious contention at home nourished dissenting migrations. Separatists from Leiden crossed on the Mayflower in 1620, forming Plymouth Colony and the Mayflower Compact to order civic life. Within this setting of chartered rights, church reform, and maritime opportunity, coastal villages, trading posts, and fortified towns took shape, anchoring English law and custom in a landscape already inhabited by diverse Native peoples.

The larger Puritan migration arrived under the Massachusetts Bay charter of 1629, with John Winthrop's fleet landing in 1630 to build a "city upon a hill." Congregational churches, governed by covenants and gathered membership, shaped political rights; in Massachusetts the freeman franchise was initially limited to church members. Town meetings, county courts, and the General Court balanced local autonomy with colonial legislation. The Body of Liberties (1641) codified protections and punishments, while the Cambridge Platform (1648) defined church polity. Harvard College, founded in 1636, and the Cambridge printing press (1638) fostered learned ministry and a remarkably literate, record-keeping society.

Religious and political dissent quickly produced new jurisdictions. Roger Williams, banished from Massachusetts in 1635, established Providence in 1636 and secured parliamentary recognition in 1644; a royal charter in 1663

guaranteed Rhode Island's broad religious liberty. The Antinomian Controversy led to Anne Hutchinson's expulsion in 1637 and settlement in Aquidneck. Thomas Hooker's migration to the Connecticut River valley yielded the Fundamental Orders of 1639, often cited as an early constitutional framework. The New Haven Colony, founded in 1638, maintained a stricter theocratic vision before uniting with Connecticut in 1664. The United Colonies of New England (1643) coordinated defense and diplomacy.

Relations with Native nations framed colonial security and landholding. Epidemics preceding and following 1620 devastated many coastal communities, reshaping power balances the English encountered. Trade, treaties, and missionary work—exemplified by John Eliot's "praying towns"—alternated with violence. The Pequot War (1636–1637) ended with the Mystic massacre and the Treaty of Hartford, dissolving the Pequot polity. Later, King Philip's War (1675–1676), led by the Wampanoag sachem Metacom, engulfed most of New England, causing severe casualties, displacement, and debt. Native alliances and rivalries were decisive throughout, and the war's aftermath tightened colonial military organization and hardened attitudes toward Indigenous sovereignty.

Environmental limits and Atlantic opportunities shaped the economy. New England's short growing season fostered mixed husbandry, common pasturage, and smallholder farms, while forests and banks of cod sustained lumbering, barrel-making, and fisheries. Shipbuilding developed rapidly in coastal towns such as Boston, Salem, and Portsmouth. Trade knit the region to Newfoundland, Iberia, and especially the West Indies, exchanging fish, livestock, and timber for sugar products and hard currency. Chronic coin shortages prompted use of wampum in petty transactions and the Massachusetts "pine tree" shilling mint of 1652. English Navigation Acts regulated commerce, encouraging both compliance and habitual smuggling.

Shifts in English politics repeatedly altered colonial autonomy. During the English Civil War and the Interregnum (1642–1660), imperial distractions left New England institutions largely self-directing. The Restoration brought renewed oversight: royal commissioners visited in the 1660s, proprietary claims revived in Maine and New Hampshire, and compliance with trade laws tightened. In 1686 the Crown consolidated several colonies under the Dominion of New England, governed by Sir Edmund Andros without representative assemblies. The Glorious Revolution in 1688–1689 sparked Andros’s overthrow in Boston and a reconfiguration of charters. Massachusetts received a new royal charter in 1691, merging with Plymouth.

Social order rested on covenant theology, family labor, and disciplined communities. High literacy supported catechism, contract, and law; Massachusetts’ 1647 “Old Deluder Satan” act mandated town schools to ensure Bible reading. Moral regulation—Sabbath observance, sumptuary rules, and church discipline—coexisted with a pragmatic politics of land distribution and defense. The Half-Way Covenant of 1662 admitted the baptized children of church members to partial membership, confirming anxieties about piety and generational change. Ministers, magistrates, and militia officers structured authority, while town proprietors allocated common lands. These norms framed later crises and reforms that tested the ideals of a godly commonwealth.

