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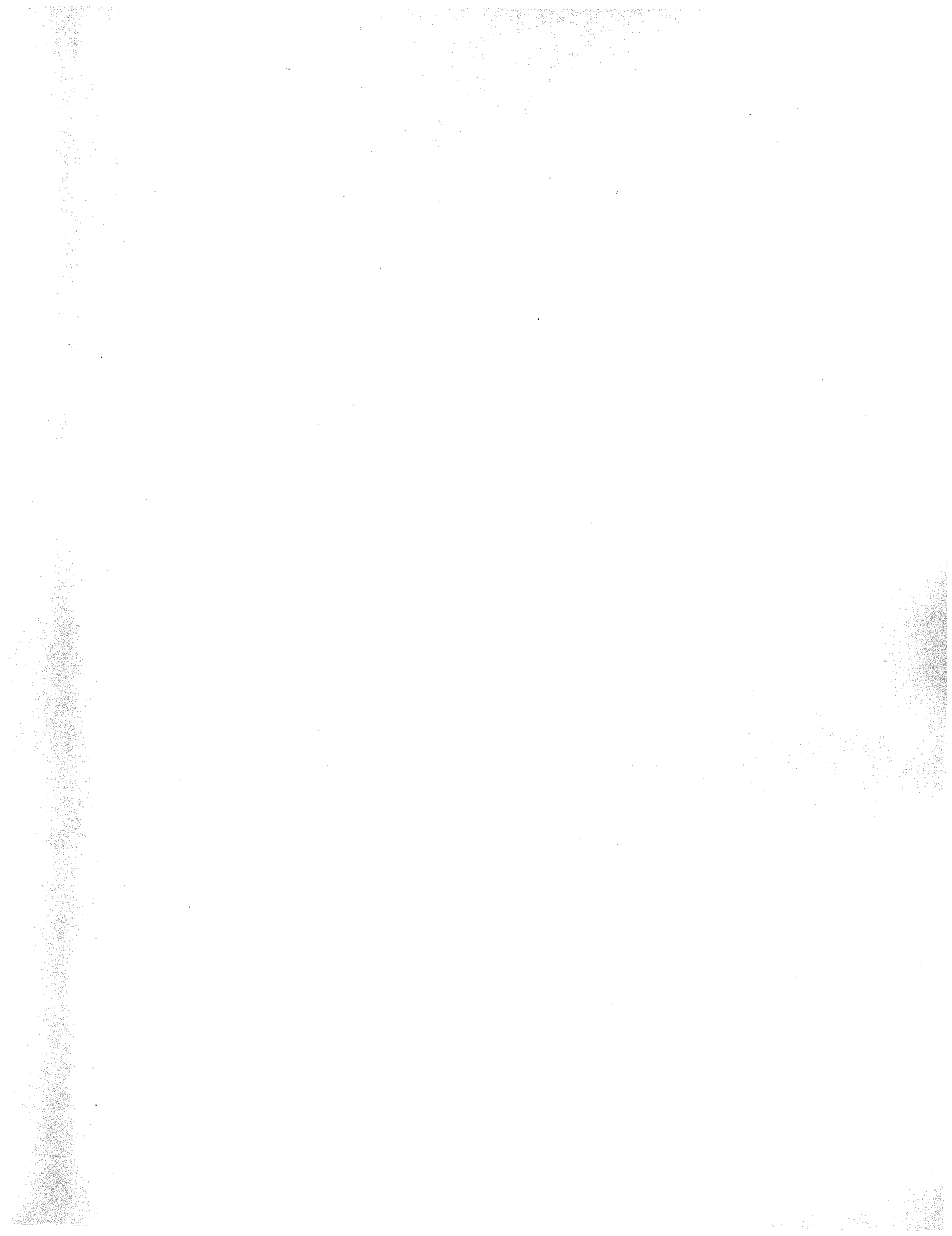
THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE
IN
AMERICAN COLONIZATION

by
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Statement and Justification of the Subject	1
B. Purpose and Limitation	3
C. Method of Procedure	4
II. THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF COLONIZATION IN AMERICA	5
A. Introduction.	5
B. The Middle Ages	6
C. The Renaissance	11
1. Its Beginning	11
2. The Renaissance in France	13
3. The Renaissance in Spain.	14
4. The Renaissance in England	15
5. Summary	16
D. The Protestant Reformation	17
1. The Causes of the Reformation	17
2. The Reformation in France	19
3. The Reformation in Spain	20
4. The Reformation in England	22
5. Summary	23
E. Political Background	24
1. Spain	24
2. France.	26
3. England	28
4. Summary	29
F. Summary of the Chapter	29
III. THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN THE SPANISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA	31
A. Introduction.	31
B. The Spanish Colonial Theory	32
C. The Spanish Colonial Methods	34
D. The Religious Element in the Discovery of America	37
E. The Religious Element in Exploration and Conquest.	40
F. The Religious Element in the Actual Colonizing Process.	44
G. The Place of the Religious Motive in Spanish Colonization	46
1. In the View of Historians	46

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212 5-5

June 1. 1937

	Page
2. In Missions and Missionaries	47
3. In Other Catholic Institutions	50
a. The Ecclesiastical Structure	50
b. The Monastic Institutions	50
c. The Educational Work	51
4. In Other Factors of Religious Significance	52
a. Las Casas	52
b. Religious Idealism of the Spanish	53
c. Religiosity in Spain	53
d. Religious Immigrants to the West Indies	53
e. Religious Names	54
f. Religious Art and Architecture	54
g. Adaptation of Catholicism to the Natives	54
h. Continued Vigor of the Missionaires	55
i. Other Factors	55
H. Summary of the Chapter	56
 IV. THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN THE FRENCH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.	58
A. Introduction	58
B. The French Colonial Theory and Methods	59
C. The Religious Element in French Colonial Enterprise in America	65
1. The Early Development	65
a. The Beginning	65
b. Cartier's Voyages	66
c. Early Attempts in Colonization.	66
2. The Colonization of Canada.	68
a. Acadia and the St. Lawrence Valley	68
b. The Northwest	69
3. The Colonization of the Mississippi Valley	70
D. The Religious Element in Exploration	71
E. The French Missions and Missionaries	72
F. Other Religious Factors Associated with French Colonization	75
1. The Establishment of the Hierarchy	75
2. The Difficulties Faced by the Religious Workers	75

	Page
3. Religion and the Failure of New France	76
4. Permanent Religious Deposits of New France	77
G. Summary of the Chapter	78
V. THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.	79
A. Introduction	79
B. The English Colonial Theory and Methods	80
C. The Beginnings of English Colonial Enterprise in the New World	84
D. The Religious Motives in the New England Colonies	86
1. The Plymouth Colony	87
2. The Massachusetts Bay Colony	88
3. The Branches of the Massachusetts Bay Colony	92
a. Rhode Island	92
b. Connecticut	93
c. New Hampshire and Maine	94
4. Summary	95
E. The Religious Motive in the Middle Colonies	95
1. New York	96
2. Delaware	98
3. New Jersey	99
4. Pennsylvania	100
5. Summary	102
F. The Religious Motive in the Southern Colonies	103
1. Virginia	103
2. Maryland	107
3. The Carolinas	108
4. Georgia	110
5. Summary	112
G. The Religious Contributions of Settlers From Other European Countries to the English Colonies	112
H. Summary of the Chapter	113
VI. CONCLUSION.	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

"I have no expectation that any man will read history aright, who thinks that what was done in a remote age, by men whose names have resounded far, has any deeper sense than what he is doing to-day."

-Emerson's Essay on History

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement and Justification of the Subject

The discovery of the New World was an accident and an adventure. It was both an effect and a cause. No one can doubt that it resulted, in part, from the spirit of the then dawning Modern Age. Likewise it was a further stimulus to the spirit out of which it came. As Dr.

Whitehead says in his Adventures of Ideas:

"Before Columbus set sail for America, he had dreamt of the far East and of the round world, and of the trackless ocean. Adventure rarely reaches its predestined end. Columbus never reached China. But he discovered America".¹

The settlement of the newly found lands was likewise an adventure, but not an accident. This movement was impelled by certain forces and attractions for which we must account. No sooner were the hidden territories revealed, than men moved to accomplish a transference of their accustomed civilizations to these new expanses. Colonization began almost immediately and continued progressively. Men left their ancestral abodes to set up fresh ones across a boundless stretch of water. Thousands departed from the comparative comfort and secur-

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1. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, p. 359.

ity of the European homeland to endure inestimable hardship on the frontiers of two vast and strange continents. Why did they do so? For what reason should they have planted colonies thousands of miles from the motherland? Was it for fame and fortune; for glory, or gold, or God? While recognizing that they had no unmixed incentives, one has an especial interest in the part religion had in stimulating and stirring men to the establishment of provinces of European culture in the western lands. The subject of this study has to do particularly with the religious motive in the colonization of the Americas.

The above theme seems to savor only of pious Pilgrim Fathers and rugged New England shores. The fact that such an idea is prevalent justifies this study in which it will be shown that others also had religious aims in settlement. Too often association of the religious endeavor is restricted to those Separatists who settled in the region of Boston. Pilgrims are all right, but what of Spanish zealots, and heroic Frenchmen who labored under the Cross? They likewise excite admiration and interest. What part did each of them play? One may profitably direct attention to the foundations by these nations of overseas empires in the western hemisphere.

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The spiritual side of the story has been too frequently disregarded by some historians and only sentimentally told by others. Again, may one by such a study enhance his understanding of the religious situation on both shores of the Atlantic.

"Loria, the Italian economist, has urged the study of colonial life as an aid in understanding the stages of European development, affirming that colonial settlement is for economic science what the mountain is for the geologist, bringing to light primitive stratifications. 'America', he says, 'has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for centuries in vain, and the land which has no history reveals luminously the course of universal history.'"¹

If this be true for the field of economics, then it is even more true for the field of the Christian religion.

B. Purpose and ~~Delimitation~~

The boldness of the present investigation is not particularly to prove that the religious was the greatest motive for colonization, however true or untrue this may be. Rather, it is a determination of the part religion played together with many other motives, and an endeavor to estimate its proper place among them.

The field is broad. It is limited, in the main, to the colonial enterprises on the new continent by Spain,

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1. Turner, The Frontier in American History, p. 11.

France, and England. In making this limitation, one cannot forget the less extensive work of such peoples as the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Swedish, the Italians, and the Germans. The Colonial Period, for this study, will be considered as extending from 1492, when Columbus left a few men in Haiti, to about the year 1750.

C. Method of Procedure

The American culture sprang out of the fertile life of Europe. It is essential, therefore, to view the happenings on the eastern shore of the Atlantic, and to witness the complicated background from which America came. A preliminary chapter will be devoted to this phase of the subject. The religious work of the Spanish in planting colonies will next occupy attention. Then a glimpse at the French motives of settlement will be taken. In a third phase the English colonies of the Eastern seaboard will be studied. A concluding chapter will summarize the findings of this survey.

In the colonial field the literary sources are extremely numerous. Literally thousands of early documents relating to it are to be found in the Spanish, French, and English languages. In addition, a vast quantity of secondary literature has grown up. For this work a number of the latter writings have been studied, as well as many of the source-materials in English.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF COLONIZATION IN AMERICA

"The characteristic significance of the Middle Ages was of such a nature as to make it comparable to the spaciousness of a vast Cathedral gradually extending its corridors all over Europe, attracting all races so powerfully within its inclosures as to make it appear impossible to belong to the European sphere of culture without also belonging to the Christian religion and the Catholic Church."

-Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History,
p. 245

CHAPTER TWO

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF COLONIZATION IN AMERICA

A. Introduction

The roots of American culture are deeply imbedded in the life of Europe. "The foundations of America were laid in European conditions and occurrences."¹ One must, therefore, look first to its sources to gain any adequate understanding of our colonial history.² That to which Europeans can point with pride before 1492, so can we. Their heritage is our heritage. In their foundation and throughout their growth the colonies were tremendously influenced by what happened on the other side of the water. The investigation of this chapter will have to do with the background -- particularly the religious background -- before which the drama of colonization was enacted. History is difficult to interpret, but it is possible to scan several centuries to observe how religion stands out in the landscape, and how it became a leading factor in the settlement of the New World. In this it is well to remember the admonition Newton gives:

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1. Cheyney, The European Background of American History, p. 314.
2. Cf. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. 1, Preface, p. v: "In dealing with Colonial history in general, three factors stand out for conspicuous treatment: the mother country, the colonies, and the relations between them."

"We have come to realize that the extreme complexity of world conditions has been reached not by a succession of jerky catastrophies, but by a gradual and continuous process of 'becoming'."¹

B. The Middle Ages

In 476 Rome succumbed to the Teutonic Invasions. The span of years between that event and the Renaissance is termed the Middle Ages or the Dark Ages. Throughout this great period foundations of the culture of Europe were laid -- the Europe of which America was born. The Medieval era is for modern man of most inviting interest.

One of the outstanding phases of life in this epoch was the mold into which society fell -- Feudalism.

"Feudalism can perhaps best be thought of as a case of arrested development, caused by a deadlock between opposing forces, a conflict between the principles of patriarchal society and those of a political state in which neither was victorious."²

Though in theory a perfect hierarchal system was established, actually society became stratified and stagnant. At the top were the great nobles and Churchmen; below were the lesser nobles and clergy; below them were the peasants (serfs and freemen). Every strong king tried to break the power of this system which weakened his grasp upon his realm. With the dawn of modern times Feudalism

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1. Newton, The Great Age of Discovery, p. 1.
2. A quotation from Jenks in Parson's Stream of History, p. 367.

declined -- "rotted under its own weight" and only persistent vestiges remained permanently a part of Western civilization. It was a distinctly agricultural and rural social theory: it made the Dark Ages "dark".

The great central and universal institution of the Middle Ages was the Church. When Rome fell politically, the Catholic Church upheld its tradition ecclesiastically. Everybody was tied on every hand by this colossal structure. As many others express in effect:

"Roman Catholic Christianity was for centuries almost the sole principle of unity in Western Europe".¹

There were really no nations worthy of the name during this period: the Church made them unnecessary. A man's allegiance belonged not to a king or a country, but to the Body of Christ and His Vicar at Rome. Such a fact as this was bound to leave a permanent impression on the European mind.

The crowning feature of the ecclesiastical system was the institution of the Papacy. Arising from a dubious beginning, based on more dubious claims, the Successor to St. Peter had firmly rooted himself by the seventh century. Thereafter there was a steady rise of the Papacy, a period of unparalleled supremacy, and

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1. Lyman, The Meaning and Truth of Religion, p. 52.

finally a decline of the papal chair in influence, while its occupants waned in morality and ability. Its state became so shameful as to be the cause of persistent cries for reform, and descended so low as to suffer the "Babylonish Captivity" at Avignon from 1305 - 77. This was followed by a dramatic interlude, in which for forty years there were three "sole" Vicars of Christ.

During the same era occurred the growth and finally the decline of Monasticism. Multitudes in Europe sought solace and escape from the "sinful world" in cave, and cell, and cloister. At one time there were over 37,000 monasteries in Europe. In the ~~twelfth~~ and ~~thirteenth~~ centuries arose the Mendicant orders of friars -- the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Dominicans -- which played such an important role in the New World.

Thus the Church molded personal and social life in the Middle Ages. It helped to shape culture as is witnessed by the cathedrals into which the souls of the people were builded. Political affairs were under ecclesiastical surveillance. Intellectual life reached a peak in the Catholic universities and in the oft-times harshly and falsely criticized Scholasticism. The economic phase was also touched, in that at least by "Peter's Pence" the Pope had his hand on everybody's purse-strings. Life in the Middle Ages was in a very real sense "Church-life".

The Crusades constituted another powerful force in this era. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seven great pilgrimages were made to the Holy Land with the aim of recovering the Holy Sepulchre from profane Moslem hands. Their incentives were not always unmixed, and religious zeal was often confused with commercial enterprise and even brigandry. Among their important results was the opening of the East and the acquisition by Europe of an insatiable taste for spices, tea, dyes, silks, gems, gold, and other rare gifts of the Orient. Except for the Crusades, America probably would not have been discovered as early as it was. Marco Polo's journeys at this same time, likewise stimulated interest in China.

