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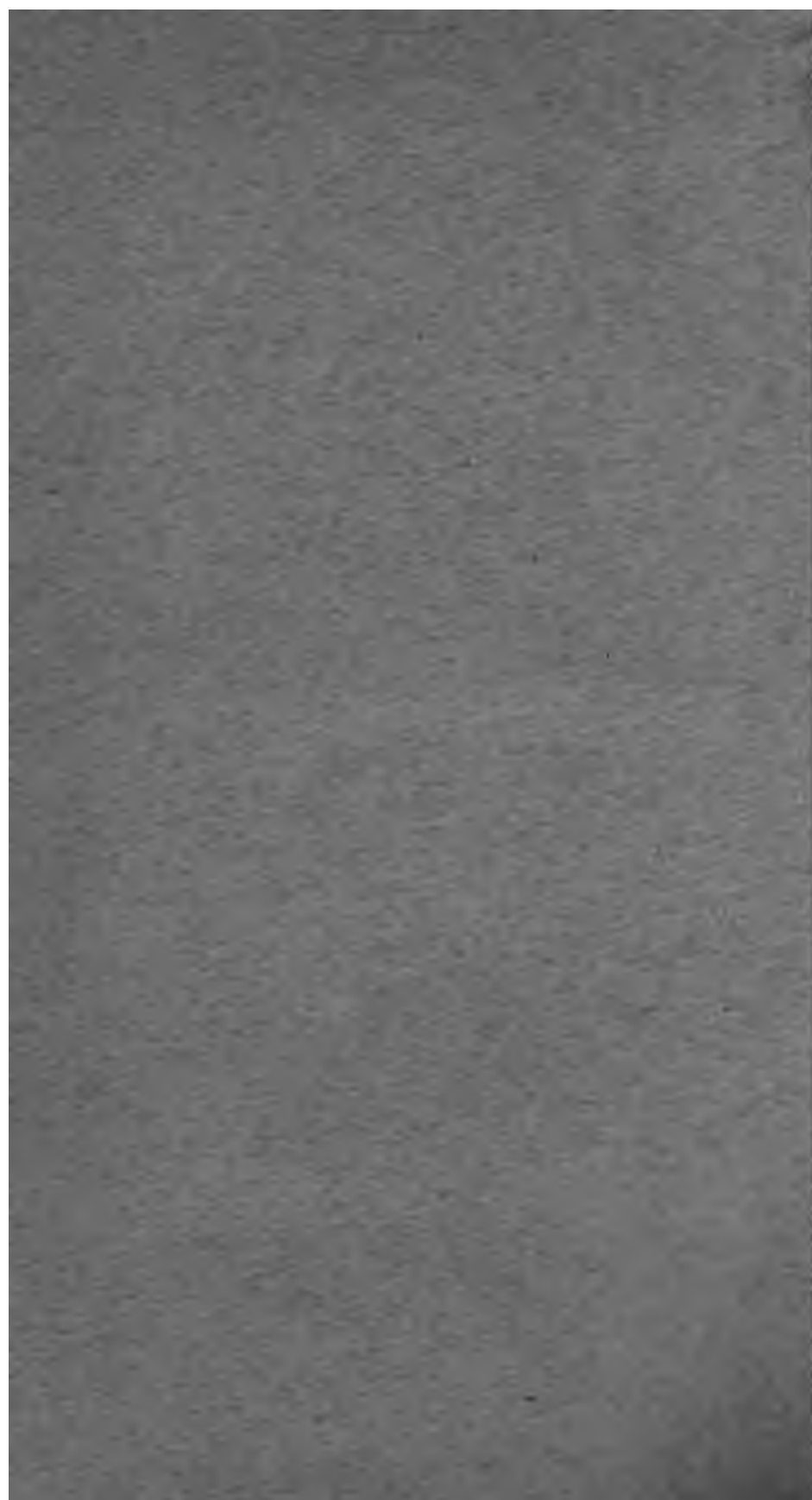
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AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY *112809 -*

NUMBER ONE

MAY 1898

A DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND; OR, THE OBSERVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH (ADMIRAL OF THAT COUNTRY) IN THE NORTH OF AMERICA, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1614; WITH THE SUCCESS OF SIX SHIPS, THAT WENT THE NEXT YEAR, 1615; AND THE ACCIDENTS THAT BEFELL HIM AMONG THE FRENCH MEN-OF-WAR; WITH THE PROOF OF THE PRESENT BENEFIT THIS COUNTRY AFFORDS; WHITHER THIS PRESENT YEAR, 1616, EIGHT VOLUNTARY SHIPS ARE GONE TO MAKE FURTHER TRIAL. AT LONDON: PRINTED BY HUMFREY LOWNES, FOR ROBERT CLERKE: AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT HIS HOUSE, CALLED THE LODGE, IN CHANCERY LANE, OVER AGAINST LINCOLN'S INN, 1616.

PRICE 25 CENTS

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Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for England and the Colonies. The number for June will contain "New England's Trials. Declaring the success of eighty ships employed thither within these eight years; and the benefit of that country by sea and land. With the present estate of that happy plantation, begun but by sixty weak men in the year 1620, and how to build a fleet of good ships to make a little navy royal. Written by Captain John Smith, sometimes governor of Virginia, and admiral of New England. The second edition, London: printed by William Jones, 1622."

Volume one is completed with the number for April, 1898, which contains a very complete index, thus making the twelve numbers readily available for reference purposes. The twelve numbers complete and uncut, in a binding of dark blue buckram, price four dollars. Covers for binding can be furnished separately, if desired.

AMONG the many interesting numbers for 1898-9, we are able to announce the following:

- Captain John Smith's New England's Trials; London, 1622.
- Morton's New English Canaan, 1632.
- Description of the Province of South Carolina, 1732.
- Description of Georgia; London, 1741.
- Several tracts on Virginia.

A DESCRIPTION
OF
NEW ENGLAND

OR, THE OBSERVATIONS AND
DISCOVERIES OF

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH,
(ADMIRAL OF THAT COUNTRY).

IN THE NORTH OF AMERICA, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1614,
WITH THE SUCCESS OF SIX SHIPS THAT WENT THE
NEXT YEAR, 1615, AND THE ACCIDENTS THAT
BEFELL HIM AMONG THE FRENCH
MEN-OF-WAR;

WITH THE PROOF OF THE PRESENT BENEFIT THIS COUNTRY
AFFORDS, WHITHER THIS PRESENT YEAR, 1616,
EIGHT VOLUNTARY SHIPS ARE GONE
TO MAKE FURTHER TRIAL.

At LONDON:

Printed by HUMFREY LOWNES for ROBERT CLERKE,
and are to be sold at his house, called the Lodge,
in Chancery lane, over against
Lincolnes Inn.

1616.

NO 13 MAY 1898
COLONIAL TRACTS
Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

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The Post Express Printing Company,
Rochester, N. Y.

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63 SPRING STREET
ROCHESTER NEW YORK
GEORGE P. HUMPHREY
MANAGER

April 21/02

Dear Sir,

To name numbers of Colonial Tracts
I have been issued since the one for
Oct. 1898 (Vol. 2, no. 6) and no
more will be issued. I had hoped
to go on with it but I am here
unable to do so.

Very truly,

G. P. Humphrey.



TO THE HIGH, HOPEFUL CHARLES, PRINCE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir:

SO favorable was your most renowned and memorable brother, Prince Henry, to all generous designs, that in my discovery of Virginia I presumed to call two nameless headlands, after my sovereign's heirs, Cape Henry and Cape Charles. Since then, it being my chance to range some other parts of America, whereof I here present your highness the description in a map, my humble sure is you would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posterity may say Prince Charles was their godfather. What here in this relation I promise my country, let me live or die the slave of scorn and infamy if, having means, I make it not apparent; please God to bless me but from such accidents as are beyond my power and reason to prevent. For my labors I desire but such conditions as were promised me out of the gains, and that your highness would deign to grace this work by your princely and favorable respect unto it, and know me to be

Your highness' true and faithful servant,

JOHN SMITH.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND WORTHY LORDS, KNIGHTS,
AND GENTLEMEN OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL FOR ALL
PLANTATIONS AND DISCOVERIES, ESPECIALLY OF NEW
ENGLAND.

SEEING the deeds of the most just and the writings of the most wise, not only of men but of God himself, have been diversely traduced by variable judgments of the times' opinionists, what shall such an ignorant as I expect? Yet, reposing myself on your favors, I present this rude discourse to the world's construction, though I am persuaded that few do think there may be had from New England staple commodities well worth three or four hundred thousand pounds a year, with so small charge and such facility as this discourse will acquaint you. But, lest your honors, that know me not, should think I go by hearsay or affections, I entreat your pardons to say thus much of myself: Near twice nine years I have been taught by lamentable experience, as well in Europe and Asia as Africa and America, such honest adventures as the chance of war doth cast upon poor soldiers. So that, if I be not able to judge of what I have seen, contrived, and done, it is not the fault either of my eyes or forequarters. And these nine years I have bent my endeavors to find a sure foundation to begin these ensuing projects, which, though I never so plainly and seriously propound, yet it resteth in God and you still to dispose of. Not doubting but your goodness will pardon my rudeness and ponder errors in the balance of good will; no more: but sacrificing all my best abilities to the good of my prince and country, and submitting myself to the exquisite judgment of your renowned virtue, I ever rest,

Your honors' in all honest service,

J. S.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL ADVENTURERS FOR THE COUNTRY
OF NEW ENGLAND IN THE CITIES OF LONDON, BRISTOW,
EXETER, PLYMOUTH, DARTMOUTH, BASTABLE, TOTNEYS,
ETC., AND IN ALL OTHER CITIES AND PORTS IN THE
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

IF the little ant and the silly bee seek by their diligence the good of their commonwealth, much more ought man. If they punish the drones and sting them steal their labor, then blame not man. Little honey hath that hive where there are more drones than bees, and miserable is that land where more are idle than well employed. If the endeavors of those vermin be acceptable, I hope mine may be excusable, though I confess it were more proper for me to be doing what I say than writing what I know. Had I returned rich I could not have erred; now, having only such fish as came to my net, I must be taxed. But I would my taxers were as ready to adventure their purses, as I purse, life, and all I have, or as diligent to furnish the charge as I know they are vigilant to crop the fruits of my labors. Then would I not doubt, did God please I might safely arrive in New England and safely return, but to perform somewhat more than I have promised, and approve my words by deeds according to proportion.

I am not the first hath been betrayed by pirates, and four men-of-war, provided as they were, had been sufficient to have taken Sampson, Hercules, and Alexander the Great, no other way furnished than I was. I know not what assurance any have do pass the seas not to be subject to casualty as well as myself, but lest this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill-will by rumor the behoveful work I pretend, I have writ this little, which I did think to have concealed from any public use till I had made my returns speak as much as my pen now doth.

But because I speak so much of fishing, if any take me for such a devout fisher, as I dream of naught else, they mistake

me. I know a ring of gold from a grain of barley as well as a goldsmith, and nothing is there to be had which fishing doth hinder but further us to obtain. Now, for that I have made known unto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your patent and commission, having also received means, power, and authority by your directions to plant there a colony and make further search and discovery in those parts, there yet unknown, considering, withal, first those of his majesty's council, then those cities above named and divers others that have been moved to lend their assistance to so great a work, do expect (especially the adventurers) the true relation or event of my proceedings which I hear are so abused. I am enforced for all these respects rather to expose my imbecility to contempt by the testimony of these rude lines, than all should condemn me for so bad a factor as could neither give reason nor account of my actions and designs.

Yours to command,

JOHN SMITH.

IN THE DESERVED HONOR OF THE AUTHOR, CAPTAIN SMITH,
AND HIS WORK.

Damn'd Envy is a sprite that ever haunts
Beasts, misnamed men, cowards, or ignorants.
But, only such she follows whose dear worth
Mauger her malice, sets their glory forth.
If this fair overture, then, take not, it
Is Envy's spite, dear friend, in men of wit,
Or fear lest morsels, which our mouths possess,
Might fall from thence; or else, 'tis Scottishness.
If either (I hope neither) thee they raise,
Thy* letters are as letters in thy praise,
Who, by their vice, improve (when they reprove)
Thy virtue, so, in hate, procure thee love.
Then, on firm worth, this monument I frame,
Scorning for any Smith to forge such fame.

JO. DAVIES, Heref.

*Hinderers.

TO HIS WORTHY CAPTAIN, THE AUTHOR.

That which we call the subject of all story
Is Truth, which in this work of thine gives glory
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorn the spite
Of Envy, which doth no man's merits right.
My sword may help the rest, my pen no more
Can do but this; I've said enough before.

Your sometime soldier,

J. CODRINTON,
Now Templar.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND AND COUSIN, CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

It overjoys my heart, when as thy words
Of these designs, with deeds I do compare.
Here is a book, such worthy truth affords,
None should the due desert thereof impair ;
Sith thou, the man, deserving of these ages,
Much pain hast ta'en for this our kingdom's good,
In climes unknown, 'mongst Turks and savages,
To enlarge our bounds, though with thy loss of blood.
Hence, damn'd Detraction, stand not in our way,
Envy itself will not the truth gainsay.

N. SMITH.

TO THAT WORTHY AND GENEROUS GENTLEMAN, MY VERY
GOOD FRIEND, CAPTAIN SMITH.

May Fate thy prospect prosper, that thy name
May be eternized with living fame ;
Though foul detraction honor would pervert,
And Envy ever waits upon desert ;
In spite of Pelias, when his hate lies cold,
Return as Jason with a fleece of gold.
Then after ages shall record thy praise,
That a New England to this isle didst raise ;
And when thou diest (as all that live must die),
Thy fame live here ; thou, with eternity.

R. GUNNELL.

TO HIS FRIEND, CAPT. SMITH, UPON HIS DESCRIPTION OF
NEW ENGLAND.

Sir, your relations I have read, which show
There 's reason I should honor them and you ;
And if their meaning I have understood,
I dare to censure thus : your project's good,
And may, if followed, doubtless quit the pain
With honor, pleasure, and a triple gain,
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happy our posterities.
For would we deign to spare, though 't were no more
Than what o'erfills and surfeits us in store,
To order Nature's fruitfulness a while
In that rude garden, you New England style ;
With present good there 's hope in after days,
Thence to repair what time and pride decays
In this rich kingdom. And the spacious West
Being still more with English blood possessed,
The proud Iberians shall not rule those seas,
To check our ships from sailing where they please ;
Nor future times make any foreign power
Become so great to force a bound to our.
Much good my mind foretells would follow hence
With little labor and with less expense.
Thrive, therefore, thy design, whoe'er envy,
England may joy in England's colony,
Virginia seek her virgin sister's good,
Be blessed in such happy neighborhood ;
Or, whatsoe'r Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honored for first moving it.

GEORGE WITHER,
è societate Lincolns.

IN THE DESERVED HONOR OF MY HONEST AND WORTHY
CAPTAIN, JOHN SMITH, AND HIS WORK.

Captain and friend, when I peruse thy book,
With judgment's eyes, into thy heart I look,
And there I find, what sometimes Albion knew,
A soldier, to his country's honor true.
Some fight for wealth, and some for empty praise,
But thou alone thy country's fame to raise.
With due discretion and undaunted heart,
I oft so well have seen thee act thy part,
In deepest plunge of hard extremity,
As forced the troops of proudest foes to fly.
Though men of greater rank and less desert
Would pish away thy praise, it cannot start
From the true owner, for all good men's tongues
Shall keep the same ; to them that part belongs.
If, then, wit, courage, and success should get
Thee fame, the muse for that is in thy debt,
A part whereof, least able though I be,
Thus here I do disburse to honor thee.

RAWLY CROSHAW.

MICHAEL PHETTIPLACE, WILLIAM PHETTIPLACE, AND RICHARD
 WIFFING, GENTLEMEN, AND SOLDIERS UNDER CAPTAIN
 SMITH'S COMMAND, IN HIS DESERVED HONOR FOR HIS
 WORK AND WORTH.

Why may not we in this work have our mite,
 That had our share in each black day and night,
 When thou Virginia's soil yet kept'st unstained,
 And held'st the king of Paspehch enchain'd ;
 Thou all alone in savage stern didst take.
 Pamunkes' king we saw thee captive make
 Among seven hundred of his stoutest men,
 To murder thee and us resolv'd ; when
 Fast by the hand thou ledst this savage grim,
 Thy pistol at his breast to govern him ;
 Which did infuse such awe in all the rest,
 Sith their dread sovereign thou hadst so distressed,
 That thou and we, poor sixteen, safe retir'd
 Unto our helpless ships. Thou, thus admir'd,
 Didst make proud Powhatan his subjects send
 To James, his town, thy censure to attend ;
 And all Virginia's lords and petty kings,
 Awed by thy virtue, crouch, and presents bring
 To gain thy grace, so dreaded thou hast been ;
 And yet a heart more mild is seldom seen,
 So, making valor virtue, really,
 Who hast naught in thee counterfeit or sly,
 If, in the sleight, be not the truest art
 That makes men famous'd for fair desert.
 Who saith of thee this savors of vainglory,
 Mistake both thee and us and this true story.
 If it be ill in thee so well to do,
 Then is it ill in us to praise thee too ?
 But if the first be well done, it is well
 To say it doth, if so it doth, excel.
 Praise is the guerdon of each dear desert,
 Making the praised act the praised part
 With more alacrity. Honor's square is praise,
 Without which it, regardless, soon decays ;
 And for this pains of thine we praise thee rather
 That future times may know who was the father
 Of this rare work, New England, which may bring
 Praise to thy God and profit to thy king.

BECAUSE the book was printed ere the prince, his highness, had altered the names, I entreat the reader peruse this schedule, which will plainly show him the correspondence of the old names to the new.

THE OLD NAMES.	THE NEW.
Cape Cod,	Cape James.
	Milford Haven.
Chawum,	Barwick.
Accomac,	Plimouth.
Sagoquas,	Oxford.
Massachusetts Mount,	Cheuit Hill.
Massachusetts River,	Charles River.
Totant,	Fawmouth.
A country not discovered,	Bristow.
Naemkeck,	Bastable.
Cape Trabigzanda,	Cape Anne.
Aggawom,	Southampton.
Smith's Isles,	Smith's Isles.
Passataquack,	Hull.
Accominticus,	Boston.
Sassanowes Mount,	Snodon Hill.
Sowocatuck,	Ipswitch.
Bahana,	Dartmouth.
	Sandwich.
Aucociscos Mount,	Shooters Hill.
Aucocisco,	The Base.
Aumoughcawgen,	Cambridge.
Kinebeck,	Edenborough.
Sagadahock,	Leeth.
Pemmaquid.	S. Johnstowne.
Monahigan,	Barties Isles.
Segocket,	Norwich.
Matinnack,	Willowby's Isles.
Metinnicus,	Hoghton's Isles.
Mecadacut,	Dunbarton.
Penobscot,	Abordeen.
Nusket,	Lowmonds.

VOL II COLONIAL TRACTS NO I

A DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND,
BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

IN the month of April, 1614, with two ships from London of a few merchants, I chanced to arrive in New England, a part of America, at the Isle of Monahiggan, in $43\frac{1}{2}$ of northerly latitude; our plot was there to take whales and make trials of a mine of gold and copper.

*My first
voyage to
New England.*

If those failed, fish and furs were then our refuge, to make ourselves savers howsoever. We found this whale-fishing a costly conclusion; we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any, they being a kind of jubartes, and not the whale that yields fins and oil, as we expected. For our gold, it was rather the master's device to get a voyage that projected it, than any knowledge he had at all of any such matter. Fish and furs were now our guard, and by our late arrival and long lingering about the whale, the prime of both those seasons was passed ere we perceived it, we thinking that their seasons served at all times; but we found it otherwise, for by the midst of June the fishing failed. Yet in July and August some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about forty thousand, of cor-fish about seven thousand.

Whilst the sailors fished, myself, with eight or nine others of them might best be spared, ranging the coast in a small boat, we got, for trifles, near eleven hundred bear skins, one hundred martins', and near as many otters', and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the coast both east and west much farther, but eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so near the French, who afford them better; and right against us in the main was a ship of Sir Frances Poppames, that had there such acquaintance, having many years used only that port, that the most

part there was had by him; and forty leagues westward were two French ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade during the time we tried those conclusions, not knowing the coast nor savages' habitations.

With these furs, the train and cor-fish, I returned for England in the bark, where, within six months after our departure from the Downes, we safe arrived back. The best of this fish was sold for five pound the hundred, the rest by ill-usage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings. The other ship stayed to fit herself for Spain with the dry fish, which was sold, by the sailors' report who returned, at forty ryalls the quintal, each hundred weighing two quintals and a half.

New England is that part of America in the ocean sea opposite to Nova Albion in the South sea, discovered by the

most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the world, in regard whereto this is styled
The situation of New England.

New England, being in the same latitude. New France, off it, is northward; southward is Virginia and all the adjoining continent, with New Granada, New Spain, New Andolosia, and the West Indies. Now, because I have been so oft asked such strange questions of the goodness and greatness of those spacious tracts of land, how they can be thus long unknown, or not possessed by the Spaniard, and many such like demands, I entreat your pardons if I chance to be too plain or tedious in relating my knowledge for plain men's satisfaction.

Florida is the next adjoining to the Indies, which unprosperously was attempted to be planted by the French—a country far bigger than England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, yet little known to any Christian, but by
Notes of Florida. the wonderful endeavors of Ferdinando de Soto, a valiant Spaniard, whose writings in this age are the best guide known to search those parts.

Virginia is no isle, as many do imagine, but part of the continent adjoining to Florida, whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offense to any
Notes of Virginia. Christian inhabitant. For, from the degrees of 30 to 45, his majesty hath granted his letters patent, the coast extending southwest and northeast about fifteen hundred miles, but to follow it aboard the shore may well be two thousand at the least, of which twenty miles is the most

gives entrance into the Bay of Chesapeake, where is the London plantation, within which is a country (as you may perceive by the description in a book and map printed in my name of that little I there discovered), may well suffice three hundred thousand people to inhabit. And southward adjoineth that part discovered at the charge of Sir Walter Rawleigh, by Sir Ralph Lane and that learned mathematician, Mr. Thomas Heryot. Northward six or seven degrees is the river Sagadahock, where was planted the western colony by that honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England. There is also a relation printed by Captain Bartholomew Gosnould of Elizabeth's Isles, and another by Captain Waymoth of Pemmaquid. From all these diligent observers posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labors. But for divers others that long before and since have ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place, some in another, I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or never well observed, or died with the authors, so that the coast is yet still but even as a coast unknown and undiscovered. I have had six or seven several plots of those northern parts, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion or resemblance of the country, as they did me no more good than so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best, but, lest others may be deceived as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselves as I did, I have drawn a map from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor, with the soundings, sands, rocks, and landmarks as I passed close aboard the shore in a little boat; although there be many things to be observed which the haste of other affairs did cause me omit, for, being sent more to get present commodities than knowledge by discoveries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would; yet it will serve to direct any shall go that way to safe harbors and the savages' habitations, what merchandise and commodities for their labor they may find, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Thus, you may see, of this two thousand miles more than half is yet unknown to any purpose, no, not so much as the

borders of the sea are yet certainly discovered. As for the goodness and true substances of the land, we are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, unless it be those parts about the Bay of Chesapeake and Sagadahock, but only here and there we touched or have seen a little the edges of those large dominions which do stretch themselves into the main, God doth know how many thousand miles, whereof we can yet no more judge than a stranger that saileth betwixt England and France can describe the harbors and dangers by landing here or there in some river or bay, tell thereby the goodness and substances of Spain, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Hungaria, and the rest. By this you may perceive how much they err that think every one which hath been at Virginia understandeth or knows what Virginia is, or that the Spaniards know one-half quarter of those territories they possess. No, not so much as the true circumference of Terra Incognita, whose large dominions may equalize the greatness and goodness of America for anything yet known.

It is strange with what small power he hath reigned in the East Indies, and few will understand the truth of his strength in America, where, he having so much to keep with such a pampered force, they need not greatly fear his fury in the Bermudas, Virginia, New France, or New England, beyond whose bounds America doth stretch many thousand miles, into the frozen parts whereof one Master Hudson, an English mariner, did make the greatest discovery of any Christian I know of, where he unfortunately died. For Africa, had not the industrious Portuguese ranged her unknown parts, who would have sought for wealth among those fryed regions of black brutish negroes, where, notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable adventures and endeavors more than 140 years, they know not one-third of those black habitations. But it is not a work for every one to manage such an affair as makes a discovery and plants a colony; it requires all the best parts of art, judgment, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry to do but near well. Some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein are to be employed; and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misemploying men in their undertakings. Columbus, Cortez, Pizarra, Soto, Magellanes, and the rest served more than a

prenticeship to learn how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which, to the wonder of all ages, successfully they effected, when many hundreds of others far above them in the world's opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtless in other matters were wise, discreet, generous, and courageous. I say not this to detract anything from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionless questions that keep us back from imitating the worthiness of their brave spirits that advanced themselves from poor soldiers to great captains, their posterity to great lords, their king to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labors, his greatest glory, power, and renown.

That part we call New England is betwixt the degrees of 41 and 45, but that part this discourse speaketh of stretcheth from Penobscot to Cape Cod, some seventy-five leagues by a right line distant each from other, within which bounds I have seen at least forty several habitations upon the sea coast, and sounded about twenty-five excellent good harbors, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred sail, of ships of any burthen, in some of them for five thousand; and more than two hundred isles overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of wood, which do make so many harbors as requireth a longer time than I had to be well discovered.

The principal habitation northward we were at was Penobscot, southward along the coast and up the rivers we found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nusconcus, Kenebeck, Sagadahock, and Aumoughcawgen; and to those countries belong the people of Segotago, Paghhuntanuck, Pocopassum, Taughtanakagnet, Warbigganus, Nassaque, Masherosqueck, Wawrigweck, Moshouen, Wakcogo, Pasharanack, etc. To these are allied the countries of Auco-cisco, Accominticus, Passataquack, Aggawom, and Naemkeck. All these I could perceive differ little in language, fashion, or government, though most be lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Penobscot the chief and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remember by name are Mattahunts, two pleasant isles of groves, gardens, and corn fields, a league in

The description of New England.

The particular countries or governments.

the sea from the main; then Totant, Massachuset, Pocapawmet, Quonahassit, Sagoquas, Nahapassumkeck, Topeent, Seccasaw, Totheet, Nasnocomacak, Accomack, Chawum; then Cape Cod, by which is Pawmet and the Isle Nawset of the language, and alliance of them of Chawum; the others are called Massachusetts, of another language, humor, and condition. For their trade and merchandise, to each of their habitations they have divers towns and people belonging, and, by their relations and descriptions, more than twenty several habitations and rivers that stretch themselves far up into the country, even to the borders of divers great lakes, where they kill and take most of their bears and otters. From Penobscot to Sagadahock this coast is all mountainous and isles of huge rocks, but overgrown with all sorts of excellent good woods for building houses, boats, barks, or ships, with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowl, and sundry sorts of good fruits for man's use.

Betwixt Sagadahock and Sowocatuck there are but two or three sandy bays, but betwixt that and Cape Cod very many; especially the coast of the Massachuset is so indifferently mixed with high clayey or sandy cliffs in one place, and then tracts of large, long ledges of divers sorts, and quarries of stone in other places so strangely divided with tintured veins of divers colors, as freestone for building, slate for tiling, smooth stone to make furnaces and forges for glass or iron, and iron ore sufficient conveniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the coast of Devenshire, I think most of the cliffs would make such limestone. If they be not of these qualities, they are so like they may deceive a better judgment than mine, all which are so near adjoining to those other advantages I observed in these parts, that if the ore prove as good iron and steel in those parts as I know it is within the bounds of the country, I dare engage my head (having but men skillful to work the simples there growing) to have all things belonging to the building the rigging of ships of any proportion, and good merchandise for the fraught, within a square of ten or fourteen leagues, and were it for a good reward, I would not fear to procure it in a less limitation.

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffs and cliffs of rocks,

The mixture of an excellent soil.

both which we saw so planted with gardens and cornfields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well proportioned people, besides the greatness of the timber growing on them, the greatness of the fish and moderate temper of the air (for of twenty-five not any were sick, but two that were many years diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidental diet), who can but approve this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the four parts of the world that I have yet seen not inhabited, could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than anywhere, and if it did not maintain itself, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve.