Published in 1921, *The Founding of New England* won the 1922 Pulitzer Prize for History and exemplified early twentieth-century scholarship that integrated political, religious, and economic analysis. Adams emphasized institutions, social texture, and transatlantic contexts rather than heroic legend, drawing heavily on colonial records and correspondence. He situates Puritan ideals alongside adaptation to environment, commerce, and imperial policy, highlighting tensions between local autonomy and royal

authority. Without romanticizing or condemning wholesale, the work assesses how communities forged durable practices from contested beginnings. Its narrative both reflects contemporary professionalizing standards in American historiography and critiques inherited myths about New England's origins.

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# **PREFACE**

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The following account of the founding of New England is intended to serve as an introduction to the later history of that section, and to the study of its relations with other portions of the Empire and with the mother-country, as well as of the section's influence upon the nation formed from such of the colonies as subsequently revolted. The book thus necessarily deals mainly with origins, discussing the discovery and first settlement of the region; the genesis of the religious and political ideas which there took root and flourished; the geographic and other factors which shaped its economic development; the beginnings of that English overseas empire, of which it formed a part; and the early formulation of thought-on both sides of the Atlantic-regarding imperial problems.

There is no lack of detailed narratives, both of the entire period covered by the present volume and, on an even larger scale, of certain of its more important or dramatic episodes. New material brought to light within the past decade or two, however, has necessitated a reevaluation of many former judgments, as well as changes in selection and emphasis. Moreover, our general accounts do not, for the most part, adequately treat of those economic and imperial relations which are of fundamental importance; for the one outstanding fact concerning any American colony in the colonial period is that it was a dependency, and formed merely a part of a larger and more comprehensive imperial and economic organization.

Consequently, the evolution of such a colony can be viewed correctly only when it is seen against the background of the economic and imperial conditions and theories of the time.

While the author, accordingly, has endeavored to place the local story in its proper imperial setting, he has endeavored also to distinguish between its various elements, and to display the conflicting forces at work in the colonies themselves. The old conception of New England history, according to which that section was considered to have been settled by persecuted religious refugees, devoted to liberty of conscience, who, in the disputes with the mother-country, formed a united mass of liberty-loving patriots unanimously opposed to an unmitigated tyranny, has, happily, for many years, been passing. In his own narrative of the facts, based upon a fresh study of the sources, the author has tried to indicate that economic as well as religious factors played a very considerable part in the great migration during the early settlement period, in the course of which over sixty-five thousand Englishmen left their homes for various parts of the New World, of which number approximately only four thousand were to join the New England churches. He has also endeavored to exhibit the workings of the theocracy, and to show how, in the period treated, the domestic struggle against the tyranny exercised by the more bigoted members of the theocratic party was of greater importance in the history of liberty than the more dramatic contest with the mother-country.

While the local narrative is based wholly upon original records, much use has been made also of the rapidly increasing number of scholarly monographs upon particular topics, the indebtedness to which will be found more particularly set forth in the footnotes. It is true that many points—such as land-tenure, in spite of all that has been written upon it—yet remain to be cleared up before we can be quite sure that we understand a number of matters connected with colonial institutions. Nevertheless, so much work of this character has already been done, which has only in part found its way into popular accounts, that it seems as if the time had come for a serious attempt to

recast the story of early New England, and to combine these results of recent research with the more modern spirit, in a new presentation of the period.

To those who first encouraged him to undertake the work,—interrupted by the war,—and who, in one way and another, have assisted him in his enterprise, the author takes this opportunity to offer his most sincere and grateful thanks.

J. T. A.

Bridgehampton, New York,  
*November 9, 1920.*

# CHAPTER I

## THE AMERICAN BACKGROUND

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In the name of the country which to-day occupies the major part of the inhabitable portion of North America is indicated the twofold nature of its history; for the story of the United States may evidently be approached, either from the standpoint of a federal nation, or from that of its component political units. These units, although in themselves separate states, are geographically divided from one another, for the most part, by boundaries which are purely artificial. Natural frontiers consist of the sea, deserts, mountains, rivers, and the now almost obsolete ones of forests and swamps. A glance at the map shows that such natural barriers are only a negligible part of the boundaries between our various states and territories. Rivers alone form an exception, and these, for several reasons, are the least satisfactory for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> Were the federal tie dissolved, and these now united commonwealths to become completely independent, and possibly hostile, the artificial character of their limits would at once become obvious.

