

The Planting of English America, 1500–1733

There is under our noses the great and ample country of Virginia; the inland whereof is found of late to be so sweet and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, a better and richer country than Mexico itself.

Richard Hakluyt, 1599

Prologue: The spectacular success of the Spanish conquerors excited the cupidity and rivalry of the English and partly inspired Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ill-fated colony in Newfoundland in 1583 and Sir Walter Raleigh's luckless venture on Roanoke Island, off the North Carolina coast, in the 1580s. But England, though suffering from blighting economic and social disruptions at home, was not prepared for ambitious colonial ventures until the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the perfection of the joint-stock company—a device that enabled “adventurers” to pool their capital. Virginia, which got off to a shaky start in 1607, was finally saved by tobacco. Launched in 1634 by Lord Baltimore as a Catholic haven, Maryland profited from Virginia's experience and assistance. In all the young colonies, people of diverse cultures—European, Native American, and African—commingled, and sometimes clashed.

A. Precarious Beginnings in Virginia

I. The Starving Time (1609)

Captain John Smith—adventurer, colonizer, explorer, author, and mapmaker—also ranks among America's first historians. Writing from England some fifteen years later, about events that he did not personally witness, he tells a tale that had come to him at second hand. What indications of modesty or lack of it are present? What pulled the settlers through?

¹Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (A. G. Bradley, 1910), vol. 2, pp. 497–499. (*The General History of Virginia by Captaine John Smith, sometymes Governour in those Countryes and Admirall of New England*. [London: Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes, 1674]).

The day before Captain Smith returned for England with the ships [October 4, 1609], Captain Davis arrived in a small pinnace [light sailing vessel], with some sixteen proper men more. . . . For the savages [Indians] no sooner understood Smith was gone but they all revolted, and did spoil and murder all they encountered. . . .

Now we all found the loss of Captain Smith; yea, his greatest maligners could now curse his loss. As for corn provision and contribution from the savages, we [now] had nothing but mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horses, and what lived, our commanders, officers, and savages daily consumed them. Some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, arms, [fowling] pieces, or anything we traded with the savages, whose cruel fingers were so often imbrued in our blood that what by their cruelty, our Governor's indiscretion, and the loss of our ships, of five hundred [persons] within six months after Captain Smith's departure there remained not past sixty men, women, and children, most miserable and poor creatures. And those were preserved for the most part by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish. They that had starch [courage] in these extremities made no small use of it; yea, [they ate] even the very skins of our horses.

Nay, so great was our famine that a savage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and ate him; and so did divers one another boiled and stewed, with roots and herbs. And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered [salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which he was executed, as he well deserved. Now whether she was better roasted, boiled, or carbonadoed [broiled], I know not; but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of.

This was the time which still to this day [1624] we called the starving time. It were too vile to say, and scarce to be believed, what we endured. But the occasion was our own, for want of providence, industry, and government, and not the barrenness and defect of the country, as is generally supposed. For till then in three years . . . we had never from England provisions sufficient for six months, though it seemed by the bills of loading sufficient was sent us, such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellows the mariners. We as little tasted of the great proportion sent us, as they of our want and miseries. Yet notwithstanding they ever overswayed and ruled the business, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly lived on what this good country naturally afforded, yet had we been even in Paradise itself with these governors, it would not have been much better with us. Yet there were amongst us who, had they had the government as Captain Smith appointed but . . . could not maintain it, would surely have kept us from those extremities of miseries.

2. Governor William Berkeley Reports (1671)

Sir William Berkeley, a polished Oxford graduate, courtier, and playwright, was appointed governor of Virginia in 1642, when only thirty-six years of age. Conciliatory, energetic, and courageous, he served well in his early years as both administrator and military leader. He cultivated flax, cotton, rice, and silk on his own lands, and in one year sent a gift of three hundred pounds of silk to the king. In response to

²W. W. Hening, *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia . . .* (Richmond: Samuel Pleasants, 1823), vol. 2, pp. 514–517.

specific questions from London, he prepared the able report from which the following extract is taken. From what economic and social handicaps did Virginia suffer? Which one was the most burdensome? What is significantly revealed of Berkeley's character and outlook?

12. What commodities are there of the production, growth, and manufacture of your plantation [colony]; and particularly, what materials are there already growing, or may be produced for shipping in the same?