Thus the Middle Ages progressed. Profitable trade relations were started. Towns and cities arose. People were needed to populate the cities; they shifted there. This loss of people in feudalism led to its collapse. Mediums of exchange were necessary. Gold became the standard of wealth, instead of immobile land. Banking was necessitated. The profit-motive replaced mere "subsistence-farming". The seeds of a capitalistic system were sown. Products of the West had to be sent in exchange to the East. Industry commenced to replace the supremacy of agriculture. Artisans were in demand.

Craft guilds and merchant guilds arose side by side. New situations and new needs called for initiative and resourcefulness. Trade routes were laid out. Busy trade cities resulted. The spirit of nationalism arose. Modern boundaries were in the process of formation. A new era was dawning.

In 1453 Constantinople fell, ushering in a new period. Traditionally the Turks were supposed to have cut off access to the East; therefore, in hunting another way, America was discovered. This is not altogether true:

" . . . That which undermined the lucrative trade and destroyed the commercial supremacy of the cities of the Mediterranean was not Turkish oppression, but Portuguese enterprise".¹

Under Prince Henry, the Navigator, a great Christian man and a missionary spirit, Portugal developed remarkably in navigation, and so paved the way for Columbus. An intellectual stimulus was felt throughout Europe. Also there was manifested a growing discontent in the Church. The Albigenses, the Waldenses had protested earlier for religious freedom. The "seared flesh" of many a heretic raised a stench in Europe that would lead to a crisis. Indeed, an intellectual and a spiritual crisis was impending.

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1. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, Vol 1, p. 6. See also Lybyer's Article, "The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade", Historical Review, 1915, pp. 578 - 588.

Cheyney summarizes this important part of our background in a most striking manner. Speaking of the period 1300 - 1453 he says:

"The most marked characteristics of the history of Europe considered as a whole, during the period . . . was its uniformity What happened in one country happened, in a somewhat different form, in others. . . . Medieval feudalism was dying out. Farm life was encroaching on rural life. Capitalism was at work in all countries. Centralization within larger or smaller boundaries was everywhere in progress. . . . These and a score of other instances of parallel development indicate that the history of Europe was a single current, not a series of separate national, racial or regional streams".¹

And again,

"The most conspicuous characteristic of this period was its assurance that it was introductory to a new era".²

Throughout the Middle Ages this fact is plain: that European individual and social life was steeped and stamped with religion. Nowhere could you escape it: it was in the blood of the people. Naturally it follows that it would be an inherent motive in colonizing the New World.

C. The Renaissance

1. Its Beginning

The period of history called the Renaissance is not yet remote enough to be interpreted accurately. Its

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1. Cheyney, The Dawn of a New Era, p. 328.

2. Ibid., p. 339.

main trends, however, are clearly distinguishable, and the most casual observation reveals its transitional nature.

"Anyone who looks through the records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries becomes conscious of an extraordinary change of mental outlook showing itself on all sides in unexpected ways. He finds at the same time that all attempts to analyze and account for this change are to a great extent unsatisfactory. After marshalling all forces and ideas which were at work to produce it, he still feels that there was behind all these an animating spirit which he can not but most imperfectly catch, whose power blended all else together and gave a sudden cohesion to the whole."¹

In about every sphere of life significant changes occur.

In the intellectual realm we observe the Revival of Learning; in the political, we see the centralization of government; in the geographical, discovery and exploration; in the religious, revival, reform, transplantation. Socially, economically, commercially, morally -- everything changed! The Renaissance was as an electric shock that passed through the Western world. Humanism was a prominent force. It was a reassertion of the Liberty of Man, stimulated by a revival of interest in the study of ancient Greek and Latin classics, the manuscripts of which flowed into Italy after the fall of Byzantium in 1453. The movement was effected in its course from all sides: by the Reformation; the discovery of America; the growth of nations; the

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1. Newton, The Great Age of Discovery, p. 2.

invention of gunpowder, compass and astrolabe, paper and printing. This latter invention was very significant religiously in that the Bible was first printed in 1440 - 50 and was followed by a stream of religious and secular works to enlighten Europe.

2. The Renaissance in France

The Renaissance was mothered in Italy, fostered there by a galaxy of fertile intellects. From his military expeditions to Italy (1492 - 1500) Charles VIII of France brought the Renaissance home. By the time of the sack of Rome in 1527 the Revival of Letters had changed center -- to the Land of the Fleur-de-lis. Painting, architecture, and kindred arts received immediate stimulus. Parsons says:

"France wrote the greatest prose of the Renaissance, expressing the sanest philosophy of life, built the most beautiful chateaux and furnished an adventurous breed of explorers in the New World".¹

Among the great writers was Rabelais. To such penmen as he do the nations owe in large part an established and polished vernacular.

The Renaissance also witnessed the more complete decay of feudalism. France was broadly affected by such an intellectual stimulus. It was enabled to produce a

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1. Parsons, The Stream of History, p. 409.

succession of able leaders in all realms. Likewise was it prepared as a fertile field for the attendant religious revival.

3. The Renaissance in Spain

Some German writer has said:

"Gibt es eine spanische Renaissance?
" . . . es gibt keine spanische Renaissance,
aber es gibt auch keine spanisches Mittel
Alter".¹

There is some truth in this statement, nevertheless the Hispanic peninsula played a strange but important part in this movement.

"How did it come about that in the course of two or three generations there was such a vast outburst of visible energy from this group? (the Iberian). Was it due to political circumstances, or was there some deeper psychological cause at work which alone made it possible for men to put forth such heroic exertions?"²

Professor Antonio Pastor says that the Iberians led in Europe not because they were the first to be imbued with the modern spirit of inquiry, but because they were:

" . . . 'the last to retain the medieval inspiration of the Crusaders, the paladins, and the knights-errant long after the ages of faith had waned among other nations of Western Europe into the scepticism of the Renaissance'." ³

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1. "Is there a Spanish Renaissance?"
"There is not a Spanish Renaissance, but there is also no Spanish Middle Ages."
2. Newton, The Great Age of Discovery, p. 6.
3. Ibid, p. 6.

Spain was in many ways situated to take a lead in the Revival of Learning. It was on the Mediterranean Sea and on the Atlantic. It could capitalize on the assets of its Moors. It could draw on the gold of the New World. For a time it was in advance of other nations, and made its best contributions in the line of discovery and exploration.

Nor did Spain linger in artistic accomplishments, with such men as Valesquez (1599 - 1660). Her palaces, with their unique architecture are among the most beautiful of Europe. Cervantes was her greatest writer, although there were also Lope de Vega and Calderon. One must also recall the extensive influence of Erasmus of Rotterdam in Spain, particularly in his relations with the brilliant leader, Cardinal Ximenes. Spain's spirit of religiosity affected her tremendously and colored the Renaissance movement within and without her borders.

4. The Renaissance in England

The Renaissance naturally flowered later in England than on the continent. In the visual arts her place was not very prominent. Rather did the intellectual movement affect her in other ways. In science and philosophy she made significant accomplishments. The Isles were particularly accomplished in the mariner's art -- a fact which they demonstrated to the world before,

during, and after 1588. But England's crowning glory was in the field of literature. In the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there arose a succession of excellent scribes. What dramatist could compare with Shakespeare -- or even the promising Marlowe? Nor should we forget Spenser, Jonson, Milton, Bunyan and a host of lesser lights. Their works achieved lasting importance and are monuments not only in English but in the world's literature.

Accompanying these intellectual accomplishments are the usual political, economic and social changes. The religious transition of the same period is of especial significance.

5. Summary

The Renaissance changed the whole face of Europe, and so the whole progress and destiny of the Americas.

"When the 16th century opens, the West, with the exception of Italy, is still medieval . . . when the century closes, the West . . . has become modern."¹

The Renaissance was torn through with religion. It was contemporaneous with the Protestant Reformation. The Revival of Learning had both religious predecessors and progeny. The discovery of America was one of its results.

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1. Cambridge Modern History, Vol II, p. 690.

D. The Protestant Reformation

The Protestant Reformation looms even more important in the background of American history than does the Renaissance. As to the Roman Catholic writers the thirteenth century appears the greatest, so to the Protestant writers the sixteenth century appears.

Some have said the Reformation caused the Renaissance; others that the Renaissance caused the Reformation. They are simultaneous and should not be too greatly separated.

"The Renaissance was not necessarily secular and classical - it might be, and often was, both religious and Christian; nor was the Reformation essentially religious and moral - it might be and often was political and secular."¹

Or as Schaff expresses it in different vein:

"The Protestant Reformation assumed the helm of the liberal tendencies and movements of the Renaissance, directed them into the channel of the Christian life, and saved the world from a disastrous revolution".²

1. The Causes of the Reformation

The causes of the Reformation were as multitudinous as they were various. The most general cause was the existence of certain abuses in the clergy. Endless

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1. Cambridge Modern History, Vol II p. 690.

2. Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol VI, p. 3.

lists of them could be given. Even Catholic writers admit that conditions were not as they should be.¹ The causes may be listed under four main heads.²

a. Moral Causes

Disgraceful, though not universal practices of immorality were to be found from parish priest to Pope.

b. Doctrinal Causes

A great many unscriptural teachings had crept into acceptance by the Church. Attempted reforms were vigorously suppressed as heretical.

c. Financial Causes

Often the financial burden of the Church on the people was tremendous. The ecclesiastics were propertied. Among the higher ranks of the clergy monetary discrepancies were frequent and flagrant abuses abounded. Calumny and its attendant evils could be traced to the Papal throne itself.

d. Political Causes

For centuries the Papal hand in secular affairs had been grievous to the royalty of Europe. Many writers say this was the greatest cause of the Reformation.

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1. See article on Reformation, Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol XII, p. 700ff.
2. See Encyclopaedia Britannica on the Reformation, Vol 19, p. 32ff.

The immediate cause was the extensive sale of indulgences in Germany by the Dominican monk, Tetzel; the proceeds of which went toward the completion of St. Peter's Cathedral. Martin Luther then employed pen and paper, hammer and nails vigorously.

2. The Reformation in France

All northern Europe only awaited someone to touch the match to the "fire-trap" ecclesiastical structure emanating from Rome. France immediately responded to the conflagration. It produced such notable leaders on the reform movement as Jacques Le Fevre, Calvin, and Beza -- to mention but three.

In France the Protestants were called Huguenots. They were represented by the rich burghers in the towns, and the nobles in the country. Particularly were they numerous in southwestern France, Dauphine, and Normandy. In reality the Huguenots were a political party. Its leaders were Coligny, The Bourbon princes, and Henry of Navarre. Arrayed against them were the Guises and the Catholic de Medici.

The zeal of the Huguenots is amazing and admirable. They were persecuted almost incessantly, on every hand, and in every manner. One shudders at the thought of the great massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572. Catherine de Medici at times favored the

Protestants; at other times she slaughtered them. About the same could be said of Marguerite of Navarre. From the beginnings of reform to 1589 when Henry of Navarre ascended the throne as Henry IV, there was perpetual strife in France. There was peace during his reign -- but at great cost to the Protestants, for he turned Catholic in 1593, saying, "Paris was worth a Mass".¹ He did, however, see that the Edict of Nantes was passed in 1598, granting toleration. After that the Catholics continued to attack the Protestants under cover. The Edict was revoked in 1685 under Louis XIV. At this time thousands of Huguenots, the best and most brilliant blood of France, fled its borders. Not a few came to America. France's loss was our gain: they added to American quality and naturally had a religious motive for coming to these shores. They left a spark of Protestantism behind which never died out and claims a million professors today.

3. The Reformation in Spain

In Spain there was almost no Reformation.

"In the Iberian Peninsula the progress of Protestantism was so slight and so quickly crushed out that it played no part (directly) in the evangelization of Portuguese or Spanish America."²

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1. Quoted from Parsons, p. 440.

2. Cheyney, The European Background of American History, p. 177. (The parentheses are mine)

There are a number of reasons for this. Spain was almost fanatically Catholic. The Christians of Spain had had to fight for centuries for their existence and were exceedingly zealous. There had already been a considerable reform of the clergy from within under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes. The sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V, and Philip II were all great champions of the Catholic faith. Charles V was so discouraged with the Peace of Augsburg that he abdicated and went into a monastery in 1556. Then, Spain had used the Inquisition so effectively that Protestants were very backward about asserting themselves. Add to this the temper of the Spanish people and their comparative remoteness from the center of reform, and one sees why Spain was not Protestant.

It must be borne in mind that there were three movements: the Protestant Reformation, the Counter Reformation, and the Catholic Reformation. The Catholics did attempt feebly to correct some of the more flagrant evils in the Council of Trent, as it dragged along from 1545 to 1563. They used the military and monastic arms to combat the reformers. The Catholic princes fought the Protestant. The greatest weapon, however, was the Jesuit order founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491 - 1556), a Spaniard. The Reformation affected Spain at home and also in her colonies at least indirectly. Because of it they were more zealous than ever.

4. The Reformation in England

An Englishman, John Wyclif (1324 - 84) is often termed the "Morning Star of the Reformation".¹ He and his Lollard followers had much influence in the reform movement. After his death, his bones were exhumed, burned, and the ashes scattered in the brook Swift. The flame seemed to leap to Bohemia to inspire the heart of one John Huss. His fiery martyrdom kindled the zeal of Luther, whose influence completed the cycle by being felt in England.

Five causes of the Reformation in England have been listed.²

- a. The influence of Wyclif and the Lollards
- b. The Corruption of the Church
- c. The Reformation on the Continent
- d. The Renaissance
- e. Nationalism in England

All of these were present together with those influences which seem to escape analysis and grasp in historical study.

The immediate cause for the break with the Pope was Ann Boleyn. Henry VIII wished to put aside Catherine

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1. Cowan, Landmarks of Church History, p. 140.
2. Miller, Thesis entitled: Factors in the History of the English Church which Contribute to an Understanding of Richard Baxter.

of Arragon to marry this woman. Although the request of divorcement was not unusual, especially for a king, and more especially for a king like Henry VIII; the request was not granted. Henry had Archbishop Cramner annul his match and he married Anne, in defiance of the Pope. He was excommunicated. By the Act of Supremacy in 1534 the king became the head of the English Church. The Catholics received in England during the next 150 years something of the persecution that the Huguenots had suffered in France. Henry's son, Edward VI established Protestantism as the English State Church. Henry's daughter Mary (Bloody Mary) restored Catholicism. Her sister, Elizabeth restored Protestantism again; thus, it remained.

The Bible in the hands of the people in England was not the least of the factors in the success of the Reformation there. Because the reform was not complete enough for some, the Puritans arose to carry it farther. We hear of them again on our shores.

5. Summary

The Reformation has never been entirely completed. If it had been able to continue unhampered, there is no way of telling its possible extent. It was accompanied by persecution, fiery zeal, and a series of bitter religious wars. All of these things caused many

to migrate to the New World. Probably the Reformation was the greatest single factor toward the religious motive in the colonization of America.

"In analyzing the forces which affected the colonization of America, the depth of the impression made upon Europe by the Protestant Reformation can hardly be overestimated. Although the direct and immediate influence of this great movement upon America was great, its indirect and remote effects have been still more important. One of the effects was the creation of the religious motive for emigration, which in conjunction with other incentives was one of the earliest and most constant causes for the peopling of America."¹

E. Political Background

The Political situation which existed in Europe determined courses in the colonies which reflected the spirit and methods of the mother-country.

1. Spain

The character of the people of Spain affected the character of their politics. Bacon observes:

"The Spaniards and Spartans have been noted for their small dispatch. Mi venga la muerte de Spagna - let my death come from Spain; for then it will be sure to be long a-coming".²

Hanke states that a notable characteristic of the Spanish is a "general contempt for law enforcement"³, while Bury points out their "loyalty to their king and bigotry in

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1. Cheyney, ^{op. cit.} p. 168. (See also Bury, Vol I, p. 67.)
2. Bacon, Elegant Sentences in his Essays
3. Hanke, First Social Experiments in America, p. 59.

their religion".¹ These generalizations are at least a negative portrait of the Spanish people.

