England was the source of the more important and lasting Protestant beginnings in America. The motives for English colonization were mixed. The rising national consciousness provoked proud Englishmen to move to check the expanding colonial empires of England's rivals, the Spanish and the French. This was heightened by the determination to check the expansion of the Roman Catholicism of the Spanish and French empires. The missionary desire to convert the Indians was a mixture of the desire to save the Indians from paganism and the desire to save them from popery. Anglicans were concerned to plant their beloved church and its "true" gospel in the New World. Puritans, both Separatists and Non-Separatists, burned with deep longings for freedom of religion and zeal to plant "true" churches. England was in desperate need for raw materials for smelting, shipbuilding, and manufacturing. Both the London merchants who supported the colonization ventures and the colonists were looking for commercial profits. England wanted a short trade route to the East. The English hoped for sources for gold and silver such as the Spanish had found. The early English colonists were adventurers, debtors, criminals, as well as the religiously oppressed and visionary and zealous missionaries.

The English colonies were of three types. There were proprietary provinces, corporate colonies and later the royal or crown colonies. The proprietary provinces were landed estates of a feudal type granted by the crown to favorites or petitioners. Usually the proprietors remained in England. The Lords Baltimore, father and son, were the first proprietors of Maryland. In settlement of a debt the crown owed his father, William Penn became proprietor of Pennsylvania. Penn was somewhat the exception in visiting Pennsylvania and taking a personal part in shaping the colony, but even he eventually returned to England. The Dutch colony of New Netherland, when it passed to the English in 1664, had the Duke of York as proprietor.

The corporate colony was made up of a group of persons who banded together to found a colony. Some invested money and usually remained in England. Others invested their bodies and labor and migrated to America. The Plymouth colony was financed by a group of merchant adventurers in London. They financed the transportation to America and promised the necessary supplies for survival. The colonists were to send back timber, skins and furs, and such products as might grow in the new land. In time the Merchant Adventurers transferred the title
to the Plymouth colony to the colonists who were to pay in nine annual instalments.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was the most powerful corporate colony in America. The original members actually brought their charter with them from England. Where as the colonists of Plymouth were from the poorer classes and were Separatists, the Massachusetts Bay Colonists were Non-Separatists who wanted to purify the Anglican church rather than break with it. They came from better educated and economically more productive and more substantial levels of English society. The subsequent New England settlements of Connecticut, New Haven and Narragansett Bay (Rhode Island) were chartered colonies of the corporate type. The proprietary provinces prevailed in the middle and southern colonies.

The crown or royal colonies came later. Largely they were the result of the king's concern over rebellion and criticism of both crown and the established church. The king would cancel the charters of both proprietary provinces and corporate colonies, placing them under governors appointed by the crown.

THE EARLY ATTEMPTS OF THE ENGLISH AT COLONIZATION

The explorations of John Cabot for Henry VII at the close of the fifteenth century and later those of his son, Sebastian, exploring the coast of Newfoundland and portions of the American coast, gave England some claim to the New World. Francis Drake and his contemporaries continued exploration and preyed on Spanish shipping for Queen Elizabeth and the faith of England. Drake enforced regular religious services on his ships that carried Bibles, prayer books, and Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Queen Elizabeth knighted Drake in 1581. England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was a mighty blow against the Spanish empire with its Catholicism.

English clergyman began preaching the planting of "true, Protestant Christianity" by the establishing of English colonies. Richard Hakluyt published his A Discourse of Western Planting (1584) praising the "most godly and Christian work" of "enlarging the glorious gospel of Christ" by sending preachers to the poor simple people who had been so long in darkness and by colonies enlarging the territory of the Queen who was the defender of the Faith. Hakluyt denied that Pope Alexander VI had any lawful authority to give the New World to the Spanish King. In 1589 he published the first edition of his The principall Navigations, Voilages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land in one volume. He enlarged it to three volumes in 1598-1600. Hakluyt wrote to stir the English from "sluggish security."

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with encouragement from Hakluyt, in 1583 made an ill-fated attempt to plant a colony in Newfoundland that involved five ships. Only one ship completed the voyage
and Gilbert himself was lost at sea.

