

The New Eden:

Consensus and Regeneration in America



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edited by

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Cover photo: Mt. Jefferson in Oregon. Named by Lewis and Clark in honor of Thomas Jefferson

Photo by Peter G. Boag

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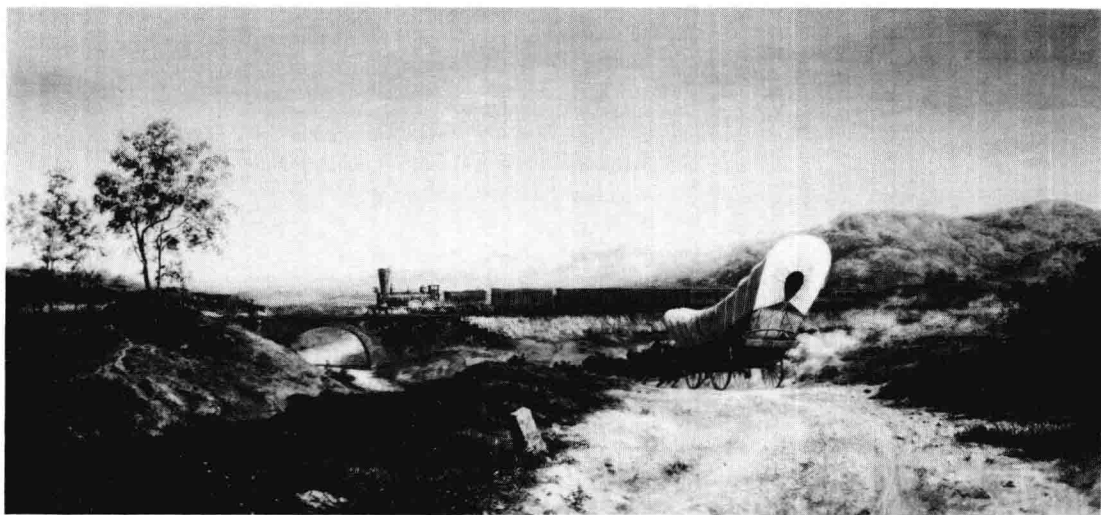
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"The Last of the Mohicans" by Thomas Cole. New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown.



***On the Road* by Thomas P. Otter. The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (Nelson Fund).**

Introduction

Reconstructing Consensus: Ideology and Myth in American Culture Studies

Sam B. Girgus

For those of us in American culture studies, the tendency during the past decade or more has been to concentrate on dissensus—the forces of gender, race, class, politics or region that separate and keep us apart. This collection takes a different tack and returns to our origins to discuss what brought us together as a culture and people. It accepts Thoreau's idea in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack* that "The frontiers are not east or west, north or south; but wherever a man *fronts* a fact" (323). The readings suggest that in America there has been, of course, the geographic frontier that helped shape us, but also a frontier of ideas and the imagination that interpreted the facts of our environment in Utopian terms. The collection as a whole, therefore, argues that the frontier experience dramatizes an ideology of renewal and regeneration that provides the foundation for the ideological ritual of consensus of the American way. Through this national ritual of cultural consensus, the American ideology has continually expanded and changed over three centuries to incorporate and include ever growing and ever more different outsiders and nay-sayers.

This approach to the study of American culture has been identified with Sacvan Bercovitch whose works on Puritanism are often credited with inspiring a reformulation of literary and historical understandings of American culture. Thus, it should be stressed from the beginning that this theory does not wish to trivialize or minimize the importance of dissent or alienation in American life, thought and culture. Rather, it emphasizes the centrality of dissent by arguing that the uniqueness of the American ideology comes from its ability to create a consensus of aliens, foreigners and outsiders who see themselves as Americans. The American idea has dominated and usually monopolized the way of talking about dissent and the terms of dissent so as to ultimately Americanize not only peoples but ideas and emotions as well. From Puritan dissenters to Jesse Jackson, the outsider bases the terms of dissensus upon the individual search for the true American way. The success and originality of the ideology of consensus enabled America to become the only national entity to undergo transformation into a universal ideology or "ism" for people throughout the world.