The Iberian peninsula was long a field for strife. From the fifth to the eighth century the Spanish suffered a Visigothic domination, which tainted its Christianity. The Moslems defeated them in 711. The Islamic horde drove them into the Pyrennes and would have over-run Europe but for their defeat at Tours in 732. The next five hundred years were spent in regaining the peninsula from the Moors. Spain finally defeated them in 1492. Jews, Moors, and natives were in the land: the Spanish became a mixed race. They took war and religion seriously.

Ferdinand and Isabella were called the "Catholic Monarchs" -- and deserved the title! Machiavelli lauds Ferdinand as an ideal ruler in his Prince. He was king of Aragon and was fortunate enough to marry Isabella of Castile and Leon, thus uniting their realms. They finally absorbed the whole peninsula, including Portugal. Their greatest contributions were:

- a. Consolidation of the Royal Power. (They were absolute Monarchs.)
- b. Unification of territory, race and religion.
- c. Colonization of the New World.

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1. Bury, Exodus of the Western Nations, Vol I, p. 268.

These were matched by their negative policies:

- a. Persecution and expulsion of the Moors. (Their best workers and craftsmen.)
- b. Persecution and expulsion of the Jews. (Their best intellects and financiers.)
- c. The Inquisition

Against such a background as this was America discovered and colonization began.

Charles V was much like Ferdinand, but a greater leader. He was Holy Roman Emperor, haughty and an able, zealous monarch. Likewise able was Philip II. They carried on numerous religious wars in Europe. The defeat of the Invincible Armada by the English in 1588 led to the downfall of Spain. It was rich, powerful, attractive from the outside; but was actually a "shell" and was crushed. Spain ceased to be really outstanding, but her colonies continued in what we know of as Hispanic or Latin-America.

2. France

France holds a unique position. It is geographically between England and Spain. So is it between the two culturally, linguistically, religiously, and temperamentally. These facts influenced her history -- internal and colonial.

France's part is long and notable. Charlemagne stamps himself indelibly on her annals as do some of his

descendants. The Carolingian line was followed by the Capetians as French rulers. From about 1300 the Valois ascended the throne. With Henry IV in 1589 the Bourbon dynasty began. Feudalism and petty warrings left their mark on the country for a long time. The kings were constant in their attempts to unify the state.

We have already seen how the first king of our present period, Charles VIII, ushered the Renaissance into France. Both he and his successor, Louis XII attempted to bring Italy under their control. Francis I (1515 - 47) was a truly able man. He looked with envy and jealousy upon the lucrative gains of Spain in the New World, and wished to do likewise. His foreign policy aimed at "Balance of Power". His internal aim was absolutism. The former led him into war with Charles V: the latter was partly achieved. During his reign and the rest of the century there was much religious strife and a series of weak kings. Henry IV with his able Protestant minister, Sully, did much to build up the realm internally.

Under, or perhaps over Louis XIII was Cardinal Richelieu. This able, crafty -- often ruthless minister had four ideals for France:

- a. To strengthen the power of the crown at home
- b. To weaken the Hapsburgs
- c. To extend the boundaries of France
- d. To establish a colonial empire

He succeeded in a degree to do each of these. His successor, Cardinal Mazarin, was unprincipled and less able, but succeeded in accomplishing much to strengthen the power of the monarch, Louis XIV. This ruler was a perfect example of the absolute monarch, who could say unblushingly: "L'etat, c'est moi!" His long reign brings us politically to the end of our period of consideration. Thus we find France with a strong central government, from which colonies were to try to exude.

3. England

The political background of England is reasonably familiar. Monarchy was one of her oldest heritages -- from Anglo-Saxon times. England is a favorable blending of Teutonic types, temperamentally able to be a strong people. Since 1066 and William the Conqueror, the Isles have not been successfully invaded. They developed internally and warred externally with France. In 1215 the Magna Carta insured the people of rights. Both the king and Parliament grew in power as the barons lost their sway.

With the Tudors came a strong line of kings. Henry VII did much for the upbuilding of the country. His successors were able for the most part, and seemed to reach a climax in Elizabeth. Under her the Spanish Armada was defeated in 1588. England was "Mistress of the Seas".

The Stuart line, which followed, was not as able as were the Tudors. Their reigns were split by the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, under Cromwell and the Puritans. From this era came many of the settlers to New England. The England which we know today was developing in this period. Many of the English customs and traditions were transplanted "bodily" to these shores. She followed a colonial policy which she slowly developed to build up her overseas empire.

4. Summary

This brief survey of the political background will serve in good stead in dealing with the colonial history. We must always keep one eye at home and one eye abroad. What the mother country was politically, so would the colony likely be. And we must observe, again, how frequently religion influenced government and vice versa.

F. Summary of the Chapter

In so brief a space it has been difficult, of course, to trace so many great events. We have looked somewhat into the Old World background for colonial enterprise in the New World. We have seen how religion was the warp of the Middle Ages with which the woof of other events and persons was woven. Europe emerged from a

thousand years of being steeped in religion.. There were many religious features to the Renaissance, the awakening into modern times. A disastrous revolution was prevented by the Protestant Reformation. All these things, along with the political situation, had elements of religion in them. As settlers came from various parts of Europe to plant themselves in America, religion was bound to be one of their propelling motives.

We close this section with a sentiment, often expressed, this time by a pedantic Huguenot:

"God looked down . . . from heaven and saw that the corrupt Christians of Europe had entirely forgotten both Himself and His Son. He therefore resolved to transfer the Christian Mysteries to the New World, and to destroy the sinful Old World to which they had been entrusted in vain".¹

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1. Cambridge Modern History, Vol II, p. 3.

CHAPTER THREE
THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE
IN THE SPANISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

"The conversion of the world to Christianity was, decidedly, a primary and essential element in the Spanish colonizations, and their conquista were simultaneously political and religious conquests for God and King, with the Cross and the sword."

-Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History,
p. 261

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN THE SPANISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

A. Introduction

Spanish-America! How the mention of it has moved the pens of scribes of fact and fiction! Every schoolboy thrills with the accounts of it in the early pages of his American History text-book. There he finds a conglomerate account of love, lust, greed, gold, blood, cruelty, murder, adventure, romance, religion -- elements prominent in the period under consideration.

The special interest of this chapter is to determine something of the place of religion as a motive and force in New Spain. Bertrand says:

"We must take this (religion) as our point of departure if we wish to understand the Spanish colonization of America at all. If one does not keep this idea present in his mind, he is exposed to unfair judgment of the colossal work accomplished in the New World by the conquistadores".¹

We have seen the Old World setting for the drama. Spain took the initiative in the New World. Before France and England had scarcely dreamed of lands overseas, she had started an Empire in a land twenty times the size of her native peninsula. Into this vast expanse she poured her civilization for three hundred years.

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1. Bertrand, The History of Spain, p. 255.
(The parenthesis is mine.)

The soul of Spain was thrown into her task. Dr. Mackay¹ describes the Iberian soul as of "intense individuality", with a "predominance of passion", "an abstract sense of justice and a concrete sense of man", a strong element of "catholicity". One may expect to find these factors present as Spain projects herself across the ocean. She was in her colonization "driven from behind and drawn from before". Dr. Wentz states that the motives were mixed -- "trade, imperialism, romance, adventure, economic necessity, religious freedom, religious conquest, social pressure".² With these facts in mind we continue.

B. The Spanish Colonial Theory

From the point of view of the Pope, the lands which Columbus discovered belonged to the Vicar of Christ. Consequently, in 1493 he partitioned the territories between Spain and Portugal by his famous Line of Demarcation.³ The Pope himself was not equipped to administer the New World directly. Besides, he needed Spanish

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1. Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ, Chap. I, pp. 3-22.
2. Wentz, Pamphlet: Permanent Elements from Colonization in American Christianity, p. 1.
3. Portugal had the worst end of the bargain, and dispute long raged over it. A Treaty of Tordesillas was signed in 1494. Portugal received only the eastern part of Brazil. Cf. Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. I, p. 459 ff.

protection in Italy. Thus Alexander VI, a Spanish Pope, delegated all civil and ecclesiastical authority in America to the "Catholic Monarchs". Among other reasons the donation was made:

"Because of all works, the most agreeable to divine Majesty is that the Christian religion should be exalted and spread everywhere; that the salvation of the human soul should be secured in all countries, and that barbarous nations should be subjugated and converted to the Catholic faith".¹

In the end, Alexander VI and his successor Julius II surrendered to Spanish sovereigns the right to collect tithes, to sell indulgences, to nominate for hierarchical positions, to choose whether or not a "bull" should be released in the New World, and numerous other privileges.

A fundamental fact in the colonial theory was the practical unity of the State and Church in Spain.² This was true in America as well as in the mother country.³

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1. Harris, The Diplomatic History of America, p. 17.
(From a Papal bull of May, 1493.)
2. Cf. Rippey, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, p. 56-57:
"The fundamental conception back of Spanish colonial enterprise was that this new region belonged to the Spanish monarchs. They possessed not only the sovereign rights, but the property rights, and every privilege and position, whether economic, political, or religious, must come from them. It was on this basis that the conquest, occupation, and government of the New World was achieved."
3. Cf. Roscher, The Spanish Colonial System, p. 10.

"The Roman Church was nationalized in the country, and became fused with the state in such a way that the juridical distinction between church and state disappeared. The throne and altar, patriotism and religion became identified."¹

"In point of fact the Church belonged to Spain more than Spain belonged to the Church."²

The State, we are reminded, was in the hands of absolute monarchs. Both they and their subjects were fanatically Spanish and fanatically Catholic; not either one, but both! The main idea of the ruler was to repeat abroad his domestic civil and ecclesiastical structure. Every part of Spanish culture was to be reduplicated in the colonial Empire. Thus it is seen that wherever Spain went, there must her religion also go. -- But this very fact makes it impossible to isolate decisively the religious motive in colonization, though it was always present. By the nature of affairs it was constantly mixed with other incentives.

C. The Spanish Colonial Methods

Not since the time of Greek and Roman settlements, had a nation been beset with so many colonial difficulties as was Spain. Her methods of colonization were slowly evolved by experiment and practice.

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1. Mackay, op. cit., p. 27.
2. Ibid., p. 9.

One of the major problems was that of the native -- a problem which neither France nor England faced in anything like the same degree. Since this fact is not commonly understood, Spain has been severely and unduly criticized for her treatment of the aborigines. A more developed race was meeting with a less developed race: moral, social, and physical difficulties naturally arose. These types of questions were seriously asked and widely debated:¹ What was the Indians' origin? Were they of the lost ten tribes of Israel? Were they men or beasts? Were they really pagans or relapsed infidels converted by St. Thomas? Were they free-beings or created slaves? Were they capable of absorbing Spanish Christian civilization? Were they rational? If not, was it not right to take their lands? If they were savage or cannibalistic, was it not necessary to enslave them? Was it not a Christian act to use force to convert them to Christianity? In dealing with such questions, various experiments were used and the colonial policy developed. Hanke states:

" . . . the desire to apply Christian principles to the new world problems was always an important consideration, and herein lies one of the great contrasts between the Spanish and English colonies in America".²

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1. Cf. Hanke, The First Social Experiments in America, p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 55. (The italics are mine.)

In 1493 a Council of Indian Affairs was established. This had developed by 1524 into the Council of the Indies, the supreme administrative body for affairs in America. The king, of course had control of it; but delegated to thirteen councilors complete executive, legislative, and judicial power. Through this group all matters were transacted, and all civil and ecclesiastical appointments made; in short, nothing could be done without its approval. The House of Trade at Seville, representing the king, had a commercial monopoly.

It was the policy of Spain to reduplicate her homeland officials in the realms across the seas. They were under direct authority of the king. This was true even down to the soldiers and missionaries, who were really royal agents. Two kingdoms were organized by 1574 -- New Spain and Peru. Over these were appointed viceroys -- some of whom were at the same time bishops or archbishops. Colonial self-government was discouraged, in contrast to the opposite trend in English colonies.

The principal objectives of the Spanish in regard to the Indians were: civilization, christianization, and racial fusion; -- none of which were completely successful. To attempt these projects it was necessary to bring the natives together. This was done through the encomienda, which was

" . . . a right, conceded by royal bounty to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with the charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters..."¹

The encomienderos (trustees) grouped the natives in small villages for the above-mentioned purposes, plus exploitation. The Indians were more or less "enslaved" and had a status similar to the medieval serf. Often neither their spiritual nor temporal welfare was cared for. In the West Indies this system, though intended for good, practically spelled extinction for the aborigines.

This essential fact must be borne in mind:

Spanish rule and Spanish culture were to be established in America.² Religion was an important and integral part of each. Since America was Spanish and Catholic nominally, it must be made Spanish and Catholic actually. To accomplish this the ecclesiastical workers were early brought into the New World picture. They played a most vital role in the transplanting of Iberian civilization.

D. The Religious Element in The Discovery of America

Our purpose is to indicate how throughout Spanish endeavor in the New World, the religious motive

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1. Sweet, A History of Latin America, p. 131.
2. Cf. Bury, Exodus of the Western Nations, Vol. I, p. 274:
"Philip II had aimed at universal dominion -- not so much for himself as for the Church of Rome."

and element were prominent. This was true from the beginning, and is well exemplified by Columbus himself.

"He was intensely religious and eager to convert any newly found pagans to Christianity."¹ One of his great desires was to combat the Moslem faith and to bring Catholicism to the Great Khan. He thought himself appointed of God for a great task.² An early map shows a picture of Columbus carrying the Christ-Child on his shoulders across the ocean. It is representative of his name, Christopher or Christ-carrier.³ It was through a father-confessor of Isabella that he made his first contacts with the Queen.

"Columbus' enthusiastic belief in his divinely appointed mission to bring fresh souls to the knowledge of God and the Holy Church commended him at once to the devout fathers of the missionary order. . . ."⁴

-- But to let Columbus speak for himself:

"In order to win the friendship of that people, and because I was convinced that their conversion to our Holy Faith would be better promoted through love than through force; I presented them with gifts. --- and it is my conviction that they would easily become Christians, for they seem not to have any sect".⁵

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1. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. I, p. 10.
2. Isaiah 60:9.
3. Cf. Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. II (Frontispiece)
4. Cf. Newton, The Great Age of Discovery, p. 86:1.
5. Hart, American History Told by Contemporaries, Vol. I, p. 37.

Of his first journey he writes again:

"To these first of these islands --- I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands. --- But these great and marvelous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith ---".¹

He speaks thus of the natives:

"--- They, however, believe and know that there is a God in heaven, and say we have come from heaven. --- I believe that, if the work was begun, in a little time a multitude of natives would be converted to our faith ---".²

Of the second voyage an account reads:

"The Admiral selected an elevation --- and within a few days, some houses and a church were built ---. --- the Holy Sacrifice was celebrated by thirteen priests".³

Almost innumerable passages such as this could be cited from the writings of Columbus and his contemporaries. Queen Isabella was so enthusiastic about the conversion of natives that she wrote:

"When the Apostolic Holy See granted us (the new lands), --- our principal intention --- was to convert their peoples to our holy Catholic faith. I beg the King my lord very affectionately, I order and command the Princess my daughter and the Prince my son to execute and accomplish this intention".⁴

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1. Hart, Source-Book of American History, pp. 1-3.
(A letter of Columbus.)
2. Original Narratives of American History, p. 144.
3. Cf. Newton, op. cit., p. 105. (From a letter of Peter Martyr, a contemporary.)
4. Quoted by Bertrand, The History of Spain, p. 286.
(The parenthesis is mine.)

There can be no doubt that from the first there was a genuine religious motive for Spanish colonization.