A proof of an excellent temper.

A proof of health.

The main staple, from hence to be extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish, which, however it may seem a mean and a base commodity, yet who will but truly take the pains and consider the sequel I think will allow it well worth the labor. It is strange to see what great adventures the hopes of setting forth men-of-war to rob the industrious innocent would procure, or such massy promises in gross, though more are choked than well fed with such hasty hopes. But who doth not know that the poor Hollanders, chiefly by fishing at a great charge and labor in all weathers in the open sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious? And by the vending this poor commodity to the Easterlings for as mean, which is wood, flax, pitch, tar, rosin, cordage, and such like, which they exchange again to the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, etc., for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich as no state but Venice, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many fair cities, goodly towns, strong fortresses, and that abundance of shipping and all sorts of merchandise, as well as gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, precious stones, silks, velvets, and cloth of gold, as fish, pitch, wood, or such gross commodities. What voyages and discoveries, east and west, north and south, yea, about the world, make they? What an army by sea and land have they long maintained in spite of one of the greatest princes of the world? And never could the Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and silver, pay his debts, his friends, and army half as truly as the

Staple commodities present.

The Hollanders' fishing.

Hollanders still have done by this contemptible trade of fish. Divers, I know, may allege many other assistances, but this is their mine, and the sea the source of those silvered streams of all their virtue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the pattern of perfection for these affairs, and the benefit of fishing is that primum mobile that turns all their spheres to this height of plenty, strength, honor, and admiration.

Herring, cod, and ling is that triplicity that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would think it) they yearly draw at least one million and a half of pounds sterling; yet it is most certain, if records be true, and in this faculty they are so naturalized, and of their vents so certainly acquainted, as there is no liklihood they will ever be paralleled, having two or three thousand bufts, flat bottoms, sword pinks, todes, and such like, that breeds them sailors, mariners, soldiers, and merchants, never to be wrought out of that trade and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gain as well as they, that will use it, though not so certainly, nor so much in quantity, for want of experience. And this herring they take upon the coast of Scotland and England, their cod and ling upon the coast of Iceland and in the North seas.

Which is
fifteen
hundred
thousand
pounds.

Hamborough and the east countries, for sturgeon and caviare, gets many thousands of pounds from England and the straits; Portuguese, the Biskaines, and the Spaniards make forty or fifty sail yearly to Cape Blank to hook for porgos, mullet, and make puttardo, and Newfoundland doth yearly fraught near eight hundred sail of ships with a silly, lean, skinny poor-john and cor-fish, which at least yearly amounts to three or four hundred thousand pounds. If from all those parts such pains are taken for this poor gains of fish, and by them hath neither meat, drink, nor clothes; wood, iron, nor steel; pitch, tar, nets, leads, salt, hooks, nor lines for shipping, fishing, nor provision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fifth hand drawn from so many several parts of the world ere they come together to be used in this voyage. If these, I say, can gain, and the sailors live going for shares less than the third part of their labors, and yet spend as much time in going and coming as in

staying there, so short is the season of fishing, why should we more doubt than Hollander, Portuguese, Spaniard, French, or other, but to do much better than they, where there is victual to feed us, wood of all sorts to build boats, ships, or barks, the fish at our doors, pitch, tar, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries only for making? And here are no hard landlords to rack us with high rents, or extorted fines to consume us, no tedious pleas at law to consume us with their many years' disputations for justice, no multitudes to occasion such expeditments to good order as in popular states. So freely hath God and his majesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtain them, as here every man may be master and own labor and land, or the greatest part in a small time. If he have nothing but his hands he may set up this trade, and by industry quickly grow rich, spending but half that time well which in England we abuse in idleness, worse or as ill.

Here is ground also as good as any lieth in the height of forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, etc., which is as temperate and as fruitful as any other parallel in the world.

As for example, on this side the line west of it in the South sea is Nova Albion, discovered, as is said, by Sir Francis Drake. East from it is the most temperate part of Portugal, the ancient kingdoms of Galazia, Biskey, Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Castilia the old and the most moderate of Castilia the new, and Valentia, which is the greatest part of Spain, which, if the Spanish histories be true, in the Romans' time abounded no less with gold and silver mines than now the West Indies; the Romans then using the Spaniards to work in those mines, as now the Spaniard doth the Indians.

Examples of
the altitude
comparatively.

In France the provinces of Gasconie, Langadock, Avignon, Province, Dolphine, Pyamont, and Turyne are in the same parallel, which are the best and richest parts of France. In Italy the provinces of Genoa, Lombardy, and Verona, with a great part of the most famous state of Venice, the dukedoms of Bononia, Mantua, Ferrara, Ravenna, Bolognia, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Urbine, Ancona, and the ancient city and country of Rome, with a great part of the great kingdom of Naples. In Slavonia, Istrya, and Dalmatia, with the kingdoms of Albania. In Grecia, that famous kingdom of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Thesalia, Thracia or Roumania, where is seated the most pleasant

and plentiful city in Europe, Constantinople. In Asia also, in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of Natolia, Armenia, Persia, and China, besides divers other large countries and kingdoms in these most mild and temperate regions of Asia. Southward in the same height is the richest of gold mines, Chily and Baldivia, and the mouth of the great river of Platte, etc., for all the rest of the world in that height is yet unknown.

Besides these regions mine own eyes, that have seen a great part of those cities and their kingdoms as well as it, can find no advantage they have in nature but this, they are beautified by the long labor and diligence of industrious people and art. This is only as God made it when he created the world. Therefore I conclude, if the heart and entrails of those regions were sought, if their land were cultivated, planted, and manured by men of industry, judgment, and experience, what hope is there, or what need they doubt, having those advantages of the sea, but it might equalize any of those famous kingdoms, in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions; seeing even the very edges do naturally afford us such plenty, as no ship need return away empty, and only use but the season of the sea, fish will return an honest gain, besides all other advantages, her treasures having yet never been opened, nor her originals wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And, whereas, it is said the Hollanders serve the Easterlings themselves, and other parts that want, with herring, ling, and wet cod; the Easterlings, a great part of Europe, with sturgeon and caviare; Cape Blank, Spain, Portugal, and the Levant with mullet and puttargo; Newfoundland, all Europe, with a thin poor-john—yet all is so overlade with fishers, as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to return with a small fraught—Norway and Polonia, pitch, tar, masts, and yards; Sweatlant and Russia, iron and ropes; France and Spain, canvas, wine, steel, iron, and oil; Italy and Greece, silks and fruits. I dare boldly say, because I have seen naturally growing or breeding in those parts the same materials that all those are made of, they may as well be had here, or the most part of them, within the distance of seventy leagues for some few ages, as from all

The particular staple commodities that may be had.

And

those parts, using but the same means to have them that they do, and with all those advantages.

First, the ground is so fertile that questionless it is capable of producing any grain, fruits, or seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the regions aforementioned; but it may be not every kind to that perfection of delicacy, or some tender plants may miscarry, because the summer is not so hot and the winter is more cold in those parts we have yet tried near the seaside than we find in the same height in Europe or Asia, yet I made a garden upon the top of a rocky isle in $43\frac{1}{2}$, four leagues from the main, in May that grew so well as it served us for salads in June and July. All sorts of cattle may here be bred and fed in the isles or peninsulas securely for nothing. In the interim till they increase, if need be (observing the seasons), I durst undertake to have corn enough from the savages for three hundred men for a few trifles, and if they should be untoward, as it is most certain they are, thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subjection and make this provision, if they understand what they do; two hundred whereof may, nine months in the year, be employed in making merchantable fish till the rest provide other necessaries, fit to furnish us with other commodities.

In March, April, May, and half June here is cod in abundance; in May, June, July, and August, mullet and sturgeon, whose roes do make caviare and puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I have taken many out of the bellies of cods, some in nets, but the savages compare their store in the sea to the hairs of their heads, and surely there are an incredible abundance on this coast. In the end of August, September, October, and November you have cod again to make cor-fish or poor-john, and each hundred is as good as two or three hundred in the Newfoundland, so that half the labor in hooking, splitting, and turning is saved, and you may have your fish at what market you will before they can have any in Newfoundland, where their fishing is chiefly but in June and July, whereas it is here in March, April, May, September, October, and November, as is said; so that by reason of this plantation the merchants may have fraught both out and home, which yields an abundance worth consideration.

The nature
of ground
approved.

The seasons
for fishing
approved.

Your cor-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause to serve the ports in Portugal, as Lisbon, Auera, Porta-port, and divers others, or what market you please, before your islanders return; they being tied to the season in the open sea, you having a double season, and fishing before your doors may every night sleep quietly ashore with good cheer and what fires you will, or when you please with your wives and family, they only their ships in the main ocean.

The mullets here are in that abundance you may take them with nets sometimes by hundreds, where at Cape Blank they hook them; yet those but one foot and a half in length, these two, three, or four, as oft I have measured. Much salmon some have found up the rivers as they have passed, and here the air is so temperate as all these at any time may well be preserved.

Now, young boy and girl savages, or any others, be they never such idlers, may turn, carry, and return fish without either shame or any great pain; he is very idle that is past twelve years of age and cannot do so much, and she is very old that cannot spin a thread to make engines to catch them.

For their transportation the ships that go there to fish may transport the first, who, for their passage, will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must do in the Newfoundland to get their freight; but one-third part of that company are only but proper to serve a stage, carry a barrow, and turn poor-john, notwithstanding they must have meat, drink, clothes, and passage, as well as rest. Now all I desire is but this, that those that voluntarily will send shipping should make here the best choice they can, or accept such as are presented them, to serve them at that rate, and their ships returning leave such with me, with the value of that they should receive coming home, in such provisions and necessary tools, arms, bedding, and apparel, salt, hooks, nets, lines, and such like as they spare of the remainings; who, till the next return, may keep their boats and do them many other profitable offices, provided I have men of ability to teach them their functions, and a company fit for soldiers to be ready upon an occasion; because of the abuses which have been offered the poor savages, and the liberty both

**Employment
for poor people
and fatherless
children.**

**The facility of
the plantation.**

French or any that will hath to deal with them as they please, whose disorders will be hard to reform, and the longer the worse. Now such order with facility might be taken with every port town or city to observe but this order, with free power to convert the benefits of their fraughts to what advantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion; whoever as they are able to subsist of themselves may begin the new towns in New England in memory of their old, which freedom being confined but to the necessity of the general good, the event (with God's help) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Salt upon salt may assuredly be made, if not at the first in ponds, yet till they be provided this may be used; then the ships may transport kine, horses, goats, coarse cloth, and such commodities as we want, by whose ^{Present} arrival may be made that provision of fish to fraught _{commodities.} the ships that they stay not, and then if the sailors go for wages, it matters not. It is hard if this return defray not the charge, but care must be had they arrive in the spring or else provision be made for them against the winter.

Of certain red berries called alkermes, which is worth ten shillings a pound, but of these had been sold for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yearly be gathered a good quantity.

Of the muskrat may be well raised gains well worth their labor, that will endeavor to make trial of their goodness.

Of beavers, otters, martins, black foxes, and furs of price may yearly be had six or seven thousand, and if the trade of the French were prevented, many more; twenty-five thousand this year were brought from those northern parts into France, of which trade we may have as good part as the French if we take good courses.

Of mines of gold and silver, copper, and probabilities of lead, crystal, and alum, I could say much if relations were good assurances. It is true, indeed, I made many trials according to those instructions I had, which do persuade me I need not despair but there are metals in the country; but I am no alchemist, nor will promise more than I know, which is, who will undertake the rectifying of an iron forge, if those that buy meat, drink, coal, ore, and all necessaries at a dear rate

gain, where all these things are to be had for the taking up, in my opinion cannot lose.

Of woods, seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boats buy wood at so great a price as it is in England, Spain, France, Italy, and Holland, and all other provisions for the nourishing of man's life, live well by their trade, when labor is all required to take those necessaries without any other tax, what hazard will be here but do much better? And what commodity in Europe doth more decay than wood? For the goodness of the ground let us take it fertile or barren, or as it is, seeing it is certain it bears fruits to nourish and feed man and beast as well as England, and the sea those several sorts of fish I have related. Thus, seeing all good provisions for man's sustenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labor, till that transported be increased, and all necessaries for shipping, only for labor; to which may be added the assistance of the savages, which may easily be had if they be discreetly handled in their kinds toward fishing, planting, and destroying woods. What gains might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your storehouses, dwelling there you may serve all Europe better and far cheaper than can the Iceland fishers, or the Hollanders, Cape Blank or Newfoundland, who must be at as much more charge than you) may easily be conjectured by his example.

Two thousand pounds will fit out a ship of two hundred and one of a hundred tons. If the dry fish they both make
An example of the gains upon every year or six months' return.
 freight that of two hundred and go for Spain, sell it but at ten shillings a quintal, but commonly it giveth fifteen or twenty, especially when it cometh first, which amounts to three or four thousand pounds; but say but ten, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate to two thousand pounds, which is the whole charge of your two ships and their equipage. Then the return of the money and the freight of the ship for the vintage or any other voyage is clear gain, with your ship of a hundred tons of train and oil, besides the beavers and other commodities, and that you may have at home within six months if God please but to send an ordinary passage. Then saving half this charge by the not staying of your ships, your

victual, overplus of men, and wages, with her fraught thither of things necessary for the planters; the salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time. If nothing were to be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders' gains, if not exceed them; they returning but wood, pitch, tar, and such gross commodities; you, wines, oils, fruits, silks, and such Strait's commodities as you please to provide by your factors against such times as your ships arrive with them. This would so increase our shipping and sailors, and so employ and encourage a great part of our idlers and others that want employments fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to do that they would do abroad, that, could they but once taste the sweet fruits of their own labors, doubtless many thousands would be advised by good discipline to take more pleasure in honest industry than in their humors of dissolute idleness.

But to return a little more to the particulars of this country, which I intermingle thus with my projects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts to write fully the estate of the sea, the air, the land, the fruits, the rocks, the people, the government, religion, territories, and limitations, friends and foes, but as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language to my understanding, during the time I ranged those countries, etc. The most northern part I was at was the Bay of Penobscot, which is, east and west, north and south, more than ten leagues, but such were my occasions I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the bay, that the river ran far up into the land and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing among the isles or hunting the lakes and woods for deer and beavers. The bay is full of great islands of one, two, six, eight or ten miles in length, which divide it into many fair and excellent good harbors. On the east of it are the Tarrantines, their mortal enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report that live with those people, as one nation or family. And northwest of Penobscot is Mecaddacut at the foot of a high mountain, a kind of fortress against the Tarrantines adjoining to the high mountains of Penobscot, against whose feet doth beat the sea; but over all the land, isles, or other

A description
of the
countries in
particular,
and their
situation.

impediments you may well see them sixteen or eighteen leagues from their situation. Segocket is the next, then Nusconcus, Pemmaquid, and Sagadahock. Up this river, where was the western plantation, are Aumuckcawgen, Kinnebeck, and divers others, where there are planted some cornfields. Along this river forty or fifty miles I saw nothing but great high cliffs of barren rocks, overgrown with wood, but where the savages dwelt there the ground is exceeding fat and fertile. Westward of this river is the country of Aucocisco, in the bottom of a large deep bay full of many great isles, which divide it into many good harbors. Sowocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large sandy bay, which hath many rocks and isles, but few good harbors but for barks, I yet know.

But all this coast to Penobscot, and as far as I could see eastward of it, is nothing but such high, craggy, cliffy rocks and stony isles that I wondered such great trees could grow upon so hard foundations. It is a country rather to affright than delight one, and how to describe a more plain spectacle of desolation or more barren I know not. Yet the sea there is the strangest fishpond I ever saw, and those barren isles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish, and fowl that it makes me think, though the coast be rocky and thus affrightable, the valleys, plains, and interior parts may well, notwithstanding, be very fertile. But there is no kingdom so fertile hath not some part barren, and New England is great enough to make many kingdoms and countries were it all inhabited.

As you pass the coast still westward, Accominticus and Passataquack are two convenient harbors for small barks, and a good country within their craggy cliffs. Angoam is the next: This place might content a right curious judgment, but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbor, and the worst is it is embayed too far from the deep sea. Here are many rising hills, and on their tops and descents many cornfields and delightful groves. On the east is an isle of two or three leagues in length, the one-half plain moorish grass fit for pasture, with many fair, high groves of mulberry tree gardens, and there is also oaks, pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe harbor.

Naimkeck, though it be more rocky ground (for Angoam is sandy), not much inferior, neither for the harbor nor anything

I could perceive but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the sea the fair headland Tragabigzanda, fronted with three isles called the Three Turks' Heads. To the north of this doth enter a great bay, where we found some habitations and cornfields. They report a great river and at least thirty habitations do possess this country, but, because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discover it.

The isles of Mattahunts are on the west side of this bay, where are many isles and questionless good harbors, and then the country of the Massachusetts, which is the paradise of all those parts, for here are many isles all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, savage gardens, and good harbors; the coast is for the most part high, clayey, sandy cliffs. The sea-coast as you pass shows you all along large cornfields and great troops of well proportioned people; but the French, having remained here near six weeks, left nothing for us to take occasion to examine the inhabitants' relations, viz.: If there be near three thousand people upon these isles, and that the river doth pierce many days' journeys the entrails of that country. We found the people in those parts very kind, but in their fury no less valient; for, upon a quarrel we had with one of them, he only with three others crossed the harbor of Quonahassit to certain rocks whereby we must pass, and there let fly their arrows for our shot till we were out of danger.

Then come you to Accomack, an excellent good harbor, good land, and no want of anything but industrious people. After much kindness, upon a small occasion we fought also with forty or fifty of those, though some were hurt and some slain, yet within an hour after they became friends.

Cape Cod is the next presents itself, which is only a headland of high hills of sand, overgrown with shrubby pines, hurts, and such trash, but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This cape is made by the main sea on the one side and a great bay on the other in form of a sickle; on it doth inhabit the people of Pawmet, and in the bottom of the bay the people of Chawum. Toward the south and southwest of this cape is found a long and dangerous shoal of sands and rocks, but as far as I encircled it I found thirty fathoms water aboard the shore and a strong current, which makes me think there is a channel about this shoal, where is the best and greatest fish to

be had, winter and summer, in all that country. But the savages say there is no channel, but that the shoals begin from the main at Pawmet to the Isle of Nausit, and so extends beyond their knowledge into the sea.

The next to this is Capawack and those abounding countries of copper, corn, people, and minerals which I went to discover this last year, but, because I miscarried by the way, I will leave them till God please I have better acquaintance with them.

The Massachusetts, they report, sometimes have wars with the Bashabes of Penobscot, and are not always friends with them of Chawum and their allies; but now they are all friends, and have each trade with other, so far as they have society on each others' frontiers, for they make no such voyages as from Penobscot to Cape Cod, seldom to Massachusetts. In the north, as I have said, they have begun to plant corn, whereof the south part hath such plenty as they have what they will from them of the north, and in the winter much more plenty of fish and fowl; but both winter and summer hath it in the one part or other all the year, being the mean and most indifferent temper, betwixt heat and cold, of all the regions betwixt the line and the pole; but the furs northward are much better and in much more plenty than southward.

The most remarkablest isles and mountains for landmarks are these: the highest isle or Sorico in the Bay of Penobscot, but the three isles and a rock of Matinnack are much further in the sea; Metinicus is also three plain isles, and a rock betwixt it and Monahigan; Monahigan is a round, high isle, and close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride; in Damerils isles is such another; Sagadahock is known by Satquin, and four or five isles in the mouth; Smith's isles are a heap together, none near them, against Accominticus; the Three Turks' Heads are three isles seen far to seaward in regard of the headland.

The chief headlands are only Cape Tragabigzanda and Cape Cod.

The chief mountains, them of Penobscot and twinkling mountain of Aucocisco, the great mountain of Sasanou, and the

high mountain of Massachusetts, each of which you shall find in the map, their places, forms, and altitude. The waters are most pure, proceeding from the entrails of rocky mountains. The herbs and fruits are of many sorts and kinds, as alkerms, currants (or a fruit like currants), mulberries, vines, respices, gooseberries, plums, walnuts, chestnuts, small nuts, etc., pumpkins, gourds, strawberries, beans, peas, and maize, a kind or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes, both small and great, very strong for their quantities. ^{Herbs.}

Oak is the chief wood, of which there is great difference in regard of the soil where it groweth; fir, pine, walnut, chestnut, birch, ash, elm, cypress, cedar, mulberry, plumtree, hazel, saxifrage, and many other sorts. ^{Woods.}

Eagles, gripes, divers sorts of hawks, cranes, geese, brants, cormorants, ducks, sheldrakes, teale, mews, gulls, turkeys, dive-doppers, and many other sorts whose names I know not. ^{Birds.}

Whales, grampus, porpoises, turbot, sturgeon, cod, hake, haddock, cole, cusk (or small ling), shark, mackerel, herring, mullet, base, pinacks, cunners, perch, eels, crabs, lobsters, mussels, wilkes, oysters, and divers others, etc. ^{Fishes.}

Moose, a beast bigger than a stag; deer, red and fallow; beavers, wolves, foxes, both black and other; aroughconds, wild-cats, bears, otters, martens, fitches, musquassus, and divers sorts of vermin whose names I know ^{Beasts.}

not. All these and divers other good things do here, for want of use, still increase and decrease with little diminution, whereby they grow to that abundance. You shall scarce find any bay, shallow shore, or cove of sand where you may not take many clams or lobsters, or both, at your pleasure, and at many places load your boat if you please; nor isles where you find not fruits, birds, crabs, and mussels, or all of them, for taking at a low water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boy might take of cunners and pinacks, and such delicate fish, at the ship's stern more than six or ten can eat in a day, but, with a casting-net, thousands when we pleased; and scarce any place but cod, cuske, halibut, mackerel, skate, or such like, a man may take with a hook or line what he will. And in divers sandy bays a man may draw with a net great store

of mullets, bass, and divers other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his net can draw on shore; no river where there is not plenty of sturgeon, or salmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance, observing but their seasons. But if a man will go at Christmas to gather cherries in Kent he may be deceived, though there be plenty in summer; so, here these plenties have each their seasons, as I have expressed. We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar, and though the most part of July, when the fishing decayed, they wrought all day, lay abroad in the isles all night, and lived on what they found, yet were not sick. But I would wish none put himself long to such plunges except necessity constrain it; yet worthy is that person to starve that here cannot live if he have sense, strength, and health, for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place but that a hundred men may in one hour or two make their provisions for a day, and he that hath experience to manage well these affairs, with forty or thirty honest, industrious men, might well undertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subject the savages, and feed daily two or three hundred men with as good corn, fish, and flesh as the earth hath of those kinds, and yet make that labor but their pleasure, provided that they have engines that be proper for their purposes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small means or but only his merit to advance his fortune, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and pains?

What so truly suits with honor and honesty as the discovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue, and gain to our native mother country a kingdom to attend her; find employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to do; so far from wronging any as to

A note for men
that have
great spirits
and small
means.

cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honor that remembrance with praise?

Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians, and Romans, but this one rule. What was it they would not do for the good of the commonwealth or their mother city? For example: Rome, what made her such a monarchy but only the adventures of her youth; not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the justice and judgment out of their experience when they grew aged. What was their ruin and hurt but this, the excess of idleness, the fondness of parents, the want of experience in magistrates, the admiration of their undeserved honors, the contempt of true merit, their unjust jealousies, their political incredulities, their hypocritical seeming goodness, and their deeds of secret lewdness? Finally, in fine, growing only formal temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years they lost in few days. Those by their pains and virtues became lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaves to their servants. This is the difference betwixt the use of arms in the field and on the monuments of stones, the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, justice and corruption, substance and shadows, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making commonwealths and marring commonwealths, the fruits of virtue and the conclusions of vice.

Then who would live at home idly, or think in himself any worth to live, only to eat, drink, and sleep, and so die? Or, by consuming that carelessly, his friends got worthily? Or, by using that miserably, that maintained virtue honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vain vaunt of great kindred in penury? Or, to maintain a silly show of bravery, toil out thy heart, soul, and time, basely by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or, by relating news of other actions, shark here or there for a dinner or supper, deceive thy friends by fair promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never intendest to pay, offend the laws, surfeit with excess, burden thy country, abuse thyself, despair in want, and then cozen thy kindred, yea even thine own brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to have their estates? Though thou seest what honors and rewards the world yet hath for them will seek them and worthily deserve them.

I would be sorry to offend or that any should mistake my honest meaning, for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are grown to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life. And what hellish care do such take to make it their own misery, and their country's spoil, especially when there is most need of their employment? Drawing by all manner of inventions, from the prince and his honest subjects, even the vital spirits of their powers and estates, as if their bags, or brags, were so powerful a defense the malicious could not insult them, when they are the only bait to cause us not to be only assaulted, but betrayed and murdered in our own security ere we well perceive it.

May not the miserable ruin of Constantinople, their impregnable walls, riches, and pleasures last taken by the Turk (which are but a bit in comparison of their now mightiness) remember us of the effects of private covetousness, at which time the good emperor held himself rich enough to have such rich subjects, so formal in all excess of vanity, all kind of delicacy and prodigality. His poverty when the Turk besieged, the citizens whose merchandising thoughts were only to get wealth, little conceiving the desperate resolution of a valient expert enemy, left the emperor so long to his conclusions, having spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented soldiers, that suddenly he, they, and their city were all a prey to the devouring Turk. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who adventured their lives to defend them, did serve only their enemies to torment them, their friends, and country, and all Christendom to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great thieves in this world to rob you), not grudge to lend some proportion to breed them that have little, yet willing to learn how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is adoring.

The Romans' estate hath been worse than this, for the mere covetousness and extortion of a few of them so moved the rest that, not having any employment but contemplation, their great judgments grew to so great malice as themselves were sufficient to destroy themselves by faction. Let this move you to embrace employment for those whose educations, spirits,

An example
of secure
covetousness.

and judgments want but your purses, not only to prevent such accustomed dangers, but also to gain more thereby than you have. And you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably covetous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently careless as that you will rather maintain your children in idle wantonness till they grow your masters, or become so basely unkind as they wish nothing but your deaths, so that both sorts grow dissolute; and although you would wish them anywhere to escape the gallows, and ease your cares, though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pounds a year, you would grudge to give half so much in adventure with them to obtain an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your providence, might be better than your own. But if an angel should tell you that any place yet unknown can afford such fortunes, you would not believe him no more than Columbus was believed there was any such land as is now the well known abounding America; much less such large regions as are yet unknown, as well in America, as in Africa and Asia, and Terra Incognita, where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities than begging from their princes' generous disposition the labors of his subjects and the very marrow of his maintenance.

I have not been so ill bred but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure as well as want and misery, nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeavors; nor am I ignorant what small thanks I shall have for my pains, or that many would have the world imagine The author's conditions. them to be of great judgment that can but blemish these my designs by their witty objections and detractions; yet I hope my reasons with my deeds will so prevail with some that I shall not want employment in these affairs to make the most blind see his own senselessness and incredulity, hoping that gain will make them effect that which religion, charity, and the common good cannot. It were but a poor device in me to deceive myself, much more the king and state, my friends and country, with these inducements; which, seeing his majesty hath given permission, I wish all sorts of worthy, honest, industrious spirits would understand, and if they desire any further satisfaction I will do my best to give it; not to persuade them to go only, but go with them; not leave them there, but

live with them there. I will not say but by ill providing and undue managing, such courses may be taken may make us miserable enough, but if I may have the execution of what I have projected, if they want to eat let them eat or never digest me. If I perform what I say I desire but that reward out of the gains may suit my pains, quality, and condition; and if I any dislike with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If abuse you at the year's end defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely return.

I fear not want of company sufficient were it but known what I know of those countries, and by the proof of that wealth I hope yearly to return, if God please to bless me from such accidents as are beyond my power in reason to prevent; for I am not so simple to think that ever any other motive than wealth will ever erect there a commonweal, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in New England to effect my purposes. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labor and diligence, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure that take much more pains in England to enjoy it than I should do here to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content, for our pleasure here is still gains, in England, charges and loss. Here nature and liberty afford us that freely, which in England we want or it costeth us dearly.