At this point some key definitions and concepts probably are in order and Bercovitch gracefully suggests them: "I mean by ideology the ground and texture of consensus. In its narrowest sense, this may be a consensus of a marginal or maverick group. In the broad sense in which I use the term here (in conjunction with the term 'America'), ideology is the system of interlinked ideas, symbols, and beliefs by which a culture—any culture—seeks to justify and perpetuate itself; the web of rhetoric, ritual and assumption through which society coerces, persuades, and coheres" ("Ideology" 635). Thus, ideology establishes what people today like to call a basic hegemony or

domination over a society, not necessarily in the sense of repressive authority, although that is possible, but more as an atmosphere of assumptions and beliefs and values that enables any society to exist and function and its people to communicate and live. As Bercovitch says, "I hold these truths to be self-evident: that there is no escape from ideology; that so long as human beings remain political animals they will always be bounded in some degree by consensus" ("Ideology" 636).

According to Bercovitch the rhetoric of the Puritan jeremiad provided the American ideology of consensus with a unique structure and mission. The jeremiad helped to give the American way its amazing psychological and moral force over the centuries. As derived from the early Hebrew prophets, most notably, of course, Jeremiah himself, the jeremiad tends to interpret all of human experience and history in terms of the failure of a chosen people to realize and live up to the moral standard that has been established for them. All calamities and disappointments stem from this failure. However, in the Hebrew or Old Testament tradition, the jeremiad also implies a renewed opportunity for ultimate improvement through great moral effort and achievement on the part of the community. For the American Puritans the jeremiad became the basic form of sermon. John Winthrop established its importance with "A Model of Christian Charity" which was delivered on board the *Arbella* in 1630, while Samuel Danforth gave it a special modern dimension of anguish in his election day sermon of May 11, 1670. Perfected as a political sermon on election day, the jeremiad helped to structure the Puritan mind and character. However, Bercovitch argues that by the middle eighteenth century, Americans had begun to imbue national identity and mission with the religious and moral vision that had previously been directed to God. "The ritual of the jeremiad bespeaks an ideological consensus—in moral, religious, economic, social and intellectual matters—unmatched in any other modern culture. And the power of consensus is nowhere more evident than in the symbolic meaning that the jeremiads infused into the term America. Only in the United States has nationalism carried with it the Christian meaning of the sacred. Only America, of all national designations, has assumed the combined force of eschatology and chauvinism. . . . Of all symbols of identity, only *America* has united nationality and universality, civic and spiritual selfhood, secular and redemptive history, the country's past and paradise to be, in a single synthetic ideal" (*American Jeremiad* 176).

In a discussion of how ideology has brought us together in America, a related term of myth also should be considered and defined. In terms of its relationship to ideology, myth functions as a vehicle for integrating values and ideas into social organization and behavior. In doing this, myth can be understood as a basic narrative structure that uses symbols to dramatize a society's values and beliefs. It is this kind of working definition of myth that Henry Nash Smith articulated in his elaboration of a special cultural myth that he identified as the Virgin Land motif, a dynamic constellation of symbols, ideals and values that structured the American imagination's conception of the West. He argued that this myth not only helps to explain American attitudes toward the landscape, but also contributed to the shaping of American history through its influence upon behavior and action at all cultural levels.

Accordingly, the following readings and our few illustrations attempt to delineate the development of the ideology of consensus and the myth of regeneration in America. As noted, this preoccupation with the forces that have helped to bring us together probably represents a departure from some recent trends in American culture studies that have tended to see American culture and society as a kind of massing of discordant parts and pieces. In such models it is often assumed that greed, violence or oppression are primarily responsible for creating any unity out of the chaotic fragments of the American experience. This text does not intend to diminish or dis-

guise such forces of division and difference. Instead, it hopes to place them in a perspective that renders them part of a perpetual cultural process of division and renewal, destruction and reconstruction. Thus, this approach probably cannot satisfy interpretations that rely exclusively or perhaps even primarily upon economics, race, gender or region to explain the shaping of American culture. Nevertheless, it may offer a context for appreciating the significance of the dialectic between permanent structures and forces of change and renewal.