E. The Religious Element in Exploration and Conquest

To many writers the coming of the Spaniards to America was a mere romantic adventure. This is hardly true. The hardships and privations of an ocean voyage at that time are almost indescribable. Histories seem to indicate that all voyages were successful. Quite the contrary is true: many expeditions were disastrous failures. A voyager must face lack of comfort, lack of water, poor food or none at all, tropical heat and disease, death, -- not to mention cannibalistic Carribs. Something more than just adventure impelled them.

The explorers were all Catholic -- most of them fanatically so. They seemed, oft-times, remarkably adept at combining their piety with undeniable cruelty. This, however, was not a characteristic of Spaniards only, but of other so-called Christians of their day and ours. In most of the contemporary writings they refer to themselves as "Christians" in contrast to "heathens". The Old World was the "Land of Christians". Cortez's companions marched under a fantastic banner inscribed: "Comrades, let us follow the sign of the Holy Cross with true faith, and

through it we shall conquer".¹ Each ship had its chaplain and most exploring parties had friars in the company. Wherever the Spaniard went, there must go his religion.

The accounts of the explorers fairly "bristle" with references to their religious ideals and ritualistic practices. Due allowance must be made for the fact that they failed "to practice what they preached". -- But they all claimed to be religious and were devoted Catholics -- De Leon, Balboa, De Soto, Coronado, Ojeda -- all of them! De Vaca, who wandered for years in the southern "United States", leaves this record about the natives: (1537)

"--- a domestic people it is indeed, and friendly to the Christians, and fit to win with little trouble to the knowledge of our sacred Catholic faith".²

Or to quote Onate, an explorer in New Mexico: (1595)

"And your lordship must order that I be given instructions as to what seems to you to be best and most in service of God, our Lord, and of his Majesty, the good and pacification of the land, the conversion of the natives of it, the preaching of the Holy Gospel and Christian doctrine ---".³

Until about 1550 many expeditions were sent to conquer new parts of the realm. The two most famous conquistadores were Cortez and Pizarro. The former conquered Mexico in 1521; the latter overcame Peru in 1535.

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1. Diaz, The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, p. 77.

2. Clevén, Readings in Hispanic American History, p. 190.

3. Ibid., p. 197.

By craft, guile, and the Cross, Cortez defeated the Aztec chieftain, Montezuma. This ruler was so hated by his oppressed subjects that they helped to overthrow him. Bernal Diaz, who was with the expedition, wrote a remarkable account of it. It is filled with religious allusions -- to saints, crosses, mass, prayer, and the rest. Let us have some examples:

"As it was Lady-day we gave to the town which was afterwards founded here the name of Santa Maria---".¹

"Cortez said to the soldiers who were present around him: 'It seems to me, gentlemen, that there remains nothing for us to do but set up a cross'".²

Surely none were ever more seriously religious, perverted though their religion may have been, than were these men.

It was the same with Pizarro. He was ruthless, but in his conquest his devotion to the Catholic faith was constant. To mention only one incident:

"The Governor said that he had not come to make war on the Indians, but that our Lord, the Emperor, who was the Lord of the whole world, had ordered him to come that he might see the land and let Atabaliva (the chief) know the things of our Faith in case he should want to become a Christian".³

The conquistadores have been duly criticized.

Surely their deeds were often at variance with their words.

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1. Diaz,^{op.cit.} p. 106.

2. Ibid., p. 179.

3. Hart, American History Told by Contemporaries,^{Vol. I,} p. 56.

De Soto could say to his men: "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need"¹; he could likewise be mistaken by the Indians for immortal; yet could cruelly slaughter them. They could show a certain zeal for the conversion of natives, yet say of them that they were able only "to eat, sleep, and commit offenses against the Lord"². Mackay³ tells of an Indian chief who was condemned to death by the Spaniards. He was asked before execution if he wished to be baptized so that he might go to heaven. He inquired whether there were any Christians in heaven. When informed that there were, he replied that he did not want to go there.

As bad as some of the explorers were, they cannot be entirely condemned. More mature and recent study seems to blame the Spanish less for their actions. The more recent histories are less caustic in their denunciations. We cannot judge them by our Christian social standards of today. Peter Martyr, a member of the Council of the Indies, gives a real explanation of the religious discrepancies:

"All the instructions (as to treatment of Indians) have been thought out by prudent and humane jurists and sanctioned by religious men. But what

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1. Bancroft, History of the Colonization of the United States, p. 47.
2. Hanke, op. cit., p. 60.
3. Mackay, op. cit., p. 37.

of that? When our compatriots reach that remote world, --- they find themselves distant from any judge. Carried away by love of gold they become ravenous wolves instead of gentle lambs ---".¹

They were like those "Christian" travellers of today, who leave their Christian principles at Suez when they journey to the Orient!

F. The Religious Element in the Actual Colonizing Process

Tannenbaum claims that the "Spaniard was not a colonist, but a conqueror and a gold seeker".² This may be true when they are compared with the English as colonists, but in some ways they were more successful than were the Britons. They founded many permanent settlements and sought to civilize natives, and so to make a dependency and a province, rather than just a colony.

Columbus started settlement on his first voyage, when he left men at La Navidad (The Nativity). In 1493 Isabella, Haiti was established. By 1513 there were seventeen towns and mining camps in Espanola (The West Indies). Santiago, Cuba was founded in 1514 and Havana the next year. An attempt was made in 1510 to found a town in Panama. Others soon sprang up over the mainland

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1. Quoted by Hanke, p. 60. (The parenthesis belongs to the writer of this study.)

2. Tannenbaum, Peace by Revolution, p. 17.

on every hand. In 1533 Buenos Aires was established; 1565 marked the foundation of St. Augustine. Before the end of the century much of Latin America was dotted with Spanish settlements -- two hundred and fifty of them! In addition were nine thousand Indian villages or encomiendas!

Several authors estimate the average immigration at about one thousand and five hundred per year. By 1600 there were almost two hundred thousand Spanish in the New World. About forty thousand Negro slaves had been brought in. Only five percent of the immigrants were women! Thus was started the complexity of social problems and racial mixtures which have since confounded Hispanic America.

Everywhere the Spanish went they planted their social, political and cultural life. We find in Mexico the "typical Spanish colony". They had churches in every village. Their religion remained very real to them. It had to be, for the following reason:

"In general, emigration was restricted to Spaniards of undoubted orthodoxy, hence Jews, Moors, and recent converts were excluded".¹

They did not just "seek gold", but really colonized, and permanently! They were Catholic and unified; the English colonies were dissenting and separated to a large extent from the mother country. The Spanish tried to absorb the

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1. Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, p. 21.

Indian into their own race, religion, and traditions. In doing so they brought their priests with them to propagate their faith among the natives. In this we observe the religious motive in action.

G. The Place of the Religious Motive in Spanish Colonization

It has already appeared how religion has played a prominent part in the general movements toward the establishment of Hispanic America. There remain to be seen some of the more specific ways in which the religious incentive was operative.

1. In the View of Historians.

That the religious motive was operative in greater or lesser degree is agreed upon by all historians. It may be well to cite a few of them. According to Bertrand Spanish colonization "---had, theoretically, no other object but that of winning the New World for the Christian and Catholic faith".¹

Another writer says:

"The original economic interest in the trans-Atlantic lands was the discovery of great wealth, --- linked with the somewhat fantastic religious object of employing it for the reconquest of the Holy Sepulchre and in other ways to spread Christianity".²

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1. Bertrand, The History of Spain, p. 274.

2. Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America, p. 30.

When we examine Bancroft we find:

"Although it was often affirmed that the object of Spanish expeditions was to convert the natives, --- yet it was never the prime object of the state".¹

Another writer maintains:

"The religious motive had always been a dominant one among the Spanish conquistadores---".²

A German gives this phrase:

"--- merkwürdige Mischung von Gott und Gewinn".³

Finally, Dr. Mackay tells us:

"The cross, if it were a motive in the thoughts of the successive Catholic monarchs who ordered the enterprise, becomes no more than a pretext in the minds of men who carried it out".⁴

Thus the writers see the religious motive in every light and in every degree of importance, but they cannot help seeing it!

2. In Missions and Missionaries

An important light is thrown on religion in Spanish America by the Catholic Missions. On Columbus' second voyage were thirteen friars, and they continued to come thereafter.

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1. Bancroft, Mexico, Vol. III, p. 409, quoted from Blackmar, Spanish Colonizations in the Southwest, p. 28.
2. Sweet, op. cit., p. 137.
3. Quoted by Hanke, op. cit., p. 10 -- "A strange mixture of God and 'gain'".
4. Mackay, op. cit., p. 31.

Frequently the missionaries have been severely criticized: sometimes they deserved it. On the other hand many of them were of the highest calibre. Roscher¹ speaks of their "remarkable spirit, far removed from fanaticism, made the priests ready to endure the greatest hardships with almost indescribable resignation and silent and pious enthusiasm". Not all were like this, but not all were unlike this. Some died the martyr's death.

The greatest work was done by the mendicant orders of monks. The first to come over were the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and some others. A little later they were joined by the Jesuits, who with tireless zeal advanced the borders of Catholicism.

It must be remembered that the missionaries served both Church and State, and advanced the interests of both bodies. They were at first supported by the king. According to Bolton:

"The central interest around which the mission was built was the Indian. --- They desired to convert him, to civilize him, to exploit him".²

The exploitation was largely in the hands of laymen, and the government tried constantly to suppress it. The first two aims, conversion and civilization, were the work

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1. Roscher, op. cit., p. 4.

2. Bolton, Article: "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies" -- American History Review, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Oct. 1917, p. 43.

of the missionaries. On the northern frontier of Mexico the missions finally replaced the cruel encomienda. The missions served as a frontier defense between the Indians and the other Spanish settlers. They always advanced with the frontier. When the Indians were well started in the ways of Spanish culture, the missionaries moved further out, leaving the mission-stations to secular groups. Some of the missions were very elaborate -- buildings being built with room for hundreds, when only a few priests were stationed in them.

The methods of the missionaries were sometimes dubious. At times they would baptize hundreds every day. "It was repeatedly forbidden to convert the Indians by force, (laws of 1523 and 1618), and yet as a matter of fact it was quite customary for missionaries to do so".¹ The same writer compares various missionary methods:

"The Dominicans sought to make proselytes by fire and sword and purposely destroyed monuments of earlier culture. The Franciscans attached little importance to science, but preached Christianity with fervent love. The Jesuits, according to the circumstances, pursued sometimes this course, sometimes that".²

The wholesale conversion which was common could not be very deep. Dire results came of such practices.

The missions spread rapidly in every direction

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1. Roscher, op. cit., p. 17.
2. Ibid., p. 17.

-- Mexico, New Mexico, California, all parts of South America. By the end of the sixteenth century, they were the most conspicuous New World institutions. From 1700 to 1767 was the "Golden Age" of the enterprise. Northern Mexico was known as "Jesuit Land". In Paraguay the same order established an absolute "empire" for two centuries. When the Jesuits were expelled in 1767 there were 717,000 neophytes in their establishments. Truly the missions were the most potent single factor in Spanish colonization and New World enterprise.

3. In Other Catholic Institutions

a. The Ecclesiastical Structure

A complete ecclesiastical structure was set up in the New World. In the early years there were two dioceses in the West Indies. As the realm of influence spread, so did the hierarchy. In 1574 there were four archbishops and twenty-four bishops. By the end of the eighteenth century there had been erected seven archbishoprics and forty-three bishoprics. They were not responsible directly to the Pope, but to the king, who nominated the ecclesiastics to their offices.

b. The Monastic Institutions

In the matter of monasteries the New World followed the Old World tradition. They were established

on every hand. In the first half of the sixteenth century there were already four hundred such institutions in America. At a time when men and women were sorely needed, they forsook the world for the cloister. In 1713 Lima, Peru had the following monasteries: four Diminicans, four Franciscans, four Augustinians, three mercenaries, five Jesuits, one Brothers of St. John, two Bethlehemites, and twelve convents. At the same time there were in Mexico City eighteen convents and fourteen nunneries. There were parallels of this situation throughout New Spain.

c. The Educational Work

In education a positive contribution was made by the religious communities. In the missions the natives were instructed in religion, sometimes in Spanish, and often taught a trade. A school was supposed to be in every town. There were fourteen universities founded during the colonial period. The oldest was the University of Lima, established in 1551. It was followed by others at Mexico City, Cordoba, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere. There were also numerous colleges of the various missionary orders. In 1526 twelve natives were sent to Spain to be educated, so that when "instructed in the Christian and Spanish way of life, they were to return as missionaries to their own people".¹ Education was always under religious super-

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1. Hanke, op. cit., p. 57.

vision. In summary:

"Enthusiasm for education characterizes the earliest establishment of the Spanish colonies in America. Wherever the priest went, a school was soon established . . . Half a century before Jamestown was founded . . ., the University of Mexico was conferring degrees upon graduates in law and theology. Before the seventeenth century closed, no less than seven universities had been erected in Spanish America, and their graduates were accepted on an equality with those of Spanish institutions of like grade".¹

4. In Other Factors of Religious Significance

A number of miscellaneous religious elements should be at least briefly mentioned.

a. Las Casas.

Las Casas was a pioneer defender of the Indians. For that reason he deserves a notable place in Hispanic history. When the natives were being cruelly-treated and enslaved, he wrote an influential nine-hundred-page volume upholding their rights. He was a scholar, saint, and servant of God. Just a word from him will reveal his character:

"God created these simple people without evil and without guile. They are most obedient and faithful to their natural lords and to the Christians whom they serve. They are most submissive, patient, peaceful, and virtuous . . .".²

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1. Quoted from Priestly by Bolton and Marshall, op. cit., p. 76.
2. From a quotation from Las Casas by Hanke, p. 20.

b. Religious Idealism of the Spanish.

Professor Antonio Pastor points out the powerful impelling force of the religious idealism of his people in the colonial age:

"Detached from life, Spaniards possessed a spirit of sacrifice and an endurance of which bands of adventurers inspired only by a lust for gold could never have been capable . . .".¹

c. Religiosity in Spain.

A concrete example of the intense religious atmosphere of the homeland is revealing. From this came a steady stream of religious workers into America. In the sixteenth century there were in Spain:

"58 archbishoprics; 684 bishoprics; 11,400 monasteries; 23,000 brotherhoods; 46,000 monks; 13,000 nuns; 312,000 secular priests; and more than 400,000 ecclesiastics . . .".²

These were out of a population of seven million.

d. Religious Immigrants to the West Indies.

We have some statistics³ of the settlers in the West Indies, 1492-1592. In all there were 7,976 settlers. Of these there were 1,115 religious (friars) and 289 priests. Thus about 17% of the immigrants to that part of the Spanish world were engaged in spiritual pursuits.

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1. Newton, op. cit., p. 41.

2. Sweet, op. cit., p. 26.

3. Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America, p. 32. (Footnote)

e. Religious Names.

Dr. Wentz makes a point of the frequency of occurrence of religious names in Spanish America during colonial times. Any map will reveal this fact. We may mention a few: Santa Cruz (Holy Cross), Sancti Espiritus (Holy Spirit), Trinidad (Trinity), Santa Maria, Vera Cruz (True Cross), and a host of others. Irreligious people could hardly have used such names so profusely.

f. Religious Art and Architecture.

Space does not permit thorough statement of the place that religious art and architecture^{had} as an expression of the religious motive in colonization. Every village had its church. Even today many enduring monuments of Spanish and Moorish architecture are to be found in Hispanic America. The same spiritual note was reflected in colonial art.

g. Adaptation of Catholicism to the Natives.

One of the reasons that the Catholic faith so quickly spread, was its remarkable adaptability, especially in the hands of Jesuit casuists. Cortez's party were also masters of this art. The Mexicans had a favorite goddess, for whom the Virgin Mary was merely substituted.¹ The images of Aztec and Inca gods were

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1. Diaz, op. cit., p. 111.

replaced by the Christian saints. The sacrifice of the mass dispensed with the practice of human sacrifice. The Mexican eagle was put aside for the dove-like Holy Spirit. Our Lady of Guadalupe made appearances all over Mexico, to the great satisfaction of the natives, whose goddesses she replaced.

h. Continued Vigor of the Missionaries.