From this it has followed, as settlement has gradually spread over the continent, bringing innumerable communities into existence, that these have tended to group themselves into sections, united by common modes of thought, ways of life, and economic needs. Histories of the individual states are almost as arbitrarily localized as the histories of the counties within them; but the story of any of the sections into which the country has divided from time to time possesses an organic unity created by the forces of life itself.

Some of these divisions have tended to remain permanent, while others have passed with the development of the country. During the colonial period, when the English inhabited only the comparatively narrow strip of land between the sea and the mountain-barrier of the Appalachian system, the colonists fell into three natural groups,—the New England, the Middle, and the Southern,—determined by climatic, economic, and cultural conditions. These factors, operating with others somewhat more fortuitous, made the distinctions both lasting and marked, the extreme northern and southern groups exhibiting their differences more clearly than the intermediate one lying between them.

When the frontier was extended west of the mountain-barrier,—and, indeed, on a smaller scale, even earlier,—another grouping came into existence, that of East and West, or old settlement and frontier. This division was also to persist, with an ever-enlarging East and an ever-retreating West. If the economic and political ideas of these new sections were to remain somewhat sharply contrasted, the distinctions between the original extreme eastern groups were also continued, like lengthening shadows across the mountain ridges, and the whole country was to find itself aligned in two hostile groupings in the most tragic division that it has yet had to face—that between the North and the South.

In the New England group we have one which, in spite of minor differences, is unusually homogeneous. Not only are the boundaries between the six states which now form it negligible, but the section, as a whole, is a geographical unit, within which a common life, based upon generally similar economic, political, and religious foundations, has constituted a distinct cultural strain in the life of the nation. The “New England idea” and the “New England type” have been as sharply defined as they have been persistent; and, if, in our own day, they seem, to some extent, to be passing,

their influence may be no less living because spread broadcast throughout the whole land, and absorbed into the common national life. Effective natural boundaries, defining a limited area, are of determining influence in fostering the life of primitive peoples or of civilized colonies. Diffusion over an unlimited space, in the one case, tends to weaken the hold on the land and the growth of the state, while, in the other, it greatly retards the development of those elements that make for civilized life. Aside from other factors, the possession by the English, in the settlement period, of a limited and protected area, naturally restricted by the sea and the mountains, resulted, speaking broadly, in the building up of thickly settled, compact colonies as contrasted with the boundless empire of the French, opened to them by their control of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence rivers. It is noteworthy that, of the great river-highways leading to the interior of the continent,—the St. Lawrence, the Hudson-Mohawk, and the Mississippi,—none was at first possessed by the English, who had everywhere, unwittingly but fortunately, selected portions of the coast where their natural tendency to expand was temporarily held in check.

The Appalachian barrier<sup>[1]</sup>, which thus served to protect and to concentrate the efforts of the English, may be said to extend from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Alabama, coming nearest to the coast in passing across New York. In the northern part of Maine, where the mountains descend to a low water-shed, enormous forests, with no easy river-route facilitating peaceful or warlike travel, formed almost as effective a barrier; while passage southward, along the coast, was impeded during the early period by the presence of a foreign nation, the Dutch. There were, indeed, certain narrow entrances to this enclosed territory from the north, as the larger streams, flowing southward from the watershed along the Canadian boundary, could be utilized, in connection with those flowing northward from its other

slope to the St. Lawrence. The many falls along their courses, entailing laborious carries in the dense forest, together with the necessary longer ones across the height of land, made these routes more suitable, however, for the military needs of savages than for the movement of troops in large bodies, or for the purposes of trade.<sup>2</sup> The main passage for travel and transport from Canada to the south lay wholly to the west of New England, by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain<sup>[3]</sup>, which latter well deserved its Indian name of “key to the country.”