In its limited way, the text also attempts to suggest how the glamour and power of the rhetoric of renewal and the drama of regeneration continue to attract so many who are so far away and so different in all parts of the world. Many of us have our own anecdotes of people who still see America as a sanctuary and an ark of liberties and opportunity for the dispossessed. For example, toward the end of a recent American Studies course, we read *The Grapes of Wrath*. On the evening when we showed the film, a student shyly approached me at the conclusion of the movie and emotionally said that he had lived for years in a camp similar to the Hooverville the Joads experienced. Only, he said, conditions in his camp for Laotian refugees in Thailand were far worse. In that camp, he said, the talk and dreams were about America. "I am living that dream here, now," he said. A few years ago while I was teaching overseas, an Iranian student was desperately seeking our help to come with her family to America, although they all seemed happy and settled in their new university community. "My children will never really be Germans," she said. "But I think they can become Americans." This is not the place to affirm or deny the dreams of the Cambodian and Iranian students. I only wish to make the point that with those ideas and beliefs, they already were part of that geographic and imaginative frontier of the American idea.

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Visions of the New World

1 Propaganda for Eden

Robert Johnstone, Editor

The theme of the New World as idyllic garden, earthly paradise, or New Eden is a familiar one in American Studies. It figures prominently in such American Studies classics as Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land*, Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden*, Richard Slotkin's *Regeneration through Violence*, and Annette Kolodny's *The Lay of the Land*. Marx, Slotkin, and Kolodny all note that the theme of the garden appears as early as Arthur Barlowe's account of a 1584 scouting expedition to Roanoke; Marx mentions it as a possible influence on Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, and attributes Barlowe's portrayal of the New World as an idyllic garden to the vogue for pastoral poetry then current in Renaissance England. Franklin McCann, however, has noted in *The Discovery of America to 1585* that Barlowe's narrative shares its "Golden Age" theme with famous passages in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Peter Martyr's history of the voyages of Columbus, *De Orbe Novo*. By looking at the English translations of these works available in Barlowe's time, we can specifically locate the origins of his rhetoric (and Shakespeare's), and we can make an educated guess at Barlowe's motives in reporting: "Wee found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile, and treason, such as lived after the manner of the golden age. The earth bringeth forth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toyle or labour."

Not only is Barlowe's use of the technique of description by negative definition ("void of all guile," "without toyle") clearly indebted to Eden's translation of Martyr and Golding's translation of Ovid, its essential strategy of creating a positive portrait by telling what the described thing is *not* shares with all Golden Age rhetoric a desire to replace cold, hard, historical reality with a vision of an alluring but semantically and literally *not*-real paradise. As the French philosopher E.M. Cioran has argued in his essay "The Golden Age," the leap out of reality into the Golden Age fantasy occurs when the burden of facing reality through time, of continued engagement in history, becomes too great:

When it weighs too heavily upon us, when it overwhelms us, a nameless cowardice seizes our being: the prospect of further struggles among the centuries assumes nightmare proportions. The accommodations of that mythological age allure us then to the point of pain, or if we have frequented Genesis, the divagations of regret transplant us into the happy stupors of the first garden.¹

And the burden of history lay heavy indeed on English endeavors in North America. John Cabot had discovered North America for Henry VII in 1497, but had been lost at sea in his second

voyage; the Hore voyage of 1538 had resulted in stranding in Newfoundland and cannibalism among the crew; the three Frobisher voyages (1576–1578) had excited but failed to deliver on the promises of finding either a north-west passage or gold, and had been plagued by troubles with the Eskimo natives and the far north climate; the voyage of Sir Humphry Gilbert (1583) in the year preceding Barlowe's crossing had ended with Gilbert's drowning. After that disaster, Gilbert's royal patent for a North American settlement had been transferred to his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, who had immediately organized the scouting expedition Barlowe accompanied.

Given the reality of the history of English exploration in the New World, and given Raleigh's need for a report back that would justify a colonising venture, it is not surprising that Barlowe ordered the "facts" of his narrative within a traditional rhetoric of fantastic fulfillment. In successfully playing to his audience's heightened capacity for wishful thinking, Barlowe's narrative did in fact help to promote the subsequent Roanoke colonies. His "True Discourse," in its use of appealing fantasy to overcome resistance to what is being promoted, is one of the first great works in the quintessentially American art form of commercial advertising. The eventual fate of the Roanoke colonies is the first great object lesson in American history in the perils of being too easily swayed by that art.