However strong the other than religious motives may have been in the first part of Spanish activity in the New World, they diminished as time went on. The zeal and vigor of Catholic missionaries continued. By the seventeenth century, the other incentives were much less notable. Of this period Rippy writes:

"Only the mendicant and Jesuit missionaries, who busied themselves on every frontier and bore the brunt of nearly every enterprise, revealed something of the old energy".¹

The spiritual was more enduring.

i. Other Factors.

On every hand minor religious emphases are to be found in Spanish America. According to Bourne² the first printing in America (1537) was of an elementary treatise on Christian doctrine. The Inquisition was also employed in the colonies, but "never had to do with

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1. Rippy, op. cit., p. 83.

2. Bourne, Spain in America, p. 314.

the Indians".¹ The strong points as well as the weaknesses of Spanish Catholicism were brought to this side of the water. Indeed, religion was so much a part of the life of the people in one form or another, that it has ever since been a major subject of interest in the countries of Hispanic derivation. We have but to observe our neighboring nations on the south to see the truth of this.

H. Summary of the Chapter

In the present chapter we have reviewed the religious element in the settlement of Spanish America. We have observed that it was a very important force in the European root out of which the colonies grew. It has been indicated that it had a notable place in the formation of a colonial policy. It was an ever present consideration: -- Church and State advanced together. It was a major motive in the mind of the Discoverer; it played an important role in the life of the conquistadores. Surely it was one of the strong forces which impelled the colonizers to cross the Atlantic. In every realm and on every level of life religion has been found in Hispanic America. We have not attempted to hide the fact that the

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1. Roscher, op. cit., p. 7.

Spaniards were often ruthless, hypocritical, and decidedly un-Christian in their activities. It has been made clear that the aims were never unmixed, but that religion was always in the mixture! Hence, we conclude that the religious motive was a prominent, a dominant, and one of the most universal incentives for Iberian effort in the New World.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE
IN THE FRENCH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

"Sir, it is the part of the Church of God to endure blows, and not to deal them; but your Majesty will please remember that it is an anvil which has already worn out many a hammer."

-- The Spirit of French Huguenots
Theo. de Beza to the King of Navarre

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN FRENCH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

A. Introduction

If the Spaniards were poor colonizers, then the French were infinitely worse. Never did a nation aspire so highly, nor did any nation ever meet with a more sad failure. It was not, however, a complete failure, for some remnants of French enterprise exist on the North American continent until this day. Among the deposits of French culture which remain are those of religious derivation. This is not surprising, because "New France has been described as a 'Jesuit mission grafted on a fur-trading post.'¹

Thwaites says:

"Conquest, exploration, missionary zeal, and the fur-trade were . . . for one hundred fifty years the controlling interest of New France".²

This chapter has to do particularly with the "missionary zeal", and will be an investigation of the part religion had in the work of France in America.

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1. Grant, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, p. 17,
(Footnote)
2. Thwaites, France in America, p. 17.

B. The French Colonial Theory and Methods

Parkman describes French activity in the New World as "the attempt of Feudalism, Monarchy, and Rome to master a continent - - - ."¹ With due allowance for the historian's nicety of phraseology, this is true.

It is recalled that in the absolute monarchy of Spain, State and Church were practically identified. In France also, both the Church and the government were despotic, but were more separated. Each of the two powerful institutions tried to gain for itself supremacy in the colonial endeavors. The Catholic Church desired to claim New France exclusively. The Jesuits especially longed to build up an "empire" for the papacy in the new regions. Before 1663 "the mind of political France was never really turned to Canada".² She had too many pressing concerns at home. When she did become vitally interested in that country, she determined to establish a French Colonial Empire there, -- to make it a province, literally to set down a section of France in America. The conflict of these two organizations is at once the most characteristic fact, and the greatest weakness of the efforts made in the colonization of New France.

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1. Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, p. xix.
(Introduction)

2. Wrong, The Rise and Fall of New France, Vol.I, p. 352.

That France's colonial policy was at first liberal is witnessed by the prominent part the Huguenots played in early attempts at settlement. This ended with the murder of Henry IV in 1610. His great minister, Sully, projected some plans for colonization. The almost constant internal and external strife of France, however, greatly hampered the nation throughout her period of colonial endeavor.

A trial was first made of granting colonial rights to private companies, after the English and Dutch fashion. It is observed that one of Cardinal Richelieu's plans was to establish French power on the North American continent. He never was satisfied with the methods employed there. In 1632 he launched the Company of the Hundred Associates, of which he was the head. In its charter we find:

"Le roi, continuant le meme desir que le defunt roi, Henri-le-Grand, . . . pour y etablir colonie, afin d'essayer, avec l'assistance divine, d'amener les peuples qui y habitent a la connaissance du vrai Dieu, les faire policer et instruire a la foi et religion catholique, apostolique et romaine.."¹

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1. Sulte, Histoire des Canadiens-Francais, Vol. II, p. 28.

"The king, continuing the same desire of the dead king, Henry the Great . . . to establish a colony there, with the purpose of trying, by God's help, to tutor the peoples who live there in the knowledge of the true God, to teach and instruct them in the Faith and the Apostolic and Roman Catholic religion." (Free translation)

This company was to receive a grant of the whole St. Lawrence Valley, with a trade monopoly. In return it was to send out three hundred settlers a year and provide three priests for each settlement. "The Hundred Associates admitted none but Catholics. Huguenots and foreigners were not admitted to New France."¹ Until 1663, the company completely controlled Canada and practically led it into ruin.

Cardinal Richelieu was responsible for the introduction of some feudalistic elements into the rule of New France, which were also used there later. Cardinal Mazarin, his successor, was not so active, but followed more or less in his predecessor's footsteps. In summary concerning them:

"The special motive - - - underlying the colonial policy of Richelieu and indeed of Mazarin was the propagation of Christianity. 'In 1629', . . . Richelieu promulgated an ordinance imposing religious missions upon the Companies, and Catholicism upon the Catholics, making Christianity almost as important as commerce in the colonial question.'"²

Colbert was the famous minister of Louis XIV. He had an extreme paternalistic attitude toward Canada. He wanted to control every detail of every part of its government. In 1663 the colony became a royal province.

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1. Thwaites, op. cit., p. 20.
2. Buchan, France, p. 56.

The minister was personally more interested in commerce than in Christianity: Louis XIV wished to humble Spain and to be a staunch rival of England.

It was Colbert who fostered a type of feudalism which dominated New France from 1663 to 1763. This was in the form of seignorial grants. These were gifts of land made usually to army officers, who were the "seignors". The soldiers were their tenants. Such properties were located on the rivers -- one-half to six leagues long and one-half to two leagues back from the shore. On their land a "mansion," a fort, a mill, and a chapel were "supposed" to be built. The intendant, Talon, was appointed to oversee these enterprises. It was he who first realized the great possibilities of Canada. -- But observe this statement:

"With the exception of Talon's villages, one could have seen nearly every house in Canada by paddling a canoe up the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu".¹

Talon saw the necessity of increasing the population. He succeeded in raising the number of inhabitants of Quebec from about 3500 in 1666 to about 6000, five years later. This was done in a rather novel way as the following quotation from part of a letter of Colbert, indicates:

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1. Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, p. 93.

"We are getting ready the 150 girls, the brood mares, stallions, and sheep to be sent to Canada', he wrote one day; and after the arrival of such a cargo, soldiers were given a week in which to get married; finally, those who had no children were fined".¹

This illustrates the paternalistic attitude of France.

Someone called Canada "a big military camp for fur-trade," with colonists who did not desire self-government; hence, they did not get it!

Though the French government was always attempting to superintend every colonial project, it was hampered by its officials in the colonies, and especially by the "ecclesiastics". The influence of the latter was tremendous. "In the settlements the Jesuits were the most important social factor, until 1665 practically controlling the life of the people".² The government had constantly to check their policies. The priests were prominent in every phase of life, and the Bishop of Quebec had a seat on the governing council. The Church was for years "high-handed" with the State. The priests' match was found in Frontenac, who was appointed governor in 1672. With him a new regime began. He immediately complained:

"Another thing displeases me, and this is the complete dependence of the Grand Vicar and the Seminary priests on the Jesuits, for they never do the least thing without their order;

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1. Boulenger, The Seventeenth Century, p. 339.
2. Bolton and Marshall, op. cit., p. 88.

so that they (the Jesuits) are masters in spiritual matters, which as you know, is a powerful lever for moving everything else".¹

The Jesuits retaliated with constant opposition to the governor. Louis XIV wrote to Frontenac in 1681:

" . . . The Bishop, the ecclesiastics, the Jesuit Fathers, the supreme council, and, in a word, everybody complain of you . . ."²

The king was apparently easily swayed by the monks and in 1710 destroyed a monastery of the Jansenists at Port Royal, in accordance with the Jesuit desire. The Society of Jesus was most oppressive. The following contemporary objection to them is cited:

"In 1699 Vauban, . . . saw clearly the necessity of abolishing the religious orders in North America, where, he says, 'the monks are incomparably more successful in enriching themselves than in converting the heathen'".³

Thus one observes the conflict of State and Church in New France.

France continued with such policies and occurrences in Canada till the fall of Quebec in 1763. Too late she decided to "trap" the English on the Atlantic coast by means of a meagre line of forts, mission, and trading-posts. As Parkman says:

"New France was all head. Under King, noble and Jesuit, the lank, lean body could not thrive".⁴

It did not thrive!

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1. Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. IV, p. 323.
2. Ibid., p. 336.
3. Buchan, op. cit., p. 60.
4. Parkman, op. cit., p. xx. (Introduction)

C. The Religious Element in French
Colonial Enterprise in America

1. The Early Development

a. The Beginning

As early as the dawn of the sixteenth century, Breton and Norman fishermen frequented the Newfoundland banks. This trade became increasingly important and was a basis for French claim upon North America.

Frenchmen were not gold-seekers, -- at least their efforts in that direction were not rewarded. They continued, however, along with their English brethren, to seek for a Northwest passage to China. For a long time they thought that the St. Lawrence afforded such a channel. "Most of the early settlements were made, however, not so much in view of the fur-trade, as for halting-places on the supposed road to Cathay and the Orient."¹ In 1518 a colony was attempted on Sable Isle.

At first France was so occupied at home that her interest abroad was not great. In time, however, Francis I said:

"Look at Spain and Portugal! Why should these princes coolly divide the new world between them? I should like to see that article of Adam's will which gives them America!"²

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1. Grant, op. cit., p. 17. (Footnote)

2. Thompson, The Religious Foundation of America, p. 47.

As a result of such sentiments the navigator, Verrazano, explored the North American coast in 1524; thus further substantiating France's claim to the expanses.

b. Cartier's Voyages

Additional advances were not made until ten years later. From 1534 to 1542 Jacques Cartier made several voyages to America. Priests accompanied him and mass was said in Labrador in 1534. The following quotations will serve to show the religious element in his work:

"Upon the twenty-fifth of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the length of thirty foote, . . . in the midst where-of we hanged a shield with three Floure de Lucis in it."¹

Before his second voyage we are told:

"In the yeere of our Lord 1535, upon Whit-Sunday being the sixteenth of May, by the commandment of our Captain James Cartier and with common accord, in the Cathedral Church of St. Malo, we devoutly each confessed ourselves, and received the Sacrament . . ."²

If Cartier had succeeded in colonizing, religion would not have been neglected in the process.

c. Early Attempts in Colonization

Roberval and Cartier made a preliminary attempt to plant a colony on the site of what was later Quebec. This was in 1541-43, but proved unsuccessful.

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1. Burrage, Original Narratives of Early English and French Voyages, p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 37.

The Huguenots were very prominent in the early colonial attempts. It was the hope of Admiral Coligny that a Protestant France could be built up in America. Since affairs were not pleasant for them at home, it was natural that they should seek refuge on other shores. In 1555 a group of French Protestants set out to found a haven on the coast of Brazil. The hostile Portuguese, together with other difficulties, finally caused the effort to fail.

Coligny urged another attempt seven years later. Jean Ribaut led an expedition to establish Port Royal in South Carolina. This venture also failed. In 1564 Ribaut and Landonniere planted another group of colonists at Fort Caroline on the St. John's River in Florida. They they had sincere religious motives in colonizing is indicated by this account by one of the founders (1564):

"On the morrow about the break of day, I commanded a trumpet to be sounded, that, being assembled, we might give thanks to GOD for our favorable and happy arrival. Then we sang a psalm of thanksgiving unto GOD, beseeching him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodness toward us, his poor servants, and aid us in all our enterprises that all might turn to his glory - - - -."

The next year practically the whole group was massacred by the cruel Spanish invader, Menendez. Thus, for half a

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1. Hart, American History Told by Contemporaries, Vol. I, p. 114.

century, serious attempts by the French to establish colonies in the New World ended.

2. The Colonization of Canada

a. Acadia and the St. Lawrence Valley

The scene shifts again to Canada. In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche made a second futile attempt to plant settlers on Sable Isle. Two years later Henry IV granted a fur-trade monopoly to two Huguenot merchants, Chauvin and Sieur de Monts. In 1605 they established Port Royal Acadia. In connection with this settlement, Thwaites states:

"From the first, the court, largely influenced by the church was much concerned with the conversion of the Indians. The Calvinist de Monts had been allowed to take out Huguenot ministers for those of his companions who wished them; but missions to the natives must be conducted solely by the Catholic Clergy".¹

The assassination of Henry IV meant the end of Huguenot efforts. The chance for religious freedom was gone. As Champlain said: "Deux religions contraires ne font jamais un grand fruit".²

From 1603 to 1635 the figure of Champlain was outstanding in New France. He is justly termed the "Father of Colonization in Canada". He was an explorer,

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1. Thwaites, France in America, p. 21.

2. Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History, p. 441 (Footnote)
"Two diverse religions will never yield abundant fruit."

colonizer, organizer, and administrator. In 1608 he founded the city of Quebec. The next year he killed an Iroquois chief, and gained for the French the lasting enmity of that nation. He was zealous for religion and was responsible for the coming of the Recollect order of priests to Quebec in 1615. This spiritual interest was present from the beginning of his efforts, for he wrote to Marie de Medici (c.1603):

"By it (navigation) we attract and bring to our own lands all kinds of riches, by it idolatry is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth".¹

Again he wrote:

"The strong love, which I have always cherished for the exploration of New France has made me desirous . . . to become acquainted with the inhabitants, with the² view of bringing them to the knowledge of God".

He remained active in New France till his death in 1635, but saw really very little effectual colonization accomplished.

b. The Northwest

Montreal was built in 1642 -- to a large degree a religious community. Small trading-posts dotted the St. Lawrence Valley, but no settlements were especially thriving. The governor of Quebec records (1661):

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1. Grant, op. cit., p. 17.
2. Ibid., p. 269.

"As regards . . . the settlements, they are scattered in a still more unsocial fashion than are the savages themselves -- less than 3000 souls residing over an extent of 80 leagues . . ."¹

After the failure of the Jesuit missions to the Hurons, the missionaries pushed westward. Missionary and explorer, fur-trader, priest, and coureur du bois made their way into the wilderness together. Faith and fur drove them on. Gradually missions and fur-trading posts helped to open up the Northwest and led to the sparse settlement of that region.

3. The Colonization of the Mississippi Valley

La Salle made his way to the mouth of the "Father of Waters" in 1683. France then had two lines of approach to her lands -- the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Valleys. In 1684 La Salle tried to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He missed the location and landed in Texas. There his group dwindled to extinction five years later. At the turn of the century Louisiana began to be settled. Biloxi was founded in 1699 and New Orleans in 1718. Forts, trading-posts, and missions lined the great river and its tributaries, the Illinois country, and the Great Lakes. A semi-circle of French civilization virtually surrounded the struggling,

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1. Thwaites, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

but rapidly growing English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. A shell of a politico-religious French "empire" had been established in North America.