Answer. Commodities of the growth of our country we never had any but tobacco, which in this yet is considerable, that it yields His Majesty a great revenue. But of late we have begun to make silk, and so many mulberry trees are planted, and planting, that if we had skillful men from Naples or Sicily to teach us the art of making it perfectly, in less than half an age [generation] we should make as much silk in an year as England did yearly expend three score years since. But now we hear it is grown to a greater excess, and more common and vulgar usage. Now, for shipping, we have admirable masts and very good oaks; but for iron ore I dare not say there is sufficient to keep one iron mill going for seven years. . . .

15. What number of planters, servants, and slaves; and how many parishes are there in your plantation?

Answer. We suppose, and I am very sure we do not much miscount, that there is in Virginia above forty thousand persons, men, women, and children, and of which there are two thousand black slaves, six thousand Christian servants [indentured] for a short time. The rest are born in the country or have come in to settle and seat, in bettering their condition in a growing country.

16. What number of English, Scots, or Irish have for these seven years last past come yearly to plant and inhabit within your government; as also what blacks or slaves have been brought in within the said time?

Answer. Yearly, we suppose there comes in, of servants, about fifteen hundred, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish, and not above two or three ships of Negroes in seven years.

17. What number of people have yearly died, within your plantation and government, for these seven years last past, both whites and blacks?

Answer. All new plantations are, for an age or two, unhealthy, till they are thoroughly cleared of wood. But unless we had a particular register office for the denoting of all that died, I cannot give a particular answer to this query. Only this I can say, that there is not often unseasoned hands (as we term them) that die now, whereas heretofore not one of five escaped the first year. . . .

23. What course is taken about the instructing of the people, within your government, in the Christian religion; and what provision is there made for the paying of your ministry?

Answer. The same course that is taken in England out of towns: every man, according to his ability, instructing his children. We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has

brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!

B. The Mix of Cultures in English America _____

I. The Great Indian Uprising (1622)

From the outset, the Indians attacked the Virginia colonists with arrows, and relations between the two races remained uneasy for many years after 1607. As if deaths from famine, exposure, improper food, and malarial fever were not enough, the colonists lost perhaps a quarter of their number in the great attack of 1622. Among other grievances, the Indians resented the clearing of their forests and the seizure of their cornfields by the whites. Edward Waterhouse, a prominent Virginia official, sent home this firsthand report. What does it reveal about how the colony subsisted, how earnest the Christianizing efforts of the colonists were, and how the disaster could be used to the advantage of the Virginians?

And such was the conceit of firm peace and amity [with the Indians] as that there was seldom or never a sword worn and a [fowling] piece seldomer, except for a deer or fowl. By which assurance of security the plantations of particular adventurers and planters were placed scatteringly and stragglingly as a choice vein of rich ground invited them, and the farther from neighbors held the better. The houses generally sat open to the savages, who were always friendly entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers . . . [thus] seeming to open a fair gate for their conversion to Christianity.

Yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people who then had contrived our destruction, that even two days before the massacre, some of our men were guided through the woods by them in safety. . . . Yea, they borrowed our own boats to convey themselves across the river (on the banks of both sides whereof all our plantations were) to consult of the devilish murder that ensued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the means of some of themselves converted to Christianity) prevented. . . .

On the Friday morning (the fatal day) the 22nd of March [1622], as also in the evening, as in other days before, they came unarmed into our houses, without bows or arrows, or other weapons, with deer, turkeys, fish, furs, and other provisions to sell and truck with us for glass, beads, and other trifles; yea, in some places, sat down at breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their own tools and weapons, either laid down, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman, or child; so sudden in their cruel execution that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their several works and husbandries in the fields, and without [outside] their houses, some in planting corn and tobacco, some in gardening, some in making

¹Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), vol. 3, pp. 550–551, 556–557.

brick, building, sawing, and other kinds of husbandry—they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity and resort to us for trading and other negotiations, which the more willingly was by us continued and cherished for the desire we had of effecting that great masterpiece of works, their conversion.

And by this means, that fatal Friday morning, there fell under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all laws of God and man, and nature and nations, 347 men, women, and children, most by their own weapons. And not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after again upon the dead, making, as well as they could, a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carcasses into many pieces, and carrying away some parts in derision, with base and brutish triumph. . . .

Our hands, which before were tied with gentleness and fair usage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the savages . . . so that we, who hitherto have had possession of no more ground than their waste and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their own contentment gained, may now by right of war, and law of nations, invade the country, and destroy them who sought to destroy us; whereby we shall enjoy their cultivated places. . . . Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfulest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labor.