Within the boundaries thus roughly defined and the sea, lies a land said to contain a greater diversity of natural features than any other of equal area in the United States. To the west and north are the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts, the Green Mountains of Vermont, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and the scattered peaks of Maine. From a height of fifteen hundred to two thousand feet at the base of the mountains, a gently sloping upland descends gradually to Long Island Sound and the Atlantic. Although, at first glance, its surface seems to present only a confused mass of low-lying hills, their tops are seen to show a marked uniformity of level as they gradually slope downward toward the south and east; and geological evidence makes it almost certain that, at one time, this region was a plain, resulting from the wearing down, by denudation, of an earlier mountain range. Subsequent alterations in its surface, due to erosion and other factors, gave rise to the present uplands and lowlands, which have been of determining influence in the peopling of the section, the rugged uplands offering so hard a subsistence that they were nowhere willingly chosen for settlement so long as land might still be had in the lowlands.

Although, largely in the eighteenth century, economic pressure in the happier valleys forced many farmers to move to the hills, the opening of the West drew many of,

them to the prairies during the following century, and the population, like water which had been forced above its level, slowly drained off the uplands again, through the sluiceway of the Mohawk Valley. To-day, dying hill-towns, abandoned farms, and the yet unpeopled wilderness of northern Maine, tell the story of this struggle against geographical conditions.<sup>3</sup>

This formation of upland and valley extends to the shoreline of Sound and ocean, the broad coastal plain, which is so marked a feature from New Jersey southward, being almost wholly absent in New England. This is probably due to a subsidence of the shore, which allowed the ocean to flow back over part of the land, and which also explains the many hundred islands off the coast of Maine, and the drowned river valleys along the Sound. So numerous are the islands, bays, and headlands of the rugged coast north of the Isles of Shoals<sup>[2]</sup>, that they expand the two hundred and thirty miles of shore to nearly three thousand, if all are included in the measurement. In this section, also, there are many good harbors, particularly that of Portland, but the coast is so greatly dissected as to make land communication along it very difficult; while the small boats, which partially served the needs of commerce and travel in early days, were seriously interfered with by the great rise and fall of the tides. Both these conditions tended to isolate the colonial settlements and hinder their development. The upland country, with its poorer soil and more difficult conditions of life, also approaches nearer to the sea in Maine and New Hampshire than farther south, so that, although Portsmouth, too, has a fine harbor, those states have always been more thinly settled than the others.

The coast of Massachusetts is less rugged, but more varied. South of the granite headland of Cape Ann, the shores of Boston Bay are still rocky and irregular; but both shores of the great sandy curve of the Cape Cod peninsula,

which, with Cape Ann, encloses the waters of Massachusetts Bay, are smooth and moulded by wind and wave. The coast again becomes rough around Buzzard's Bay, while the almost land locked waters of Rhode Island have drowned the old river-system of that state. Opposite Connecticut lies Long Island, the only island of any considerable size along the entire Atlantic coast; so that the Sound, or inland sea, thus formed between it and the mainland, gives to Connecticut the advantage of a quiet, protected waterway for all its ports.

The value of a coast-line, however, depends not alone upon its own features, but upon its relations with the interior, both as to means of communication, and as to the soil and products of the back-country. During the colonial period, the lines of communication were naturally along waterways. With the small tonnage of the vessels then employed, even the sea-going ones, by utilizing rivers, could pass far inland; and we find Henry Hudson penetrating to Albany in the same ship in which he had crossed the ocean. The almost interminable length of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi lured the French ever deeper into the wilderness in quest of the retreating fur-trade, so that their empire became hardly more than a series of far-flung forts and trading-posts. The rivers of New England, on the other hand, having their rise in the Appalachian barrier, and interrupted by many falls in their short courses, led to no vast domain beyond, and offered little temptation to the settler to leave their fertile valleys and tide-swept mouths. This lack of inland navigation not only tended to concentrate settlement near the coast, or on the lower navigable reaches of such streams as the Connecticut, but, also, in a later period, hastened the progress of turnpikes and railroads more quickly in New England than anywhere else in the country.<sup>4</sup>

At first, however, rivers were the only means of communication with the interior, and settlements along the

coast of Massachusetts, and on Buzzard's and Narragansett bays, tended to remain maritime in character, extending inland but slowly; whereas those located on such streams as the Kennebec and the Connecticut absorbed the rich fur-trade for which they formed the main routes. This trade, it may be noted, was exhausted earlier in New England than elsewhere, on account of the comparatively limited drainage basins of the river-system, so that the people were sooner forced to depend upon agriculture, fishing, commerce, and manufactures.