D. The Religious Element in Exploration

The fact that some of the early explorers had religious motives in view has already been indicated. This was true of many of the later ones too. Often the priests were at the same time explorers. They wandered throughout the Northwest and the Mississippi Valley. Some of the prominent pioneers were: Duluth (1678), who travelled the Great Lakes and in Minnesota; Le Seur (1683-1700), an explorer of Wisconsin and Minnesota; and Perrot (1685), who discovered lead mines in Missouri and founded Fort St. Antoine. Another famous pathfinder was Father Hennepin. Many others remain unsung.

Two of the most famous explorers were Pere Marquette and Joliet. They are symbolic of the way of the French -- priest and trader travelling together. They were sent out in 1672 by Frontenac to locate the Mississippi. Their journeys were quite important. Marquette mentions "having followed the Mississippi from the latitude 42° to 34°, and preached the Gospel to the utmost of my power, to the nations we visited".¹

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1. Hart, op. cit., p. 140.

The most heralded explorer was Sieur de la Salle. His exploits are too well-known to repeat. One of his party records the following incident (1682):

"On the fourteenth day of the same month, the Sieur de la Salle took possession of this country with great ceremony. He planted a cross, and set up the King's arms, at which the Indians showed great joy".¹

Thus the explorers enlarged the domain of the cross and the flag of France.

E. The French Missions and the Missionaries

In New France we find well illustrated the fact that ". . . in America the heroism of the Catholic missionaries extended their self-sacrifice from the northern to the southern icefields".² From the beginning to the end of French colonial enterprise the clergy occupied a central position. There was a priest in the party which made the first settlement in Acadia in 1603. Eight years later two Jesuits arrived at Nova Scotia. Champlain brought several members of the Recollect Order (a branch of the Franciscans) with him in 1615 to Quebec. After ten years, more Jesuits migrated to Canada: Richelieu was strongly in favor of this militant group. They were followed by

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1. Hart., op. cit., p. 141.

2. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, p. 28.

Capuchins, Sulpicians, Ursuline Sisters, Franciscans, and many others. In 1619 a mission was established among the Abenaki Indians in Acadia. By 1632 a number of stations were founded about Quebec, Three Rivers, and Sillery. These were followed two years later by the evangelization of the Micmacs, and the start of the famous Jesuit work among the Hurons. The work spread to touch nearly all the tribes of Eastern Canada, Maine, New York, the Great Lake region, Illinois, and the Mississippi Valley. The severe slaughter of the Hurons by the Iroquois in 1648 to 1650 brought most of the work with the former tribe to an end, and caused the evangelists to move westward. The whole Illinois nation was enrolled as Christian by 1725.¹

One of the greatest of Christian soldiers was Father Jogues, who labored for years among the Indians. Here are two of his characteristic touches:

"- - - I baptized two with rain-drops gathered from the leaves of a stalk of corn".²

"Since the time when I was taken, I have baptized seventy children, young and old, of five different nations and languages, that of 'every tribe, and people, and tongue, they might stand in the sight of the Lord.'"³

In 1641 he made a trip with Raymboult to Sault St. Marie and leaves this account:

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1. Cf. Schmidlin, op. cit., p. 538.
2. Hart, op. cit., p. 131.
3. Ibid., p. 132.

"But we need laborers for this purpose (to plant a mission there); we must first try to win the peoples that are nearest to us, and meanwhile pray to Heaven to hasten the moment of their conversion".¹

Another great missionary was Allouez who is said to have instructed a hundred thousand in the faith and baptized ten thousand. Of a trip to Lake Superior (1665-1667) he writes:

"During that time, I instructed them in all our mysteries; I also baptized twenty of their children, and an adult who was sick; this man died on the day after his baptism, bearing to Heaven the first-fruits of his nation".²

A young missionary, St. Cosme, journeyed to the West in 1698-99. He records the following philosophy of Christian education in his work among the Indians:

"It is true that but slight results are obtained with reference to the older persons; . . . but . . . they allow their children to be baptized. They are also very glad to let them be instructed. . . . so that we hope that when the old stalk dies off, they will be a new and entirely Christian people".³

Thus might one cite without end illustrations of the heroic work of the missionaries, for there remain, among other writings, seventy-three volumes of Jesuit Relations -- accounts of their labors in New France. Space forbids also recounting the story of the martyrdom

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1. Kellogg, Early Narratives of the Northwest, p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 135.
3. Ibid., p. 347.

of Jogues, Daniel, Brebeuf, and others. The significance of the widespread work of the Catholic orders in Canada is apparent.

F. Other Religious Factors Associated with
French Colonization

1. The Establishment of the Hierarchy

It is notable that a diocese was not erected in New France at such a comparatively early period as in New Spain. Not until 1685 was Quebec made a Vicar-Apostolate. In 1674 it was made a bishopric over which Bishop Laval ruled. The Bishop's influence in the affairs of French America has already been suggested. Under Laval various institutions -- schools, seminaries, and hospitals were erected.

2. The Difficulties Faced by the Religious Workers

In the case of the Spanish missionaries, they had the support -- financial and moral -- of the Crown. This was not true of the French. They often were opposed by the governmental officials and were not financially aided by them. The trading companies also frequently hindered the activities of the religious worker. Add to this the fact that there was almost constant danger from the Iroquois throughout the whole of the seventeenth century. The climate which they endured was more severe

than in South America. The Indians were fewer, less civilized, and less docile. Countless hazards and difficulties met the workers on every hand, yet they courageously advanced in the face of them. They did not forget their ideal of setting up a religious "Empire" in America. All this they did without opening themselves to the dangers of cruelty and immorality to the same extent as did their Southern brethren.

3. Religion and the Failure of New France

As religion, by its prominence, helped in establishing New France, so the same factor contributed to its disintegration. The constant rivalry of Church and State was one of the factors contributed to the downfall. The forces toward settling and toward failure were intermingled. Bacon¹ lists four reasons for the downfall of New France, which are, in substance:

1. Excessive royal patronage.
2. Commercial rather than agricultural basis.
3. The oppressive work of the Jesuits.
4. Rapid expansion of area, but slow increase in population.

The latter point is of interest and importance. France never did succeed in bringing^a sufficient number of settlers to^{the} new colonies. At the middle of the Seventeenth Century there were only a few thousand in all of New France. A

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1. Cf. Bacon, History of American Christianity, pp. 24-27

century later there were eighty thousand as compared to over a million in the English colonies at the same time.

As Hall observes:

"And while the Protestant pastors raised up prodigious numbers of children to the glory of God and the further settlement of New England, the Jesuit priests remained sterile and unfruitful trees".¹

In addition to these facts, France was warring at home, and constantly stirring up the Indians against the English settlers on the frontier. After much fighting here and abroad, Canada was ceded to England in 1763. New France failed -- and not the least element in the failure was the religious. If this be true, then religion was a potent force in French colonization.

4. The Permanent Religious Deposits of New France

Although France ceased to be a power in the New World, her influence remained. With tenacity much of her religious work abided. In some of the Indian tribes which she evangelized Catholics are to be found today. The name "French-Canadian" is synonymous with ardent Catholicism. Indeed some parts of Canada are among the strongest fortresses of Romanism in the world. Many of her monasteries and educational institutions have persisted.

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1. Hall, The Religious Background of American Culture, p. 93.

In some parishes of Louisiana, French is still spoken and Catholicism upheld. Wherever French missionaries went, their names have remained attached to cities, rivers, and lakes until the present time. The religious efforts of the French were not all in vain, but have left abiding testimonies behind them.

G. Summary of the Chapter

In the present chapter it has been indicated that the French colonies differed essentially from the Spanish colonies. In the former the Church and State both had the same end in view for themselves -- an "empire" in Canada, but they proceeded toward this goal by divergent channels. The religious element in settlement has been stressed. Huguenots at first attempted plantation for religious freedom; Catholics did so later on out of missionary zeal. The spiritual emphasis of navigator, explorer, settler and priest has been reviewed. Numerous minute, yet significant spiritual details have been suggested. In a word, there was a genuine and important religious motive in French colonial enterprise. We are inclined to agree with Dr. Schmidlin that in New France "the motive of missionary endeavor was always found concomitant with that of exploration and territorial acquisitions."¹

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1. Schmidlin, op. cit., p. 441.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE
IN THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

"O beautiful for pilgrim's feet,
Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness!---
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee,
And crowned thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!"

-Katherine Lee Bates

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

A. Introduction

From Hispanic and French America, the scene shifts to English Colonial enterprises. Of all the eras of our national life, none have been more thoroughly studied than the Colonial Period. It is a span of engaging interest, and the foundations laid during it are of the deepest possible significance in the life of our land today. An old Greek warrior once said that "half the battle is in getting a good ready". This is true also of the establishment of nations: happy indeed then is that people whose background is steeped with spirituality. Such were the English provinces in the New World. One writer has observed:

" . . . the settlement of Englishmen in America was . . . due to commercial ambitions, territorial need, and religious restlessness.."1

This chapter will be a survey of the latter incentive -- the religious -- as it appeared in English settlements in America, and in those colonies which became English.

The English colonies were unique in many

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1. Andrews, The Colonial Period, p. 2.

respects. Their roots were usually diverse, yet a unity was found in the whole, so that they could ultimately become one nation. In each settlement religion had its place; hence, a spiritual thread can be traced through early American beginnings. The study at hand will pursue the course of religion at the opening of English Colonial endeavor.

B. The English Colonial Theory and Methods

Some understanding of colonizing ideas and processes is essential to any real grasp of colonial history. In fact, in the case of Spanish and French efforts, such a view practically amounted to a key to the problem. Professor Andrews, the best authority on this period of United States history, points out that "the whole idea of colonization worked out by the English in America, was new".¹ He views the problem from the English standpoint and states:

"These old writers (of American history) did not take into account the fact that for England to have sacrificed her welfare to that of the Colonies -- even had she thought her policy was doing them injury, as she did not -- would have been considered by her statesmen and merchants an act of national suicide".²

No "colonial policy" for Britain existed in the sixteenth century, and really there was none the following century.

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1. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. I, p. 67.
2. Ibid., p. xii, Preface.

Slowly her procedure developed as experimentation indicated proper channels of action.

Doubtless the best way to view England's colonial theory is to compare it with that of her two main competitors. In contrast to the situation in Spain, Church and State were not identified in the Isles. The Church as such has no genuine and active interest in colonization. The English did not restrict the colonists entering her territory. She had no settled schemes which she wished to carry out. She did not stifle her subjects by paternalistic policies, nor by despotic means. England herself was imbibing the spirit of freedom and tolerance. She allowed free self-government -- a right denied by the other powers. Indeed, as many historians have indicated, the spirit of liberty permeated Britannia's enterprises. In addition England had some peculiar advantages. Among these was her insular position. This largely freed her from entanglements in the chaotic Continental affairs. At the same time it made for production of good sailors and maritime power. The islands had a hardy climate that could match any rigor in the New World. Her's was an agricultural people. She had free institutions which could be set up in America. Above all she possessed a vigorous, balanced, and hard-working population -- one which was growing rapidly to the point of

overflowing. Her colonists were not just prospectors, not merely gold-seekers, but were of a solid citizenry. Truly England was well situated for Colonial success.

Adams tells us that "England's 'colonial policy' was but a mere phase of her commercial policy".¹ It need not be denied that the English were strongly influenced by the then prevalent political philosophy known as the mercantile theory, the chief idea of which was to gain a favorable balance of trade for the mother country. It never seemed to occur to anyone that if every nation pursued such a course, that someone must ultimately suffer for it. The commercial possibilities of the New World were not immediately evident. When they were evident, England had a wealthy bourgeoisie -- a capitalist class -- ready to pour money into the enterprises. The early efforts were in the hands of individuals, and at their own financial risk. The government was at first willing only to support the trials legally -- by granting monopolistic privileges and charters to these individuals. Later on it took a more genuine part in the proceedings. Two main methods of colonization were adopted: by private proprietors, who were an echo of the feudalistic past; and by incorporated companies, a suggestion of modern procedure.

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1. Adams, The Founding of New England, p. 35.

Failures led to altered and improved methods. A proprietor could be a virtual "dictator" over his grant. The commercial companies were similar to states. Their charter was a type of constitution. They had their own government under the mother government. The actual political framework of the scheme was extremely limited. After the Restoration in 1660 a committee of the privy council handled colonial affairs. In 1695 a Board of Trade and Plantations kept the State Department informed and advised about colonial conditions.

Thus it is seen that England's "colonial policy" was no set policy at all. Methods were adopted to meet changing situations. They were the essence of freedom and pliability. The English were admirably situated geographically, economically, socially and politically for success in settlement. Forces were creating pressure which would send colonists to the New World. Her "open door" policy enabled the best immigrant stock from all of continental Europe to enter her territories. Each group was free to establish itself in the New World for its own "comfort". England avoided many errors. She sent her women along to the settlements, thus preventing a disastrous mingling of races. The colonists were not soldiers or missionaries, but on the whole hardy civilians. Britain

herself was actually somewhat inclined to be feudal, but her colonies would have none of it -- they were democratic! This fact set up a conflict which ultimately ended in the "spirit of '76". In a word:

"Instead of banishing merchants and artisans to enrich other countries, English statesmen opened the gates of their American colonies to every kind of religious faith that the stirring life of Old World could furnish -- to Catholics, Separatists, Puritans, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Baptists from the British Isles; to Lutherans, Dunkards, Moravians, Mennonites, Huguenots and Salzburger from the Continent".¹

This was the secret of England's success in colonization.

C. The Beginnings of English Colonial Enterprise in the New World

When America was discovered, England was a comparatively insignificant isle. Nevertheless, her king, Henry VII, realized the possibilities of his realm and set out to build it up within and without. His son, Henry VIII, was still further to make the island famous. As Charles V was the champion of Catholicism, so was he to foster the Protestant cause. In time, the English made themselves felt to the degree that they "singd the beard" of the king of Spain. All this was because they realized that to be a real power a nation must be

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1. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, p. 30.

"mistress of the seas".

England's first claim to American lands was from the voyages of the Cabots, who first touched these shores in 1497. Of one of their voyages, we find this record:

"The discoverer of these things planted on his new-found land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield".¹

When Breton fishers were on the Newfoundland banks, they were joined by their brethren, the "Anglo-anglers".

Thereafter, during the first half of the sixteenth century no great overseas efforts were to be witnessed. In the last half of the century, however, the time-honored "Elizabethan Sea-dogs" -- Drake, Cavendish, Hawkins, Frobrisher, Gilbert, and the rest. When they were not marauding Spanish galleons, they were seeking a Northwest passage to China. Finally in 1588 they ignominiously defeated the "Invincible Armada". After that England long remained a "thorn" in Spain's colonial "side". She became the foremost sea-power, and stepped into the front ranks of colonizing nations.

Gilbert in 1578 failed in an attempt to colonize in Newfoundland. Osgood says of him:

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1. Jameson, Editor, The Northman, Columbus, and Cabot, p. 424.

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert appears then as the precursor of (later colonizers) ... who desired to see the aristocratic system in state and church, with which they were familiar in England, reproduced in the new world".¹

In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh was authorized to settle in "remote heathen and barbarous lands -- not actually possessed by any Christian prince."²

In the same year Gilbert made another futile effort to plant 260 Catholics on the shores of Maine. Three successive attempts by Raleigh to settle were made in 1585, 1586 and 1587. All ended disastrously; one of them was the "Lost Colony of Roanoke". In the first five years of the next century, several fruitless trials were again made to situate in Maine. Early attempts failed, because the colonizers failed to reckon with the actual situation. Raleigh alone lost 40,000 pounds in the attempts: there was gained a wealth of experience. The religious element, though never entirely absent (there at least were always chaplains on every ship), was not especially prominent in these early efforts.

D. The Religious Motives in the New England Colonies

To discuss the religious motive in the New

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1. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I, p. 12.
2. Quoted by Hart, Essentials of American History, p. 40.