2. *A West Indian Planter Reflects on Slavery in Barbados (1673)*

Richard Ligon, an English merchant, came to Barbados in 1647 to work on a sugar cane plantation. After suffering repeatedly from tropical diseases, he returned to England in 1650, only to be thrown in debtors' prison by his creditors. While incarcerated, he wrote the following account of his experiences in Barbados. What differences did he notice between the condition of indentured servants and the condition of slaves? What factors did he think prevented slave revolts? What role did Christianity play in the lives of slaves and slaveholders?

The Island is divided into three sorts of men, *viz.* Masters, Servants, and slaves. The slaves and their posterity, being subject to their Masters for ever, are kept and preserv'd with greater care then the servants, who are theirs but for five years, according to the law of the Island. So that for the time, the servants have the worser lives, for they are put to very hard labour, ill lodging, and their diet very sleight. . . .

It has been accounted a strange thing, that the *Negroes*, being more than double the numbers of the Christians that are there, and they accounted a bloody people, where they think they have power or advantages; and the more bloody, by how much they are more fearful than others: that these should not commit some horrid massacre upon the Christians, thereby to enfranchise themselves, and become Masters of the Island. But there are three reasons that take away this wonder; the one is, They are not suffered to touch or handle any weapons: The other, That they are held in such awe and slavery, as they are fearful to appear in any daring act; and

²Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1673), pp. 51–59.

seeing the mustering of our men, and hearing their Gun-shot, (than which nothing is more terrible to them) their spirits are subjugated to so low a condition, as they dare not look up to any bold attempt. Besides these, there is a third reason, which stops all designs of that kind, and that is, They are fetch'd from several parts of *Africa*, who speake several languages, and by that means, one of them understands not another: For, some of them are fetch'd from *Guinny* and *Binny*, some from *Cutchew*, some from *Angola*, and some from the River of *Gambia*. And in some of these places where petty Kingdomes are, they sell their Subjects, and such as they take in Battle, whom they make slaves; and some mean men sell their Servants, their Children, and sometimes their Wives; and think all good traffick, for such commodities as our Merchants send them.

When they are brought to us, the Planters buy them out of the Ship, where they find them stark naked, and therefore cannot be deceived in any outward infirmity. They choose them as they do Horses in a Market; the strongest, youthfulest, and most beautiful, yield the greatest prices. Thirty pound sterling is a price for the best man Negroe; and twenty five, twenty six, or twenty seven pound for a Woman; the Children are at easier rates. And we buy them so, as the sexes may be equall; for, if they have more Men than Women, the men who are unmarried will come to their Masters, and complain, that they cannot live without Wives, and desire him, they may have Wives. . . .

Another, of another kind of speculation I found; but more ingenious then he: and this man with three or four more, were to attend me into the woods, to cut Church ways, for I was employ'd sometimes upon publick works; and those men were excellent Axe-men, and because there were many gullies in the way, which were impassable, and by that means I was compell'd to make traverses, up and down in the wood; and was by that in danger to miss of the point, to which I was to make my passage to the Church, and therefore was fain to take a Compasse with me, which was a Circumferenter, to make my traverses the more exact, and indeed without which, it could not be done, setting up the Circumferenter, and observing the Needle: This *Negre Sambo* comes to me, and seeing the needle wag, desired to know the reason of its stirring, and whether it were alive: I told him no, but it stood upon a point, and for a while it would stir, but by and by stand still which he observ'd and found it to be true.

The next question was, why it stood one way; and would not remove to any other point, I told him that it would stand no way but North and South, and upon that shew'd him the four Cardinal points of the compass, East, West, North, South, which he presently learnt by heart, and promis'd me never to forget it. His last question was, why it would stand North, I gave this reason, because of the huge Rocks of Loadstone that were in the North part of the world, which had a quality to draw Iron to it; and this Needle being of Iron, and touch'd with a Loadstone, it would always stand that way.

This point of Philosophy was a little too hard for him, and so he stood in a strange muse; which to put him out of, I bad him reach his axe, and put it near to the Compass, and remove it about; and as he did so, the Needle turned with it, which put him in the greatest admiration that ever I saw a man, and so quite gave over his questions, and desired me, that he might be made a Christian; for, he thought to be a Christian, was to be endued with all those knowledges he wanted.