Land travel continued both difficult and costly in all the colonies throughout the whole of the earlier industrial period, and roads were so poor, even a century after New England was settled, that not until 1722 was a team driven for the first time from Connecticut to Rhode Island. To emphasize the effect of rivers, we may note that in New York, where the Hudson was the highway, the average cost of carrying a bushel of wheat one hundred miles was but two pence, compared with a shilling in Pennsylvania, where forty wagons, one hundred and sixty horses, and eighty men were required to transport the same amount of freight handled by two or three men on a scow in New York. This high cost of land carriage, which, added to the ocean freights, had the effect of fostering home manufactures as against importations from England, also restricted the areas of distribution, and tended to localize industry.<sup>5</sup>

It was not, however, merely the lack of an adequate system of river transport that served to stimulate manufacturing in New England in competition with the mother-country. The character of such rivers as she possessed peculiarly adapted them for the purpose of supplying power, for not only are falls and rapids numerous in all of them, but the "fall-line" in New England is nearer tidewater than it is anywhere else along the coast. In addition, the regularity of the rainfall, and the great number

of lakes, which form natural reservoirs, cause the flow of the rivers to be more constant than in other parts of the country. From all these causes, the little Merrimac<sup>[4]</sup>, for example, which is otherwise insignificant as an American river, is the most noted water-power stream in the world.<sup>6</sup>

The soil of New England is of glacial origin, about three quarters of it being of boulder-clay, stubborn in character and difficult to cultivate, but of fair and lasting fertility, due to the steady decomposition of the smaller pebbles. The remainder, largely in the southeast, is sandy and of little or no use for agriculture, owing to the rapid draining away of all moisture.<sup>7</sup> That on the uplands is thinner and poorer than in the valleys, and the uplands predominate.

A hard living may be forced from such a soil; but the lazy or unskilled fail to subsist, much less leave a surplus. Tests of white and colored farmers in the north indicate that, if the efficiency of the former be taken as 100, that of the latter is but 49,<sup>8</sup> from which fact the economic impossibility of slavery would seem to be established for New England, as that institution requires the production of a considerable surplus over individual needs, even by inefficient labor. In Barbadoes, on the other hand, a hundred acres planted in sugar were tended by fifty slaves and seven white servants; a similar amount of land, if cotton were raised, required forty-five blacks and five whites; while the cultivation of ginger necessitated the labor of seven and a half persons per acre.<sup>9</sup> The economic, social, and political results of such utilization of the soil, as compared with the subsistence farming of New England, are too obvious to need elaboration. As we shall see, the Puritans were not wholly averse to owning slaves, and were often wont, in ethical cases, to weigh both religious scruples and economic considerations. In this case, the latter prevailed, without detriment to the former, and the abolition sentiment of the

England, where colonial authorities are said to have given them shelter.

**69** An early Massachusetts resident (first settled there about 1624) who opposed the dominant theocratic leadership and acted as an agent and informant in England, advising Clarendon and others on New England affairs.

**70** Governor of Connecticut and son of Massachusetts founder John Winthrop, he was sent to England as the colony's agent and secured a broad Connecticut charter that served as its governing constitution until 1818.

**71** The colonial phrase 'Squaw Sachem' referred to a female tribal chief; Awashunks (also spelled Awashonks elsewhere in the text) was a 17th-century Native woman who was summoned by Plymouth authorities in 1671 and compelled to submit the disposal of her lands to the colony.

**72** 'Praying Indians' was the contemporary name for Native Americans converted to Christianity and settled in mission villages or 'Praying towns' under missionaries such as John Eliot, numbering in the thousands in New England by the 1670s.