England colonies may seem superfluous. The survey, however, would not be complete without reference to some of the actual work of the Puritans there. Brief summaries of the well-known historical developments of the colonies will be given, followed by reference to the spiritual importance of their foundation. .

1. The Plymouth Colony

The story of the Pilgrims is familiar to every schoolboy. They were a group of Separatists or Brownists, who had fled to Holland from the Puritan regions of England. Of the 102 passengers on the Mayflower only 35 had actually been in Leyden, in the Netherlands. In 1620 they landed on the New England coast and founded their colony of Plymouth. It was at first communal in form. The settlement never spread widely and was really a financial failure for its promoters. It took in some of the surrounding settlements, but in 1691 was incorporated with its sister-colony, Massachusetts.

No one can seriously doubt the religious intentions of the planters of Plymouth. The Pilgrims were devout and holy individuals. Documents abound in indications of their sincerity. Governor Bradford's History of the Plymouth Plantations is a source of much interesting information concerning the religious and secular affairs of the group. To quote him as to motives of settlement:

"Lastly, (and which was not least) a great hope, and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, (or at least to make some way thereunto) for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world.."1

and again,

"When some of ours desire to have planted themselves there (in Virginia), with his majesty's leave upon these three grounds, first that they might be the means of re-planting the gospel amongst the heathens.."2

Before disembarking from their ship in America, the colonists drew up the renowned "Mayflower Compact". In it we find reference to the fact that the undertaking was made "for the glorie of God, and advancements of the Christian faith". It is easy by such statements as these to be blinded to some important facts, but as far as aim in settling is concerned, the reality of the religious motives is undeniable. As Andrews says: "The Pilgrim Fathers have always held and will always hold a unique place among the venerated saints of mankind".3

2. The Massachusetts Bay Colony

It must not be thought that all the Puritans who emigrated from England came to Massachusetts. Indeed between the years 1620 - 1642 twice as many migrated to the West Indies as to New England. Many of the settlers

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1. Bradford, History of the Plymouth Plantation, p. 55.
2. Ibid., p. 69 (Footnote)
3. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. I, p. 299.

went to the former place for religious freedom and ended up as pirates in the Caribbean Sea. The Puritans came to these shores in far larger numbers than did the Pilgrims. They received a patent as the Massachusetts Bay Company. Its shareholders came to this country, the first group under Governor Winthrop landing in 1629. During the next dozen years about 15,000 arrived. Massachusetts Bay Colony grew rapidly in population and in influence. It remained a staunch Puritan stronghold throughout the era of settlement and even in the later times.

Andrews tells us that "the Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded for religion, not for trade".¹ Another authority cites that "almost all those passing to the colony in its earlier years were moved by religious fervor".² During the first ten years sixty-five ministers were among the settlers.

A glimpse at the charters indicates the religious tenor of the life of the Puritans. The first one (1629) reveals the missionary desire:

" . . . as their good life and orderlie conversation maie wynn and incite the natives of (that) country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde, and the Christian fayth.."³

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1. Andrews, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 463.
2. Newton, The Colonizing Activities of English Puritans, p. 284.
3. MacDonald, Select Charters Illustrative of American History, p. 209.

The second charter (1691) granted religious freedom to the settlers.

A view of the Puritan movement in England suggests their extreme spiritual feeling and interest. This was, if anything, intensified by their transference to New England. A multitude of writings from both shores of the Atlantic, bear eloquent testimony to this fact. To mention only one, in Winthrop's Journal we find a religious diary of the progress of the colonies.

The Puritans came to this country with the aim of setting up for themselves an exclusive commonwealth. Religiously they were not organized, but ultimately they took up a form of Calvinistic Congregationalism. "Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion was the chief religious and political text book of the English Puritans."¹ Church and State became synonymous in Massachusetts, with emphasis on the Church. Democracy was anathema: a theocratic "Utopia" was established. The clergy for years held the reins of government. For sixty years church-membership was a condition of suffrage. The laws of the times reflect the ecclesiastical mood of the people.

Religion was dominant in the lives of the inhabitants. One must not imagine, however, that all the colonists were saints; the legal records deny this. The

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1. Osgood, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 201.

people lived in an atmosphere heavy with theology. They digested two-hour sermons three times a week and talked about them in between times. The Puritans talked religion, taught religion, legislated it, propagated it, -- and a surprising number actually lived it. Of course, all their processes would not receive wide approbation today. Their rigorous legality, and meager social outlook has more than once been attacked by hostile critics. Their cruelty towards the Indians, and intolerance of Quakers, and other sects appear almost inexcusable in the light of present-day life. Salem witchcraft is another blot on Massachusetts' scutcheon. They had missionary motives, but failed to carry them out very fully. The name of John Eliot alone stands out in the early period as "an apostle to the Indians". Some wit has said of the Puritans:

"First they prayed upon their knees,
Then they preyed upon the aborigines".

But, after all, the Puritans built up a spiritual culture in their new abode. The clergymen were the best educated settlers and natural leaders. They were the teachers as well as the preachers. In 1636 Harvard College was founded to train men for the ministry. Religious devotion did not prevent our New England forebears from putting their hands in the slave and rum trade. In

spite, however, of their faults, their severities, their occasional hypocrisy, their constant narrowness; the most part of the settlers who came to Massachusetts had genuine religious aims in doing so.

3. The Branches of the Massachusetts Bay Colony

From the environs of Boston branched out various groups to other sections of the territory. The most of New England was really an emanation of the Puritan commonwealth.

a. Rhode Island

Roger Williams, a Puritan preacher with Anabaptist tendencies, was the founder of Rhode Island. He arrived in Boston in 1630. The next year his "extravagances" caused his removal to Plymouth. Upon being banished from there, he established a settlement at Providence on Narragansett Bay in 1636. His chief tenet was the separation of Church and State. "Williams was no advocate of toleration. He upheld religious liberty, which is quite a different thing."¹ Williams was a pioneer for the cause of liberty of conscience and is justly recognized for it today.

In 1638 Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was also banished from Massachusetts. She was an Antinomian and an advocate of the "Covenant of Grace" rather than the "Covenant of

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1. Andrews, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 472 (Footnote)

Works". Her "heresies" are not considered serious today, for they are held as basic by every evangelical Christian. She was the founder of Portsmouth in the year of her banishment.

In course of time other "rebels" from extreme Puritanism found their way to Rhode Island. By 1663 Williams had obtained a charter for the colony, a section of which reads:

"...That they, pursuing, with peaceable and loyall minds, their sober, serious, and religious intentions, of godlie edifieing themselves, and one and other, in the holie Christian ffaith and worshipp as they were persuaded: together with the gaineing over and conversione of the poore ignorant Indian natives".¹

Rhode Island was established as a religious haven.

b. Connecticut.

Connecticut was also a theocracy, modeled largely after Massachusetts. It was founded partly because of over-crowding in the older colony, and partly because of the attraction of fertile river valleys farther west. The new territory was settled about 1636 from two centers. In the Connecticut Valley a group of towns were set up -- Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield -- chiefly under the guidance of Reverend Thomas Hooker,

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1. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 126.

a "Son of Thunder". This group of colonies was governed according to the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, described as:

"A Combination and Confederation together, to mayntayne and presearve the liberty and purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus which we now professe, as also the disciplyne of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospell is now practiced amongst us.."1

The other center was on the south coast. It was under the auspices of Puritans direct from England. They too were zealous religiously and were ruled by the Fundamental Articles of New Haven. Its leaders met in 1639 "to consult about setting civil Government according to God.."2 In 1662 the two groups were joined together. They had definite and predominating religious motives, which of course were always mingled with more lucrative desires.

c. New Hampshire and Maine

Attempts were made to start colonies in ~~what~~ is now New Hampshire several times after 1622. All of these failed. In 1638 Reverend John Wheelwright was banished from Boston for holding views similar to Mrs. Hutchinson's. Thus, New Hampshire was really in its beginnings a province for religious liberty.

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1. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 61.
2. Ibid., p. 67.

Many early attempts were made to settle on the coast of Maine: these also failed. A royal charter was granted to Gorges and Mason. The former attempted a feudalistic type of colony after the model of Maryland. It was a center of Anglicanism, more interested in furs than in faith. Mutual hostility existed between it and Massachusetts.

4. Summary

It has been observed that the religious motive was predominant in the settlement of the whole of New England. It was not missionary in emphasis. The colonists evangelized themselves and sought religion and autonomy. Apparently the Puritan's chief desire was to be left alone -- with his religion.

E. The Religious Motive in the Middle Colonies

From New England attention is directed to the Middle Colonies. Here an entirely different situation was discovered but its foundations are not void of spiritual significance. Indeed Beard¹ warns against such rigid classifications as "Puritan New England", "Cavalier South", "Commercial Middle Colonies". No such walls of separation actually exist.

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1. Cf. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, p. 139.

1. New York

New York had its beginning as New Netherlands. In 1609 Henry Hudson, under Dutch patronage, entered the river which bears his name. In 1623 the first important settlement was made at New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. The early colonists were chiefly Walloons (Dutch Protestants). Until 1664 the Dutch held sway in their new territories. In that year, however, the English forced the surrender of the colony which was under the stubborn governorship of Peter Stuyvesant. Charles II gave the colony to his brother, the Duke of York, who in turn gave his name to the place. When the Duke became James II in 1685 New York became a royal province.

Admittedly New Amsterdam's founding was not primarily of a religious nature. It was not, however, completely devoid of spiritual culture. Religion was not especially stressed in the Charter of Privileges to Patroons (1629), but worship was provided for:

"Art. XXVII. The Patroons and Colonists shall in particular, and in the speediest manner, endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support a Minister and Schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool and neglected among them.."¹

The Reformed church was established in the first edifice built in 1626. The early spiritual guidance was solely

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1. MacDonald, Select Charters Illustrative of American History, p. 50.

in the hands of laymen. Later on there was some evangelization of the Indians, but there was more butchering of them. Of the first communion in 1628, Pastor John Michaelius writes:

"At the first administration of the Lord's Supper which was observed, not without great joy and comfort to many, we had fully fiftyen communicants -- walloons and Dutch; of whom, a portion made their first confession of faith before us and others exhibited their church certificates.."1

New York early took on a "cosmopolitan air" -- eighteen languages being spoken there in its first years. Hence, we see that many were attracted to its opportunities. Religious liberty was observed because the Duke of York was a Catholic. A variety of faiths were present in the colony, as an excerpt from a letter (1665) indicates:

"For as we have her Papists, Mennonites, and Lutherans among the Dutch; also many Puritans and Independents, and many atheists and various other servants of Baal among the English under this government, who conceal themselves under the name of Christians. It would create still greater confusion, if the obstinate and immovable Jews come to settle here.."2

It cannot be maintained that the colony of New Amsterdam was primarily of religious origin. Nevertheless there is abundant evidence that religion was not a neglected factor in its beginning and early development. Many colonists proceeded there out of a desire for reli-

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1. Mode, Sourcebook and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History, p. 129.
2. Jameson, Editor, Narratives of New Netherlands, p. 393.

gious liberty.

2. Delaware

Delaware was not settled by Lord Delaware, but by the Swedes. In 1624 the Company of Sweden was organized by the Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus. It was not, however, until 1638 that a colony was planted at Christiana, near present-day Wilmington, Delaware. It was started under the direction of Peter Minuit who was acting for Sweden. A minister accompanied the first group of settlers. The colony grew slowly, having but 121 inhabitants by 1641. In 1663 it came under the supervision of New Amsterdam and the next year under the English. In the year 1680 it was leased to William Penn for ten thousand years. But was administered separately from Pennsylvania. Under his guidance the same religious emphasis and freedom were found as in Pennsylvania.

A writing dated 1626 thus states the intent of the King of Sweden in his overseas enterprise:

"The great king, whose zeal for the honor of God was not less ardent than for the welfare of his subjects, availed himself of this opportunity to extend Christian doctrine among the heathens, as well as to establish his own power in other parts of the world".¹

The monarch's ecclesiastical desires were not unmixed with commercial hopes. The settlers treated the natives

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1. Myers, Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, p. 58.

kindly and bought their land from them. Early in the colonial life we find that: "The Christian work which had been aimed at by the sending out of five ministers, at the same time received the lamentable check.."1

The inhabitants of New Sweden appeared to be quite active in the practice of their faith, but lacked adequately trained ministers. New Sweden had at least accomplished transference of her accustomed religious life in Europe, to her new home.

3. New Jersey

New Jersey, situated as it was between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, naturally attracted a variety of colonists. It was one of the most nondescript of the colonies. The Dutch settled on both the east and west borders at an early date. In 1664 the Duke of York granted to two proprietors -- Lord Berkeley and George Carteret -- the fertile territory. Into it flowed New England Puritans, Scotch-Irish, Scotch Presbyterians, Quakers, Dutch and many others. Of the founding of Newark Professor Andrews writes:

"The men of New Haven, Milford, Branford, and Guilford...brought hither somewhat of the same spirit which prevails at home, the spirit of the fear of God and belief in the word of God.."2

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1. Myers, op. cit., p. 79.

2. Andrews, Some Neglected Aspects of Colonial History, p. 4.

New Jersey never proved successful in its proprietors' hands and passed from one to another until in 1702 it became a royal province.

In the beginning the owners promised religious liberty;

"...No person...at any time shall be anyways molested, punished, or disquieted, or called in question for...matters of religious concerns.."1

This principle continued throughout the colonies existence.

A Quaker proprietor of West Jersey writes in 1675:

"...The government to stand upon these two Bases...the Defense of the Royal Law of God, his Name and Worship, which is in Spirit and in Truth.."2

New Jersey cannot be described as especially religious. Its several promoters apparently had sincere religious desires for the colony. In some cases these desires were fulfilled. The population of New Jersey was, however, a motley group. Contemporary writings describe the worldliness which was rampant. Thus the spiritual element was not primary, although it was present.

4. Pennsylvania

The establishment of "Penn's Woods" is a familiar story. Charles II owed Admiral Penn, William Penn's

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1. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 142.
2. Hart, Source book of American History, pp. 64-65.

father 16,000 pounds. In satisfaction of this debt, the monarch granted to the son the vast expanse to be known as Pennsylvania. Penn was a devout and thorough-going Quaker. When he became proprietor, there were already 6,000 settlers -- Dutch, Swedish, and English Quakers -- in the territory. After founding Philadelphia, the leader attempted a modified feudalistic form of administration. Naturally Penn wished to clear the amount of the debt owed to him, and to that extent his motive was commercial; but he also wished to form an asylum for his beloved Quakers.

The remarkable feature of Pennsylvania was its religious liberty. Four articles of the earliest constitution of the commonwealth guaranteed the settlers this right.¹ The establishment of Pennsylvania is often called "An Holy Experiment".

Because of religious tolerance Pennsylvania grew rapidly. By 1689 twelve thousand dwelt there. Not only did Englishmen come, but Continental refugees -- Walloons, Salzburgers, Moravians, Mennonites, Huguenots and others. These were to blend to make the new settlement one of the most prominent, populous and profitable of New World provinces.

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1. Cf. Mode, op. cit., p. 162.

Penn's treatment of the Indians is proverbial.

In 1681 a minister, Pastorius writes:

"...With intentions to erect new cities and colonies, and not only to gain thereby our own temporal advantage and support but also to make savages gentle and docile, to instruct them in the true knowledge of God, insomuch that I live in the hope of being able to announce more good news of their conversion to Christianity within a short time.."1

Again three years later he records:

"...and we are gradually learning their language, so as to instruct them in the religion of Christ, inviting them to attend our Church services, and therefore have the pleasing hope that the spirit of God may be the means of enlightening many of these poor heathens unto their souls' salvation.."2

There can be no doubt that in the minds of the proprietor the religious motive in the settlement was primary. The character of Penn himself indicates it, the charters and other contemporary literature witness to this fact, the popularity of the colony is another suggestion of it. It was reflected in the lives of the people in the early days and for a long time thereafter. Of course, there were many settlers who abused their privileges and were not religious at all.