I promised to do my best endeavour; and when I came home, spoke to the Master of the Plantation, and told him, that poor *Sambo* desired much to be a Christian. But his answer was, That the people of that Island were governed by the Lawes of *England*, and by those Lawes, we could not make a Christian a Slave. I told him, my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a Slave a Christian. His answer was, That it was true, there was a great difference in that: But, being once a Christian, he could no more account him a Slave, and so lose the hold they had of them as Slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the Planters in the Island would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor *Sambo* kept out of the Church; as ingenious, as honest, and as good a natur'd poor soul, as ever wore black, or eat green.

3. A Missionary Denounces the Treatment of the Indians in South Carolina (1708)

Francis Le Jau served as an Anglican missionary in South Carolina from 1706 to 1717. In his regular reports to his superiors in London, he described Indian-white relations in the southern colony and was especially critical of the Indian slave trade. What did he see as the principal harm inflicted on the Indians by whites? In what ways did the whites' treatment of the native peoples complicate his efforts to spread Christianity among them?

. . . I perceive dayly more and more that our manner of giving Liberty to some very idle and dissolute Men to go and Trade in the Indian Settlements 600 or 800 Miles from us where they commit many Enormities & Injustices is a great Obstruction to our best designs. I have tryed to get some free Indians to live with me and wou'd Cloath them but they will not consent to it, nor part with their Children tho' they lead miserable poor lives. It is reported by some of our Inhabitants lately gone on Indian Trading that they excite them to make War amongst themselves to get Slaves which they give for our European Goods. I fear it is but too true and that the Slaves we have for necessary Service, (for our white Servants in a Months time prove good for nothing at all) are the price of great many Sins. . . .

. . . I gave you an account in my last of the desolate Condition of Renoque. it was in Octobr. or the latter End of September that the Tuscararo's Indians living near Cape fair Cutt off 137 of our people, most of them Palatines and some Switzers. I am not able to declare whether they were sett on by some of the partys that have been long at variance in that place or whether they were provoked by some great Injustice & taking their Land by force, it is so reported among us. our forces are Actualy marched to Suppress those Murderers. . . . Generall Called Barnewell and 16 White men, whome 6 or 700 Indians have Joined and they are to meet the Virginians. Many wise men in this Province doubt of the Success. It is evident that our Traders have promoted Bloody Warrs this last Year to get slaves and one of them brought lately 100 of those poor Souls. It do's not belong to me to say

³Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706–1717* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), pp. 41–116. Some of the punctuation in this document has been edited to conform to modern usage.

any more upon those Melancholy Affaires I submit as to the Justice of those Proceedings to Your Wisdom. When I am asked how we are to deal with those unfortunate slaves, I content my selfe to Exhort that they be used with Xtian Charity and yt. we render their Condition as tollerable as we can. . . .

The Indian traders have always discouraged me by raising a world of Difficultyes when I proposed any thing to them relating to the Conversion of the Indians. It appears they do not care to have Clergymen so near them who doubtless would never approve those perpetual warrs they promote amongst the Indians for the onely reason of making slaves to pay for their trading goods; and what slaves! poor women and children, for the men taken prisoners are burnt most barbarously. I am Informd It was done So this Last year & the women and children were brought among us to be sold.

C. Religious Strife in Maryland

I. The Intolerant Act of Toleration (1649)

Lord Baltimore, who had founded Maryland as a refuge for Catholics in 1634, pursued a policy of religious toleration from the outset. But the influx of hostile Protestants, combined with the success of the Puritans under Oliver Cromwell in the English Civil War, prompted him to protect his Catholic coreligionists. He appointed a Protestant governor, and urged the Maryland Assembly to pass "An Act Concerning Religion," which he had drafted back home in England. Protestants joined with Catholics in passing it. What specific protection for Catholics is mentioned? What would have happened to all Jews and atheists if the law had been strictly enforced?

Forasmuch as, in a well-governed and Christian commonwealth, matters concerning religion and the honor of God ought in the first place to be taken into serious consideration and endeavored to be settled, be it therefore ordered and enacted by the Right Honorable Cecilius Lord Baron of Baltimore, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the advice and consent of this General Assembly:

That whatsoever person or persons within this Province . . . shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is, curse him; or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the son of God; or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or [shall deny] the Godhead of any of the said three Persons of the Trinity, or the unity of the Godhead; or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons thereof, shall be punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heirs.

And be it also enacted . . . that whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachful words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles or Evangelists, or any of them, shall in such case for the first offense forfeit . . . the sum of five pounds

¹W. H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883), vol. 1, pp. 244–246.

sterling. . . . But in case such offender or offenders shall not then have goods or chattels sufficient for the satisfying of such forfeiture . . . then such offender or offenders shall be publicly whipped and be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary. . . .