Notes

1. E.M. Cioran, "The Golden Age" in *History and Utopia*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1987), 102.

Richard Eden

[The Golden World]¹

The inhabitants of these Islands have been ever so used to live at liberty, in play and pastime, that they can hardly away with the yoke of servitude, which they attempt to shake off by all means they may. And surely if they had received our religion, I would think their life most happy of all men, if they might therewith enjoy their ancient liberty. . . . Among these simple souls, a few clothes serve the naked; weights and measures are not needful to such as can² not skill of craft and deceit, and have not the use of pestiferous money . . . they seem to live in that golden world of which the old writers speak so much, wherein men lived simply and innocently without enforcement of laws, without quarrelling, judges and libels, content only to satisfy nature, without further vexation for knowledge of things to come. For it is certain that among them the land is as common as the sun and water, and that Mine and Thine (the seeds of all mischief) have no place with them. They are content with so little, that in so large a country they have rather superfluity than scarceness, so that (as we have said before) they seem to live in the golden world without toil, living in open gardens, not entrenched with ditches, divided with hedges, or defended with walls. They deal truly with one another without laws, without books and without judges. They take him for an evil and mischievous man, which taketh pleasure in doing hurt to another. . . .

Notes

1. From the First Decade, Book II.
2. Know.

Arthur Golding

[The Golden Age]

Then sprang up first the golden age, which of itself maintained

The truth and right of everything, unforced and unconstrained.

There was no fear of punishment, there was no threatening law

In brazen tables nailed up to keep the folk in awe.

There was no man would crouch or creep to Judge, with cap in hand:

They livèd safe without a Judge in every realm and land.

The lofty pine tree was not hewn from mountains where it stood,

In seeking strange and foreign lands to rove upon the flood.

Men knew no other countries yet than where themselves did keep;

There was no town enclosed yet, with walls and ditches deep.

No horn nor trumpet was in use, no sword or helmet worn:

The world was such that soldiers' help might easily be forborn.

The fertile earth as yet was free, untouched of spade or plough,

And yet it yielded of itself of every thing enough.

And men themselves, contented well with plain and simple food,

That on the earth of nature's gift, without their travail stood,

Did live by raspis, hips and haws, by cornels, plums and cherries,

By sloes and apples, nuts and pears, and loathsome bramble berries,

And by the acorns dropped on ground from Jove's broad tree in field.

The springtime lasted all the year, and Zephyr with his mild

And gentle blast did cherish things that grew of own accord,

The ground untilled, all kinds of fruit did plenteously afford.

No muck nor tillage was disposed on lean and barren land,

To make the crops of better head, and ranker for to stand.

Then streams ran milk, then streams ran wine, and yellow honey flowed

From each green tree whereon the rays of fiery Phoebus glowed.

Arthur Barlowe

The soile is the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull, and wholesome of all the world: there are above foureteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes, and such like: they have those Okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboard our shippes, my selfe, with seven more, went twentie mile into the

Arthur Golding, *Ovidius* (London: William Seres, 1567)

Arthur Barlowe, "The First Voyage made to the coasts of North America" in R. Hakluyt, ed. *Principall Navigations* (London, 1589)

River, that runneth toward the Citie of Skicoake, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, we came to an Island, which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof, was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made it like a turne pike very artificially: when we came towards it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Grangyno, the Kings brother, came running out to meete us very cheerefully, and friendly, her husband was not then in the village: some of her people she commanded to drawe our boate on the shoare, for the beating of the billoe: others shee appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house, for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sitte downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes, and washed them, and dried them againe: some of the women pulled off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best manner shee coulede, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate.

After we had thus dried our selves, shee brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fishe sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of divers kindes, and divers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it all the yeere after, they drinke water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and divers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love, and kindnes, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. Wee found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age. The earth bringeth forth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour. The people onely care to defend them selves from the cold, in their short winter, and to feede themselves with such meate as the soile affordeth: their meate is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweete, and savorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweete: their dishes are wooden platters of sweete timber: within the place where they feede, was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of which they speake uncredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates, two or three men with their bowes, and arrowes, from hunting, whome when we espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as she espied our mistrust, she was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes, and arrowes, and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorie, and gave us into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pots, and all, and brought us to our boates side, in which wee laye all night, remooving the same a pretie distance from the shoare: shee perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men, and thirtie women, to sitte all night on the bankes side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes to cover us from the rayne, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscarried, the voyage had beene in very great daunger, wee durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde, and loving people, there can not be found in the world, as farre as we have hitherto had triall.