Sir Walter Raleigh, the half-brother of Gilbert, also with encouragement from Hakluyt, the next year, 1584, backed an expedition to North Carolina and Virginia. His two ships returned to England late in 1584 with a glowing report of a land full of fowls and animals, of streams full of fish, of fertile soil, and of Indians who were "kind and loving people." The following year seven ships, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Ralph Lane, left 108 settlers on Roanoke Island in August 1585. The following June Francis Drake found the weary colonists ready to accept passage home. The Indians had proved less than friendly. Two of the settlers, Thomas Hariot and John White, reported that a colony, rightly situated and managed, could prosper. On May 8, 1587, Raleigh sent three small ships from Plymouth for Roanoke Island with 150 settlers. Five days after landing Governor John White's wife gave birth to the first English baby born in North America--Virginia Dare. White had to return to England to plead for urgently needed supplies. Because of the war between England and Spain he was unable to return for four years. On his return he found no trace of family or colony. The fate of the "lost colony" was unknown.

In the spring of 1607 Raleigh Gilbert started a short-lived colony on the island of Monhegan on the coast of Maine.

Hakluyt, until his death in 1616 continued to preach and plead for "enlarging the glorious gospel of Christ." He helped form the East India Company, encouraged Martin Pring's voyages to New England, led in creating the Virginia Company, and was a charter member of the Northwest Passage Company.

A fellow clergyman of Hakluyt in the Church of England, Samuel Purchas, helped popularize the cause of English expansion in his Purchas His Pilgrimage in 1613 and in his Hakluytus Posthumus in 1625.

Some of those who left England for America declared they were fleeing from "Babylon"; others had hearts flaming with patriotism for England and burning with hatred for the pope who was ranked with the Turk and the devil. Offers of peace to the heathen Indians were soon replaced by declarations that the only good Indians were dead Indians.

**THE CHURCH IN VIRGINIA**

The first permanent English colony in the New World was Jamestown in Virginia. In 1606, two years before the French fortification of Quebec and three years prior to the Dutch exploration of the Hudson River, King James I granted a charter to the London Company to found a colony in the New World to seek out mineral deposits, to investigate agricultural and industrial possibilities, and to discover the northwest passage to the Orient. The company's jurisdiction was the area between
34 and 41 degrees N. Latitude in the territory of Virginia—named for the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth, who died in 1603. The colony was to be governed by a council of thirteen members in England and a similar council in the colony to administer the local affairs. The settlers would enjoy all the rights and privileges of Englishmen at home, including the services of the Established Church. The founding of the colony was to be the planting of the Church of England in America.

In May 1607, four years after the death of Elizabeth, three ships, the Susan Constant, the Godseed, and the Discovery, disembarked 105 men on the low-lying north shore of the James River. Soon after landing, on the Third Sunday after Trinity (May 14, 1607), Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman, celebrated the first Holy Communion upon Virginia soil. This has been called the beginning of American church history.

Robert Hunt had been vicar of Reculver in Kent and was one of the petitioners for the charter of the London Company. He had been charged by the company's president, Edward-Marie Wingfield, with supervision of Jamestown's church affairs. He had been approved by Archbishop Bancroft as a man "not anywaie to be touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with the least suspition of a factius scismatick." Captain John Smith described that first religious service. They attached an old sail to three or four trees to form an awning to protect them from the sun. Unhewed trees served as benches. The pulpit was a bar of wood nailed between two trees.

Smith also related that it was their daily custom to have Common Prayer morning and evening. Every Sunday they had two sermons. They had holy Communion every three months. In bad weather they met under an old rotten tent—it was the best they had.

Of the 105 settlers who arrived in May half were dead by September. That first summer the settlers began a fort. Indians attacked even before the fort was finished. A rude, barn-like church was built. Within a few months fire destroyed the church, most of the other buildings in the fort, and the chaplain's meagre library. Food rotted and rats invaded. Famine was followed by sickness. The winter of 1609-10 was remembered as the "starving time." Between 500 and 900 new settlers had arrived to join the colony but by the summer of 1610 only 60 to 150 had survived.

In 1609 a new charter was granted to the Virginia company. The stockholders had come to number 765. They included the bishops of Lincoln and London along with many other clergymen. Twenty-one peers and men of every rank, profession and trade in England and members of the merchant guilds were stockholders. The new charter abolished the council in Virginia, replacing it with a governor. Lord de La Warr was appointed first governor of Virginia. When he was unable to go to Virginia immediately Sir Thomas Gates was sent as his deputy. Master Richard Bucke
an Oxford graduate, was sent to be the second clergyman to Virginia, replacing Robert Hunt who had died. The Bishop of London described Bucke as "an able and painful preacher." Interest was growing in colonization and larger expeditions were being planned. For the first time sermons were preached in the churches of London to those about to leave for the New World. In the presence of Governor de La Warr and the council, William Crawshaw, preacher at the Temple in London, preached what was termed the first missionary sermon ever preached by a priest of the Church of England in that church. In the sermon he charged that "A Christian may take nothing from a Heathen against his will, but in fair and lawful bargain." He reminded his listeners that Abraham refused to take burying ground in which to bury his dead wife without paying a just price. He urged that all children of Abraham must so act. He urged that if any had come into the company only or principally for profit the company would be better off without them. The conversion of the Heathen and the propagating of the Gospel and the enlarging of the kingdom of Jesus Christ should be inducements strong enough to bring people into the project.