The planters' pleasures and profits.

What pleasure can be more than, being tired with any occasion ashore, in planting vines, fruits, or herbs; in contriving their own grounds to the pleasure of their own minds, their fields, gardens, orchards, buildings, ships, and other works, etc.; to recreate themselves before their own doors, in their own boats upon the sea, where man, woman, and child, with a small hook and line, by angling may take divers sorts of excellent fish at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport to pull up twopence, sixpence, and tweldepence as fast as you can haul and veer a line? He is a very bad fisher cannot kill in one day, with his hook and line, one, two, or three hundred cods; which, dressed and dried, if they be sold there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will give more than twenty, may not both the servant, the master, and merchant be well content with this gain? If a man work but

three days in seven he may get more than he can spend, unless he will be excessive.

Now that carpenter, mason, gardener, tailor, smith, sailor, forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fish but an hour in a day, to take more than they eat in a week; or, if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choice, yet sell it, or change it with the fishermen or merchants for anything they want. And what sport doth yield a more pleasing content and less hurt or charge than angling with a hook and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle over the silent streams of a calm sea, wherein the most curious may find pleasure, profit, and content? Thus, though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoever may in other matters do as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a commonwealth, and each in their several functions, as their labors in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutual use of all.

For gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them than ranging daily those unknown parts, using fowling and fishing for hunting and hawking? And yet you shall see the wild hawks give you some pleasure in Employments for gentlemen. seeing them stoop, six or seven after one another, an hour or two together at the schools of fish in the fair harbors, as those ashore at a fowl, and never trouble nor torment yourselves with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running and crying, "see you not a hawk?" For hunting also, the woods, lakes, and rivers afford not only chase sufficient for any that delights in that kind of toil or pleasure, but such beasts to hunt that, besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich as may well recompense thy daily labor with a captain's pay.

For laborers, if those that sow hemp, rape, turnips, parsnips, carrots, cabbage, and such like give twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty shillings yearly for an acre of ground, and meat, drink, and wages to use it, and yet grow rich, when Employments for laborers. better, or at least as good, ground may be had and cost nothing but labor, it seems strange to me any such should there grow poor.

My purpose is not to persuade children from their parents, men from their wives, nor servants from their masters—only

such as with free consent may be spared—but that each parish or village in city or country that will but apparel their fatherless children of thirteen or fourteen years of age, or young married people that have small wealth to live on, here by their labor may live exceeding well, provided always that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, means to defend them, and meat provisions for them, for any place may be overlain; and it is most necessary to have a fortress ere this grow to practice, and sufficient masters (as carpenters, masons, fishers, fowlers, gardeners, husbandmen, sawyers, smiths, spinsters, tailors, weavers, and such like) to take ten, twelve, or twenty, or as there is occasion, for apprentices; the masters by this may quickly grow rich, these may learn their trades themselves to do the like, to a general and an incredible benefit for king and country, master and servant.

It would be a history of a large volume to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portuguese, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries, which with such incomparable honor and constant resolution, so far beyond belief, they have attempted and endured in their discoveries and plantations as may well condemn us of too much imbecility, sloth, and negligence, yet the authors of those new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others, that do but seek to imitate their unparalleled virtues. And though we see daily their mountains of wealth, sprung from the plants of their generous endeavors, yet is our sensuality and untowardness such and so great that we either ignorantly believe nothing, or so curiously contest to prevent we know not what future events, that we either so neglect or oppress and discourage the present, as we spoil all in the making, crop all in the blooming, and, building upon fair sand rather than rough rocks, judge that we know not, govern that we have not, fear that which is not, and, for fear some should do too well, force such against their wills to be idle or as ill.

And who is he hath judgment, courage, and any industry or quality with understanding, will leave his country, his hopes at home, his certain estate, his friends, pleasures, liberty, and the preferment sweet England doth afford to all degrees, were

it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deserts? whose prosperity once appearing will encourage others; but it must be cherished as a child till it be able to go and understand itself, and not corrected nor oppressed above its strength ere it know wherefore.

A child can neither perform the office nor deeds of a man of strength, nor endure that affliction he is able, nor can an apprentice at the first perform the part of a master; and if twenty years be required to make a child a man, seven years limited an apprentice for his trade. If scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a statesman (and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet), if perfection be so hard to be obtained (as of necessity there must be practice as well as theory), let no man much condemn this paradox opinion to say that half seven years is scarce sufficient for a good capacity to learn in these affairs how to carry himself; and whoever shall try in these remote places the erecting of a colony shall find at the end of seven years occasion enough to use all his discretion, and in the interim all the content, rewards, gains, and hopes will be necessarily required to be given to the beginning, till it be able to creep, stand, and go, yet time enough to keep it from running, for there is no fear it will grow too fast or ever to anything, except liberty, profit, honor, and prosperity there found, more bind the planters of those affairs in devotion to effect it than bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude, and such double dealing as binds free men to become slaves, and honest men turn knaves, which hath ever been the ruin of the most popular commonweals, and is very unlikely ever well to begin in a new.

Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the Spaniard but these new conclusions in searching those unknown parts of this unknown world? By which means he dives even into the very secrets of all his neighbors and ^{The bliss of Spain.} the most part of the world; and when the Portuguese and Spaniard had found the East and West Indies, how many did condemn themselves that did not accept of that honest offer of noble Columbus? who, upon our neglect, brought them to it, persuading ourselves the world had no such places as they had found; and yet ever since, we find, they still, from time to time, have found new lands, new nations,

and trades, and still daily do find both in Asia, Africa, Terra Incognita, and America, so that there is neither soldier nor mechanic, from the lord to the beggar, but those parts afford them all employment, and discharge their native soil of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this have troubled their neighbors, or have eaten the pride of Spain itself.

Now, he knows little that knows not England may well spare many more people than Spain, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they have they cease not still to search for that they have not and know not, it is strange we should be so dull as not maintain that which we have, and pursue that we know. Surely, I am sure many would taste it ill to be abridged of the titles and honors of their predecessors, when, if but truly they would judge themselves, look how inferior they are to their noble virtues, so much they are unworthy of their honors and livings, which never were ordained for shows and shadows to maintain idleness and vice, but to make them more able to abound in honor by heroical deeds of action, judgment, piety, and virtue. What was it they would not do both in purse and person for the good of the commonwealth, which might move them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designs? Religion above all things should move us, especially the clergy, if we were religious, to show our faith by our works in converting those poor savages to the knowledge of God, seeing what pains the Spaniards take to bring them to their adulterated faith.

Honor might move the gentry, the valient, and industrious, and the hope and assurance of wealth all, if we were that we would seem and be accounted. Or be we so far inferior to other nations, or our spirits so far dejected from our ancient predecessors', or our minds so upon spoil, piracy, and such villainy as to serve the Portuguese, Spaniard, Dutch, French, or Turk (as to the cost of Europe too many do), rather than our God, our king, our country, and ourselves? excusing our idleness and our base complaints by want of employments, when here is such choice of all sorts and for all degrees in the planting and discovering these north parts of America.

Now, to make my words more apparent by my deeds, I

was the last year, 1615, to have staid in the country to make a more ample trial of those conclusions, with sixteen men whose names were: Thomas Dirmir, Edward Stalings, Daniel Cage, Francis Abbot, John Gosling, Thomas Digbie, Daniel Baker, Adam Smith, gentlemen; William Ingram, Robert Miter, David Cooper, John Partridge, and two boys, soldiers; Thomas Watson, Walter Chissick, John Hall, sailors.

My second
voyage to
New England.

I confess I could have wished them as many thousands had all other provisions been in like proportion, nor would I have had so few could I have had means for more, yet (would God have pleased we had safely arrived) I never had the like authority, freedom, and provision to do so well. The main assistance next God I had to this small number was my acquaintance among the savages, especially with Dohannida, one of their greatest lords, who had lived long in England. By the means of this proud savage I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit with the rest of his friends and allies, to have had as many of them as I desired in any design I intended, and that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange of their country commodities, which both with ease and security in their seasons may be used. With him and divers others I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the Terentyne with a better power than the French did them, whose tyranny did enforce them to embrace my offer with no small devotion. And though many may think me more bold than wise in regard of their power, dexterity, treachery, and inconsistency, having so desperately assaulted and betrayed many others, I say but this (because with so many I have many times done much more in Virginia than I intended here, when I wanted that experience Virginia taught me) that to me it seems no danger more than ordinary. And though I know myself the meanest of many thousands whose apprehensive inspection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities into the hidden things of nature, art, and reason, yet I entreat such give me leave to excuse myself of so much imbecility as to say that in these eight years which I have been conversant with these affairs I have not learned there is a great difference betwixt the directions and judgment of experimental knowledge and the superficial conjecture of variable relation; wherein

rumor, humor, or misprison have such power that oftentimes one is enough to beguile twenty, but twenty not sufficient to keep one from being deceived. Therefore I know no reason but to believe my own eyes before any man's imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my own projects and endeavors. But I honor with all affection the counsel and instructions of judicial directions, or any other honest advertisement, so far to observe as they tie me not to the cruelty of unknown events.

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other employments and spend my time and best abilities in these adventures, wherein, though I have had many discouragements by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falseness of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slowness of adventurers, but chiefly by one Hunt, who was master of the ship, with whom oft arguing these projects for a plantation, however he seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to have robbed me of my plots and observations, and so to leave me alone in a desolate isle to the fury of famine and all other extremities (lest I should have acquainted Sir Thomas Smith, my honorable good friend, and the council of Virginia), to the end he and his associates might secretly engross it ere it were known to the state, yet that God that alway hath kept me from the worst of such practices, delivered me from the worst of his dissimulations. Notwithstanding after my departure he abused the savages where he came, and betrayed twenty-seven of these poor innocent souls, which he sold in Spain for slaves, to move their hate against our nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult.

Now, returning in the bark in the fifth of August, I arrived at Plymouth, where, imparting those my purposes to my honorable friend, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and some others, I was so encouraged and assured to have the managing their authority in those parts during my life, that I engaged myself to undertake it for them. Arriving at London I found also many promise me such assistance that I entertained Michael Cooper, the master, who returned with me, and others of the company. How he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not, but my public proceeding gave such encouragement that it became so well apprehended by some few of the Southern company as these projects were liked, and he furnished from London with

four ships at sea before they at Plymouth had made any provision at all but only a ship chiefly sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorge, which, upon Hunt's late treachery among the savages, returned as she went, and did little or nothing but lost her time. I must confess I was beholden to the setters forth of the four ships that went with Cooper, in that they offered me that employment if I would accept it, and I find my refusal hath incurred some of their displeasures whose favor and love I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly enjoy it. And though they do censure me as opposite to their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds find it is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike, for, having engaged myself in this business to the west country, I had been very dishonest to have broken my promise; nor will I spend more time in discovery or fishing till I may go with a company for plantation, for I know my grounds. Yet everyone that reads this book cannot put it in practice, though it may help any that have seen those parts. And though they endeavor to work me even out of my own designs, I will not much envy their fortunes; but I would be sorry their intruding ignorance should, by their defaultments, bring those certainties to doubtfulness. So that the business prosper I have my desire, be it by Londoner, Scot, Welsh, or English that are true subjects to our king and country. The good of my country is that I seek, and there is more than enough for all if they could be content but to proceed.

At last it pleased Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Master Doctor Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, to conceive so well of these projects and my former employments, as induced them to make a new adventure with me in those parts, ^{The occasion of my return.} whither they have so often sent to their continual loss. By whose example many inhabitants of the west country made promises of much more than was looked for, but their private emulations quickly qualified that heat in the greater number, so that the burden lay principally on them and some few gentlemen, my friends, in London.

In the end I was furnished with a ship of two hundred and another of fifty; but ere I had sailed 120 leagues she broke all her masts, pumping each watch five or six thousand strokes, only her sprit sail remained to spoon before the wind, till we

My re-embarkment, encounters with pirates, and imprisonment by the French.

had reaccommodated a jury mast and the rest, to return for Plymouth. My vice-admiral, being lost, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage. Now, with the remainder of those provisions I got out again in a bark of sixty tons with thirty men (for this of two hundred and provision for seventy), which were the sixteen before named and fourteen other sailors for the ship. With those I set sail again the twenty-fourth of June, where what befell me (because my actions and writings are so public to the world, envy still seeking to scandalize my endeavors, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of men's minds), lest my own relations of these hard events might by some constructors be made doubtful, I have thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings taken by Sir Lewis Stukley, a worthy knight and vice-admiral of Devonshire, which were as followeth :

The examination of Daniel Baker, late steward to Captain John Smith in the return of Plymouth, taken before Sir Lewis Stukley, knight, the eighth of December, 1615:

WHO saith, being chased two days by one Fry, an English pirate, that could not board us by reason of foul weather, Edmund Chambers, the master; Jonn Minter, his mate; Thomas Digby, the pilot, and others, importuned his said captain to yield, holding it impossible he should defend himself, and that the said captain should send them his boat, in that they had none; which at last he concluded upon these conditions, that Fry, the pirate, should vow not to take anything from Captain Smith that might overthrow his voyage, nor send more pirates into his ship than he liked of, otherwise he would make sure of them he had and defend himself against the rest as he could.

Captain Fry; his ship 140 tons, 36 cast pieces, and murderers 80 men, of which 40 or 50 were master gunners.

More, he confesseth that the quartermasters and chambers received gold of those pirates, but how much he knoweth not; nor would his captain come out of his cabin to entertain them, although a great many of them had been his sailors, and for his love would have wafted us to the Isles of Flowers.

At Fyall we were chased by two French pirates, who commanded us amain. Chambers, Minter, Digby, and others, importuned again the captain to yield, alleging they were Turks, and would make them all slaves; or Frenchmen, and would throw them all overboard if they shot but a piece; and that they were entertained to fish and not to fight; until the captain vowed to fire the powder and split the ship if they would not stand to their defence, whereby at last we went clear of them for all their shot.

The one of 200,
the other 20.

At Flowers we were chased by four French men-of-war, all with their close fights afore and after. And this examine's captain having provided for our defence, Chambers, Minter, Digby, and some others again importuned him to yield to the favor of those, against whom there was nothing but ruin by fighting; but if he would go aboard them, in that he could speak French, by courtesy he might go clear, seeing they offered him such fair quarter, and vowed they were Protestants and all of Rochelle, and had the king's commission only to take Spaniard, Portuguese, and pirates; which at last he did, but they kept this examine's captain and some other of his company with him.

The Admiral,
140 tons,
12 pieces,
12 murderers,
90 men with
long pistols,
pocket pistols,
musket,
sword, and
poniard; the
Vice-Admiral,
100 tons; the
Rear-Admiral,
60, the other
80: all had
250 men, most
armed as is
said.

The next day the French men-of-war went aboard us and took what they listed, and divided the company into their several ships, and manned this examine's ship with the Frenchmen, and chased with her all the ships they saw, until about five or six days after, upon better consideration, they surrendered the ship and victuals, with the most part of our provision, but not our weapons.

More, he confesseth that his captain exhorted them to perform their voyage, or go for Newfoundland to return fraughted with fish, where he would find means to proceed in his plantation; but Chambers and Minter grew upon terms they would not, until those that were soldiers concluded with their captain's resolution they would, seeing they had clothes, victuals, salt, nets, and lines sufficient, and expected their arms; and such other things as they wanted the Frenchmen promised to restore, which the captain the next day went to seek, and sent them about loading of commodities, as powder, match, hooks, instruments,

The gentlemen
and soldiers
were ever
willing to
fight.

his sword and dagger, bedding, *aqua vitæ*, his commission, apparel, and many other things, the particulars he remembereth not; but as for the cloth, canvas, and the captain's clothes, Chambers and his associates divided it amongst themselves, and to whom they best liked, his captain not having anything, to his own knowledge, but his waistcoat and breeches, and in this manner going from ship to ship to regain our arms and the rest; they, seeing a sail, gave chase until night. The next day being very foul weather, this examine came so near with the ship unto the French men-of-war that they split the main sail on the other's sprit sail-yard. Chambers willed the captain come aboard or he would leave him, whereupon the captain commanded Chambers to send his boat for him. Chambers replied she was split (which was false), telling him he might come, if he would, in the admiral's boat. The captain's answer was, he could not command her nor come when he would, so this examine fell on stern, and that night left his said captain alone amongst the Frenchmen in this manner, by the command of Chambers, Minter, and others.

Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, gentlemen; Walter Chissell, David Cooper, Robert Miller, and John Partridge, being examined, do acknowledge and confess that Daniel Baker, his examination above written is true.

NOW the cause why the French detained me again was the suspicion this Chambers and Minter gave them that I would revenge myself upon the Bank, or in Newfoundland, of all the French I could there encounter, and how I would have fired the ship had they not overpersuaded me, and many other such like tricks to catch but opportunity in this manner to leave me. And thus they returned to Plymouth, and perforce with the French I thus proceeded.

A double
treachery.

Being a fleet of eight or nine sail, we watched for the West Indies fleet till ill weather separated us from the other eight.

A fleet of nine
French men-
of-war, and
fights with the
Spaniards.

Still we spent our time about the isles near Fyall, where, to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse, thinking to have sent it you of his majesty's council by some ship or other, for I saw their

purpose was to take all they could. At last we were chased by one Captain Barra, an English pirate, in a small ship with some twelve pieces of ordinance, about thirty men, and near all starved. They sought by courtesy relief of us, who gave them such fair promises as at last we betrayed Captain Wolliston (his lieutenant) and four or five of their men aboard us, and then provided to take the rest perforce. Now my part was to be prisoner in the gun room, and not to speak to any of them upon my life, yet had Barra knowledge what I was. Then Barra, perceiving well these French intents, made ready to fight, and Wolliston as resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused us demur upon the matter longer some sixteen hours, and then returned their prisoners, and some victuals also, upon a small composition.

The next we took was a small Englishman of Poole from Newfoundland. The great cabin at this present was my prison, from whence I could see them pillage those poor men of all that they had and half their fish; when he was gone they sold his poor clothes at the mainmast by an outcry, which scarce gave each man seven pence apiece. Not long after we took a Scot fraught from Saint Michaels to Bristow. He had better fortune than the other; for, having but taken a boat's loading of sugar, marmalade, suckets, and such like, we descried four sail, after whom we stood; who, furling their main sails, attended us to fight. But our French spirits were content only to perceive they were English red crosses. Within a very small time after we chased four Spanish ships come from the Indies. We fought with them four or five hours, tore their sails and sides, yet, not daring to board them, lost them. A poor caravel of Brazil was the next we chased, and after a small fight, thirteen or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better half, we took her with 370 chests of sugar. The next was a West Indiesman of 160 tons, A prize worth 16,000 crowns. with twelve hundred hides, fifty chests of cochineal, fourteen coffers of wedges of silver, eight thousand ryalls of eight, and six coffers of the king of Spain's treasure, besides the pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers.

Two months they kept me in this manner, to A prize worth 200,000 crowns. manage their fights against the Spaniards and be a prisoner when they took any English. Now, though the captain

had off broke his promise, which was to put me ashore on the isles, or the next ship he took, yet at last he was entreated I should go for France in the caravel of sugar, himself resolved still to keep the seas. Within two days after we were hailed by two West Indiesmen; but when they saw us wave them for the king of France, they gave us their broadsides, shot through our main mast, and so left us.

Having lived thus near three months among those French men-of-war, with much ado we arrived at the Gulion, not far from Rochelle, where, instead of the great promises they always fed me with, of double satisfaction and full content, they kept me five or six days prisoner in the caravel, accusing me to be him that burnt their colony in New France, to force me to give them a discharge before the judge of the admiralty, and so stand to their courtesy for satisfaction, or lie in prison or a worse mischief. To prevent this choice, in the end of such a storm that beat them all under hatches, I watched my opportunity to get ashore in their boat, whereinto, in the dark night, I secretly got, and, with a half-pike that lay by me, put adrift for Rat Isle; but the current was so strong and the sea so great I went adrift to sea, till it pleased God the wind so turned with the tide that, although I was all this fearful night of gusts and rain in the sea the space of twelve hours, when many ships were driven ashore and divers split (and being with sculling and bailing the water tired, I expected each minute would sink me), at last I arrived in an ooze isle by Charowne, where certain fowlers found me near drowned, and half dead with water, cold, and hunger. By those I found means to get to Rochelle, where I understood the man-of-war which we left at sea and the rich prize was split, the captain drowned, and half his company, the same night, within seven leagues of that place from whence I escaped alone in a little boat, by the mercy of God, far beyond all men's reason or my expectation.

*My escape
from the
Frenchmen.*

Arriving at Rochelle, upon my complaint to the judge of the admiralty, I found many good words and fair promises, and ere long many of them that escaped drowning told me the news they heard of my own death; these I arresting, their several examinations did so confirm my complaint, it was held proof sufficient. All which being performed according to the order of

justice from under the judge's hand, I presented it to the English ambassador then at Bordeaux, where it was my chance to see the arrival of the king's great marriage, brought from Spain. Of the wreck of the rich prize some thirty-six thousand crowns' worth of goods came ashore and was saved with the caravel, which I did my best to arrest. The judge did promise me I should have justice; what will be the conclusion, as yet I know not. But under the color to take pirates and West Indiesmen (because the Spaniards will not suffer the French trade in the West Indies), any goods from thence, though they take them upon the coast of Spain, are lawful prize, or from any of his territories out of the limits of Europe.

Sir Thomas
Edmunds.

They betrayed me, having the broad seal of England, and near twenty sail of English more, besides them, concealed in like manner, were betrayed that year.

Leaving thus my business in France, I returned to Plymouth to find them that had thus buried me amongst the French, and not only buried me, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villainies. But my clothes, books, instruments, arms, and what I had they shared amongst them, and what they liked, feigning the French had all was wanting, and had thrown them into the sea, taken their ship and all, had they not run away and left me as they did. The chieftains of this mutiny that I could find I laid by the heels; the rest, like themselves, confessed the truth as you have heard. Now, how I have or could prevent these accidents, I rest at your censures. But to the matter.

My return for
England, 1615.

Newfoundland at first, I have heard, was held as desperate a fishing as this I project in New England. Placentia and the Bank were also as doubtful to the French. But, for all the disasters happened me, the business is the same it was, and the fine ships (whereof one was reported more than three hundred tons) went forward, and found fish so much that neither Icelandmen nor Newfoundlandmen, I could hear of hath been there, will go any more to either place if they may go thither. So that upon the return of my vice-admiral, that proceeded on her voyage when I spent my masts, from Plymouth this year are gone four or five sail, and from London as many, only to make voyages of profit. Where the Englishmen have yet

The success of my vice-admiral and the four ships of London, from New England.

been, all their returns together (except Sir Fr. Pophames) would scarce make one a saver of near a dozen I could nominate, though there be fish sufficient, as I persuade myself, to fraught yearly four or five hundred sail, or as many as will go. For this fishing stretcheth along the coast from Cape Cod to Newfoundland, which is seven or eight hundred miles at the least, and hath his course in the deeps, and by the shore, all the year long; keeping their haunts and feedings as the beasts of the field and the birds of the air.

But all men are not such as they should be, have undertaken those voyages, and a man that hath but heard of an instrument can hardly use it so well as he that by use hath contrived to make it. All the Romans were not Scipios, nor all the Genoese Columbuses, nor all Spaniards Cortezes. Had they dived no deeper in the secrets of their discoveries than we, or stopped at such doubts and poor accidental chances, they had never been remembered as they are; yet had they no such certainties to begin as we.

But to conclude, Adam and Eve did first begin this innocent work, to plant the earth to remain to posterity, but not without labor, trouble, and industry. Noah and his family began again the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased hath still planted new countries, and one country another, and so the world to that estate it is, but not without much hazard, travel, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthy fathers and their memorable offspring not been more diligent for us now in these ages, than we are to plant that yet unplanted for the after-livers; had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ, and his apostles exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the gospel and the will of God than we, even we ourselves had at this present been as savage and as miserable as the most barbarous savage yet uncivilized.

The Hebrews and Lacedæmonians, the Goths, the Grecians, the Romans, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to enlarge their territories, enrich their subjects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great monarchies and their virtues were no silvered, idle, golden pharisees, but industrious, iron-steeled publicans. They regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people than jewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselves. Riches were

their servants, not their masters. They ruled (as fathers, not as tyrants) their people as children, not as slaves. There was no disaster could discourage them; and let none think they encountered not with all manner of incumbrances.

And what have ever been the works of the greatest princes of the earth but planting of countries and civilizing barbarous and inhuman nations to civility and humanity, whose eternal actions fill our histories? Lastly, the Portuguese and Spaniards, whose everliving actions before our eyes will testify with them our idleness and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our piety and religion we owe our God, our king, and country, and of want charity to those poor savages, whose country we challenge, use and possess, except we be but made to use and mar what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteem ourselves too good to take the like pains. Was it virtue in them to provide that doth maintain us? and baseless for us to do the like for others? Surely no. Then, seeing we are not born for ourselves, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the hour of our birth and the minute of our death; seeing our good deeds or our bad, by faith in Christ's merits, is all we have to carry our souls to heaven or hell; seeing honor is our life's ambition, and our ambition after death to have an honorable memory of our life; and seeing by no means we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predecessors, let us imitate their virtues to be worthily their successors.

FINIS.

*At London: Printed the eighteenth of June, }
in the year of our Lord 1616.*

TO HIS WORTHY CAPTAIN, THE AUTHOR.

Oft thou hast led, when I brought up the rear,
 In bloody wars where thousands have been slain ;
 Then give me leave, in this some part to bear,
 And, as thy servant, here to read my name.
 'Tis true, long time thou hast my captain been,
 In the fierce wars of Transylvania ;
 Long ere that thou America hadst seen,
 Or led, was captived in Virginia.
 Thou, that to pass the world's four parts dost deem
 No more than 't were to go to bed or drink,
 And all thou yet hast done thou dost esteem
 As nothing. This doth cause me think
 That thou I've seen so oft approv'd in dangers
 (And thrice captiv'd, thy valor still hath freed)
 Art yet preserved to convert these strangers ;
 By God, thy gulde, I trust it is decreed.
 For me, I not commend, but much admire
 Thy England, yet unknown to passers-by-her ;
 For it will praise itself in spite of me,
 Thou it, it thou, to all posterity.

Your true friend and soldier,

ED. ROBISON.

TO MY HONEST CAPTAIN, THE AUTHOR.

Malignant times ! What can be said or done
 But shall be censur'd and traduc'd by some !
 This worthy work, which thou hast bought so dear,
 Ne thou, or it, detractors need to fear.
 Thy words by deeds so long thou hast approv'd
 Of thousands know thee not, thou art beloved,
 And this great plot will make thee ten times more
 Known and beloved than e'er thou wert before.
 I never knew a warrior yet but thee,
 From wine, tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
 I call thee warrior, and I make the bolder,
 For many a captain now was never soldier.
 Some such may swell at this, but (to their praise)
 When they have done like thee, my muse shall raise,
 Their due deserts to worthies yet to come,
 To live like thine (admir'd) till day of doom.

Your true friend, sometimes your soldier,

THO. CARLTON.

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER TWO

JUNE 1898

NEW ENGLAND'S TRIALS. DECLARING THE SUCCESS OF 80 SHIPS EMPLOYED THITHER WITHIN THESE EIGHT YEARS; AND THE BENEFIT OF THAT COUNTRY BY SEA AND LAND. WITH THE PRESENT ESTATE OF THAT HAPPY PLANTATION, BEGUN BUT BY SIXTY WEAK MEN, IN THE YEAR 1620. AND HOW TO BUILD A FLEET OF GOOD SHIPS TO MAKE A LITTLE NAVY ROYAL. WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, SOMETIMES GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, AND ADMIRAL OF NEW ENGLAND. THE SECOND EDITION. LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM JONES, 1622.

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GEORGE P HUMPHREY

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Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for England and the Colonies. The number for July will contain "The Planter's Plea. Or, the grounds of plantations examined, and usual objections answered. Together with a manifestation of the causes moving such as have lately undertaken a plantation in New England. For the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulness of the action. London: printed by William Jones, 1630."

Volume one is completed with the number for April, 1898, which contains a very complete index, thus making the twelve numbers readily available for reference purposes.

The twelve numbers complete and uncut, in a binding of dark blue buckram, price four dollars.