Robert Johnstone, "Strachey and Secession"

In John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity," we will see the origins of the American cultural theme of "the city on the hill." Curiously, this classic document in the American tradition of unity through constitution is antedated by some two decades by a colonial narrative which foreshadows the equally American tradition of disunion and secession, the tradition of "the city on the other hill," where, of course, the grass is always greener. William Strachey's account of the rebellion following the 1609 shipwreck of Sir Thomas Gates's expedition to reinforce Jamestown displays a pattern of American-style antiauthoritarianism and programmatic withdrawal that would be repeated again and again in American history from the secession of the New Haven colony from the Bay colony to the secession of the thirteen colonies from England to the secession of the southern states from the Union in 1860–1861.

First, there is the contention by the rebels that Old World mores of authority and obligation carry no weight in the New World, a contention systematically justified by secular and religious arguments:

one Stephen Hopkins . . . —a fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures and could reason well therein, alleged substantial arguments both civil and divine (the Scripture falsely quoted) that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, nor religion to decline from the obedience of the governor or refuse to go any further led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves), since authority ceased when the wreck was committed, and, with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man.

Second, there is the accusation of continued abuse at the hands of authority if the association is maintained. For the rebels, this prospect of suffering involved the coming life in Jamestown where food, they imagined, would be more difficult to come by than on the islands, "and they might well fear to be detained in that country by the authority of the commander thereof and their whole life to serve the turns of the adventurers with their travails and labors." Third, if the secession takes place, they will come into an Edenic life on this blessed island where they would enjoy fish, flesh, and fowl "at ease and at pleasure," and "without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatening and art of authority." Fourth, there is a pronounced strain in the rhetoric and convictions of the rebels of Dissenting Protestantism, for example John Want, "seditious and a sectary in points of religion, . . . suspected by our minister for a Brownist¹, he was often compelled to the common liturgy and form of prayer." Fifth, there is the suspicion in the mind of the contravened authority, "What hath a more adamant power to draw unto it the consent and attraction of the idle, untoward, and wretched number of the many than liberty and fullness of sensuality?" i.e. that in the bountiful and liberal conditions of the New World the masses tend toward self-indulgence, perversity, and mutiny. Finally, the troubles on Bermuda consist not of one secession but of a series of secession after secession, and of secessions *from* secessions.

But even with these thorough foreshadowings of the American pattern of disunion in mind, the most intriguing aspect of Strachey's narrative may be the tragicomedy of Sir George Somers's incompetent responses to the several secessions. His unwillingness to pursue and capture or kill the seceding rebels, his willingness to forgive unconditionally repentant rebels even after the realization that such an indulgence was likely to lead only to more rebellion, his failure to put a

secure guard around a condemned murderer while proceeding with dispatch in the execution of Henry Paine who had told him to "kiss, etc.," and his respectful response to one seceding group's petition of demand for food and clothing indicate a commander uncertain of the ground of his authority in this new environment, an authority crucially unsure whether his subjects are to attend on him or he is to attend on them. Certainly, Somers had the motive of luring as many as he could on to Jamestown where he would have more support in policing them. But the suggestion for the day when mainland America itself would become, like Bermuda, an arena for secession is that in this country authority will play the fool while the rebel always on the lookout for an attractive "city on the other hill" will act as a prime agent of history rather than just a respondent to oppression. The following is from William Strachey, "A true reportory of the wracke and redemption of Thomas Gates . . ." in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrims* (London 1625).

And sure it was happy for us, who had now run this fortune and were fallen into the bottom of this misery, that we both had our governor with us and one so solicitous and careful whose both example (as I said) and authority could lay shame and command upon our people. Else, I am persuaded, we had most of us finished our days there, so willing were the major part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of ever inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practices of theirs (and perhaps of the better sort). Lo, what are our affections and passions if not rightly squared? How irreligious and irregular they express us! Not perhaps so ill as we would be, but yet as we are. Some dangerous and secret discontents nourished amongst us had like to have been the parents of bloody issues and mischiefs. They began first in the seamen, who in time had fastened unto them (by false baits) many of our landmen likewise, and some of whom (for opinion of their religion) was carried an extraordinary and good respect. The angles wherewith chiefly they thus hooked in these disquieted pools were how that in Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected, with many wants and a churlish entreaty, there being neither that fish, flesh, nor fowl which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatening and art of authority) at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed. And since both in the one and the other place they were (for the time) to lose the fruition both of their friends and country, as good and better were it for them to repose and seat them where they should have the least outward wants the while.