[Harsher penalties are here prescribed for second and third offenses.]

And be it also further enacted . . . that whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth . . . in a reproachful manner or way declare, call, or denominate any person or persons . . . an heretic, schismatic, idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to matter of religion, shall for every such offense forfeit and lose the sum of ten shillings . . . the one half thereof to be forfeited and paid unto the person and persons of whom such reproachful words are or shall be spoken or uttered. . . .

[Harsher penalties are here prescribed for those unable to pay the fine.]

Be it therefore also . . . enacted . . . that no person or persons whatsoever within this Province . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for . . . his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof . . . nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary, or [do not] molest or conspire against the civil government established, or to be established, in this Province, under him or his heirs.

And that all and every person and persons that shall presume contrary to this act . . . to wrong, disturb, trouble, or molest any person whatsoever . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or in respect of his or her religion or the free exercise thereof . . . shall be compelled to pay treble damages to the party so wronged or molested, and for every such offense shall also forfeit twenty shillings sterling in money or the value thereof, half thereof for the use of the Lord Proprietary and his heirs . . . and the other half for the use of the party so wronged or molested . . . or if the party so offending . . . shall refuse or be unable to recompense the party so wronged, or to satisfy such fine or forfeiture, then such offender shall be severely punished by public whipping and imprisonment during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary. . . .

2. *Persecutions of the Catholics (1656)*

Lord Baltimore's beautiful dream soon turned into a nightmare. In 1654, after five years of so-called toleration, the aggressive Protestant majority in Maryland passed a law that specifically "restrained" Roman Catholics from worshipping according to their faith. Civil war broke out, with the Puritans, aided by Virginians, vanquishing the Catholics in a pitched battle in which some fifty men were killed or wounded. The subsequent persecutions of the Jesuit fathers, resembling anti-Catholic cruelties

²Peter Force, *Tracts* . . . (Washington: Peter Force, 1846), vol. 4, no. 12, pp. 43–44.

already familiar in England, are graphically portrayed in the following report by a Jesuit priest in 1656. What manifestations of the religious intolerance of the age are mentioned? What appropriate conclusions can you draw?

In Maryland, during the year last past, our [Catholic] people have escaped grievous dangers, and have had to contend with great difficulties and straits, and have suffered many unpleasant things, as well from enemies as [from] our own people.

The English who inhabit Virginia had made an attack on the colonists, themselves Englishmen too; and safety being guaranteed on certain conditions, received indeed the governor of Maryland, with many others in surrender. But the conditions being treacherously violated, four of the captives, and three of them Catholics, were pierced with leaden balls. Rushing into our houses, they demanded for death the impostors, as they called them, intending inevitable slaughter to those who should be caught. But the Fathers, by the protection of God, unknown to them, were carried from before their faces [i.e., saved]; their books, furniture, and whatever was in the house, fell a prey to the robbers. With almost the entire loss of their property, private and domestic, together with great peril of life, they were secretly carried into Virginia; and in the greatest want of necessaries, scarcely, and with difficulty, do they sustain life. They live in a mean hut, low and depressed, not much unlike a cistern, or even a tomb, in which that great defender of the faith, St. Athanasius, lay concealed for many years.

To their other miseries this inconvenience was added, that whatever comfort or aid this year, under name of stipend, from pious men in England, was destined for them, had been lost, the ship being intercepted in which it was carried. But nothing affects them more than that there is not a supply of wine which is sufficient to perform the sacred mysteries of the altar.

They have no servant, either for domestic use, or for directing their way through unknown and suspected places, or even to row and steer the boat, if at any time there is need. Often, over spacious and vast rivers, one of them, alone and unaccompanied, passes and repasses long distances, with no other pilot directing his course than Divine Providence. By and by the enemy may be gone and they may return to Maryland; the things which they have already suffered from their people, and the disadvantages which still threaten, are not much more tolerable.

Thought Provokers

1. Why did the early Virginia colonists experience such punishing difficulties?
2. What were the relative advantages and disadvantages of Europeans, Africans, and Indians as these three peoples commingled and clashed in seventeenth-century English America?
3. In what ways did English experiences in the West Indies provide a model for the colonization of mainland North America?
4. In what respects would the Maryland Act of Toleration be regarded as intolerance today?