Covers for binding can be furnished separately, if desired.

AMONG the many interesting numbers for 1898-9, we are able to announce the following:

Morton's New English Canaan, 1632.

Description of the Province of South Carolina, 1732.

Description of Georgia; London, 1741.

A Description of the Province of New Albion, 1648.

A Perfect Description of Virginia, 1649.

Virginia and Maryland, or the Lord Baltimore's printed case uncased and answered, 1655.

NEW ENGLAND'S TRIALS:

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THITHER WITHIN THESE EIGHT YEARS, AND
THE BENEFIT OF THAT COUNTRY
BY SEA AND LAND;

WITH THE PRESENT ESTATE OF THAT HAPPY
PLANTATION, BEGUN BUT BY SIXTY
WEAK MEN IN THE YEAR
1620;

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NO 14 JUNE 1898
COLONIAL TRACTS
Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

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Rochester, N. Y.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND EXCELLENT PRINCE CHARLES, PRINCE
OF WALES ; DUKE OF CORNWALL, YORK, AND ALBANY ;
MARQUIS OF ORMOND, AND ROTHSEY ; AND EARL PALATINE
OF CHESTER ; HEIR OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND
IRELAND, ETC.

Sir :

WHEN scarce any would believe me there was any such matter, your Highness did not disdain to accept my description, and called that New England, whose barbarous names you changed for such English that none can deny but Prince Charles is the godfather. Whereby, I am bound in all reason and duty to give you the best account I can how your child doth prosper ; and, although as yet it is not much unlike the father in fortune, only used as an instrument for other men's ends, yet the grace you bestowed on it by your princely favor hath drawn so many judgments now to behold it, that I hope shall find it will give content to your highness, satisfaction to them, and so increase the number of well-willers, New England will be able to reject her maligners and attend Prince Charles with her dutiful obedience with a trophy of honor and a kingdom for a prince. Therefore, the great work contained in this little book humbly desires your princely patronage. No more, but sacrificing all my best abilities to the exquisite judgment of your renowned virtues, I humbly kiss your gracious hands.

Your highness' true and faithful servant,

JNO. SMITH.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT WORTHY ADVENTURERS
TO ALL PLANTATIONS AND DISCOVERERS, THEIR FRIENDS
AND WELL-WISHERS, ESPECIALLY OF VIRGINIA AND NEW
ENGLAND.

Right Honorable :

I CONFESS it were more proper for me doing what I say, than writing what I know; but that it is not my fault there is many a hundred can testify if they please to remember what pains I have taken, both particularly and generally, to make this work known, and procure means to put it in practice. What calumniations, doubts, or other misrepresentations hath opposed my endeavors, I had rather forget than remember, but still to express my forwardness to the consideration of your favorable constructions, I present this short discourse of the proceeding and present estate of New England. If you please to peruse it and make use of it, I am richly rewarded, though they be but the collections and observations of a plain soldier; yet, if you please to grace them with you countenance and good acceptance, I shall therein think myself happy, and hope that those labors may in time return you such fruits as hereafter may persuade you to pardon this boldness, and accept them to be your honest servants.

Yours to command,

JNO. SMITH.

NEW ENGLAND'S TRIALS AND PRESENT ESTATE.

CONCERNING the description of this country six years ago, I wrote so largely, as in brief, I hope this may suffice you to remember that New England is a part of America betwixt the degrees of 41 and 45, the very mean betwixt the north pole and the line. From 43 to 45, the coast is mountainous, rocky, barren, and broken isles, that make many good harbors. The water is deep close to the shore; there are many rivers and fresh springs, few savages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowl, wild fruits, and good timber. From 43 to 41½ an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand, and clay, much corn, many people, some isles, many good harbors, a temperate air, and therein all things necessary for the building of ships of any proportion, and good merchandise for their fraught within a square of twelve leagues. Twenty-five harbors I sounded, thirty several lordships I saw, and so near as I could imagine, three thousand men. I was up one river forty miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great lakes (where they kill their beavers), inhabited with many people, who trade with those of New England and them of Canada.

THE BENEFIT OF FISHING, AS MR. DEE REPORTETH IN HIS
BRITISH MONARCHY.

He saith that it is more than forty-four years ago, and it is more than forty years since he wrote it, that the herring busses out of the low countries, under the king of Spain, were five hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen and three or four hundred sail of Flemmings.

The coasts of Wales and Lancashire were used by three hundred sail of strangers.

Ireland at Baltimore freighted yearly three hundred sail of

Spaniards, where King Edward the VI intended to have made a strong castle, because of the strait, to have tribute for fishing.

Black Rock was yearly fished by three or four hundred sail of Spaniards, Portuguese, and Biskiners.

Mr. Gentleman and many fishermen and fishmongers with whom I have conferred, report :

The Hollanders raise yearly by herring, cod, and ling, 3,000,000 pounds.

English and French by salt fish, poorjohn, salmon, and pilchards, 300,000 pounds.

Hambrough and the sound, for sturgeon, lobsters, and eels, 100,000 pounds.

Cape Blank for tunny and mullet, by the Biskiners and Spaniards, 30,000 pounds.

But divers other learned, experienced observers say, though it may seem incredible, that the Duke of Medina receiveth yearly tribute of the fishers for tunny, mullet, and purgos, more than 10,000 pounds.

Lubeck hath seven hundred ships ; Hambrough six hundred. Embden, lately a fisher town of 1400, whose customs by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerful as they be.

Holland and Zeland, not much greater than Yorkshire, have thirty walled towns, four hundred villages, and twenty thousand sail of ships and hoyes ; three thousand six hundred are fishermen, whereof one hundred are doggers, seven hundred pinks and well-boats, seven hundred frand boats, britters, and tode boats, with one thousand three hundred busses, besides three hundred that yearly fish about Yarmouth, where they sell their fish for gold, and fifteen years ago they had more than 116,000 seafaring men.

These fishing ships do take yearly 200,000 last of fish, twelve barrels to a last, which amounted to 3,000,000 pounds by the fishermen's price, that fourteen years ago did pay for their tenths 300,000 pound, which venting in Pumerland, Prussia, Denmark, Lesland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England, or elsewhere, etc., make their returns in a year about 7,000,000 pounds, and yet in Holland they have neither matter to build ships, nor merchandize to set them forth ; yet by their industry they as much increase as other nations decay. But leaving these uncertainties as they are, of this I am certain :

That the coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the North sea, with Ireland and the sound, Newfoundland and Cape Blank, do serve all Europe, as well the land towns as ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of staple fish, which is transported from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz.: herring, salt fish, poorjohn, sturgeon, mullet, tunny, porgos, caviare, buttargo.

Now, seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentiful of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats, and houses, and the nourishment of man, the seasons are so proper and the fishings so near the habitations we may there make, that New England hath much advantage of the most of those parts to serve all Europe far cheaper than they can, who at home have neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at sea nothing but what they carry in their ships an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But New England's fishings are near land, where is help of wood, water, fruits, fowls, corn, or other refreshings needful; and the Terceras, Maderias, Canaries, Spain, Portugal, Provence, Savoy, Sicilia, and all Italy as convenient markets for our dry fish, green fish, sturgeon, mullet, cavaire, and buttargo, as Norway, Swethland, Littuania, or Germany for their herring, which is here also in abundance, for taking, they returning but wood, pitch, tar, soap-ashes, cordage, flax, wax, and such like commodities; we, wines, oils, sugars, silks, and such merchandize as the straits afford, whereby our profit may equalize theirs, besides the increase of shipping and mariners. And for proof hereof:

With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, M. John Buley, and W. Skelton, I went from the Downes Proof 1. 1614. the third of March and arrived in New England the last of April, where I was to have stayed but with ten men to keep possession of those large territories. Had the whales proved as curious information had assured me and my adventures, but those things failed. So having but forty-five men and boys, we built seven boats, thirty-seven did fish, myself with eight others ranging the coast; I took a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants; eleven hundred beaver skins, one hundred martins,

and as many otters. Forty thousand of dried fish we sent to Spain ; with the salt fish, train oil, and furs, I returned to England the eighteenth of July, and arrived safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus, in six months, I made my voyage out and home, and by the labor of forty-five, got near the value of £1500 in those gross commodities. This year, also, one went from Plymouth, set out by divers of the Isle of Wight and the west country, by the directions and instructions of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.

The Virginia company, upon this, sent four good ships, and because I would not undertake it for them, having
Proof 2, 1615. engaged myself to them of the west, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me. They set sail in January, and arrived there in March. They found fish enough until half June, fraughted a ship of three hundred tons, went for Spain, which was taken by the Turks ; one went to Virginia to relieve that colony, and two came for England with the green fish, train oil, and furs within six months.

In January, with £200 in cash for adventure, and six gentlemen well furnished, I went from London to the four
Proof 3, 1615. ships promised prepared for me in the west country, but I found no such matter, notwithstanding at the last, with a labyrinth of trouble, I went from Plymouth with a ship of two hundred tons, and one of fifty. When the fishing was done only with fifteen, I was to stay in the country ; but ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to return to Plymouth, where, rather than lose all, reëmbarking myself in a bark of sixty tons (how I escaped the English pirates and the French, and was betrayed by four French men-of-war, I refer you to the Description of New England), but my vice-admiral, notwithstanding the lateness of the year, setting forth with me in March, the Londoners in January, she arrived in May, they in March, yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within five months, odd days.

The Londoners, ere I returned from France, for all their loss by the Turks, which was valued about £4000, sent
Proof 4, 1616. two more in July, but such courses they took by the Canaries to the West Indies, it was ten months ere they arrived in New England, wasting in that time their seasons, victuals,

and health, yet there they found means to refresh themselves, and the one returned near fraught with fish and train, within two months after.

From Plymouth went four ships, only to fish and trade, some in February, some in March, one of two hundred tons got thither in a month, and went full fraught for Spain, the rest returned to Plymouth well fraught, and their men well, within five months, odd days. Proof 5, 1616.

From London went two more ; one of two hundred tons got thither in six weeks, and within six weeks after, with forty-four men and boys, was full fraught, and returned again to England within five months and a few days ; the other went to the Canaries with dried fish, which they sold at a great rate for rials of eight, and, as I heard, turned pirates. Proof 6, 1616.

I being at Plymouth provided with three good ships, yet but fifteen men to stay with me in the country, was windbound three months, as was many a hundred sail more, so that, the season being past, ships went for Newfoundland, whereby my design was frustrated, which was to me and my friends no small loss, in regard whereof here the western commissioners, in the behalf of themselves and the rest of the company, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be admiral of that country during my life, and in the renewing of their letters patent so to be nominated, half the fruits of our endeavors theirs, the rest our own. Being thus engaged, now the business doth prosper. Some of them would willingly forget me, but I am not the first they have deceived. Proof 7, 1617.

There were four good ships prepared at Plymouth, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted as only two went forward, the one being of two hundred tons returned well fraught for Plymouth, and her men in health, within five months ; the other, of eighty tons, went for Bilbow with dried fish, and made a good return. In this voyage Edward Rowcroft, alias Stallings, a valiant soldier, that had been with me in Virginia, and seven years after went with me from Plymouth towards New England, with Thomas Dirmmer, an understanding and an industrious gentleman, to inhabit it ; all whose names, with our proceedings, you may read at large Proof 8, 1618.

in my description of New England, upon trial before the judge of the admiralty, how, when we had passed the worst, for pure cowardice, the master and sailors ran away with the ship and all I had, and left me alone among eight or nine French men-of-war, in the year 1615. This Stallings went now again in those ships, and having some wrong offered him in New England by a Frenchman, he took him, and as he wrote to me, he went with her to Virginia with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare. He knew both these countries well, yet he promised me the next spring to meet me in New England, but the ship and he perished in Virginia.

This year, again divers ships intending to go from Plymouth, so disagreed as there went but one of two hundred
Proof 9. 1619. tons, who stayed in the country about six weeks, with thirty-eight men and boys, had her fraught, which she sold at the first penie, for £2100, besides the furs; so that every poor sailor that had but a single share, had his charges and £16 10s. for his seven months' work. Mr. Thomas Dirmer, having lived about a year in Newfoundland, returning to Plymouth, went for New England in this ship, and not only confirms what I have written, but so much more approved of it, that he stayed there with five or six men in a little boat. Finding two or three Frenchmen among the savages who had lost their ship, augmented his company, with whom he ranged the coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcomed and well refreshed; thence returned to New England again, where having been a year, in his back-return to Virginia he was so wounded by the savages he died upon it; those who escaped were relieved at Virginia. Let not men attribute their great adventures and untimely deaths to unfortunateness, but rather wonder how God did so long preserve them, with so small means to do so much, leaving the fruits of their labors to be an encouragement to those our poor undertakings; and this for our advantage, as they write unto me, that God hath laid this country open for us, and slain the most part of the inhabitants by cruel wars and a mortal disease, for where I had seen one hundred or two hundred people there is scarce ten to be found. From Pembrocks bay to Harrintons bay there is not twenty; from thence to Cape Ann some thirty; from Taulbuts bay to the river Charles, about forty; and not any of them touched

with any sickness, but one poor Frenchman, that died.

For to make trial this year, there is gone six or seven sail from the west country, only to fish, three of whom Proof 10, 1620. are returned, and as I was certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that every sailor for a single share had £20 for his seven months work, which is more than in twenty months he should have gotten had he gone for wages anywhere. Now, though all the former ships have not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opinionated, unskillful men that had not experienced diligence to save that they took, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reasonable kind of perfection. In despite of all detractors and calumniation, the country yet hath satisfied all ; the defect hath been in their using or abusing it, not in itself, nor me.

A PLANTATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

UPON these inducements, some few well-disposed gentlemen and merchants of London and other places provided two ships, the one of one hundred and sixty tons, the Proof 11, 1620. other of seventy. They left the coast of England the twenty-third of August, with about one hundred and twenty persons, but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leak that forced their return to Plymouth, where discharging her and twenty passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailors, they set sail again the sixth of September, and the ninth of November fell Cape James, but being pestered nine weeks in this leaking, unwholesome ship, lying wet in their cabins, most of them grew very weak, and weary of the sea ; then for want of experience ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without covering in the extremity of winter, forty of them died and sixty were left in very weak estate at the ship's coming away, about the first of April following, and arrived in England the sixth of May.

Immediately after her arrival, from London they sent another of fifty-five tons, to supply them, with thirty-seven Proof 12, 1620. persons. They set sail in the beginning of July, but being crossed by westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could pass Plymouth, and arrived at New Plymouth

in New England, the eleventh of November, where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lusty and in good health, except six that died. Within a month they returned here for England, laded with clapboard, wainscot, and walnut, with about three hogsheads of beaver skins, and some sassafras, the thirteenth of December, and drawing near our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, sent out by the marquis of Cera, governor of Isle Deu, on the coast of Poytou, where they kept the ship, imprisoned the master and company, took from them to the value of about £500, and after fourteen days sent them home with a poor supply of victuals, their own being devoured by the marquis and his hungry servants. They arrived in London the fourteenth of February, leaving all those they found and carried to New England, well and in health, with victuals and corn sufficient till the next harvest.

THE COPY OF LETTER SENT BY THIS SHIP.

LOVING COUSIN: At our arrival at New Plymouth in New England, we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sick and weak, with very small means, the Indians round about us peaceable and friendly, the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally of itself great store of fruits, as vines of divers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise walnuts, chestnuts, small nuts, and plums, with much variety of flowers, roots, and herbs, no less pleasant than wholesome and profitable. No place hath more gooseberries and strawberries, nor better. Timber of all sorts you have in England doth cover the land, that affords beasts of divers sorts, and great flocks of turkeys, quail, pigeons, and partridges; many great lakes abounding with fish, fowl, beavers, and otters. The sea affords us as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea fish, as the rivers and isles doth variety of wild fowl of most useful sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodness nor quality we know. Better grain cannot be than the Indian corn, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all freeholders, the rent day doth not trouble us, and all those good blessings we have, of which and what we list, in their seasons for taking. Our company are for most

A letter from
New Plymouth.

part very religious, honest people ; the word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath, so that I know not anything a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I have in England, and so I rest,

Your loving kinsman,

WILLIAM HILTON.

From the west country went ten or twelve ships to fish, which were all well fraughted. Those that came first at Bilbow made £17 a single share, besides Proof 13, 1621. beaver, otter, and martin skins ; but some of the rest that came to the same ports that were already furnished, so glutted the market their price was abated, yet all returned so well contented they are preparing to go again.

There is gone from the west of England only to fish thirty-five ships, and about the last of April two more For this year, 1622. from London, the one of one hundred tons, the other of thirty, with some sixty passengers to supply the plantation with all necessary provisions. Now, though the Turk and French hath been somewhat too busy, would all the Christian princes but be truly at unity as his royal majesty, our sovereign lord and king desireth, seventy sail of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his coasts in the Levant and make such a guard in the straits of Hellespont as would make the great Turk himself more afraid in Constantinople than the smallest red cross crosses the seas would be, either of any French, Piccaroun, or the pirates of Argere.

AN ABSTRACT OF LETTERS SENT FROM THE COLONY
IN NEW ENGLAND, JULY 16, 1622.

SINCE the news of the massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them than before, for their hands have been imbrued in much English blood only by too much confidence, but not by force.

Here I must entreat a little your favors to digress. They did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare novelties ; but

now they fear we may beat them out of their dens, which lions and tigers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an Englishman or discourage any, either in Virginia or New England? No; for I have tried them both. For Virginia, I kept that country with thirty-eight, and had not to eat but what we had from the savages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our commonwealth was very strong. With such a number I ranged that unknown country fourteen weeks; I had but eighteen to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weeks before their greatest king's habitations till they had gathered together all the power they could, and yet the Dutchmen sent at a needless excessive charge did help Powhattan how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were uncertain, but those two honorable gentlemen (Captain George Percie and Captain Francis West, two of the Phittiplaces, and some other noble gentlemen and resolute spirits, bore their shares with me, and now living in England) did see me take this murdering Opechaukanough, now their king, by the long locks on his head, with my pistol at his breast. I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our bark of twenty tons, with corn. When their own wants were such I have given them part again in pity, and others have bought it again to plant their fields.

For wronging a soldier but the value of a penny, I have caused Powhattan to send his own men to Jamestown to receive their punishment at my discretion. It is true, in our greatest extremity, they shot me, slew three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled took me prisoner; yet God made Pocahontas, the king's daughter, the means to deliver me, and thereby taught me to know their treacheries, to preserve the rest. It was also my chance in single combat to take the king of Paspahagh prisoner, and by keeping him, forced his subjects to work in chains till I made all the country pay contribution, having little else whereon to live.

Twice in this time I was their president, and none can say in all that time I had any man slain; but for keeping them in that fear I was much blamed both there and here, yet I left five hundred behind me that through their confidence in six months came most to confusion, as you may read at large in the description of Virginia. When I went first to those desperate designs

it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go, and procrastination caused more to run away than went. But after the ice was broken, came many brave volunteers, notwithstanding since I came from thence, the honorable company have been humble suitors to his majesty to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither ; nay, so much scorned was the name of Virginia that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were ; yet for all the worst of spite, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now suitors to go than ever hath been constrained knaves, and it is not unknown to most men of understanding how happy many of those calumniators do think themselves that they might be admitted, and yet pay for their passage to go now to Virginia, and had I but means to transport as many as would go, I might have choice of ten thousand that would gladly be in any of those new places which were so basely condemned by ungrateful, base minds.

To range this country of New England in like manner, I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their brute conditions I met many of their silly encounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked. When your west countrymen were many of them wounded and much tormented with the savages that assaulted their ship, as they did say themselves, in the first year I was there, 1614, and though Mr. Hunt, then master, with me, did most basely in stealing some savages from that coast to sell, when he was directed to have gone for Spain, yet that place was so remote from Capawuck, where Epenew should have fraughted them with gold ore. His fault could be no cause of their bad success, however it is alleged for an excuse. I speak not this out of vainglory, as it may be some gleaners or some who were never there may censure me, but to let all men be assured by these examples, what those savages are that thus strangely do murder and betray our countrymen. But to the purpose.

What is already written of the healthfulness of the air, the richness of the soil, the goodness of the woods, the abundance of fruit, fish, and fowl, in their season, they still affirm that have been there now nearly two years, and at one draught they have taken one thousand bass, and in one night twelve hogs-heads of herring. They are building a strong fort, they hope

shortly to finish ; in the interim they are well provided. Their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well near sixty acres of ground well planted with corn, besides their gardens well replenished with useful fruits, and if their adventures would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly be supplied. To supply them, this sixteenth of October is going the Paragon with sixty-seven persons, and all this is done by private men's purses. And to conclude in their own words, should they write of all plenty they have found, they think they should not be believed.

For the twenty-six sail of ships, the most I can yet understand is M. Ambrose Jennens of London, and M. Abraham Jennens of Plymouth, sent their Abraham, a ship of two hundred and twenty tons, and the Nightingale of Portsmouth, of one hundred, whose fish at the first penie came to £3150 ; in all there was thirty-five sail, and were in Newfoundland, where they shared six or seven pounds for a common man ; in New England they shared £14, besides six Dutch and French ships made wonderful returns in furs.

Thus you may see plainly the yearly success from New
 1622. England by Virginia, which hath been so costly to
 this kingdom and so dear to me, which either to see
 perish or but bleed (pardon me, though it passionate me beyond
 the bonds of modesty), to have been sufficiently able to foresee
 it, and had neither power nor means how to prevent it. By
 that acquaintance I have with them, I may call them my
 children, for they have been my wife, my hawks, my hounds,
 my cards, my dice, and in total my best content, as indifferent
 to my heart as my left hand to my right, and notwithstanding
 all those miracles of disasters have crossed both them and me,
 yet were there not one Englishman remaining (as God be
 thanked there are some thousands), I would yet begin again
 with as small means as I did at the first, not for that I have
 any secret encouragement from any I protest more than lament-
 able experiences, for all their discoveries I can yet hear of,
 are but pigs of my own sow, nor more strange to me than to
 hear one tell me he hath gone from Billingsgate and discovered
 Greenwich, Gravesend, Tilbery, Quinborow, Lee, and Margit,
 which to those did never hear of them, though they dwell in
 England, might be made seem some rare secrets and great

countries unknown, except the relations of Mr. Dirmer.

In England some are held great travelers that have seen Venice and Rome, Maarill and Algere, Prague or Ragousa, Constantinople, or Jerusalem, and the pyramids of Egypt; that think it nothing to go to the summer isles or Virginia, which is as far as any of them, and I hope in time will prove a more profitable and a more laudable journey. As for the danger, you see our ladies and gentlewomen account it nothing now to go thither, and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer them to languish in despair whom God so wonderfully and so oft hath preserved.

What here I have written by relation, if it be not right, I humbly entreat your pardons, but I have not spared any diligence to learn the truth of them that have been actors or sharers in those voyages. In some particulars they might deceive me, but in the substances they could not, for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished; but seeing all those have lived there do confirm more than I have written, I doubt not but all those testimonies, with these new begun examples of plantation, will move both city and country freely to adventure with me and my partners more than promises, seeing I have from his majesty letters patent, such honest, free, and large conditions assured me from his commissioners, as I hope will satisfy any honest understanding.

But because some fortune tellers saith I am unfortunate, had they spent their time as I have done, they would rather believe in God than their calculations, and peradventure have given as bad account of their actions, and therefore I entreat leave to answer those objectors that think it strange if this be true, I have made no more use of it, rests so long without employment and hath no more reward nor preferment, to which I say :

I think it more strange they should tax me before they have tried as much as I have, both by land and sea, as well in Asia and Africa as Europe and America, where my commanders were actors or spectators, they always so freely rewarded me, I never needed to importune, or could I ever learn to beg. What there I got I have thus spent. These sixteen years I have spared neither pains nor money, according to my abilities, first to procure his majesty's letters patent, and a company

here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to Virginia, as is said, which beginning here and there cost me nearly five years' work, and more than £500 of my own estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis, where I stayed till I left five hundred better provided for than ever I was, from which blessed virgin, ere I returned, sprung the fortunate habitation of Somer Isles.

This virgin's sister, now called New England, an. 1616, at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince Charles, hath been nearly as chargeable to me and my friends, for all which, although I never got a shilling but it cost me many a pound, yet I think myself happy to see their prosperity.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceed upon these certainties, what think you I undertook when nothing was known, but that there was a vast land. I never had power and means to do anything, though more hath been spent in formal delays than would have done the business, but in such a penurious and miserable manner as if I had gone a begging to build an university. Where had men been as forward to adventure their purses and perform the conditions they promised me, as to crop the fruits of my labors, thousands ere this had been bettered by these designs. Thus, betwixt the spur of desire and the bridle of reason, I am near ridden to death in a ring of despair; the reins are in your hands, therefore I entreat you to ease me, and those that think I am either idle or unfortunate, may see the cause, and know; unless I did see better dealing, I have had warning enough not to be so forward again at every motion upon their promises, unless I intended nothing but to carry news. For now they dare adventure a ship, that when I went first would not adventure a groat, so they may be at home again by Michaelmas, which makes me remember M. Hackluts; oh, incredulity! the wit of fools, that slovenly do spit at all things fair; a sluggard's cradle, a coward's castle, how easy it is to be an infidel; but to the purpose.

By this all men may perceive the ordinary performance of this voyage in five or six months; the plenty of fish is most certainly approved, and it is certain from Canada and New England within these six years hath come near twenty thousand beaver skins. Now had each of those ships transported but some small quantity of the most increasing beasts, fowls, fruit,

plants, and seeds, as I projected, by this time their increase might have been sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gain in many is so violent, and the endeavors of many undertakers so negligent, everyone so regarding their private gain, that it is hard to effect any public good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, unless both authority and money assist experience. It is not a work for every one to plant a colony; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, judgment, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and experience to do but near well; your home-bred ingrossing projectors shall find there a great difference betwixt saying and doing. But to conclude, the fishing will go forward if you plant it or no, whereby a colony may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might provide such fraughts to buy of us their dwelling, as I would hope no ship should go or come empty from New England.

The charge of this is only salt, nets, hooks, lines, knives, Irish rugs, coarse cloth, beads, glass, and such trash, only for fishing and trade with the savages, beside our own necessary provisions, whose endeavors will quickly defray all this charge, and the savages have entreated me to inhabit where I will. Now all these ships, till this last year, have been fished within a square of two or three leagues, and not one of them all would adventure any further, where questionless five hundred sail may have their fraught better than in Iceland, Newfoundland, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can have their fish in their ships, because New England's fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May; the progression hereof tends much to the advancement of Virginia and the Bermudas, whose empty ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of need to the inhabitants of Newfoundland.

The returns made by the western ships are commonly divided into three parts, one for the owner of the ship, another for the master and his company, the third for the victualers, which course being still permitted, will be no hindrance to the plantation, go there never so many, but a means of transporting that yearly for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gain twenty, thirty, fifty in the one hundred, nay, three hundred for one hundred in seven months, as you see they have done, spending twice so much time in going and coming as in staying there; were I there planted, seeing the variety of the fishings in their seasons serveth the most part of the year, and with a little labor we might make all the salt we need use. I can conceive of no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gains that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two months in a year, and if those do give twenty, thirty, or forty shillings for an acre of land, or ship carpenters, forgers of iron, etc., that buy all things at a dear rate, grow rich, when they may have as good of all needful necessaries for taking, in my opinion, should not grow poor, and no commodity in Europe doth more decay than wood.

Mr. Dee recordeth, in his *British Monarchy*, that King Edgar had a navy of four thousand sail, with which he yearly made his progress about this famous monarchy of Great Britain, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon it seems he projected to our most memorable Queen Elizabeth, the erecting of a fleet of sixty sail, he called a little navy royal, imitating the admired Pericles, Prince of Athens, that could never secure that tormented estate until he was lord and captain of the sea.

At this none need wonder, for who knows not, her royal majesty during her life, by the incredible adventures of her royal navy, and what valiant soldiers and seamen, notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending of France and Holland, and reconquering Ireland, yet all the world by sea or land both feared, loved, and admired good Queen Elizabeth.