When Deputy Governor Gates arrived in May, 1610, he found about 60 of the more than 500 colonists of 1609 who were still alive. He proceeded to the church that had been rebuilt after the fire. Chaplain Bucke offered up a "zealous and sorrowful prayer" for the dispirited and starving people. Conditions were so bad that Gates, after consulting with Captain Newport, decided to abandon the colony. The colonists boarded the ship but they met Lord De La Warr (Delaware) coming up the James River. De La Warr ordered the colonists to return but he was so moved by the condition of the colonists that he fell on his knees and prayed in their presence. He had brought much needed supplies. He gave special attention to the religious condition of the colony. He had the church repaired. He and his workmen made a communion table of black walnut, pews of cedar, broad windows that would open and shut, and a new pulpit and a font hewed of wood. The church was decorated with flowers. Two sermons were preached on Sunday and one on Thursday. The governor with his guards in red coats made a regal show, the governor sitting in a special green velvet chair. Sickness and disease continued to carry away the congregation and the governor himself almost died. Within a year he returned to England, leaving the staggering colony under the deputy governor. De La Warr continued the nominal head of the colony until his death in 1618. Sir Thomas Dale, whose title was High Marchall of Virginia, arrived in 1611 with a large and well-provisioned group of colonists. Between 1611 and 1616 he was in charge of the colony much of the time while Deputy Governor Bates was away. Dale had brought with him Reverend Alexander Whitaker whose zeal for Virginia would win for him the title "Apostle to Virginia." Dale's coming marked the end of the "starving time" and the beginning of happier conditions.

Governor Dale ruled with a strong arm. He was a tough-minded veteran of the Dutch wars. He drew up with the aid of
William Strachey, secretary of the company, The Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, for the colony and its church. He ordered every man and woman at the first tolling of the bell, to twice a day repair to the church for divine service. The Lord's Day was to be devoted to public and private religious exercises. The ministers were to discipline their flocks and diligently perform a wide range of duties. The colony entered a period of Puritanic strenuousness with twenty crimes punishable by death. Some wicked and idle persons had found their way to Virginia but Dale's laws brought order out of chaos. The severity of the laws tended to make the church odious in the eyes of some of the settlers.

Dale formed a new settlement seventy miles up the James in an area less ague-ridden. It was named Henrico in honor of Prince Henry of Wales. Another settlement was named New Bermuda. Alexander Whitaker was placed in charge of the new Bermuda church and a curate under Whitaker was put in charge of the church in Henrico. Later Whitaker moved to Henrico.

Alexander Whitaker was the son of Dr. William Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and a leading Puritan clergyman of his time. Alexander Whitaker had left a pleasant parish in northern England to become the first country parson in Virginia. In 1613 he sent back to London a pamphlet entitled "Good News from Virginia, sent to the Counsell and Company of Virginia, resident in England, From Alexander Whitaker, Minister in Henrico in Virginia." Whitaker used the text, "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for after many days thou shalt finde it." He described the country of Virginia and its Indians and pled for men and money for the service of God and to help convert the poor Indians. Men hotly disturbed in England over "Surplis and subscription" would find that neither were spoken of in Virginia. Whitaker worked with unselfish and tireless zeal until he was drowned in the James in 1617.

Whitaker's most famous convert was Pocahontas, the first Indian convert. She had saved Captain John Smith from death after he had been captured and condemned by the tribe over which her father, Powhatan, was chief. Through her influence a peace treaty was arranged between the Indians and the English. The princess became a familiar figure in Jamestown. After Captain John Smith returned to England the Indians again became hostile and Pocahontas, who had retained her affection for the white friends, was forbidden to visit them. In the spring of 1613 she was taken captive by Captain Argall and held hostage for the release of some English captives held by the Indians. Pocahontas was kept on Dale's plantation where she received religious instruction from Alexander Whitaker. She renounced her Indian superstitions and accepted Christian baptism, receiving the name Rebecca.