**73** Canonchet was a principal sachem (chief) of the Narragansett tribe, son of Miantonomo, who became a leading Native commander in the conflict and was captured and executed after attempts to sustain the war in 1676.

**74** Pettisquamscott is the place named in the text where colonial forces assembled on December 18, 1675; it denotes a marshy/coastal staging area in the Narragansett region (historically associated with present-day Rhode Island) used before the attack on the Narragansett fort.

**75** Bloody Brook is the name given to the ford/stream where Captain Lathrop's convoy was ambushed in 1675, resulting in a large massacre of colonial troops during the campaign in the Connecticut River valley.

**76** King Philip's War (c.1675–1676) was a major conflict in New England between an alliance of Native American groups led by Metacom (called King Philip by the English) and English colonists, causing heavy casualties and social disruption in the region.

**77** The Restoration of the Stuarts refers to the 1660 return of Charles II to the English throne and the re-establishment of the Stuart monarchy after the Interregnum; it marks a political turning point for imperial and domestic policy in the 17th century.

**78** The Lords of Trade and Plantations was a royal committee (often called the Board of Trade) established in the 1670s to oversee colonial administration and advise the crown on commercial and imperial matters.

**79** Edward Randolph was a late-17th-century English official and customs agent who reported on colonial trade and governance, played a leading role in pressing complaints against Massachusetts, and helped precipitate legal action against its charter.

**80** Scire facias is a common-law writ used to revive or annul a judicial record or grant; in the 17th-century colonial context it could be employed to annul a charter after initial quo warranto proceedings proved ineffective.

**81** Christopher Columbus (c.1451–1506), a Genoese navigator in Spanish service whose 1492 voyage sought a westward route to Asian markets; his landfalls inaugurated

sustained European contact with the Americas rather than an intent to discover a previously unknown continent.

**82** Refers to the Masonian proprietors, heirs or assigns of earlier grants associated with Captain John Mason, who claimed legal title to large tracts in what became New Hampshire and thus generated long-running disputes with local settlers.

**83** A quitrent was a small annual rent or payment due to the landlord or Crown in return for holding land free of other feudal services; colonial authorities sometimes proposed quitrents to regularize imperfect land titles.

**84** Edward Cranfield was a royal official commissioned in 1682 to govern New Hampshire; contemporaries and later writers criticized his administration (early 1680s) for corruption and extortion, and he was removed by the end of 1684.

**85** William Blathwayt (active late 17th–early 18th century) was an English government official involved in colonial administration and correspondence; he appears in records as a recipient of letters and as someone implicated in patronage or appointments.

**86** Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor of the Dominion of New England (arriving in Boston in 1686), previously served in New York, and was arrested and sent to England after the 1689 colonial uprising following the Glorious Revolution.

**87** A short-lived administrative union (established 1686 under King James II) that consolidated several New England colonies—later extended southward—into a single government under a royal governor; it was dissolved after 1689.

**88** The writ or right protecting against unlawful detention, associated with the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 in England; its applicability to the colonies was ambiguous in practice and colonial authorities sometimes denied it.

**89** William of Orange (later King William III) was the Dutch prince who landed in England in 1688 and, after the Glorious Revolution, displaced James II; references in the text praise him as the new sovereign.

**90** A colonial leader raised to prominence after recovering treasure from a sunken ship, knighted and later appointed royal governor of Massachusetts; he commanded the 1690 expeditions against Port Royal and Quebec and served as governor in the early 1690s.

**91** The principal French fort and settlement in Acadia (on the bay of Fundy, in present-day Nova Scotia), captured by Sir William Phips in 1690 during a New England raid.

**92** A frontier settlement and English fort on the coast of what is now Maine (often defended as Pemaquid/fortified post), which was attacked and captured during the Indian and French raids of 1689–1690.

**93** Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, the governor of New France who defended Quebec and repelled the 1690 English naval attack led by Phips.

**94** An Anglican (Episcopalian) congregation and chapel in Boston established in the late 17th century; contemporaries often cited it as a symbol of royal and Anglican influence in largely Congregational New England.

**95** Locally issued Massachusetts silver coins (minted in the mid-17th century) used in colonial commerce and