Both to maintain and increase that incomparable honor, God be thanked, to her incomparable successor, our most royal lord and sovereign, King James, etc., this great philosopher hath left this to his majesty and his kingdom's consideration: that if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is also due by sea; the king's highways are common to pass, but not to dig for mines, or anything; so England's coasts are free to pass, but not to fish but by his majesty's prerogative.

His majesty of Spain permits none to pass the pope's order for the East and West Indies, but by his permission on or at their peril. If all that world be so justly theirs, it is no injustice

for England to make as much use of her own shores as strangers do, that pay to their own lords the tenth and not to the owner of those liberties anything to speak of, whose subjects may neither take nor sell any in their territories, which small tribute would maintain this little navy royal and not cost his majesty a penny, and yet maintain peace with all foreigners, and allow them more courtesy than any nation in the world affords to England.

It were a shame to allege that Holland is more worthy to enjoy our fishings as lords thereof, because they have more skill to handle it than we, as they can our wool and undressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get money to build this navy, he saith, who would not spare the one hundred penny of his rents and the five hundred penny of his goods; each servant that taketh forty shillings wages, four-pence, and every foreigner of seven years of age, four-pence for seven years. Not any of these but they will spend three times so much in pride, wantonness, or some superfluity. And do any men love the security of their estates, that of themselves would not be humble suitors to his majesty to do this of free will as a voluntary benevolence, or but the one-half of this, or some such other course as I have propounded to divers of the companies, free from any constraint, tax, lottery, or imposition, so it may be as honestly and truly employed as it is projected, the poorest mechanic in this kingdom would gain by it. You might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, five times cheaper than you can do here, and have good merchandise for their fraught in this unknown land, to the advancement of God's glory, His church and gospel, and the strengthening and relief of a great part of christendom, without hurt to any, to the terror of pirates, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing of merchants, and so much increase of navigation to make England's trade and shipping as much as any nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits to the general good of all good subjects, and would cause thousands yet unborn to bless the time and all those that first put it in practice.

Now, lest it should be obscured as it hath been to private ends, or so weakly undertaken by our overweening incredulity that strangers may possess it, whilst we contend for New

England's good, but not England's good, I present this to your highness and to all the lords in England, hoping by your gracious good liking and approbation to move all the worthy companies of this noble city, and all the cities and countries in the whole land, to consider it, since I can find them wood and half victuals, with the aforesaid advantages, with what facility they may build and maintain this little navy royal both with honor, profit, and content, and inhabit as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel, which with my life and what I have I will endeavor to effect, if God please, and you permit. But no man will go from hence to have less freedom there than here, nor adventure all they have to prepare the way for those that know it not, and it is too well known there hath been so many undertakers of patents and such sharing of them as hath bred no less discouragement than wonder, to hear such great promises and so little performances. In the interim you see the Dutch and French already frequent it ; and God forbid them in Virginia or any of his majesty's subjects should not have as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Mr. Pierce and a few private adventurers with him, what have we there for all these inducements ?

This year three
ships went from
London, set out
by Master John
Farar and his
partners :
The Bona
Nova 200 tons.
The Hopwell,
70 tons.
The Darling,
40 tons.

As for those whom pride or covetousness lulleth asleep in a cradle of slothful carelessness, would they but consider how all the great monarchies of the earth have been brought to confusion, or but remember the late lamentable experience of Constanti- nople, and how many cities, towns, and provinces in the fair, rich kingdoms of Hungaria, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia ; and how many thousands of princes, earls, barons, knights, merchants, and others have in one day lost goods, lives, and honors, or sold for slaves like beasts in a market place ; their wives, children, and servants slain or wandering they knew not whither, dying or living in all extremities of extreme misery and calamities. Surely they would not only do this, but give all they have to enjoy peace and liberty at home, or but adventure their persons abroad, to prevent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best prevaiileth where he findeth wealth and plenty, most armed with ignorance and security.

Though the true condition of war is only to suppress the

proud and defend the innocent and humble, as did that most generous Prince Sigismundus Bathor, prince of those countries, against those who, under the color of justice and pity, to maintain their superfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintain their vice, and undo them, or keep them from ability to do anything that would not admire and adore their honors, fortunes, covetousness, falsehood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse than cowardice or ignorance, and all manner of vileness, clean contrary to all honor, virtue, and nobleness.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affairs, I humbly crave your honorable and favorable constructions and pardons, if anything be amiss.

If any desire to be further satisfied, they may read my Description of Virginia and New England, and peruse them with their several maps. What defect you find in them, they shall find supplied in me or my authors, that thus freely hath thrown myself with my mite into the treasury of my country's good, not doubting but God will stir up some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy Columbus could give the Spaniards any such certainties for his design when Queen Isabel of Spain set him forth with fifteen sail. And though I can promise no mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let us imitate, but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing. Therefore, honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Tumbatu, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility, and so I humbly rest.

FINIS.

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- A** List of Those that have been Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia, by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of the Colony. Copied from the original manuscript (Harleian collection, codex 6845, page 54), in the library of the British Museum, London, by Robert Greenhow, Esq., of Virginia.
- No. 10,
February.** **A** Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676. Published from the original manuscript, in the first volume (second series) of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston: Printed by John Eliot, No. 5 Court street, 1814.
- No. 11,
March.** **N**EW England's Plantation: or, a short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that country. Written by a reverend Divine now there resident. London: Printed by T. C. and R. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the sign of the Blue Bible in Greene Arbor in the little Old Bailey, 1630.
- No. 12,
April.** **A** Petition of W. C. Exhibited to the High Court of Parliament, now assembled, for the Propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for the settling of our Plantations there; which Petition is approved by seventy able English Divines, also by Master Alexander Henderson and some other worthy Ministers of Scotland. Printed in the year 1641.

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER THREE

JULY 1898

THE PLANTER'S PLEA, OR THE GROUNDS
OF PLANTATIONS EXAMINED AND USUAL
OBJECTIONS ANSWERED. TOGETHER WITH
A MANIFESTATION OF THE CAUSES MOVING
SUCH AS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A PLANTATION
IN NEW ENGLAND. FOR THE SATISFACTION
OF THOSE THAT QUESTION THE LAWFUL-
NESS OF THE ACTION. LONDON: PRINTED
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COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for England and the Colonies. The number for August will contain "Gen. Thomas Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, March, 1631. With explanatory Notes by Dr. John Farmer, Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society."

Volume one was completed with the number for April, 1898, which contains a very complete index, thus making the twelve numbers readily available for reference purposes. The twelve numbers complete and uncut, in a binding of dark blue buckram, price four dollars. Covers for binding can be furnished separately, if desired.

IN PREPARATION. The History and Genealogy of the Cowdery, Cowdrey, and Cowdray Families. Compiled by Mary Bryant Alverson. Published by George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y., 1898. 8vo, cloth, uncut, price \$3.00.

THE
PLANTERS' PLEA

OR

THE GROUNDS OF PLANTATIONS EXAMINED, AND USUAL OBJECTIONS ANSWERED,

TOGETHER WITH A MANIFESTATION OF THE CAUSES MOVING SUCH AS HAVE LATELY UNDERTAKEN A PLANTATION IN NEW ENGLAND, FOR THE SATISFACTION OF THOSE THAT QUESTION THE LAWFULNESS OF THE ACTION.

2 THES. V. 21.

Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM JONES.
1630.

NO 15 JULY 1898
COLONIAL TRACTS
Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

The Genesee Press:
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Rochester, N. Y.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader :

IT will appear to any man of common sense, at first sight, that this rude draught, that sets forth certain considerable grounds in planting colonies, being wrested out of the author's hand, hardly overlooked, much less filed and smoothed for the press, was never intended to be presented to public view, especially in this attire ; wherefore, the reader is entreated to observe that the particulars of this small pamphlet being all ranged under these two heads, matters of fact or of opinion. In the former, the author sets down his knowledge, and consequently what he resolves to justify ; in the latter, what he conceives to be most probable, not what he dares warrant as certain and infallible. Wherefore, if in the declaring of his own opinion, either concerning colonies in general, or this in particular, he proposes anything that to men of better and more solid judgment, upon mature advice, shall seem either not sound, or not evident, or not well fortified by strength of reason, he desires rather advertisement thereof by some private intimation than by public opposition, as not conceiving an argument of this nature wherein neither God's glory nor man's salvation have any necessary interest (though the work be directed to, and doth in a good measure, further both), worth the contending for in a time when so many weighty controversies in the fundamentals of religion are in agitation, and withal professing himself willing to receive back any light gold that hath passed from him unweighed, and to exchange it for that which will be weight, as being conscious to himself that he desires not willingly to beguile any man. Besides, the reader may be pleased further to observe that, seeing the arguments produced in this treatise are rather proposed than handled, they cannot carry with them that apparent and clear evidence of truth at the first view as they might and would do if they were more largely deduced and more fully fortified. Wherefore, he is entreated not to reject them too easily as carrying more weight than they seem to do at the first appearance. Howsoever the author's

intention and opinion be construed and approved, if it may be believed that the gentlemen that are lately issued out from us to lay the foundation of a colony in New England have not been thrust forward by unadvised precipitation, but led on by such probable grounds of reason and religion as might be likely to prevail with men that desire to keep a good conscience in all things, I trust these will hold themselves reasonably satisfied; howsoever, both they and such as wish the furtherance of your design have, I assure myself, a testimony from God and your own consciences that they have endeavored to take their footing upon warrantable grounds, and to direct themselves to a right scope, as will be further manifested in this ensuing treatise.

VOL. 2 COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 3

A BRIEF SURVIEW OF COLONIES, AND FIRST
OF THEIR GROUND AND WARRANT.

CHAPTER I.

By a colony we mean a society of men drawn out of one state or people and transplanted into another country.

COLONIES, as other conditions and states in human society, have their warrant from God's direction and command, who, as soon as men were, set them their task to replenish the earth and to subdue it (Genesis i. 28). Those words, I grant, express a promise, as the title of a benediction prefixed unto them here, and in the repetition of them to Noah implies (Genesis ix. 1). But that withal they include a direction or command was never, as I conceive, doubted by any. Junius upon them: *Prout vim intus indiderat, sic palam mandatum dedit curandæ propagationis and dominationis exercendæ.* And *Paræus, jubet igitur replere terram, non solum generatione and habitatione, sed cum primis potestate cultu and usu: Etsi vero nonnullæ orbis partes manent inhabitabiles; habemus nihilominus totius dominium jure Divino, licet non habemus totius orbis usum culpa and defectu nostro.* And before them, Calvin: *Jubet eos crescere and simul benedictionem suam destinat,* etc., and divers others.

1. That colonies have their warrant from God.

1. Argument from God's commandment.

It will be granted then that the words include and have the force of a precept, which perhaps some may conceive was to continue during the world's infancy, and no longer; but such a limitation wants ground. It is true that some commandments founded upon and having respect unto some present state and condition of men, received end or alteration when the condition was ended or changed. But precepts given to the body of mankind, as these to Adam and Noah, receive neither alteration in the substantials, nor determination while men and any void places of the earth continue, so that allowing this commandment to bind Adam, it must bind his posterity, and consequently

ourselves in this age, and our issue after us, as long as the earth yields empty places to be replenished.

Besides, the gift of the earth to the sons of men (Psalm cxv. 16) necessarily enforceth their duty to people it. It were a great wrong to God to conceive that He doth ought in vain, or tenders a gift that He never meant should be enjoyed. Now how men should make benefit of the earth, but by habitation and culture, cannot be imagined.

Neither is this sufficient to conceive that God's intention is satisfied if some part of the earth be replenished and used, though the rest be waste, because the same difficulty urgeth us still, that the rest of which we receive no fruit was never intended to us, because it was never God's mind we should possess it. If it were then the mind of God that man should possess all parts of the earth, it must be enforced that we neglect our duty and cross His will if we do it not when we have occasion and opportunity, and withal do little less than despise His blessing.

Withal, that order that God annexed to marriage in His first institution, viz., that married persons should leave father and mother and cleave each to the other, is a good warrant of this practice. For sometime there will be a necessity that young married persons should remove out of their father's house and live apart by themselves, and so erect new families. Now, what are new families but petty colonies; and so at last, removing further and further, they overflow the whole earth. Therefore, so long as there shall be use of marriage, the warrant of deducing colonies will continue.

It is true that all God's directions have a double scope, man's good, and God's honor. Now that this commandment of God is directed unto man's good, temporal and spiritual, is as clear as the light. It cannot be denied but the life of man is every way made more comfortable and afforded a more plentiful supply in a larger scope of ground, which moves men to be so insatiable in their desires to join house to house, and land to land, till there be no more place; exceeding, I grant, there in the measure, and bounds, and justice, and yet building upon a principle that

2. Argument
from God's
gift of the
earth to men.

3. Argument
from the law
of marriage.

4. Argument
from the bene-
fit that comes
to men's out-
ward estates.

nature suggests, that a large place best assures sufficiency ; as we see by nature trees flourish fair, and prosper well, and wax fruitful in a large orchard, which would otherwise wither and decay if they were penned up in a little nursery. Either all, or at best a few, that are stronger plants and better rooted, would increase and overtop, and at last starve the weaker, which falls out in our civil state, where a few men flourish that are best grounded in their estates, or best furnished with abilities, or best fitted with opportunities, and the rest wax weak and languish, as wanting room and means to nourish them.

Now, that the spirits and hearts of men are kept in better temper by spreading wide, and by pouring, as it were, from vessel to vessel (the want whereof is alleged by the prophet Jeremy as the cause that Moab settled upon his lees, and got so harsh a relish, Jeremiah xlvi. 11), will evident to any man that shall consider, that the husbanding of unmanured grounds, and shifting into empty lands, enforces men to frugality and quickeneth invention ; and the settling of new states requireth justice and affection to the common good, and the taking in of large countries presents a natural remedy against covetousness, fraud, and violence, when every man may enjoy enough without wrong or injury to his neighbor. Whence it was that the first ages, by these helps, were renowned for golden times, wherein men, being newly entered into their possessions, and entertained into a naked soil, and enforced thereby to labor, frugality, simplicity, and justice, had neither leisure nor occasion to decline to idleness, riot, wantonness, fraud, and violence, the fruits of well peopled countries, and of the abundance and superfluities of long settled states.

But that which should most sway our hearts, is the respect unto God's honor, which is much advanced by this work of replenishing the earth. First, when the largeness of His bounty is tasted by settling of men in all parts of the world, whereby the extent of His munificence to the sons of men is discovered. The Psalmist tells us that God is much magnified by this, that the whole earth is full of His riches, yea, and the wide sea, too (Psalm civ. 24, 25). And God when He would have Abraham know what He had bestowed on him when He gave him Canaan, wills him to

5. Argument
is from the
furthering of
godliness and
honesty.

6. Argument
from the ad-
vancement of
God's glory.

walk through it in the length of it, and in the breadth of it (Genesis xiii. 17).

Secondly, God's honor must needs be much advanced, when, together with men's persons, religion is conveyed into the several parts of the world, and all quarters of the earth sound with His praise, and Christ Jesus takes in the nations for His inheritance, and the ends of the earth for His possession, according to God's decree and promise (Psalm ii. 8).

Besides all that hath been said, seeing God's command and abilities to perform it usually go together, we may guess at His intention and will to have the earth replenished by the extraordinary fruitfulness that He gave to mankind in those first times, when men manifested their greatest forwardness for the undertaking of this task, which seems to be denied to the latter ages, and peradventure for this reason among others, because the love of ease and pleasure fixing men to the places and countries which they find ready furnished to their hand by their predecessors' labors and industry, takes from them a desire and will of undertaking such a laborious and unpleasant task as is the subduing of unmanured countries.

7. Argument from the abilities wherewith God furnisheth men for this work.

OBJECTION.

But, it may be objected, if God intended now the issuing out of colonies, as in former ages, He would withal quicken men with the same heroical spirits which were found in those times, which we find to be far otherwise. Although the strong impression upon men's spirits that have been and are stirred up in this age to this and other plantations might be a sufficient answer to this objection, yet we answer further.

ANSWER.

It's one thing to guess what God will bring to pass and another thing to conclude what He requires us to undertake. Shall we say that because God gives not men the zeal of Moses and Phineas, therefore He hath discharged men of the duty of executing judgment? It is true, indeed, that God hath hitherto suffered the neglect of many parts of the world and hidden them from the eyes of former ages, for ends best known to Himself; but that disproves not that the duty of peopling void places lies upon us still, especially since they are discovered

and made known to us. And, although I dare not enter so far into God's secrets as to affirm that He avengeth the neglect of this duty by wars, pestilences, and famines, which, unless they had wasted the people of these parts of the world, we should, ere this, have devoured one another. Yet it cannot be denied but the near thronging of people together in these full countries have often occasioned amongst us civil wars, famines, and plagues. And it is as true that God hath made advantage of some of these wars, especially which have laid many fruitful countries waste, to exercise men in these very labors which employ new planters, by which He hath reduced them to some degree of that frugality, industry, and justice which had been disused and forgotten through long-continued peace and plenty.

Although no man can design what particular summons the first undertakers of planting colonies had, whether from the mouth of God immediately (as Abraham first, and the children of Israel afterwards), or from the advice and counsel of men, yet that the wisdom of God directed them in this course is evident by Moses' testimony affirming that he separated the sons of Adam, and set the bounds of their habitation (Deuteronomy xxxii. 8), so that whoever set on the work, God acknowledgeth it as His own.

8. Argument drawn from God's acknowledgment of peopling the earth to be His own work.

CHAPTER II.

What ends may be proposed in planting colonies?

THE ends that men have proposed to themselves in issuing out colonies have been divers. Some, and the worst and least warrantable, are such as are only swayed by private respects; as when men shift themselves and draw others with them out of their countries, out of undutiful affections to governors to exempt themselves from subjection to lawful power, or aim at a great name to themselves and to raise their own glory. As for the enlargement of trade, which drew on the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the East Indies, or securing of conquered countries, which occasioned many colonies of the Romans in Italy and other lands, they may be so far warranted as the grounds of the conquests or trades were warrantable (if they were carried without injury or wrong to the natives), seeing natural commerce between nations and conquests upon just

wars have been always approved by the laws of God and man.

As for those colonies that have been undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing waste and void countries, they have a clear and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God as immediately concurring with one special end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

But, seeing God's honor and glory, and next men's salvation, is His own principal scope in this and all His ways, it must withal be necessarily acknowledged that the desire and respect unto the publishing of His name where it is not known, and reducing men that live without God in this present world, unto a form of piety and godliness, by how much the more immediately it suits with the mind of God, and is furthest carried from private respects by so much the more it advanceth this work of planting colonies above all civil and humane ends, and deserves honor and approbation above the most glorious conquests or successful enterprises that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the sun hath seen, (and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act than a victory over men, and the enlargement of Christ's kingdom than the adding unto men's dominions, and the saving of men's souls than the provision for their lives and bodies.

It seems this end in plantations hath been specially reserved for this latter end of the world, seeing before Christ the decree of God that suffered all nations to walk in their own ways (Acts xiv. 16) shut up the church within the narrow bounds of the promised land, and so excluded men from the propagation of religion to other countries. And in the apostles' time God afforded an easier and more speedy course of converting men to the truth by the gift of tongues, seconded by the power of miracles to win the greater credit to their doctrine, which most especially and first prevailed upon countries civilized, as the history of the apostles' acts makes manifest. As for the rest I make no question, but God used the same way to other barbarous nations which He held with us, whom He first civilized by the Roman conquests, and mixture of their colonies with us, that He might bring in religion afterwards, seeing no man

can imagine how religion should prevail upon those who are not subdued to the rule of nature and reason.

Nay, I conceive God especially directs this work of erecting colonies unto the planting and propagating of religion in the West Indies (although I will not confine it to those alone), and that for divers reasons, which ought to be taken into serious consideration, as affording the strongest motives that can be proposed to draw on the hearts and affections of men to this work now in hand, for this purpose, which gives occasion unto the publishing of this treatise.

There are, and those men of note both for place and learning in the church, that conceive the course held by God from the beginning in the propagation of religion, falls in this last age upon the western parts of the world.

It is true that from the first planting of religion among men it hath always held a constant way from east to west, and hath, in that line, proceeded so far that it hath extended to the uttermost western bounds of the formerly known world, so that if it make any further passage upon that point of the compass it must necessarily light upon the West Indies. And they conceive withal that our Saviour's prophecy (Matthew xxiv. 27) points out such a progress of the gospel. It is true that the comparison there used, taken from the lightning, aims at the sudden dispersing of the knowledge of Christ by the apostle's ministry; but whereas we know the lightning shines from divers parts of the heaven, showing itself indifferently, sometimes in the west, sometimes in the north or south, why doth our Saviour in that similitude choose to name the lightning that shines out of the east into the west, unless it be to express not only the sudden shining out of the gospel, but withal, the way and passage, by which it proceeds from one end of the world to the other, that is, from east to west?

But passing by that only as a probable argument, this which follows seems to carry greater weight.

The knowledge of Christ must certainly be manifested unto all the quarters of the world, according to divers predictions of prophets, ratified and renewed by Christ and His apostles. But that the knowledge of Christ hath never

1. Reason from the course of the gospel from the beginning.

2. Reason from the promise of manifesting Christ to the whole world.

been discovered unto these western nations may be almost demonstrated, seeing no history for five hundred years before Christ ever mentioned any such inhabitants of the earth, much less left any record of any passage unto them or commerce with them. So that unless we should conceive a miraculous work of conceiving knowledge, without means, we cannot imagine how these nations should once hear of the name of Christ ; which seems the more evident by this, that we find among them not so much as any relics of any of those principles which belong to that mystery, although in some place may be discovered some footsteps of the knowledge of God, of the creation, and of some legal observations.

As in New England the nations believe the creation of the world by God, the creation of one man and woman, their happy condition at the first and seduction by the envy (as they say) of the cony, which moves them to abhor that creature unto this day more than any serpent. It is also reported that they separate their women in the times appointed by the law of Moses, counting them and all they touch unclean during that time appointed by the law, whether upon any other ground or by a tradition received from the Jews, it is uncertain. Some conceive their predecessors might have had some commerce with the Jews in times past, by what means I know not. Howsoever it be, it falls out that the name of the place which our late colony hath chosen for their seat proves to be perfect Hebrew, being called Nahum Keike, by interpretation the bosom of consolation ; which it were a pity that those which observed it not should change into the name of Salem, though upon a fair ground, in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors, after expectance of some dangerous jar. Now then, if all nations must have Christ tendered unto them, and the Indies have never yet heard of His name, it must follow that work of conveying that knowledge to them remains to be undertaken and performed by this last age.

Again, what shall we conceive of that almost
 3. Reason
 from the mi-
 raculous open-
 ing of the
 passage to
 these parts of
 the world.

miraculous opening the passage unto and discovery of these formerly unknown nations which must needs have proved impossible unto former ages for want of the knowledge of the use of the loadstone, as wonderfully found out as these unknown countries by it.

It were little less than impiety to conceive that God (whose will concurs with the lighting of a sparrow upon the ground), had no hand in directing one of the most difficult and observable works of this age, and as great folly to imagine that He who made all things, and consequently orders and directs them to His own glory, had no other scope but the satisfying of men's greedy appetites that thirsted after the riches of that new-found world, and to tender unto them the objects of such barbarous cruelties as the world never heard of. We cannot then probably conceive that God, in that strange discovery, aimed at any other thing but this, that after He had punished the atheism and idolatry of those heathen and brutish nations by the conqueror's cruelty, and acquainted them by mixture of some other people, with civility, to cause at length the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ to shine out unto them as it did to our forefathers after those sharp times of the bitter desolations of our nation between the Romans and the Picts.

A fourth reason to prove that God hath left this great and glorious work to this age of the world, is the nearness of the Jews' conversion, before which it is conceived by the most that the fullness of the Gentiles must come in according to the apostle's prophecy (Romans xi. 25). That this day cannot be far off appears by the fulfilling of the prophecies precedent to that great and glorious work and the general expectation thereof by all men, such as was found among the Jews both in Judea and in some other parts of the world before the coming of Christ in the flesh, now then let it be granted that the Jews' conversion is near, and that the Gentiles, and consequently the Indians, must needs be gathered in before that day, and any man may make the conclusion that this is the hour for the work, and consequently of our duty to endeavor the effecting that which God hath determined, the opening of the eyes of those poor ignorant souls and discovering unto them the glorious mystery of Jesus Christ.

4. Reason from the nearness of the Jews' conversion.

CHAPTER III.

The English nation is fit to undertake this task.

THAT this nation is able and fit to send out colonies into foreign parts will evidently appear by the consideration of our overflowing multitudes. This being admitted for a received principle, that countries superabound in people when they have more than they can well nourish or well employ, seeing we know men are not ordained to live only, but withal and especially to serve one another through love in some profitable and useful calling. Granting therefore that this land, by God's ordinary blessing, yields sufficiency of corn and cattle for more than the present inhabitants, yet that we have more people than we do or can profitably employ, will, I conceive, appear to any man of understanding, willing to acknowledge the truth and to consider these four particulars :

1. Many among us live without employment either wholly or in the greatest part (especially if there happen any interruption of trade, as of late was manifested not only in Essex, but in most parts of the land), and that do not only such as delight in idleness, but even folk willing to labor who either live without exercise in their callings, or are fain to thrust into other men's to the evident prejudice of both.

2. The labors of many others might well be spared and to the state's advantage, as serving to little else than luxury and wantonness, to the impoverishing and corrupting of the most, of which there needs no better evidence than this, that when we tax pride and excess in apparel, buildings, etc., the evils are justified, and our mouths stopped with this answer : without this, how should many men live and be maintained ? No man is so uncivil as to deny supernecessaries for distinction of degrees, or supercilious as to think it necessary to reduce a wealthy and abounding state to the plainness and homeliness of the primitive ages. But let our excess be limited to those bounds of decency, modesty, and sobriety, that may answer the proportion of men's callings and degrees, and it will be demonstrated the tenth persons of such as are busied about superfluities, will hardly find sufficient employment to yield themselves and their families necessary maintenance.

3. That warrantable and useful callings are overcharged, all

men's complaints sufficiently witness ; not only innholders and shopkeepers, of both which we need not the third person, but even handy craftsmen, as shoemakers, tailors, nay, masons, carpenters, and the like, many of whom with their families live in such a low condition as is little better than beggary, by reason of the multitudes that are bred up and exercised in those employments. And yet through the excessive numbers of persons in those and other callings, necessity enforceth them to require so large a price and recompense of their labors, that a man of good estate is not able to afford himself conveniences for his condition (every calling he hath use of exhausting so much for the commodities it puts off onto him), whereas, if the number of those persons in their several callings were abated, the rest, having full employment, might be able to abate of their excessive prices, whereby both they and their chapmen might live more comfortably and plentifully, and the commonwealth by this help would be eased of many burthens it groans under, in making supply to the scanty means of many thousands in these callings so much overlaid with multitudes.

4. Yea, of such as are employed, a great part of their labor were needless, if their works were faithful and loyal. The deceitfulness of our works (of which all men complain, but few discern the cause) occasioneth the often renewing of those things which are made, which otherwise would endure for far longer continuance.

Now, what a disease this must needs be in a state where men's necessities enforce them to inventions of all ways and means of expense upon the instruments of pride and wantonness, and of as many subtilties and frauds in deceitful handling all works that pass through their fingers, that by the speedy wasting of what is made they may be the sooner called upon for new, I leave it to any wise man to judge. It is a fearful condition, whereby men are in a sort enforced to perish or to become means and instruments of evil. So that the conclusion must stand firm, we have more men than we can employ to any profitable or useful labor.

OBJECTION.

But the idleness or unprofitable labors of our people arise not from our numbers, but from our ill government, inferior

magistrates being too remiss in their offices, and therefore may more easily be reformed by establishing better order, or executing those good laws already made at home, than by transporting some of them into foreign countries.

ANSWER.

Good government, though it do reform many, yet it cannot reform all the evils of this kind, because it will be a great difficulty to find out profitable employments for all that will want, which way we should help ourselves by tillage I know not; we can hardly depasture fewer rother-beasts than we do, seeing we spend already their flesh and hides, and as for sheep, the ground depastured with them doth, or might, set on work as many hands as tillage can do. If we adventure the making of linen cloth, other soils are so much fitter to produce the materials for that work, their labor is so much cheaper, the hindering of commerce in trade likely to be so great that the undertakers of this work would in all probability be soon discouraged. Nay, the multiplying of new draperies, which perhaps might effect more than all the rest, yet were in no proportion sufficient to employ the supernumeraries which this land would yield if we could be confined within the bounds of sobriety and modesty, seeing it may be demonstrated that mere a third part of those that inhabit our towns and cities (besides such spare men as the country yields), would, by good order established, be left to take up new employments.