In 1614 a young planter who had been the first to produce tobacco for export, wrote Dale a letter asking permission to
marry Pocahontas. On April 1, 1614, he and Pocahontas were married at Jamestown. The old chief Powhatan reluctantly gave his consent and sent a brother and two sons to the wedding. In 1616 Rolf and Pocahontas with their young son, and Sir Thomas Dale sailed for England with ten or twelve Indian youths to be educated in England. Captain John Smith introduced Pocahontas to the king and queen. Everywhere she carried herself as the daughter of a king and was well received by the English. In 1617 as she was about to return to Virginia she took sick and died.

The visit of Pocahontas and her death inspired great interest in the education and Christianization of Indian youths. King James sent a letter to the archbishops asking their assistance in raising money for churches and schools in Virginia. English bishoprics raised fifteen hundred pounds for a college in Virginia. The company instructed the governor to set aside ten thousand acres for its endowment and to begin planning for a university at Henrico. Other gifts flowed in. A London merchant gave 300 pounds for a university and 24 pounds for preachers to help bring the Indian children to the Christian religion. Dr. John King, bishop of London, manifested such great interest in Virginia that he was chosen a member of the Council for Virginia and spiritual jurisdiction over the church in Virginia was placed under the Bishop of London. Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the company sent five hundred pounds for the education of Indian youth along with books, Bibles, prayer books, communion plate and linens for communion services.

The colony in Virginia fell on bad times under the incompetent administration of Deputy Governor Samuel Argall (1617-18) following the departure of Governor Dale. Also a bitter struggle arose in London among opposing factions for control of the company. The struggle was resolved in favor of Sir Edwin Sandys who ordered the formation of a representative House of Burgesses in the colony (1619) and the repeal of Dale's Laws. This marked the end of the first stage of the colony's religious affairs, a period extending from the founding in 1607 to 1619. The establishment of the House of Burgesses in 1619 marked the beginning of the second stage that would extend to 1624.

The House of Burgesses met in the choir loft of the Jamestown church. It made only slight changes in the "morall lawes". Idleness and gaming were punishable offenses; immoderate dress was prohibited. Fines were prescribed for swearing. Excommunication and arrest were provided for persistent sinning. Morning and afternoon services were required on Sunday and neglectful persons were to be censured. The colony was divided into four parishes. The governor was to set apart glebes or lands to support the church and the minister of each parish. Sandys obtained company approval for the governor to set aside the ten thousand acres for the university at Henrico.

In 1620 and 1621 seven ministers arrived to labor in the colony. Colonists arrived in ever increasing numbers. Slaves
were brought in to work in tobacco fields. Plans were made to bring into the colony "young single women of blameless reputation to be wives of bachelor planters and tenants. The king sent into Virginia a number of convicts which greatly displeased the company officials. In 1621 twenty ships arrived with over a thousand new colonists. Experiments were begun in the manufacturing of iron, glass, silk and wines. Money continued to pour in for schools to be feeders to the proposed university. The prospects were so good that the company arranged for a special thanksgiving service in London on April 18, 1622. Rev. Mr. Copeland preached a sermon that was published under the title "Virginia's God be Thanked."

At the time of the Thanksgiving the members of the company in England did not know of the terrible massacre of planters and their families on the morning of March 22, 1622. Within a few hours 347 people had been killed on the upper James without regard to age or sex. Among the slain was John Rolfe. Many settlements were almost completely wiped out. The number of plantations was reduced from eighty to a dozen. The older settlements had been saved by a warning from a young Christian Indian. Expeditions were organized to punish the Indians. The elaborate plans for the education of the Indian youth were abandoned.

Disturbances within the company had continued and grown more serious after 1619. King James denounced the company as the "seminary of a seditious Parliament"; Sandys was accused of trying to erect in Virginia a Puritan state. In June 1621 Sandys was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. He was released after a month but plans for a more liberal charter were squashed. The king appointed a commission to investigate the company. The commission reported woeful conditions in the colony and gross mismanagement. The company protested the report but on June 26, 1624, the king made Virginia a royal province. He died before he abolished the representative assembly (1625). Charles I allowed the assembly to continue. The appointment of a royal governor by the king in 1624 marked the beginning of the third stage in the colony's religious affairs. This third stage marked the establishment of Anglicanism as the only lawful religion in Virginia, although no bishop was appointed.