5. Summary

The Middle colonies were less generally religious than the New England group. Yet one must be warned

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1. Myers, op. cit., p. 386.
2. Hart, American History told by Contemporaries, Vol. I, p. 562.

against too positive generalizations in this regard. The prominence of the religious motive in the Middle Colonies is notable and is more extensive than is generally thought.

F. The Religious Motive in the Southern Colonies

The association of any real religious endeavor with the Southern Colonists is altogether too infrequent. A survey of their beginnings indicates that the spiritual emphasis was felt there as well as in the other sections of the country. To quote Bancroft:

"...The colonists from Maine to Carolina, the adventurous companions of Smith, the prescribed Puritans....the Quaker outlaws,....--all had faith in God and in the soul.."¹

1. Virginia

When the English landed in Virginia they "sett up a crosse, with the inscriptyon,--'Iacobus, Rex, 1607.'² Between that date and 1624 the colony became firmly established -- the first successful British province. After a gradual growth and plantations of English institutions on these shores, Virginia became a royal province in 1624.

One of the first buildings erected in Jamestown was a church. A clergyman, Mr. Robert Hunt, was with the first shipload. Every day the founders of the settlement

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1. Bancroft, History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 604.
2. Hart, Sourcebook of American History, p. 14.

joined in morning and evening prayers, and heard two sermons on Sunday, with holy communion every three months. Although the earliest colonists were not of the highest caliber and made no claim to piety, they were required to go through the form of worship. In all the early writings we find that they were concerned about what it "pleased God" to do.

A glimpse at the documents of the Virginia Company reveals its sincere religious sentiments. Beard suggests:

"As a matter of fact, if records are to be taken at their face value...(the chief object of the Virginia Company was that) its heart was set on the glory of God and propagation of the Christian faith and them that sat in darkness. In their advertisements for colonists the officers of the Company were at pains to indicate that they wished only settlers of correct religious life.."1

In a document of the Company dated 1609 we find that:

"The Principal and Maine Endes...were first to preach, baptise into the Christian religion, and by the propagation of the gospell, to recover out of the armes of the Divell, a number of poore and miserable soules.."2

The charters indicate likewise the religious aims in Virginia. The patent of 1606 speaks of "Propagating of the Christian Religion". In the charter of 1609 we find:

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1. Beard, op. cit., p. 47. (Parenthesis is of the writer.)
2. Mode, op. cit., p. 9.

"And lastly, because the principal Effect..., is the conversion and Reduction of People of Parts under the truth Worship of God and the Christian Religion.."1

The third charter of 1612 has much to say about the moral conduct of the inhabitants.

The records made by the colonists themselves bear out the same idea. To quote severally from Smith:

"...But their chief God they worship is the Divell.."2

Again he speaks of:

"...a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidals to the true knowledge of God and his holy gospell.."3

The laws of early Virginia were greatly affected by religion. In 1619 the first house Burgesses was convened in a church. It passed laws enforcing church attendance on the Sabbath "both forenoon and afternoon". Many laws were passed against immorality. An eminent historian makes this observation:

"If we look at the statutes book, which pretends to universality, it appears that the delights of the flesh and skepticisms in religion, even the faintest were condemned with equal severity in Virginia and Massachusetts.."4

The Virginians really had some missionary interests, even to the point of desiring to establish a college

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1. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 16.
2. Tyler, Narratives of Early Virginia, p. 108.
3. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, p. 139.
4. Ibid., p. 98.

for the Indians. One, however, must not paint too brilliant a picture of religious life in early Virginia. From the beginning a number of difficulties faced the province. It was predominantly Anglican; hence, it lacked the zeal of the Puritans. Its economic structure was based upon the plantation system; thus the colonists were widely separated and the Church's problem enhanced. Virginia was closer in heart to the mother country and suffered by that fact. Reverend James Blair was sent over in 1685 by the Bishop of London to survey the religious conditions of the colony. He recommended certain reforms and founded William and Mary College (1693). In answer to the charge that the Virginia clergy was a poor merit, Dr. Sweet tells us that "in a list of some 120 Virginia clergy before 1700, hardly more than a dozen had anything recorded derogatory to their moral or religious character".¹

A survey of religion from the beginning of Virginia, leads one to a surprising conclusion; Virginia included a very real religious element in its establishment. Most of the recent historians are agreed as to this fact. Dr. Hall says:

"Nor can anyone rise from the study of the material collected by Mr. Brown (Collections of Colonial Documents of Virginia,) without realizing that

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1. Sweet, Story of Religions in America, p. 55.

substantially the same motives as well as the same set of men backed both Virginia and Massachusetts.."¹

One is inclined to agree with this statement.

2. Maryland

Maryland was settled by Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and a series of his descendants, also Lords Baltimore. After an attempted colony in Newfoundland, he received a patent for this more southerly territory. In 1634 the first settlers arrived -- the most of them Protestants. Baltimore wished to establish a haven for Catholics. Since legally there were no Catholics in England, the Baltimores were of necessity skillful diplomats. Their system of settlement was feudalistic in its tendency.

The charter of Maryland, like those of so many other provinces, provided for religion. A church ^{was} ordered built in the first settlement. In the mind of the founder religion was quite prominent:

"The first and most important design of the Most illustrious Baron, which also ought to be the aims of the rest, to go in the same ship, is,....sowing the seeds of religion and piety...Who then can doubt that ~~by~~ one such glorious work as this many thousands of souls will be brought to Christ.."²

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1. Hall, The Religious Background of American Culture, p. 110.
2. Hall, Narratives of Early Maryland, pp. 6-7.

Many similar statements are to be found in the early records.

Among the early arrivals in the colony were the Jesuits. These priests were quite active among the colonists and the Indians.¹ There are in existence a series of annual relations of the activities of this order in America. In 1649 an Act Concerning Religion was passed. It demanded the confiscation of property of all those who denied the Trinity. For the most part, however, religious liberty was maintained. Anglicanism was established in 1692.

Into the haven of Maryland came many groups. The Catholics were always in the minority. Puritans came from New England, Quakers, Dutch, German and numerous others found their way to the colony; religious liberty drew them.

There was indeed a religious design in the founding of Maryland. As Penn later established spiritual freedom in his colony, so at an early date did Calvert give opportunity for liberty of conscience in religious matters.

3. The Carolinas

In 1662 and 1663 a grant of land called the

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1. Cf. Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History, pp. 438-440.

Carolinas was made to eight prominent English noblemen. They were all supporters and creditors of the monarch, Charles II. Their leader was Lord Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. An early writing speaks of the proprietors "being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the religious faith ... in the parts of America...inhabited by some barbarious people who have no knowledge of Almighty God.."1

For the government of the province a fantastic scheme was devised by the famous philosopher, John Locke. The result of his labors was a constitution termed "the Grand Model". It was utterly impractical in its feudalistic provisions. It did, however, provide for religious liberty. To quote one article:

"No man shall be permitted to be a free man of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped.."2

Indeed 18 of the 120 articles of the documents had to do with religion.

Many of the early writers mention the possibility of the conversion of the Indians. One said their conversion was rather to be wished for than to be hoped for. Another writer, however, states:

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1. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 121.
2. Mode, op. cit., p. 194.

"I have often conversed with them, and have frequently been in their towns: those that can speak English among them seem to be very willing and fond of being Christians, and in my opinion there might be methods taken to bring over a great many of them.."¹

The population of Carolina was a varied one. It included Puritans, Scotch-Irish, Quakers, Huguenot refugees and many others. A great many of them had hasted there for religious freedom. It is appropriate to say that the religious motive was of some prominence in Carolina, though not to the extent to which it is found in several other colonies.

4. Georgia

In Georgia the last of the English colonies was founded. We find there the most conglomerate group of settlers. It was founded upon the "dream of a philanthropist", James Oglethorpe, in 1732. In that year George II granted him territories below South Carolina. It was to be a land of opportunity for debtors and those who were socially destitute in England. It was a great act of Christian social service.

To this colony came Jews, Salzburgers, Moravians, Highlanders and the inevitable Quakers. For ten years there was a ban on rum; for a little longer there was a ban on slaves.

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1. Salley, Narratives of Early Carolina, p. 218.

The charter makes this provision for religion:

"...ordaine, that forever hereafter there shall be liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all persons..., except the papists.."1

In 1733 the proprietor stated that:

"CHRISTIANITY will be extended by this design; since, the good discipline established by the society, will reform the manners of those miserable objects,...and the example of the whole colony...will contribute greatly to the conversion of the Indians.."2

Of special interest is the visit of John Wesley in the capacity of a missionary to Georgia in 1736. He was somewhat discouraged over what he found there, but was faithful in the pursuit of his ministerial duties. In one place in his writings he objects to Oglethorpe's refusal of his leading a mission to the Indians. He finds, however, many worshipping groups in his travels about the new colony. It is also to be remembered that Wesley's friend, George Whitfield, later established an orphanage in Georgia.

In Georgia we find the religious motives present in its establishment in about the same degree as it is in several of the other colonies. It has this additional significance: that its Christianity is along the line of social betterment. It may be termed a precursor of many similar projects which followed.

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1. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 244.
2. Hart, American History Told by Contemporaries, Vol. II, p. 113.

5. Summary

Even in the Southern Colonies the part which religion played in settlement is quite prominent. This is utterly opposed to the ordinary conception of the matter. One might well say that the religious motive in this section was more prominent than in the middle group, and approaches in some ways the stress of it found in New England.

G. The Religious Contributions of Settlers from Other European Countries to the English Colonies

This work has been limited to the French, Spanish and English colonies in the New World. Just a word will suffice concerning what other European countries contributed to the English colonies religiously. It has been observed that forces were working on the continent of Europe which impelled peoples to the New World. The Dutch and Swedish came primarily for commercial profit and secondarily for religion. French Huguenots came as a result of persecution following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Of greatest importance are the German groups who from war and oppression sought refuge in the New World. Most of these national groups have already been mentioned. This fact is true: that they all added a significant contribution to the resultant American

culture. Not too high tribute may be paid to these European immigrants for the gospel's sake.

H. Summary of the Chapter

One might continue adding elements which testify to the religious incentive which was present in the English colonies. For instance, all five of the colleges founded during the Colonial Period were religious institutions. The spiritual tone of life could be indicated on many sides. No writer can safely maintain that the commercial, the political or any other aim in colonization was exclusively present: religion always must be taken into account. Most historians agree that for every tenth part of history which is written, there are nine-tenths which are not written. This unwritten portion could doubtless speak eloquently concerning the "faith of our Fathers". The most significant fact is the result which our religious heritage has left us. The endeavors of Spanish Catholicism in the New World have crumbled, the hopes of the Jesuit empire in Canada collapsed, but the efforts of God-fearing immigrants to the English colonies have left a permanent stamp on American life and culture.

One can but agree with Andrews that it was:

"...the religious impulse which drove thousands of men and women to the New World for the sake of conscience and conviction, in their desire to worship God in their own way, which they believed was the only true way.."1

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1. Andrews, The Colonial Period in American History, Vol. I, p. 66.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

"Religious enthusiasm, human affection, the pursuit of gain -- these three motives account for the peopling of America by men of European stock and Christian faith."

-- Channing, A History of
the United States.
Vol. I, p. 1.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The proposed plan of procedure has been completed. This study has dealt with the religious motive as it had to do with the colonization of America by the Spanish, French, and English. At the close of each chapter a summary of the place of the spiritual intentions of the settlers from these lands was given. In general, it was evident that for emigrants from all three of these nations the religious incentive was outstanding.

The initial chapter, in viewing the European background of colonization, disclosed the exceedingly prominent role of religion in the life of the West. At the time of settlement religion in Europe was intensified by a thorough revitalization. It would seem natural that such a powerful element in human life, so instilled into the civilization of a whole continent, could not but have acted significantly in the planting of that civilization in new surroundings. The study has demonstrated this to be true.

A survey of the colonial efforts of Spain showed that on every hand religion was entering into the process.

The Spanish Church was an integral part of the State: in all the endeavors of the latter, the former was active. The Iberian monarchs were quite as anxious to promote Catholicism in the New World as they were their own power. The men who actually carried out the designs were apparently as zealous toward this end as were their superiors. In the founding of New Spain the religious motive had an undoubted prominence.

As the study moved to New France a different situation was found. Both Church and State vied with one another in the attempt to accomplish supremacy in America. At times the one institution seemed to succeed, at times the other: often they cooperated; occasionally they were hostile toward one another. The commercial aim was emphasized by France, but never to the exclusion of the religious aim. Priest and pathfinder worked side by side to establish European civilization in the wilderness. New France failed: some of its remnants were of the distinct flavor of faith. Again the religious incentive was discovered to be of primary significance.

In English America still another attitude was expressed. The English government itself did not at first attempt to reduplicate the life of Britain on the whole of American soil. Rather did individual groups venture across the Atlantic, to establish commonwealths,

independent of one another and in large measures independent of the mother country. In many cases they transferred themselves for reasons of faith. The English colonies were planted, in great degree, as a result of desires of a spiritual nature. In the case of all three of the major colonizers, not to mention the minor ones, the religious intention for settlement was present in a pronounced degree.

This study has not been a polemic. No attempt has been made to avoid or to fully answer numerous charges as to the genuineness of the religious intentions of the Europeans. No effort has been expended to defend the colonists when the righteousness of their works was exceeded by the intensity of their worship. Many discrepancies have been observed and admitted. Other than religious aims have been and are acknowledged as powerful factors in settlement. That adventure, commercial desire, lust for gold, social pressure, and many other factors were constantly present has not been denied. It has been maintained that no single element propelled settlers across the ocean: the motives were always mixed, and religion was usually somewhere in the mixture.

In an earlier section there was mentioned the minor place to which certain historians and some others relegate the religious element in settlement. This

survey has shown that the religious motive was much more prominent than is popularly supposed. This greater fact was discovered: that the spiritual design was widespread - universal, in one degree or another. No other one motive would be found present in each colonial enterprise: religion was always there to some extent.

Several classes of spiritual endeavor appeared. With Spain it might be termed a fanatical Catholic missionary zeal. In the case of England, it was as a desire for religious liberty. In general, the French settlers had in mind a combination of the two - the one for the Catholics; the other for the Huguenots. This idea cannot be held too rigidly however. A sharp contrast in methods of the various nations was apparent. Spain and France wished to keep all "Lutherans" and "foreigners" out of their colonies. England opened wide the door, and in doing so paved the way for success in colonial endeavor. Another important observation emerges from the study: ecclesiastical uniformity did not lend to successful settlement on these shores. Both Spain and France attempted to enforce such a policy and failed. In England it was different. The Catholic Church could not, and the Established Church did not play any really important role in colonization. Indeed, English settlements were made by dissenters of one

shade or another. They made ideal settlers and brought religious zeal to America. To them we owe, in large measure, our democratic institutions and religious liberty.

A number of values have proceeded from this study. The understanding of colonial life in general has been enhanced by pursuit of this frequently somewhat neglected factor. New light is shed by following the spiritual thread through the Era of Settlement. In Colonial America one may observe to a certain extent, the religious tenor of the world of that day. Some compelling lessons are to be learned from the failures and successes of our predecessors. One is led to appreciate more than ever before the colossal accomplishment of our forefathers in bringing European culture and religion into this hemisphere. That in these United States, Christianity is today dominant from sea to sea possesses a meaning not elsewhere duplicated in history. Some excellent reasons are to be found, in the study of this period, for the present spiritual unrest in Hispanic America. A partial explanation of the immense influence religion has always had in our public and private life can be located in the foundation of settlements here. The evangelical and evangelistic spirit of

American Christianity has its roots in the Colonial Period. In the ecclesiastical diversity of that time we have one of the main reasons for the demoninationalism of today. The spiritual element in settlement had its advantages and disadvantages. In comclusion: that there was a religious motive in the colonization of the Americas is undeniable; that it was prominent on every hand was plain; that it had deep and lasting significance in American life is apparent even today.

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"And furthermore, my son, be
admonished: of making many books
there is no end; and much study is
a weariness of the flesh."

-Ecclesiastes 12:12

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