We have as much opportunity as any nation to transport our men and provisions by sea into those countries without which advantage they cannot possibly be peopled from any part of the world, not from this Christian part at least, as all men know. And how useful a neighbor the sea is to the furthering of such a work; the examples of the Grecians and the Phœnicians, who filled all the bordering coasts with their colonies, do sufficiently prove unto all the world. Neither can it be doubted but the first planters wanting this help (as Abraham in his removing to Charran first, and to Caanan afterwards), must needs spend much time and endure much labor in passing their families and provisions by land over rivers and through woods and thickets by unbeaten paths.

2. Argument
from the opportunity
of the sea.

But what need arguments to us that have already determined this truth? How many several colonies have we drawn out and passed over into several parts of the West Indies? And this we have done with the allowance, encouragement, and high commendation of state, perhaps not always with the best success, who knows whether by erring from the right scope? Questionless for the want of fit men for that employment, and experience to direct a work, which, being carried in an untrodden path, must needs be subject to miscarriage into many errors.

3. Argument from our own practice already.

Now, whereas it hath been manifested that the most eminent and desirable end of planting colonies is the propagation of religion, it may be conceived this nation is in a sort singled out unto that work, being of all the states that enjoy the liberty of the religion reformed, and are able to spare people for such an employment, the most orthodox in our profession, and behind none in sincerity in embracing it, as will appear to any indifferent man that shall duly weigh and recount the number and condition of those few states of Europe that continue in the profession of that truth which we embrace.

4. Argument from our fitness to the main end of colonies, the planting of true religion.

CHAPTER IV.

That New England is a fit Country for the Seating of an English Colony for the Propagation of Religion.

NOT only our acquaintance with the soil and natives there, but more especially our opportunity of trading thither for furs and fish, persuade this truth, if other things be answerable. It is well known, before our breach with Spain, we usually sent out to New England yearly, forty or fifty sail of ships of reasonable good burthen, for fishing only. And howsoever it falls out that our Newfoundland voyages prove more beneficial to the merchants, yet it is as true, these to New England are found far more profitable to poor fishermen, so that by that time all reckonings are cast up these voyages come not far behind the other in advantage to the state.

1. Argument of occasion, trade into the country.

2. The fitness of the country for our health and maintenance.

No country yields a more propitious air for our temper than New England, as experience hath made manifest, by all relations ; many of our people that have found themselves alway weak and sickly at home, have become strong and healthy there, perhaps by the dryness of the air and constant temper of it, which seldom varies suddenly from cold to heat, as it doth with us, so that rheums are very rare among our English there, neither are the natives at any time troubled with pain of teeth, soreness of eyes, or ache in their limbs. It may be the nature of the water conduceth somewhat this way, which all affirm to keep the body always temperately soluble, and consequently helps much to the preventing and curing of the gout and stone, as some have found by experience. As for provisions for life : the corn of the country (which it produceth in good proportion, with reasonable labor) is apt for nourishment, and agrees, although not so well with our taste at first, yet very well with our health, nay, is held by some physicians to be restorative. If we like not that, we may make use of our own grains, which agree well with that soil, and so do our cattle ; nay, they grow unto a greater bulk of body there than with us in England. Unto which if we add the fish, fowl, and venison, which that country yields in great abundance, it cannot be questioned but that soil may assure sufficient provision for food ; and being naturally apt for hemp and flax especially, may promise us linen sufficient, with our labor, and woolen, too, if it may be thought fit to store it with sheep.

3. Argument from the emptiness of the land.

The land affords void ground enough to receive more people than this state can spare, and that not only wood grounds, and others which are unfit for present use, but in many places much cleared ground for tillage, and large marshes for hay and feeding of cattle, which comes to pass by the desolation happening through a three years' plague, about twelve or sixteen years past, which swept away most of the inhabitants all along the sea coast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman, and child, so that there is no person left to lay claim to the soil which they possessed. In most of the rest, the contagion hath scarce left alive one person of an hundred. And which is remarkable, such a plague hath not been known or remembered in any age

past, nor then raged above twenty or thirty miles up into the land, nor seized upon any other but the natives, the English in the heat of the sickness commencing with them without hurt or danger. Besides, the natives invite us to sit down by them and offer us what ground we will, so that either want of possession by others, or the possessor's gift and sale, may assure our right, we need not fear a clear title to the soil.

In all colonies it is to be desired that the daughter may answer something back by way of retribution to the mother that gave her being. Nature hath as much force, and founds as strong a relation between people and people as between person and person, so that a colony denying due respect to the state from whose bowels it issued is as great a monster as an unnatural child. Now, a colony planted in New England may be many ways useful to this state.

4. Argument from the usefulness of that colony to this state.

As first in furthering our fishing voyages (one of the most honest and every way profitable employments that the nation undertakes), it must needs be a great advantage unto our men after so long a voyage, to be furnished with fresh victuals there, and that supplied out of that land without spending the provisions of our own country. But there is hope besides that the colony shall not only furnish our fishermen with victuals, but with salt, too, unless men's expectation and conjectures much deceive them, and so quit unto them a great part of the charge of their voyage, beside the hazard of adventure.

1. In our fishing voyages.

Next, how serviceable this country must needs be for provisions for shipping, is sufficiently known already. At present it may yield planks, masts, oars, pitch, tar, and iron, and hereafter (by the aptness of the soil for hemp), if the colony increase, sails and cordage. What other commodities it may afford besides for trade, time will discover. Of wines, among the rest, there can be no doubt, the ground yielding natural vines in great abundance and variety, and of these, some as good as any are found in France, by human culture. But in the possibility of the serviceableness of the colony to this state, the judgment of the Dutch may somewhat confirm us, who have planted in the same soil and make great account of their colony there.

5. Argument the benefit of such a colony to the natives.

But the greatest advantage must needs come unto the natives themselves, whom we shall teach providence and industry, for want whereof they perish oftentimes, while they make short provisions for the present by reason of their idleness, and that they have they spend and waste unnecessarily, without having respect to times to come. Withal, commerce and example of our course of living cannot, but in time, breed civility among them, and that, by God's blessing, may make way for religion consequently, and for the saving of their souls. Unto all which may be added, the safety and protection of the persons of the natives, which are secured by our colonies. In times past the Tarentines (who dwell from those of Massachusetts bay, near which our men are seated, about fifty or sixty leagues to the northeast), inhabiting a soil unfit to produce that country grain, being the more hardy people, were accustomed yearly at harvest to come down in their canoes and reap their fields and carry away their corn, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened and kept them low in times past. From this evil our neighborhood hath wholly freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates, which makes the natives there so glad of our company.

OBJECTION I.

But if we have any spare people, Ireland is a fitter place to receive them than New England. Being, 1, nearer; 2, our own; 3, void in some parts; 4, fruitful; 5, of importance for the securing of our own land; 6, needing our help for their recovery out of blindness and superstition.

ANSWER.

Ireland is well nigh sufficiently peopled already, or will be in the next age. Besides, this work need not hinder that, no more than the plantation in Virginia, Bermudas, S. Christopher's, Barbados, etc., which are all of them approved and encouraged as this is. As for religion, it hath reasonable footing in Ireland already, and may easily be propagated further, if we be not wanting to ourselves. This country of New England is destitute of all helps and means by which the people might come out of the snare of Satan. Now, although it be true that I should regard my son more than my servant, yet I must rather provide

a coat for my servant that goes naked, than give my son another, who hath reasonable clothing already.

OBJECTION II.

But New England hath divers discommodities ; the snow and coldness of the winter, which our English bodies can hardly brook, and the annoyance of men by musquitoes and serpents, and of cattle and corn by wild beasts.

ANSWER.

The cold of winter is tolerable, as experience hath and doth manifest, and is remedied by the abundance of fuel. The snow lies indeed about a foot thick for ten weeks or thereabout, but where it lies thicker and a month longer, as in many parts of Germany, men find a very comfortable dwelling. As for the serpents, it is true there are some, and these larger than our adders, but in ten years' experience, no man was ever endangered by them, and as the country is better stored with people, they will be found fewer and as rare as among us here. As for the wild beasts, they are no more, nor so much dangerous or hurtful here as in Germany and other parts of the world. The musquitoes indeed infest the planters about four months in the heat of summer, but after one year's acquaintance, men make light account of them ; some slight defense for the hands and face, smoke and a close house, may keep them off ; neither are they much more noisome than in Spain, Germany, and other parts, nay, than the fennish parts of Essex and Lincolnshire ; besides, it is credibly reported, that twenty miles inward into the country, they are not found ; but this is certain, and tried by experience, after four or five years' habitation they wax very thin. It may be the hollowness of the ground breeds them, which the treading of the earth by men and cattle doth remedy in time.

OBJECTION III.

But if the propagation of religion be the scope of the plantation, New England, which is so naked of inhabitants, is the unfittest of any place for a colony ; it would more further that work, to set down in some well-peopled country that might afford many subjects to work upon and win to the knowledge of the truth.

ANSWER.

1. But how shall we get footing there? The Virginian colony may be our precedent, where our men have been entertained with continual broils by the natives, and by that means shut out from all hope of working any reformation upon them, from which, their hearts must needs be utterly averse by reason of the hatred which they bear unto our persons; whereas, New England yields this advantage, that it affords us a clear title to our possessions there, and good correspondence with the natives, whether out of their peaceable disposition, or out of their inability to make resistance, or out of the safety which they find by our neighborhood, it skills not much; this is certain, it yields a fair way to work them to that tractableness which will never be found in the Virginians. Neither have we any cause to complain for want of men to work upon; the inland parts are indifferently populous, and Narragansett bay and river, which border upon us, are full of inhabitants who are quiet with us, and trade with us willingly, while we are their neighbors, but are very jealous of receiving either us or the Dutch into the bowels of their country, for fear we should become their lords.

2. Besides, in probability, it will be more advantageous to this work to begin with a place not so populous, for, as the resistance will be less, so by them having once received the gospel, it may be more easily and successfully spread to the places better peopled, who will more easily receive it from the commendation of their own countrymen than from strangers, and flock to it as doves to the windows.

3. Though in the place where they plant there are not many natives, yet they have an opportunity by way of traffic and commerce (which at least is generally once a year), with the natives in a large compass, though far distant from them, by which means they grow into acquaintance with them, and may take many advantages of conveying to them the knowledge of Christ, though they live not with them.

OBJECTION IV.

But the country wants means of wealth that might invite men to desire it, for there is nothing to be expected in New England but competency to live on at the best, and that must

be purchased with hard labor, whereas divers other parts of the West Indies offer a richer soil, which easily allures inhabitants by the tender of a better condition than they live in at present.

ANSWER.

As unanswerable argument to such as make the advancement of their estates the scope of their undertaking, but no way a discouragement to such as aim at the propagation of the gospel, which can never be advanced but by the preservation of piety in those that carry it to strangers. Now we know nothing sorts better with piety than competency, a truth which Agur hath determined long ago (Proverbs xxx. 8). Nay, heathen men, by the light of nature, were directed so far as to discover the overflowing of riches to be enemy to labor, sobriety, justice, love, and magnanimity, and the nurse of pride, wantonness, and contention, and therefore labored by all means to keep out the love and desire of them from their well-ordered states, and observed and professed the coming in and admiration of them to have been the foundation of their ruin. If men desire to have a people degenerate speedily, and to corrupt their minds and bodies, too, and besides to tolerate thieves and spoilers from abroad, let them seek a rich soil that brings in much with little labor, but if they desire that piety and godliness should prosper, accompanied with sobriety, justice, and love, let them choose a country such as this is, even like France, or England, which may yield sufficiency, with hard labor and industry. The truth is, there is more cause to fear wealth than poverty in that soil.

CHAPTER V.

What Persons may be Fit to be Employed in this Work of Planting a Colony.

IT seems to be a common and gross error that colonies ought to be emunctories or sinks of state, to drain away their filth, whence arise often murmurings at the removal of any men of state or worth, with some wonder and admiration that men of sufficiency and discretion should prefer anything before a quiet life at home ; an opinion that savors strongly of self-love, always opposite and enemy to any public good. This funda-

mental error hath been the occasion of the miscarriage of most of our colonies, and the chargeable destruction of many of our countrymen, whom, when we have once issued out from us, we cast off, as we say, to the wide world, leaving them to themselves either to sink or swim.

Contrary to this common custom, a state that intends to draw out a colony for the inhabiting of another country must look at the mother and the daughter with an equal and indifferent eye, remembering that a colony is a part and member of her own body, and such in whose good herself hath a peculiar interest, which, therefore, she should labor to further and cherish by all fit and convenient means, and consequently must allow to her such a proportion of able men as may be sufficient to make the frame of that new-formed body, as good governors, able ministers, physicians, soldiers, schoolmasters, mariners, and mechanics of all sorts, who had therefore need to be of the more sufficiency, because the first fashioning of a politic body is a harder task than the ordering of that which is already framed, as the first erecting of a house is ever more difficult than the future keeping of it in repair, or as the breaking of a colt requires more skill than the riding of a managed horse. When the frame of the body is thus formed and furnished with vital parts, and knit together with firm bands and sinews, the bulk may be filled up with flesh, that is, with persons of less use and activity, so they be pliable and apt to be kept in life.

The disposition of these persons must be respected as much or more than their abilities; men nourished up in idleness, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborn, inclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigal, and generally men habituated to any gross evil, are no fit members of a colony. Ill humors soon overthrow a weak body, and false stones in a foundation ruin the whole building; the persons, therefore, chosen out for this employment ought to be willing, constant, industrious, obedient, frugal, lovers of the common good, or at least such as may be easily wrought to this temper, considering that works of this nature try the undertakers with many difficulties, and easily discourage minds of base and weak temper. It cannot, I confess, be hoped that all should be such; care must be had that the principles be so inclined, and as many of the vulgar as may be, at least that they be willing to submit to

authority ; mutinies, which many times are kindled by one person, are well nigh as dangerous in a colony as in an army.

These are rules concerning electing of fit persons for colonies in general, unto which must be adjoined the consideration of the principal scope whereat the colony aims, which must be religion ; whether it be directed to the good of others for their conversion, or of the planters themselves for their preservation and continuance in a good condition, in which they cannot long subsist without religion. To this purpose must be allotted to every colony, for governors and ministers especially, men of piety and blameless life, especially in such a plantation as this in New England, where their lives must be the patterns to the heathen, and the special, effectual means of winning them to the love of the truth. Nay, it would be endeavored that all governors of families either may be men truly godly, or at least such as consent and agree to a form of moral honesty and sobriety. As for other ends less principal, which are especially merchandise and defense, common sense teacheth every man that the colony must be furnished with the greatest store of such persons as are most serviceable to the main end at which it aims.

OBJECTION.

But able and godly persons being in some degree supporters of the state that sends them out, by sparing them, she seems to pluck away her own props, and so to weaken her own standing, which is against the rule of charity, that allows and persuades every man to have the first care of his own good and preservation.

ANSWER.

The first, indeed, but not the only care ; so I must provide for mine own family, but not for that alone. But to answer this objection more fully, which troubles many, and distracts their thoughts, and strikes indeed at the foundation of this work (for either we must allow some able men for civil and ecclesiastical affairs for peace and war, or no colonies at all): First, I deny that such as are gone out from the state are cut off from the state ; the roots that issue out from the trunk of the tree, though they be dispersed, yet they are not severed, but do good offices, by drawing nourishment to the main body, and the

tree is not weakened, but strengthened the more they spread, of which we have a clear instance in the Roman state. That city by the second Punick war had erected thirty colonies in several parts of Italy, and by their strength especially supported herself against her most potent enemies. I confess, that in places so far distant as New England from this land, the case is somewhat different ; the intercourse is not so speedy, but it must needs be granted, yet, that even those so far remote may be of use and service to this state still, as hath been showed.

Secondly, if some useful men be spared, to whom do we spare them ? Is it not to a part of our own body ? Those whom we send out, are they not our own flesh and bones ? and if we send them out for their greater good, that they may prosper better in a larger room, and in part, too, for our own ease, that their absence may give us the more scope at home, shall it seem much unto us to allow them (without any great loss to ourselves) a few persons, whom, though we would not willingly spare to strangers, yet upon good consideration, we may, according to the principle of nature, bestow upon our own ?

Thirdly, are we altogether our own and for ourselves ? or God's, and for His glory ? We spare them to God, and to religion, and to the church's service. We are owners of our own estates, it is true, but when the service of God or the church requires a share of them, shall any man answer with Nabal (1 Samuel xxv. 11), "Shall I take my bread," etc. ? The primitive churches, planted by the apostles, were content to spare some of their own pastors sometimes, for the public service of the church and good of their brethren. If it be objected, those were brethren and neighbors, these are pagans and beasts, rather than men ; let us be entreated to reflect upon ourselves, and set before us the face of our progenitors 1500 or 1600 years since, that we may answer to our own hearts, such were some of us, or our progenitors before us. They are beasts, we say ; and can we, without compassion, behold men transformed into beasts ? We have the light of grace, they have scarce the dim light of nature ; we have fellowship with God, they have scarce heard of Him ; we are translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, they are bonded slaves of Satan. Who hath made us to differ ? How long shall we scorn what we should commiserate ? What if God should show mercy

unto them, erect a church among them, recover them out of the power of the Devil ; could any conquest be so glorious ? Would we not glorify God and rejoice with all our souls, as the believing Jews did in the Gentiles' conversion ? How can we refuse to further the prosecuting of that which would be our glory and joy if it were effected ?

Fourthly, no man desireth to do as Samson, to pluck away the pillars on which the house leaneth ; this work craves no counselor of state, no peer of the land ; nay, perhaps no person employed at present in any place of government, private men whom the state we conceive needs not, because it employs not, may serve the turn ; suppose it should borrow some men of more special use, and return them home, as men from their travels, improved not so much by sights, as experience, after the affairs of the colony were settled, what loss were it, in lieu of so great a gain ?

Lastly, if we spare men for the advancing of God's honor, men that do us service that they may attend God's service, we have as much reason to expect the supply of our loss as the repairing of our estates, out of which we spare a portion for our brethren's necessities, or the advancing of God's worship, by the blessing of God according to His promise.

CHAPTER VI.

What Warrant Particular Men may have to Engage their Persons and Estates in this Employment of Planting Colonies.

TO give a clear resolution to this proposition is a matter of no small difficulty. I shall declare mine own opinion, and leave it to the censure of the godly wise. It is the conceit of some men that no man may undertake this task without an extraordinary warrant, such as Abraham had from God to call him out of Mesopotamia to Canaan ; their opinion seems to rest upon a ground that will hardly be made good, *sc.* : that the planting of colonies is an extraordinary work ; which, if it be granted, then the argument hath a strong and, for ought I know, a necessary inference—that, therefore, those that undertake it must have an extraordinary call. But that proposition, that planting of colonies is an extraordinary work, will not easily be granted. This argument lies strongly against it :

That duty that is commanded by a perpetual law cannot be accounted extraordinary.

But the sending out of colonies is commanded by a perpetual law.

Therefore, it is no extraordinary duty.

Now that the commandment is perpetual, hath been proved. First, because it was given to mankind ; and secondly, because it hath a ground which is perpetual, *sc.* : the emptiness of the earth, which either is so, or may be so while the world endures ; for even those places which are full may be emptied by wars or sickness, and then an argument presses as strongly the contrary way. The undertaking of an ordinary duty needs no other than an ordinary warrant ; but such is planting of a colony, as being undertaken by virtue of a perpetual law ; therefore, the undertaking to plant a colony needs no extraordinary warrant. Indeed, Abraham's undertaking was extraordinary in many things, and therefore needed an immediate direction from God.

1. He was to go alone with his family and brethren.
2. To such a certain place far distant.
3. Possessed already by the Canaanites.
4. To receive it wholly appropriated to himself and his issue.
5. Not to plant it at present, but only sojourn in it, and walk through it for a time.

Now, none of these circumstances fit our ordinary colonies, and consequently Abraham's example is nothing to this purpose, because the case is different, though in some other things alike.

Others conceive that, though men may adventure upon the work upon an ordinary warrant, yet none can give that but the state ; therefore, they require a command from the highest authority unto such as engage themselves in this affair. Indeed, that the state hath power over all her members to command and dispose of them within the bounds of justice, is more evident than can be denied, but this power she executes diversely ; sometimes by command, sometimes by permission, as in preparation to war, sometimes men are compelled to serve, sometimes they are permitted to go voluntary that will.

Again, sometimes the supreme power takes care of the whole business ; sometimes (as in musters), commits it to delegates. If the power of state then proclaim liberty to such

as will, to gather and unite into the body of a colony, and commit the care to some persons that offer themselves, to associate to them whom they think fit, and to order them according to discretion, no man can deny but that the state hath given a sufficient warrant. Neither doth it appear that ever any state did more. The Romans' use was to proclaim that they intended to plant a colony of such a number in such a place, and as many as would give in their names should receive so many acres of ground, and enjoy such other privileges as they thought fit to grant them, which they then expressed. Those which gave in their names were enrolled till the number was full, and then had they certain commissioners appointed by the state to see all things ordered and directed accordingly, and to put every man into possession of his inheritance, neither did the state interpose their authority in assigning and choosing out the men, but left it free and voluntary to every man to take or leave.

Seeing nothing can bear out the hazards and inconveniences of such toilsome and difficult undertakings as is the planting of colonies, but a willing mind, men can digest anything that themselves choose or desire, but a commandment makes pleasant things harsh, how much more harsh things intolerable ?

But to come somewhat nearer unto the grounds of this resolution. In undertaking a new employment, two things must be taken into consideration, upon which a man's warrant must be grounded :

1. His engagement unto his present condition in which he is settled.
2. The tender and offer of the new service unto which he is called.

In both it must be first granted that callings are employments in which we serve one another through love (Galatians v. 13), in something that is good (Ephesians iv. 28), not seeking our own, but other men's profit (1 Corinthians x. 24).

In furthering other men's good, our engagements are :

1. To the church in general.
2. To that particular state of which we are members, either wholly, or any branch of it.
3. To our friends.

And these as they have interest in our labors of love in that order that is set down, so they have power to require them in

the same order, and that two ways, either by their express command, or by the manifestation of their necessity or special good proposed. The church in general rarely lays any command, but mostly challengeth our service by the discovery of her need and use of our labors for her good. The particular state, besides the pleading of her necessity, interposeth her authority, and that either immediately, as in deputing men to public offices, or mediately by our parents, or other governors whom she authorizeth to direct and settle us in such particular callings and employments as may be for her use and service. The state, then, by any public intimation proclaiming free liberty to men to remove and plant themselves elsewhere, dischargeth these persons of the obligation wherein by her power and authority they stand bound to their particular calling wherein they are placed, and ought otherwise to continue. So that now particular persons stand no longer bound by the state's authority, but by the manifestation of her necessities, which crave their aid and service for their public good and safety.

The next thing then to be taken into consideration, is the advantages or benefits which may be gained by our service either to the church, state, or friends to whom we have relation by private interest. In all these the first respect must be had to necessity, and the next to conveniency. How much is to be yielded to necessity, it hath pleased God to manifest, by dispensing with His own worship and service, in cases of necessity, not only upon our own persons, but upon our goods or cattle. It must, therefore, be duly weighed whether we may be more serviceable to the church in the state where we live, or in that we desire to erect; and again, whether service is of more necessity, and whether appears to be greater, that must carry us; unless some pressing wants of private friends challenge our service from them both, which in matters of moment and importance to them must be conceived to be cast in by God, as a discharge from any other employment. As for example, the furthering of the gospel in New England seems to be of more pressing necessity, and consequently by a stronger band to call me on to that work, than the state at home to my continuance here, for here, though I may do something for the advancing of religion, yet my labors that way are not so needful in the land, because many others may put to their hands to the same

work. In New England there are none to undergo the task, but in this case, if the preservation of my father's life or estate required my stay, that is a discharge unto me from this call to New England ; not because his life or estate is of greater weight than the church's good, but because his necessity is greater, for nobody can procure my father's safety but myself ; other men besides myself may do the church this service. Thus men that are free from engagement may see what weights are allowed to be cast into the balance to determine their stay or removal.

All the difficulty that remains is, who shall cast the scales, that is, who shall determine which benefit or necessity is the greater ? No question that which conscience, well-informed, assures me to be so ; but who shall inform my conscience, or by what rule shall my conscience judge ? It is out of peradventure that God must inform the conscience. But how shall I discover what God adviseth ? It is as certain that if the word, by scanning the grounds which it proposeth, can give a seer resolution, it must be followed. The things that are revealed belong unto us and our children, that we may do them (Deuteronomy xxix. 29). But many rules of Scripture, though clear in themselves, yet are doubtful and ambiguous in the application, because they cannot determine particulars. In this case, then, we must have recourse to Christian wisdom, assisted, first, by the advice and counsel of godly wise friends. Secondly, by the observation of the concurrence of opportunities, *Occasiones sunt Dei nutus*. Thirdly, by and consideration of the inclination of the heart proposing a right end and scope after frequent and earnest prayer. A resolution taken after all these means used, as in God's presence, without prejudice, with a sincere desire to know and be informed of God's will, and obey it, may be taken for the voice of God at present, and ought to direct the practice, though it bind not the conscience to embrace the things resolved for an infallible and only the most probable direction. And the truth is that, unless this advice and resolution by Christian wisdom, applying the general rules of God's word to our own particular case after we have sought counsel of God and our Christian friends, may be admitted for a rule to direct our practice, I know not what rule to prescribe to be followed. Suppose I would marry a wife, nothing but Chris-

tian wisdom so assisted, as is expressed before, can show me which is the woman.

CHAPTER VII.

Answering Objections against the Main Body of the Work.

OBJECTION I.

1. Objection from experience of the ill success of colonies. ALL experience is against the hope and good success of colonies ; much money and many men's lives have been spent upon Virginia, St. Christopher's, Newfoundland, etc., with no proportionable success, and what reason have we to expect other event of this ?

ANSWER.

To speak nothing of particulars, which perhaps might occasion some distaste, I deny not but the ends which they proposed may be good and warrantable ; men may set before themselves civil respects, as advancement of the nation, and hope and expectation of gain, which perhaps hath either wholly set on, or strongly swayed these lately undertaken colonies ; but I conceive where the service of the church and respect unto the advancement of the gospel are predominant, we may with greater assurance depend upon God's engagement in the work, and consequently expect a prosperous success from His hand. Besides, why may not English plantations thrive as well as Dutch ? Where and when have their colonies failed ? To speak nothing of the East Indies, even this which they have settled in New England upon Hudson's river, with no extraordinary charge or multitude of people, is known to subsist in a comfortable manner, and to promise fairly both to the state and undertakers. The cause is evident. The men whom they carry, though they be not many, are well chosen and known to be useful and serviceable, and they second them with seasonable and fit supplies, cherishing them as carefully as their own families, and employ them in profitable labors, that are known to be of special use to their comfortable subsisting. Let us follow them in these steps, and there will be no question of the like or better success. But if we unadvisedly thrust over men of whom we could never make good use at home, and

when we have done, neglect and expose them to want and extremities, and leave them to shift for themselves there, or follow a preposterous course to expect gain from them before they have taken root, we can look for nothing else but the ruin and subversion of all at last. Now upon this ground to have prejudicate thoughts of colonies before they be undertaken is not so much to tax men as God, that hath set men a task to consume and overthrow them.

REPLY.

But such public works cannot be managed but by a public purse. Colonies are work for a state and not for private persons, a good treasure being the sinews of them, and that is the true cause of their miscarriage, for what can wisdom do where it wants a sufficient subject to work upon or instruments to work withal ?

ANSWER.