When the Virginia Company came to an end in 1624, it had lost over 200,000 pounds on the enterprise and was facing bankruptcy. By 1616 some 1,600 colonists had been sent from England but only 350 were still alive. By 1618 the population had increased to 1,000. By 1623 some 4,000 more immigrants had arrived but the population numbered only 1,200. Indian massacres, pestilence, and lawlessness had almost destroyed the colony.

Under the royal governors there was almost constant strife between the governor, the council and the assembly. There was a rapid succession of incompetent governors. When the tyrant John Harvey arrived in 1630 the church suffered greatly. From his
time there was a noticeable decline in the quality of the ministers. The church was completely under secular control with the General Assembly passing the laws to regulate the church. The appointment of ministers was in the hands of the lay vestry. The vestry often kept the ministers living in poverty with only temporary appointments. They refused to give them permanent appointments by reporting them to the governor. Ministers who displeased the vestry lost their position. By 1662 the vestries were made self-perpetuating. On the part of the ministers often there was only the sullen performance of minimal duties and much bickering over the failure to receive promised payments.

There was most violent resentment against the crown when Charles permitted Maryland to be carved out of the Virginia grant to be turned over to a Roman Catholic proprietor. Only the appointment of William Berkeley to be governor in 1642 brought a measure of calmness. There was a second terrible Indian massacre in 1644 when over five hundred people were killed. Berkeley took strong measures to halt Nonconformist inroads into his colony. In 1645 there were probably not over 200 Nonconformist inroads into his colony. In 1645 there were probably not over 200 nonconformists out of a population of almost fifteen thousand. Catholics were suspected of being in league with Spain. The law provided the death sentence for Quakers who returned the third time after being expelled.

Strong laws were enacted against the Puritans in 1642 when the English Civil War began. Parliamentary sympathizers remained relatively quiescent even after Charles I was beheaded in 1649. Berkeley was forced to resign in 1652. For a time the fleet of the English Commonwealth stood off the coast but no attempt was made to interfere with Anglican worship in Virginia and Berkeley remained in Virginia. The House of Burgesses reelected him governor in 1659 while the future of the government in England was still in doubt; Charles II when he came to the throne recognized Berkeley as governor. The Stuart Restoration meant the return to royal control in Virginia.

An important factor in the development of Virginia life and culture was the growth of the large tobacco plantations and the increasing dependence on African slave labor. In 1667 the Virginia lawmakers declared that "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Berkeley in 1731 declared that slaveholders held the blacks in "an irrational contempt... as creatures of another species who had no right to be instructed or admitted to the sacraments."

The priests were at the mercy of the lay vestry. The parish might be as much as sixty miles long stretched along the immense waterfront plantations. The royal governor, tax-exempt councilors, and self-perpetuating vestries controlled the church and inescapably the church came to be associated with social privilege. Patterns of caste and class were responsible for the declining popular influence of the church. By 1700 Deism and French
Naturalism were spreading among the privileged.

In 1685 James Blair arrived in Virginia and was moved with great concern for the low tenor of religion. He served as minister at Henrico until 1694 and then at Jamestown until 1710. From 1710 until his death he served at Williamsburg (1743). The Bishop of London appointed him commissary for Virginia. This made him the highest ecclesiastical officer in Virginia. His powers were practically those of a resident bishop. He worked with great energy to raise the quality of the clergy. His greatest accomplishment was the securing of a charter in 1693 for the college that he named after England's new sovereigns, William and Mary. The college was located in Williamsburg. Under Blair's presidency the college struggled for existence with rarely more than twenty students. A contemporary described it as "a college without a chapel, without a scholarship, without a statute; having a library without books, a president without a fixed salary. . . ."

The College of William and Mary was a reflection of Virginian Anglicanism at the time. In 1720 there were forty-four parishes in Virginia's twenty-nine counties. Each parish had a church and a few parishes had auxiliary chapels. There were seventy places of worship in Virginia. Each parish had a church and some had glebes of 250 acres of land. Only half of the churches had ministers. Lay readers conducted services in the other churches. The state of religion was low.

After England's Toleration Act of 1689 Virginia's restrictive walls against nonconformists began to crumble. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers began making inroads into Virginia. In the 1690's French Huguenots sought refuge in Virginia. In 1713 German refugees founded a colony. Later Methodists would come. There was little evangelism among the Anglicans. The dissenting churches were small and poor. There was a growing population that was unchurched. Virginia was fertile territory for the Great Awakening.