This, thus preached and published each to other, though by such who never had been more onward toward Virginia than (before this voyage) a sculler could happily row him (and what hath a more adamant power to draw unto it the consent and attraction of the idle, untoward, and wretched number of the many than liberty and fullness of sensuality?), begat such a murmur and such a discontent and disunion of hearts and hands from this labor and forwarding the means of redeeming us from hence as each one wrought with his mate how to divorce him from the same.

And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discovered of which six were found principals, who had promised each unto the other not to set their hands to any travail or endeavor which might expedite or forward this pinnacle. And each of these had severally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to draw the smith, and one of our carpenters, Nicholas Bennett, who made much profession of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling impostor, the captain and one of the chief persuaders of others, who afterward brake from the society of the colony and like outlaws retired into the woods to make a settlement and habitation there, on their party, with whom they purposed to leave our quarter and possess another island by themselves. But this

happily found out, they were condemned to the same punishment which they would have chosen (but without smith or carpenter), and to an island far by itself they were carried and there left. Their names were John Want, the chief of them, an Essex man of Newport by Saffron Walden, both seditious and a sectary in points of religion, in his own prayers much devout and frequent but hardly drawn to the public, insomuch as, being suspected by our minister for a Brownist, he was often compelled to the common liturgy and form of prayer. The rest of the confederates were Christopher Carter, Francis Pearepoint, William Brian, William Martin, Richard Knowles.

But soon they missed comfort (who were far removed from our store); besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomeness of their offense, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full and therefore a weariness of their being thus untimely prescribed; insomuch as many humble petitions were sent unto our governor, fraught full of their seeming sorrow and repentance and earnest vows to redeem the former trespass, with example of duties in them all to the common cause and general business. Upon which our governor (not easy to admit any accusation and hard to remit an offense, but at all times sorry in the punishment of him in whom may appear either shame or contrition) was easily content to reacknowledge them again.

Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more subtly began to shake the foundation of our quiet safety; and therein did one Stephen Hopkins commence the first act or overture — a fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures and could reason well therein, whom our minister therefore chose to be his clerk to read the psalms and chapters upon Sundays at the assembly of the congregation under him; who in January, the twenty-fourth, brake with one Samuel Sharp and Humfrey Reed (who presently discovered it to the governor) and alleged substantial arguments both civil and divine (the Scripture falsely quoted) that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, nor religion to decline from the obedience of the governor or refuse to go any further led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves), since the authority ceased when the wreck was committed, and, with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man, and for a matter of conscience it was not unknown to the meanest how much we were therein bound each one to provide for himself and his own family. For which were two apparent reasons to stay them even in this place: first, abundance by God's providence of all manner of good food; next, some hope in reasonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a small bark, with the skill and help of the aforesaid Nicholas Bennett, whom they insinuated to them, albeit he was now absent from his quarter and working in the main island with Sir George Somers upon his pinnace, to be of the conspiracy, that so might [they] get clear from hence at their own pleasures. When in Virginia, the first would be assuredly wanting and they might well fear to be detained in that country by the authority of the commander thereof and their whole life to serve the turns of the adventurers with their travails and labors.

This being thus laid, and by such a one who had gotten an opinion (as I before remembered) of religion, when it was declared by those two accusers, not knowing what further ground it had or 'complices, it pleased the governor to let this his factious offense to have a public affront and contestation by these two witnesses before the whole company, who (at the tolling of a bell) assembled before a *corps de garde*; where the prisoner was brought forth in manacles and both accused and suffered to make at large to every particular his answer, which was only full of sorrow and tears, pleading simplicity and denial. But he being only found, at this time, both the captain and the follower of this mutiny, and generally held worthy to satisfy the punishment of his offense with the sacrifice of his life, our governor passed the sentence of a martial court upon him, such as belongs to mutiny and rebellion. But so penitent he was, and made so much moan, alleging the