I grant colonies are best undertaken by princes, assisted with the strength of a whole state, yet what may be done in colonies by private persons the Dutch have discovered in part already in their plantation in New England, and may, by God's blessing, in short time appear in this lately undertaken colony of the English in the same country, of which we have reason to be somewhat the more confident by the experience of our bordering neighbors of New Plymouth, who (notwithstanding they were men of weak estate, and encountered many disasters in their first arrival, and since in some of their adventures home-wards) are grown up into a good, firm, compact body, living and subsisting, though not in a flourishing estate, yet in a good, convenient, and comfortable condition. As for this which is of a far greater bulk, if it might please God to move the hearts of well disposed persons to assist the poorer sort of them with some reasonable annual supply, or some present sum of money, by which they may be eased in some of their general burthens, as transportation and maintenance of ministers and some other public persons, erecting of churches and buildings for public use, and the like, until the fruits of their labors may yield them sufficient for public and private supplies, which would be effected within a few years, there would be no question of a flourishing state there in convenient time by the concurrence of God's ordinary blessing. In this duty if we be

wanting unto them, there will be great cause to suspect that the exception against the work for the insupportable burthen of the charge is but a fair pretext to color our fear of our own purses, which many are more faithful unto than unto the service of God and of His church.

OBJECTION II.

But the pretended end of winning the heathen to the knowledge of God and embracing of the faith of Christ, is a mere fantasy, and a work not only of uncertain, but unlikely success, as appears by our fruitless endeavors that way, both in Virginia and New England, where New Plymouth men inhabiting now these ten years are not able to give account of any one man converted to Christianity.

ANSWER.

And no marvel, unless God should work by miracle, neither can it be expected that work should take effect until we may be more perfectly acquainted with their language and they with ours. Indeed, it is true both the natives and English understand so much of one another's language as may enable them to trade one with another, and fit them for conference about things that are subject to outward sense, and so they understand our use in keeping the Sabbath day, observe our reverence in the worship of God, are somewhat acquainted with the moral precepts, know that adultery, theft, murder, and lying are forbidden, which nature teacheth, because these things are outward, and may be understood almost by sense; but how shall man express unto them things merely spiritual, which have no affinity with sense, unless we were thoroughly acquainted with their language and they with ours? Neither can we in theirs or they in our tongue utter any continued speech, because neither we nor they understand the moods, tenses, cases, numbers, prepositions, adverbs, etc., which make coherence in words, and express a perfect sense. Besides, it hath been intimated that we hardly have found a brutish people won before they had been taught civility. So we must endeavor and expect to work that in them first, and religion afterwards. Amongst such as have been brought over into England from Virginia there was one Nannawack, a youth sent over by the Lo. De Laware, when he was governor there, who, coming over and living here a year or

two in houses where he heard not much of religion, but saw and heard many times examples of drinking, swearing, and like evils, remained as he was, a mere pagan ; but after removed into a godly family, he was strangely altered, grew to understand the principles of religion, learned to read, delighted in the Scriptures, sermons, prayers, and other Christian duties, wonderfully bewailed the state of his countrymen, especially his brethren, and gave such testimonies of his love to the truth that he was thought fit to be baptized, but being prevented by death, left behind such testimonies of his desire of God's favor, that it moved such godly Christians as knew him to conceive well of his condition ; neither is there any cause to doubt but time may bring on in others, as well as it did in him, that which we expect upon a sudden in vain.

REPLY.

But some conceive the inhabitants of New England to be Ham's posterity, and consequently shut out from grace by Noah's curse, till the conversion of the Jews be past at least.

ANSWER.

How do they appear to be Ham's posterity ? whose sons, by the agreement of writers, took up their dwellings together in Canaan, Palestina, and the parts adjoining in Arabia, Egypt, Mauritania, Lybia, and other bordering parts of Africa, and consequently, for any footsteps of their descent appearing unto us, might be as far from peopling the West Indies as any other part of the posterity of Noah's sons. Neither do men's conjectures agree (for we have no certainties to build on) whence these countries of the parts of America towards New England might most probably be peopled. But admit the inhabitants to be Ham's posterity, doth not the prophet Esaias foretell the conversion of Ham's posterity in Egypt, performed in the primitive times, all histories witnessing that the Egyptians had amongst them a church of eminent note, governed by divers bishops under the patriarch of Alexandria ? And who knows not the numerous churches of Africa, wherein were above one hundred and sixty bishops in St. Austin's time, governing sundry nations, all of them of Ham's posterity ? But what testimony of Scripture or ground of reason from Scripture, lays such a fearful curse upon all Ham's posterity ? Noah's curse

reacheth but to one branch, to Canaan, and, as interpreters conceive, with especial relation to the extirpation of that part of his issue which inhabited Judea, by the children of Israel. It is too much boldness, then, to curse where God hath not cursed, and shut out those from the means of grace whom God hath not excluded.

OBJECTION III.

But, admit the English might be thought fit to plant a colony in New England, yet this time is unfit, in this troubled condition of the church ; it were more convenient for men to keep close together than to scatter abroad, that so they might be the more able to resist the common enemy. This withdrawing of ourselves in time of so great hazard betrays weakness of heart and proclaims our despair of the cause of religion, which the godly entertain with sad hearts and the Jesuits with smiling countenances.

ANSWER.

It is reported that when Hannibal lay before Rome it discouraged him much in his hopes of taking the city, that at the same instant there marched out of the city at contrary gates, under their colors, an army of soldiers towards the sea, to be shipped and sent over for a supply into Spain, for it argued the Romans feared him not, that durst spare a supply of men to a country so far distant, when the enemy lay at the gates. And it seems to argue courage rather than fear, when, in the weakest condition of the church, men testify their hope and expectation of the enlargement of that kingdom of Christ which wicked men and His enemies glory that they have as good as conquered and subdued. I conceive those that engage themselves in this adventure are not so void of religion as to conceive the scourge of God cannot reach them in New England, or of reason as to think New England safer than old. But they scatter and withdraw themselves in a time of need. Suppose the state were
¹ in such need as is pretended in this objection, yet, in
¹ such a popular land, such a number as is employed
in this work is not very considerable, for I think no man conceives a thousand or two thousand men are of any great weight
to sway the balance, when so many great stones lie
² in the scales. Again, that wherein they seem to be

most useful to us is their prayers, which (according to their profession and promise) they will perform in absence, as if they were present with us. And if any other way their service be required, as they hold themselves bound, so will they at all times do their utmost for the discharge of their duties to this their native country. And lastly, by that time all the particulars of this treatise are well weighed, it ³ will be found that their employment there for the present is not inconvenient, and for the future may prove beneficial to this state.

OBJECTION IV.

It may be, passing over of two thousand or three thousand persons will be of no great moment, and so many might be spared; but some men's examples drawing on others, and there being no stint or limits set unto men's itching humors after this new work, we know not where to expect any end, and what consequents may follow the issuing out of great multitudes, especially on a sudden, it is easy to conjecture.

ANSWER.

If that should be a true and real fear and not a pretence, I should much wonder that any man should have so little insight into the disposition of his own countrymen. Howsoever some men are content to remove from their dwellings and to leave their beloved country and friends, let no man conceive we shall find over-many of that humor. We are known too well to the world to love the smoke of our own chimneys so well, that hopes of great advantages are not likely to draw many of us from home, and that evidently appears by the different habits and affections of the minds of men unto this voyage. Some pity the exposing of their friends, or such unto whom for the report of their honesty and religion they wish well, unto so many dangers and inconveniences; others, and the most part, scoff at their folly; a third sort murmur and grudge that they are abandoned and forsaken by them, and good men dispute the warrant of their undertaking this work, and will not be convinced. It may be private interests may prevail with some. One brother may draw over another, a son the father, and perhaps some man his inward acquaintance; but let no man fear the over-hasty removal of multitudes of any of estate

or ability. As for the poorer sort, it is true many of them that want means to maintain them at home would be glad to pass over into New England to find a better condition there, but by what means will they be transported, or provided of necessaries for so chargeable a journey ? and without such provisions they will be found very unwelcome to such as are already planted there. Besides, it cannot be doubted but the state will be so watchful as not to suffer any prejudice unto itself if the numbers of those that leave her should increase too fast. If the state should be slack, even those that now allow the passing over of some good and useful men, when the number is grown to an indifferent proportion, will of themselves be careful to restrain the rest as far as their counsel and advice can prevail. The truth is, when some eight hundred or one thousand families are seated there, the colony will be best filled up with youths and girls, which must be continually drawn over to supply the room of men-servants and maid-servants which will marry away daily and leave their masters destitute. But it may be justly admired what the cause should be that men of contrary minds should so strangely concur in the jealousies and dislikes of this work, neither opposing any of the former colonies, whereof the least (I mean Virginia, Bermudas, and St. Christopher's) drew away two for one of those which are yet passed over to New England, unless it be that the best works find commonly worst entertainment amongst men.

OBJECTION V.

It is objected by some that religion indeed and the color thereof is the cloak of this work, but under it is secretly harbored faction and separation from the church. Men of ill affected minds (they conceive), unwilling to join any longer with our assemblies, mean to draw themselves apart and to unite into a body of their own, and to make that place a nursery of faction and rebellion, disclaiming and renouncing our church as a limb of antichrist.

ANSWER.

A man might justly hope that the letter subscribed with the hands of the governor and his associates, wherein they acknowledge the grace they have received unto this church, profess their resolution to sympathize and share with her in good and

evil, and desire heartily her prayers, would sway and bear down the balance against all groundless surmises and guesses at men's intentions. What rule of charity will allow jealousies perhaps of an evil affected mind, and it may be ignorant either of the persons whom it censures or manner of their carriage, suspecting and designing evil and dangerous resolutions in the undertakers, to sway against the joint asservation of so many godly men of good estimation (who are privy to their own intentions), that affirm the contrary? Love, saith the apostle, thinketh no evil, that is, without ground; nay, it hopeth all things, though there be some appearance to the contrary; and believeth all things, easily and willingly, when they are cleared and made manifest. But if the words and protestations of men carry no credit with us, let us a little scan the probabilities which might inform our judgment and give light unto their intentions.

The first thing which I would tender unto men of indifferent minds, is the carriage of these persons <sup>1. Presump-
tion.</sup> in their own country in former times. The men are known, and the places of their dwellings. Have they heretofore, while they dwelt among us, appeared to be men of turbulent or factious dispositions, impatient of the present government? Where or how have they been convicted, and in what, of any such crime? Have they separated from our assemblies, refused our ministry, or the joining with us in the worship and service of God? Let the men be produced and named. Now, if their conversation have been peaceable in times past, how are they become factious upon a sudden? If there have been unity among us heretofore, what hath stirred up the spirit of division? It were an unreasonable task to undertake the defence of everyone, it is not easy to find twelve disciples without one Judas, and yet if some one or two, or ten, should be found in this number factiously inclined, it were hard measure to condemn a whole society for ten men's sake that are mixed with them. Suppose we should find ten drunkards in the company, as I make no question we may easily find more, were it charity to cast a scandal upon all the company that they are an assembly of drunkards? I persuade myself there is no one separatist known unto the governors, or if there be any, that it is as far

from their purpose as it is from their safety to continue him amongst them.

OBJECTION.

Yea, but if they do not separate, yet they dislike our discipline and ceremonies, and so they will prove themselves semi-separatists at least, and that is their intention in removing from us, that they may free themselves from our government.

ANSWER.

I conceive we do and ought to put a great difference between separation and non-conformity ; the first we judge as evil in itself, so that whosoever shall deny us to be a church either of our own men, or strangers of another nation, we cannot bear it ; but other churches that conform not to our orders and ceremonies, we dislike not, only we suffer it not in our own ; not that we adjudge the disusing of ceremonies simply evil, but only evil in our own men, because we conceive it is joined with some contempt of our authority, and may tend to a rent in the church. But yet neither can this imputation be charged justly on our New England colony. If the men were well scanned, I conceive it may be with good assurance maintained, that at least three parts of four of the men there planted are able to justify themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our church government and orders. Yea, but they are weary of them now, and go over with an intention to cast them off. Intentions are secret ; who can discover them ; but what have they done to manifest such an intention ? What intelligence have they held one with another to such purpose ? There passed away about one hundred and forty persons out of the western parts from Plymouth, of which I conceive there were not six known either by face or fame to any of the rest. What subscription, or solemn agreement have they made beforehand to bind themselves unto such resolution ? If that were forborne for fear of discovery, yet it concerned those who had such an intention to be well assured of a governor that might effectually further their purposes. Mr. Jo. Winthrop, whom they have all chosen, and that not the multitude, but all the men of best account amongst them, is sufficiently known in the place where he long lived, a public person, and consequently

of the more observation to have been every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practice. Yea, but they have taken ministers with them that are known to be unconformable, and they are the men that will sway in the orders of the church. Neither all nor the greatest part of the ministers are unconformable. But how shall they prevent it? What minister among us, well seated in a good living, or in fair expectation of one, will be content to leave a certain maintenance to expose himself to the manifold hazards of so long a journey, to rest upon the providence of God, when all is done for provision for himself and his family? Pardon them if they take such ministers as they may have, rather than none at all. Hath any conformable minister of worth, and fit for that employment, tendered his service, whom they have rejected? No man can affirm they have taken such out of choice rather than necessity, unless it be manifested where they have refused others whom they might have had. But there are some unconformable men amongst them, yea, and men of worse condition, too. And if there were no drunkards, nor covetous persons, nor vicious anyway, it would and might justly move all the world to admiration. But there is great odds between peaceable men, who out of tenderness of heart forbear the use of some ceremonies of the church (whom this state in some things thinks fit to wink at, and it may be would do more if it were assured of their temper), and men of fiery and turbulent spirits, that walk in a cross way out of distemper of mind. Now, suppose some of those men that, knowing the disposition of their own minds, how unable they are to bring their hearts to answer the course of our church's practice in all things, consider that their contrary practice gives distaste to government, and occasions some disturbance unto the church's peace, upon that ground withdraw themselves for quietness' sake. Would not such dispositions be cherished with great tenderness? And, surely, as far as guess by circumstances may lead us, we have more cause to think that they are so minded than otherwise, because this will certainly be the consequent of their going out from amongst us, which they cannot but foresee, and if they had meant otherwise, their way had been to remain in the midst of us as thorns in our eyes and pricks in our sides, and not to depart from us, seeing we know it is the remaining of the thorn

in the midst of the flesh which torments ; the plucking it out and casting it away breeds ease and quietness.

I should be very unwilling to hide anything I think might be fit to discover the uttermost of the intentions of our planters in their voyage to New England, and therefore shall make bold to manifest not only what I know, but what I guess concerning their purpose. As it were absurd to conceive they have all one mind, so were it more ridiculous to imagine they have all one scope. Necessity may press some ; novelty draw on others ; hopes of gain in time to come may prevail with a third sort ; but that the most, and most sincere and godly part, have the advancement of the gospel for their main scope, I am confident. That of them, some may entertain hope and expectation of enjoying greater liberty there than here in the use of some orders and ceremonies of our church, it seems very probable. Nay, more than that, it is not improbable that, partly for their sakes, and partly for respect to some Germans that are gone over with them, and more that intend to follow after, even those which otherwise would not much desire innovation of themselves, yet for the maintaining of peace and unity (the only solder of a weak, unsettled body), will be won to consent to some variation from the forms and customs of our church. Nay, I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our state, civil or ecclesiastical. Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes. The churches in the apostles', and in the settled times of peace afterwards, were much different in many outward forms. In the main, of their carriage two things may move them to vary much from us : respect to the heathen, before whom it concerns them to show much piety, sobriety, and austerity, and the consideration of their own necessities, will certainly enforce them to take away many things that we admit, and to introduce many things that we reject, which, perhaps, will minister much matter of sport and scorn unto such as have relations of these things, and that represented unto them with such additions as fame usually weaves into all reports at the second and third hands. The like, by this their varying in civil conversation, we may expect of the alteration of some things in church affairs. It were bootless to expect that all things will or can be at the first forming of a rude and incoherent body, as they may be

found in time to come ; and it were strange and a thing that never yet happened, if we should hear a true report of all things as they are. But that men are far enough from projecting the erecting of this colony for a nursery of schismatics, will appear by the ensuing faithful and impartial narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progress of the whole work, laid before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have been privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony ; and to the several passages that have happened since, who also, in that they relate, consider they have the searcher of all hearts and observer of all men's ways witness of the truth and falsehood that they deliver.

About ten years since a company of English, part out of the low countries, and some out of London and other parts, associating themselves into one body, with an intention to plant in Virginia, in their passage thither, being taken short by the wind, in the depth of winter, the whole ground being under snow, were forced, with their provisions, to land themselves in New England upon a small bay beyond Massachusetts, in the place which they now inhabit and call by the name of New Plymouth. The ground being covered a foot thick with snow, and they being without shelter, and having amongst them divers women and children, no marvel if they lost some of their company ; it may be wondered how they saved the rest. But, notwithstanding this sharp encounter at the first, and some miscarriages afterward, yet (conceiving God's providence had directed them unto that place, and finding great charge and difficulty in removing), they resolved to fix themselves there, and, being assisted by some of their friends in London, having passed over most of the greatest difficulties that usually encounter new planters, they began to subsist at length in a reasonably comfortable manner, being, notwithstanding, men but of mean and weak estates of themselves ; and, after a year's experience or two of the soil and inhabitants, sent home tidings of both, and of their well-being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place and to take it into consideration.

About the year 1623, some western merchants (who had continued a trade of fishing for cod, and bartering for furs, in

those parts for divers years before), conceiving that a colony planted on the coast might further them in those employments, bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alleging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge, by the opportunity of their fishing trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their ships, that (by the help of many hands) they might dispatch their voyage, and lade their ship with fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sailing company. Now it was conceived that, the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary sailors might be left behind with provisions for a year; and when that ship returned the next year, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former year; and, in the meantime, might employ themselves in building, and planting corn, which, with the provisions of fish, fowl, and venison that the land yielded, would afford them the chief of their food. This proposition of theirs took so well, that it drew on divers persons to join with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not only their own fishermen, but the rest of our nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not only by fresh victuals, which that colony might spare them in time, but withal, and more, by the benefit of their minister's labors, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas, otherwise, being usually upon those voyages nine or ten months in the year, they were left all the while without any means of instruction at all. Compassion towards the fishermen, and partly some expectation of game, prevailed so far that for the planting of a colony in New England there was raised a stock of more than three thousand pounds, intended to be paid in five years, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time.

How this stock was employed, and by what errors and oversights it was wasted, is, I confess, not much pertinent to this subject in hand. Notwithstanding, because the knowledge thereof may be of use for other men's direction, let me crave leave in a short digression to present unto the reader's view the whole order of the managing of such moneys as were collected, with the success and issue of the business undertaken.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Digression Manifesting the Success of the Plantation intended by the Western Men.

THE first employment then of this new raised stock was in buying a small ship of fifty tons, which was, with as much speed as might be, dispatched towards New England upon a fishing voyage—the charge of which ship, with a new set of sails, and other provisions to furnish her, amounted to more than three hundred pounds. Now, by reason the voyage was undertaken too late, she came at least a month or six weeks later than the rest of the fishing ships that went for that coast, and by that means, wanting fish to make up her lading, the master thought good to pass into Massachusetts bay, to try whether that would yield him any, which he performed, and speeding there better than he had reason to expect. Having left his spare men behind him in the country at Cape Ann, he returned to a late and consequently a bad market in Spain, and so home. The charge of this voyage, with provision for fourteen spare men left in the country, amounted to above eight hundred pounds, with the three hundred pounds expended upon the ship, mentioned before. And the whole provenue (besides the ship, which remained to us still) amounted not to above two hundred pounds. So the expense above the return of that voyage came to 600 liters, and upwards.

The next year was brought to the former ship a Flemish flyboat of about 140 tons, which, being unfit for a fishing voyage, as being built merely for burthen, and wanting lodging for the men which she needed for such employment, they added unto her another deck (which seldom proves well with Flemish buildings), by which means she was carved so high that she proved walt, and unable to bear any sail, so that before she could pass on upon her voyage, they were fain to shift her first, and put her upon a better trim, and afterwards, that proving to little purpose, to unlade her, and take her up and fur her, which, notwithstanding it was performed with as much speed as might be, yet the year was about a month too far spent before she could dispatch to set to sea again. And when she arrived in the country, being directed by the master of the

smaller ship (upon the success of his former year's voyage) to fish at Cape Ann, not far from Massachusetts bay, sped very ill, as did also the smaller ship that led her thither, and found little fish, so that the greater ship returned with a little more than a third part of her lading, and came back (contrary to her order by which she was consigned to Bordeaux) directly to England, so that the company of adventurers was put to a new charge to hire a small ship to carry that little quantity of fish she brought home to market.

The charge of this voyage, with both the ships, amounted to about two thousand two hundred pounds, whereof eight hundred pounds and upward must be accounted for the building and other charges about the greater ship. By these two ships were left behind, in the country, about thirty-two men, the charges of whose wages and provision amounted to, at the least, five hundred pounds of the sum formerly mentioned. The provenue of both the voyages that year exceeded not the sum of five hundred pounds, at the most.

The third year, 1625, both ships, with a small vessel of forty tons, which carried kine with other provisions, were again set to sea, upon the same voyage, with the charge of two thousand pounds, of which sum the company borrowed and became indebted for one thousand pounds and upwards. The great ship, being commanded by a very able master, having passed on about two hundred leagues in her voyage, found herself so leaky, by the carpenters' fault (that looked not well to her calking), that she bare up the helm, and returned for Weymouth, and, having unladen her provisions and mended her leak, set herself to sea again, resolving to take advice of the winds whether to pass on her former voyage, or to turn into Newfoundland, which she did, by reason that the time was so far spent that the master and company despaired of doing any good in New England, where the fish falls in two or three months sooner than at Newfoundland. There she took fish good store, and much more than she could lade home. The overplus should have been sold, and delivered to some sack, or other, sent to take it in there, if the voyage had been well managed.

But that could not be done by reason that the ship, before she went, was not certain where to make her fish. By this

accident it fell out that a good quantity of the fish she took was cast away, and some other part was brought home in another ship. At the return of the ships that year, fish, by reason of our wars with Spain, falling to a very low rate, the company endeavored to send the greater ship for France; but she, being taken short with a contrary wind in the west country, and intelligence given in the meantime that those markets were overlaid, they were enforced to bring her back again, and to sell her fish at home, as they might. Which they did, and with it the fish of the smaller ship; the New England fish about ten shillings the hundred by tale or thereabout; the Newfoundland fish at six shillings four pence the hundred, of which was well nigh eight pence the hundred charge raised upon it after the ships' return. By this reason the fish which, at a market, in all likelihood might have yielded well nigh two thousand pounds, amounted not, with all the provenue of the voyage, to above eleven hundred pounds.

Unto these losses by fishing were added two other no small disadvantages: the one in the country by our landmen, who, being ill chosen and ill commanded, fell into many disorders, and did the company little service; the other, by the fall of the price of shipping, which was now abated to more than the one-half, by which means it came to pass that our ships, which stood us in little less than twelve hundred pounds, were sold for four hundred and eighty pounds.

The occasions and means, then, of wasting this stock are apparently these: first, the ill choice of the place for fishing; the next, the ill carriage of our men at land, who, having stood us in two years and a half in well nigh one thousand pounds charge, never yielded one hundred pounds profit; the last, the ill sales of fish and shipping. By all which the adventurers were so far discouraged, that they abandoned the further prosecution of this design, and took order for the dissolving of the company on land, and sold away their shipping and other provisions.

Two things withal may be intimated by the way. The first, that the very project itself of planting, by the help of a fishing voyage, can never answer the success that it seems to promise (which experienced fishermen easily have foreseen beforehand, and by that means have prevented divers ensuing

errors), whereof, amongst divers other reasons, these may serve for two: first, that no sure fishing place in the land is fit for planting, nor any good place for planting found fit for fishing, at least near the shore; and secondly, rarely any fishermen will work at land; neither are husbandmen fit for fishermen, but with long use and experience. The second thing to be observed is, that nothing new fell out in the managing of this stock, seeing experience hath taught us that, as in building houses, the first stones of the foundation are buried under ground and are not seen, so in planting colonies, the first stocks employed that way are consumed, although they serve for a foundation to the work.

CHAPTER IX.

The Undertaking and Prosecution of the Colony by the Londoners.

BUT to return to our former subject, from which we digressed. Upon the manifestation of the western adventurers' resolution to give off their work, most part of the landmen, being sent for, returned; but a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind, and to take charge of the cattle, sent over the year before, which they performed accordingly; and not liking their seat at Cape Ann, chosen especially for the supposed commodity of fishing, they transported themselves to Nahumkeike, about four or five leagues distant to the southwest from Cape Ann.

Some, then, of the adventurers that still continued their desire to set forwards the plantation of a colony there, conceiving that if some more cattle were sent over to those few men left behind, they might not only be a means of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the country, but of inviting some other of their friends and acquaintances to come over to them, adventured to send over twelve kine and bulls more, and, conferring casually with some gentlemen of London, moved them to add unto them as many more. By which occasion the business came to agitation afresh in London, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar, insomuch, that some men showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses, if fit men might be procured to go over,

enquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this enquiry it fell out that, among others, they lighted at last on Master Endicott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered, which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new colony upon the old foundation. Hereupon divers persons, having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable sum of money, a patent was granted, with large encouragements every way, by his most excellent majesty. Master Endicott was sent over governor, assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there, in September, 1628, and uniting his own men with those which were formerly planted in the country into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons. His prosperous journey and safe arrival of himself and all his company, and good report which he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the work, that, more adventurers joining with the first undertakers, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the design, they sent over the next year about three hundred persons more, most servants, with a convenient proportion of rother-beasts, to the number of sixty or seventy, or thereabout, and some mares and horses, of which the kine came safe for the most part, but the greater part of the horses died, so that there remained not above twelve or fourteen alive. By this time the often agitation of this affair in sundry parts of the kingdom, the good report of Captain Endicott's government, and the increase of the colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates, not formerly engaged, considering that they lived either without any useful employment at home, and might be more serviceable in assisting the planting of a colony in New England, took, at last, a resolution to unite themselves for the prosecution of the work. And, as it usually falls out, some other of their acquaintance, seeing such men of good estates engaged in the voyage, some for love to their persons, and others upon other respects, united unto them, which, together, made up a competent number (perhaps far less than is reported), and embarked themselves for a voyage to New England, where I hope they are long since safely arrived.

This is an impartial though brief relation of the occasion of planting of this colony. The particulars whereof, if they could be entertained, were clear enough to any indifferent judgment, that the suspicious and scandalous reports raised upon these gentlemen and their friends (as if, under the color of planting a colony, they intended to raise and erect a seminary of faction and separation), are nothing else but the fruits of jealousy of some distempered mind, or, which is worse, perhaps savor of a desperate malicious plot of men ill affected to religion, endeavoring, by casting the undertakers into the jealousy of state, to shut them out of those advantages which otherwise they do and might expect from the countenance of authority. Such men would be entreated to forbear that base and unchristian course of traducing innocent persons, under these odious names of Separatists and enemies to the church and state, for fear lest their own tongues fall upon themselves by the justice of His hand who will not fail to clear the innocency of the just, and to cast back into the bosom of every slanderer the filth that he rakes up to throw into other men's faces. As for men of more indifferent and better tempered minds, they would be seriously advised to beware of entertaining and admitting, much more countenancing and crediting, such uncharitable persons as discover themselves by their carriage, and that in this particular, to be men ill affected towards the work itself, if not to religion (at which it aims), and consequently unlikely to report any truth of such as undertake it.

CHAPTER X.

The Conclusion of the Whole Treatise.

NOW for the better preventing of such suspicions and jealousies, and the ill affections to this work that may arise thereupon, two things are earnestly requested of such as pass their censures upon it, or the persons that undertake it. The first is, that, although in this barren and corrupt age wherein we live, all our actions are generally swayed and carried on by private interests; insomuch as sincere intentions of furthering the common good (grounded upon that love through which we are commanded to serve one another) be the wonders of men; notwithstanding, men would not think it

impossible that the love which waxeth cold and dieth in the most part, yet may revive and kindle in some men's hearts, and that there may be found some that may neglect their ease and profit to do the church good and God service out of a sincere love and affection to God's honor and the church's good. Why may not we conceive that God may prevail upon the hearts of his servants, to set them on as effectually to seek the enlargement of His kingdom; as a blind zeal fomented by the art and subtlety of Satan may thrust on priests and Jesuits, and their partisans, to engage their persons and estates for advancing of the devil's kingdom? Or, if in the world's infancy, men out of an ambitious humor, or at present for private advantages and expectation of gain, thrust themselves out from their own dwellings into parts far remote from their native soil, why should not we conceive that, if they do this for a corruptible crown, that the desire and expectation of an incorruptible (the reward of such as deny themselves for the service of God and his church) may as strongly allure such as by patient continuance in well doing seek immortality and life? And yet the favorable conceits that men entertain of such as follow in all their actions the ways of their private gain, and the jealousies that they are apt to entertain of such as pretend only the advancement of the gospel, manifestly argue that the general opinion of the world is that some may be true to themselves and the advancement of their own private estates, but hardly any to God and his church. I should be very unwilling to think they cherish this suspicion upon that ground that moved that sensual emperor to believe that no man was clean or chaste in any part of his body, because himself was defiled and unclean in all. This is then the first favor that is desired, of such as consider this action, to believe that it is neither impossible nor unlikely that these men's intentions are truly and really such as they pretend, and not colors and cloaks for secret dangerous purposes which they closely harbor in their breasts, especially when all apparent circumstances concur to justify the contrary.

The next request that is presented to all indifferent minded men is, that they would be pleased to set before their eyes that which hath been already mentioned, that as there followed the children of Israel a mixed multitude out of Egypt, so it is

probable there may do these men out of England, and that of divers tempers some, perhaps, men of hot and fiery spirits, making change and innovation their scope, may conceive that (when they see that for the desire and care of preserving unity and love, and taking away occasions of offence to tender consciences, some changes and alterations are yielded unto) they have gained what they expect, and may as fondly triumph in their supposed victory as if they had overthrown all order and discipline; as they do absurdly mistake the grounds and ends which the course of government proposeth and aimeth at, and thereupon in their relations to their friends, represent things not as they are really done and intended, but as they apprehend them in their fantasies. Others there will be that, proving refractory to government, expecting all liberty in an unsettled body, and finding the restraint of authority contrary to expectation in their discontented humors, meeting with no other way of revenge, may be ready to blemish the government with such scandalous reports as their malicious spirits can devise and utter.

Now, although some say that malice is a good informer, notwithstanding no wise or good man admits it for a fit judge, if, therefore, men will be pleased to forbear the over-hasty belief of such reports as shall be sent over or given out, either by men of foolish and weak minds or distempered humors, until they receive more assured satisfaction from such as understand and are acquainted with the grounds and secret passages of the affairs of government, they shall keep their own hearts upon the even balance of a right judgment, and provide for the innocency of those upon whom they pass their censure.

If by these means jealousies and suspicions may be prevented, I make no question but the relations which this work hath both to the state and church will, upon mature advice, so far prevail with all well-minded men as to move them not only to afford their prayers for the prosperous success of this new planted colony, that from small and contemptible beginnings it may grow to a settled and well formed church, but with all their best furtherance, *Consilio, auxilio, re*, by advice, friends, and purses. Which, howsoever, the principals of this work, out of their modesty, crave not, yet the necessary burdens

which so weighty an undertaking charges them withal will certainly enforce them to need, whatsoever men judge to the contrary. Neither is or will the burden be intolerable to this state; a common stock of ten thousand pounds may be sufficient to support the weight of general charges of transporting and maintaining ministers, schoolmasters, commanders for wars, and erecting of such buildings as will be needful for public use for the present; and for time to come it cannot be questioned but the colony itself, having once taken root, when men's labors begin to yield them any fruit, will be found sufficient to bear her own burden. Alas, what were it for a merchant or a gentleman of reasonable estate to disburse twenty-five pounds or fifty pounds for the propagating of the gospel, who casts away in one year much more upon superfluities in apparel, diet, buildings, etc., and let men seriously weigh and consider with themselves whether a work of so great importance, so nearly concerning God's honor and the service of the church, calling upon them (as Lazarus upon Dives) for some of the waste of their superfluous expenses; if they lend a deaf ear to the motion, will not assuredly plead strongly against them at the bar of Christ's judgment-seat at the last day? Nay, what a scorn would it be to the religion we profess, that we should refuse to purchase the propagation of it at so easy a rate, when the popish party charge themselves with such excessive expenses, for the advancement of idolatry and superstition? It's true it will be valued at a low rate, that the colony is able to return you again by way of recompense; perhaps the enjoying of such immunities and privileges as his majesty hath been pleased to grant unto them, and an hundred or two hundred acres of land to every man that shall disburse twenty-five pounds, and so for more proportionably for the raising of the common stock; yet their posterity (if not themselves) may have cause in time to come to acknowledge it a good purchase that was made at so low a rate; but if they lend, looking for nothing again, we know the promise, Luke vi. 35, he is no loser that hath made God his debtor.

Your reward shall be great, and you shall be the child of the highest.
Luke vi. 35.

FINIS.



AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

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GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY'S LETTER TO
THE COUNTESS OF LINCOLN, MARCH,
1631, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY DR.
JOHN FARMER.

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GOV. THOMAS DUDLEY'S
LETTER

TO THE

COUNTESS OF LINCOLN,

MARCH, 1631.

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES,

BY DR. JOHN FARMER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE NEW
HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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NOTE.

GOVERNOUR DUDLEY was one of the five undertakers of the Settlement of Massachusetts, and came over with the Charter in 1630. The following Letter, addressed to the Countess of Lincoln, in whose family he had been steward nine or ten years, was written nine months after his arrival, and contains the events pertaining to the Colony during that period. It has never to the knowledge of the copyist been published entire. A part of it was printed more than a hundred years ago, and this portion of it was reprinted in 1802, in the eighth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Very material parts, it will be seen by comparison, are omitted in the printed copy. This copy is made from a MS. one, judged to be at least one hundred and eighty years old. A part of it, which describes the Bays and Rivers, and a few lines which gives an account of the Indian Sachems, is missing, but the most valuable portions are preserved almost entire, and have been copied with scrupulous care in retaining not only the orthography, but the abbreviations and division into paragraphs.

J. FARMER.

VOL. 2 COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 4.

LETTER

FROM GOVERNOUR THOMAS DUDLEY, TO BRIDGET, COUNTESS
OF LINCOLN, WRITTEN NINE MONTHS AFTER THE ARRIVAL
OF THE EMIGRANTS IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

*“ To the righte honourable, my very good Lady,
the Lady Brydget, Countesse of Lincoln.*

MADAM,

Your l’res (which are not common or cheape,) following mee hether into New-England, and bringeing with them renewed testimonies of the accustomed favours you honoured mee with in the old, haue drawne from mee this narrative retribucon, (which in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great note amongst us) was the thankfullest present I had to send over the seas. Therefore I humblie intreat your honour this bee accepted as payment from him, who neither hath, nor is any more, than your honours old thankful servant,

THOMAS DUDLEY.”

“ Boston in New-England
March 12th 1630,” i. e. 1631.

“ FOR the satisfacon of your honour and some freinds, and for vse of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in New England, I have in the throng of domestick, and not altogeather free from publique businesse, thought fitt to comit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrivall here ; which I will doe shortly, after my usual manner, and must doe rudely, haveing yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire side upon my knee, in this sharp winter ; to which my family must have leave to resorte, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not.”

[*He probably first gives some description of the Bays and Rivers, and after this appears an account of the Indian Sagamores, or Sachems, of which a few lines are gone.*]

* * * * * “Sachim in New England, whom I saw the last somer. Vppon the river of Naponset, neere to the Mattachusetts feilds dwelleth Chickatalbott who hath betweene 50 & 60 subiects. This man least favoureth the English of any Sagamore (for soe are the kinges with vs called, as they are Sachims Southwards) wee are acquainted with, by reason of the old quarrell betweene him and those of Plymouth wherein hee lost 7 of his best men, yet hee lodged one night the last winter at my house in freindly manner. About 70 or 80 miles westward from theis are seated the Nipnett men whose Sagamore wee know not, but wee heare their numbers exceed any but the Pecoates and the Narragansets and they are the only people wee yet heare of in the inland Country. Vppon the river of Mistick is seated Saggamore John*, and vppon the river of Sawgus Sagamore James † his brother, both soe named by the English. The elder brother John is an handsome young [*one line missing*] conversant with us affecting English apparell and howses and speaking well of our God. His brother James is of a farr worse disposition, yet repaireth often to us. Both theis brothers command not above 30 or 40 men for aught I can learne. Neer to Salem dwelleth two or three families, subject to the Saggamore of Agawam whose name hee tould mee, but I have forgotten it. This Sagamore hath but few subiects, and them and himsele tributary to Sagamore James, haveing beene before the last yeare (in James his minority) tributary to Chicka Talbott. Vppon the river Merrimack is seated Sagamore Passaconaway haveing under his comand 4 or 500 men, being esteemed by his countrymen a false fellow, and by us a wick. Ffor any more northerly I know not, but leave it to after relacons. Haueing thus breifly & disorderly especially in my description of the Bays and Rivers set downe what is come to hand touching the [*one line missing*.]

Now concerninge the English that are planted here, I find that about the yeare 1620 certaine English sett out from Leyden in Holland intendinge their course for Hudson’s river the mouth whereof lyeth south of the river of the Pecoates, but ariseth as I am informed northwards in about 43 degrees, and soe a

* His Indian name was Wonohaquaham.

† His Indian name was Montowampate. He died three years after the date of this letter. *Lewis’ Hist. of Lynn, 16, 17.*

good part of it within the compass of our patent. Theis being much weather beaten and wearied with seeking the river after a most tedious voyage arrived at length in a small Bay lyeing north east from Cape Cod, where, landing about the month of December, by the favour of a calme winter such as was never seen here since, begunne to build their dwellings in that place which now is called New Plymouth, where, after much sicknes famine, poverty & great mortality, (through all which God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now growne upp to a people, healthful, wealthy, politique & religious. Such things doth the Lord for those that waite for his mercies. Theis of Plymouth came with Patents from King James and have since obtained others from our Sovereigne King Charles, hauseinge a Govenour and Counsaile of their owne. There was about the same time one Mr. Wesen * an English merchant who sent deverse men to plant and trade who sate doune by the river of Wesaguscus, but theis comeing not for soe good ends as those of Plymouth spedd not soe well, for the most of them dyinge and languishing away, they who survived were rescued by those of Plymouth out of the hands of Chickatalbott, and his Indians who oppressed these weake English, and intended to haue destroyed them, and the Plymotheans also, as is sett downe in a tract written by Mr. Winslow of Plymouth. Alsoe since one Capt. Wollastone w'th some 30 with him, came neer to the same place & built on a hill which he named Mount Wollaston, but being not supplied with renewed provisions they vanished away as the former did—Also diverse merchants of Bristow, and some other places haue yearly for theis 8 years or thereabouts sent shipps hether at the fishing times to trade for Beaver where their factors, dishonestly for their gaines, haue furnished the Indians with Guns, Swords, powder & shott.

Touching the plantacon which wee here haue begun, it fell out thus about the yeare 1627 some freinds beeing together in Lincolnesheire, fell into some discourse about New England and the plantinge of the gospell there ; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by l'res & messages to some in London and the west country where it was likewise deliberately thought vpon, and at length with often negociation soe ripened that

* Thomas Weston.

in the year 1628, wee procured a patent from his Ma'tie for our planting between the Matachusetts Bay, and Charles river on the South; and the River of Merimack on the North and 3 miles on either side of those Rivers & Bay, as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass and the same year we sent Mr. John Endecott & some with him to beginne a plantacon & to strengthen such as he should find there which wee sent thither from Dorchester & some places adioyning; ffrom whom the same year receiuing hopefull news. The next year 1629 wee sent diverse shippes over w'th about 300 people, and some Cowes, Goates & horses many of which arrived safely. Theis by their too large comendacons of the country, and the comodities thereof, invited us soe strongly to goe on that Mr. Wentropp of Soffolke (who was well knowne in his owne country & well approved heere for his pyety, liberality, wisdom & gravity) comeing in to us, wee came to such resolution that in April 1630, wee sett saile from Old England with 4 good shippes.* And in May following 8 more followed, 2 haveing gone before in Ffebruary and March, and 2 more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant. Theis 17 Shippes arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the plantacon here theis yeare 1630 but made a long, a troublesome, and a costly voy'ge beeing all wind bound long in England, and hindered with contrary winds after they set saile and so scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together. Our 4 shippes which sett out in Aprill arrived here in June and July, where wee found the colony in a sadd and unexpected condicon about 80 of them beeing dead the winter before and many of those alieue weake and sicke: all the corne and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, insoemuch that the remainder of 180 servants wee had the 2 years before sent over, comeinge to vs for victualls to sustain them wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the p'visions shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss to giue them all libertie; who had cost us about: 16 or 20 £s a person furnishing and sending

* The Arbella, Jewell, Ambrose, and Talbot.

over. But bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the place of our sitting downe : for Salem where we landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay to search vpp the rivers for a convenient place ; who vppon their returne reported to haue found a good place vppon Mistick ; but some other of us seconding theis to approoue or dislike of their judgement ; we found a place liked vs better 3 leagues vp Charles river—And there vppon vnshipped our goods into other vessels and with much cost and labour brought them in July to Charles Towne ; but there receiving advertisements by some of the late arived shippes from London and Amsterdam of some French preparations against vs (many of our people brought with vs beeing sick of feavers & the scurvy and wee thereby vnable to cary vp our ordinance and baggage soe farr) wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charles Towne which standeth on the North Side of the mouth of Charles River ; some on the South Side thereof, which place wee named Boston (as wee intended to haue done the place wee first resolved on) some of vs vppon Mistick, which wee named Meadford ; some of vs westwards on Charles river, 4 miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertoune ; others of vs 2 miles from Boston in a place wee named Rocksbury, others vppon the river of Sawgus between Salem and Charles Toune. And the western men 4 miles South from Boston at a place wee named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of vs, but helpe it wee could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a Toune vppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least the winter should surprize vs before wee had builded our houses. The best counsel wee could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place if any enemy pressed therevnto, after wee should have fortified ourselves against the iniuries of wett and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time they who had health to labour fell to building wherein many were interrupted with sicknes and many dyed weekely, yea almost dayley. Amongst whom were Mrs. Pinchon,* Mrs. Coddington,† Mrs. Phillips‡ and Mrs. Alcock§ a sister of Mr. Hookers. Insomuch that the shippes

* Wife of Hon. Wm. Pynchon.
 ‡ Wife of Rev. Geo. Phillips.

† Wife of Hon. Wm. Coddington.
 § Wife of Dea. John Alcock.

being now vpon their returne, some for England some for Ireland, there was as I take it not much less than an hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our government which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through feare of famine not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves) which returned back againe. And glad were wee so to bee ridd of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their owne disposition, which were planted at Piscataway went from vs to them, whereby though our numbers were lessened yet wee accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their removeall. Before the departure of the shippes we contracted with Mr. Peirce Mr. of the Lyon of Bristow to return to vs with all speed with fresh supplies of victualls & gave him directions accordingly. With this shipp returned Mr. Revil, one of the 5 vndertakers here, for the joint stock of the company—And Mr. Vassall one of the Assistants, and his family ; and also Mr. Bright, a minister sent hether the yeare before. The shippes beeinge gone, victualls wastinge, & mortallity increasinge wee held diverse fasts in our severall congregations, but the Lord would not yet bee deprecated ; for about the beginning of September, dyed Mr. Gager, a right godly man, a skillfull chirurgeon and one of the deacons of our congregation. And Mr. Higginson, one of the ministers of Salem, a zealous & a profitable preacher ; this of a consumption, that of a feaver ; & on the 30th of September dyed Mr. Johnson, another of the 5 vndertakers (the lady Arbella his wife beeinge dead a month before) This gentleman was a prime man amongst vs haueing the best estate of any, zealous for religion and the greatest furtherer of this plantacon. He made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantacon than it would have beene in any other way. He left to vs a loss greater than the most conceived. Within a month after dyed Mr. Rossiter, another of our assistants, a godly man and of a good estate which still weakened vs more so that there now were left of the 5 vnder-takers but the Governour, Sir Richard Saltonstall and myselfe and 7 other of the Assistants—And of the people who came over with vs from the time of their setting saile from England in Aprill 1630, vntill December followinge there dyed by estimacon about 200 at the least—Soe lowe hath the Lord brought

vs! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged but bearing God's corrections with humilitee and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a greater ebb hee had raised vpp our neighbours at Plymouth we beganne againe in December to consult about a fitt place to build a Toune vppon, leaveinge all thoughts of a fort, because vppon any invasion wee were necessarily to loose our howses when we should retire thereinto; soe after diverse meetings at Boston, Rocksbury and Waterton on the 28th of December wee grew to this resolucon to bind all the Assistants (Mr. Endicott & Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last purposeth to returne by the next shipp into England) to build howses at a place, a mile east from Waterton neere Charles river, the next Springe, and to winter there the next yeare, that soe by our examples and by removeinge the ordinance and munition thether, all who were able, might be drawne thether, and such as shall come to vs hereafter to their advantage bee compelled soe to doe; and soe if God would, a fortified Toune might there grow vpp, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. I should before haue menconed how both the English and the Indian corne beeinge at tenne shillings a strike, and beaver beeinge vallued at six shilling a pound, wee made lawes to restraine the sellinge of corne to the Indians, and to leave the price of Beaver at libertie which was presently sold for tenne and 20 shillings a pound. I should alsoe haue remembered how the halfe of our Cowes and almost all our Mares and Goates sent vs out of England, dyed at sea in their passage hether, and that those intended to bee sent vs out of Ireland were not sent at all; all which together with the loss of our six months buildinge, occasioned by our intended removeall to a toune to bee fortified, weakened our estates, especially the estates of the vndertakers who were 3 or 4000^{tes} engaged in the joynt stock which was now not above soe many hundreds; yet many of vs laboured to beare it as comfortably as wee could, remembreinge the end of our comeinge hether & knowinge the power of God who canne supporte and raise vs againe, and useth to bring his servants lowe, that the meeke may bee made glorious by deliverance, Psal. 112.

In the end of this December, departed from vs the shipp Handmaide of London by which wee sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud insolent man who had lived here diverse yeares

and had beene an Attorney in the West Countryes while he lived in England. Multitude of complaintes wee received against him for iniuries doone by him both to the English and Indians, and amongst others for shooting hail shott at a troope of Indians, for not bringing a Cannowe vnto him to cross a river withall, whereby he hurt one, and shott through the garments of another; for the sattisfacon of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that wee meant to doe iustice impartially, wee caused his hands to bee bound behind him and sett his feete in the bill-bowes, and burned his howse to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and soe kept him prisoner till wee sent him to England, whether wee sent him, for that my Lord Cheife Justice there soe required that hee might punish him cappitally for fowler misdemeaners there perpetrated as wee were informed.

I haue no leisure to review and insert thinges forgotten but out of due time and order must sett them downe as they come to memory. About the end of October, this year 1630 I ioyned with the Governour & Mr. Maverecke in sendinge out our pinace to the Narragansetts to trade for corne to supply our wants, but after the pynace had doubled Cape Codd, shee putt into the next harbour shee found, and there meetinge with Indians who shewed their willingness to Truck, shee made her voyage their and brought vs 100 bushells of corne at about 4s a bushell which helped vs somewhat. From the coast where they traded they saw a very large island, 4 leagues to the east which the Indians comended as a fruitfull place full of good vines and free from sharpe frosts having one only entrance into it, by a navigable river inhabited by a few Indians, which for a trifle would leave the Island, if the English would sett them vppon the maine, but the pynace haueinge noe direction for discovery, returned without sayling to it, which in 2 hours they might haue done. Vppon this coast they found store of vines full of grapes dead ripe, the season beeing past—whether wee purpose to send the next yeare sooner, to make some small quantitie of wine if God enable vs, the vines growinge thinne with vs & wee not haueing yett any leasure to plant vineyards. But now haueing some leasure to discourse of the motiues for other mens comeinge to this place or their abstain-
ing from it, after my breif manner I say this—That if any come

hether to plant for worldly ends that canne live well at home he comits an error of which hee will soon repent him. But if for spirituall and that noe particular obstacle hinder his removeall, he may finde here what may well content him: vizt: materials to build, fewell to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to ffish in, a pure ayer to breath in, good water to drinke till wine or beare canne be made, which together with the coves, hoggs and goates brought hether already may suffice for food, for as for foule and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. Ffor cloaths and beddinge they must bring them wth them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, wee yett enjoy little to bee envyed but endure much to be pittied in the sicknes & mortalitye of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plaine dealinge least other men should fall short of their expectacons when they come hether as wee to our great prejudice did, by means of letters sent vs from hence into England, wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men out of religious ends will come over to helpe vs in the good worke wee are about I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their owne reckoninge, but they must not bee of the poorer sort yett for diverse yeares. Ffor we haue found by experience that they haue hindered, not furthered the worke—And for profaine and deboshed persons their oversight in comeinge hether is wondred at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there bee any endued with grace and furnished wth meanes to feed themselues and theirs for 18 months, and to build and plant lett them come into our Macedonia & helpe vs, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profittable employment: for others I conceive they are not yet fitted for this busines.

Touching the discouragement which the sicknes and mortality which every first year hath seized vpon vs, and those of Plymouth, as appeareth before, may give to such who haue cast any thoughts this way (of which mortality it may bee said of vs almost as of the Egiptians, that there is not an howse where there is not one dead, and in some howses many) the naturall causes seem to bee in the want of warm lodginge, and good dyet

to which Englishmen are habituuated at home ; and in the sudden increase of heate which they endure that are landed here in somer, the salt meates at sea haueing prepared their bodyes thereto, for those onely theis 2 last years dyed of feavers who landed in June and July ; as those of Plymouth who landed in winter dyed of the Scirvy, as did our poorer sort whose howses and bedding kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their dyet sufficiently in heart. Other causes God may have as our faithfull minister Mr. Wilsonne (lately handling that poynt) shewed vnto vs, which I forbear to mention, leauing the matter to the further dispute of phisitions and diuines. Wherefore to returne, vpon the third of January dyed the daughter of Mr. Sharpe, a godly virginne making a comfortable end, after a long sicknes. The plantacon here received not the like loss of any woman since wee came hether and therefore shee well deserves to be remembred in this place ; and to add to our sorrowes vpon the 5th day came letters to vs from Plymouth advertizeing vs of this sadd accident followinge. About a fortnight before there went from vs in a shallop, to Plymouth 6 men and a girle, who in an houre or two before night on the same day they went fourth came near to the mouth of Plymouth Bay, but the wind then comeing strongly from the shore, kept them from entering and drove them to seawards, and they haueing no better meanes to help themselues lett down their killick that soe they might drive the more slowly, and bee nearer land when the storm should cease. But the stone slipping out of the killick and thereby they driveing faster then they thought all the night, to the morninge when they looked out, they found themselves out of sight of land, which soe astoni'ed them, the frost being extreme & their hands soe benumbed w'th cold that they could not handle their oares, neyther had any compass to steare by, that they gave themselves for lost and lay doune to dye quietly, onely one man who had more naturall heate and courage remaininge then the rest, continued soe longe lookinge for land, that the morning waxing clearer, hee discovered land and with much difficulty hoysted the Saile, and so the winde a little turninge 2 dayes after, they were driven from Plymouth bay ; they arrived at a shore unknowne vnto them. The stronger helped the weaker out of the boate and taking their saile on shore made a shelter thereof, and made a fire, but the frost had

soe pierced their bodyes that one of them dyed about 3 dayes after their landinge, and most of the other grew worse, both in bodye and courage, noe hopes of reliefe beeing within their veiw, well, yet the Lord pittyinge them and two of them who onely could vse their leggs goeing abroad, rather to seeke then to hope to find helpe, they mett first with 2 Indian women, who sent unto them an Indian man who informed them that Plymouth was within 50 miles and offered together to procure reliefe for them, which they gladly accepting hee performed, and brought them 3 men from Plymouth (the governour & counsell of Plymouth liberally rewardinge the Indian & tooke care for the safety of our people) who brought them all aliue in their boate thether, saue one man who with a guide chose rather to goe over land but quickly fell lame by the way, and getting harbour at a trucking house the Plymotheans had in those partes, there hee yett abides. At the otherse landing at Plymouth, one of them dyed as hee was taken out of the boate, another (and hee the worst in the company) rotted from the feete vpwards where the frost had gotten most hold, and soe dyed within in a few dayes. The other 3 after God had blessed the chirurgeon's skill, used towards them, returned safe to vs. I sett doune this the more largely, partly because the first man that dyed was a godly man of of our congregacon, one Richard Garrad, a shoemaker, who at the time of his death more feared hee should dishonour God than cared for his own life—As also because diverse boates, have been in manifest perill this year, yett the Lord preserved them all this onely excepted. Amongst those who dyed about the end of this January, there was a girle of 11 years old the daughter of one John Ruggles, of whose family and kindred dyed soe many, that for some reason it was matter of observacon amongst vs; who in the time of her sickness expressed to the minister and to those about her, soe much faith and assurance of salvation, as is rarely found in any of that age which I thought not unworthy here to comitt to memory, and if any taxe mee for wasting paper with recordinge theis small matters, such may consider that little mothers bring fourth little children small common wealths; matters of small moment the reading whereof yett is not to bee despised by the judicious, because small thinges in the beginning of naturall or

politique bodyes are as remarkeable as greater in bodyes full groune.

Upon the 5 of February arrived here Mr. Peirce with the shipp Lyon of Bristou with supplyes of victualls from England who had sett fourth from Bristou the first of December before. Hee had a stormy passage hether, and lost one of his saylors not farr from our shore who in a tempest haueing helped to take in the spirit saile lost his hold as hee was comeigne doune and fell into the sea, where after long swiming hee was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the shipp, who beheld soe lamentable a spectacle, without being able to minister help to him. The sea was soe high and the shipp droue so fast before the wind, though her sailes were taken down. By this shipp wee understood of the fight of 3 of our shipps and 2 English men of warr comeinge out of the straites with 14 Dunkirkes, upon the coast of England, as they returned from vs in the end of the last summer, who through God's goodnes with the loss of some 13 or 14 men out of our 3 shipps; and I know not how many out of the 2 men of warr, gott at length cleare of them. The Charles, one of our 3,* a stout shipp of 300 tunne being soe torne that shee had not much of her left whole aboue water. By this shipp wee allso vnderstood the death of many of those who went from vs the last yeare to old England as likewise of the mortallity there whereby wee see there are graues in other places as well as with vs.

Allso to increase the heape of our sorrous wee received advertisements by l'res from our friends in England and by the reports of those who came hether in this shipp to abide with vs, (which were about 26) that those who went discontentedly from vs the last yeare, out of their evill affections towards us, have raised many false and scandalous reports against vs, affirminge vs to be Brounists in religion and ill affected to our state at home and that theis vile reports haue wonne credit with some who formerly wished vs well. But wee doe desire, and cannot but hope, that wise and imp'tiall men will at length consider that such malecontents haue ever p.sed this manner of casting dirt to make others to seeme as fowle as themselves and that our godly freinds to whom wee haue been knowne

* The other two were the Success and the Whale.

will not easily beleive that wee are not soe soon turned from the profession wee soe long haue made in our natiue Country : And for our further cleareinge I truely affirme that I know noe one person who came over with vs the last yeare to bee altered in his judgment and affection eyther in ecclesiasticall or civil respects since our comeinge hether, but wee doe continue to pray dayley for for our soveraigne lord the Kinge, the Queen the Prince, the royal blood, the counsaile and whole state as dutye bindes us to doe and reason persuades others to beleive, for how ungodly and unthankfull should wee bee if wee should not thus doe, who come hether by vertue of his Ma'ties letter patents, and vnder his gracious protection vnder which shelter wee hope to liue safely and from whome kingdome and subjects, wee now haue received and hereafter expect releife. Lett our friends therefore giue noe credit to such malicious aspersions, but bee more ready to answer for us, then we heare they haue beene : wee are not like those which haue dispensations to lye, but as wee were free enough in Old England, to turne our insides outwards sometimes to our disadvantage very unlike is it that now (beeinge procul a bulmine) wee should bee so unlike ourselves ; lett therefore this be sufficient for vs to say, and others to heare in this matter.

Amongst others who dyed about this time was Mr. Robert Welden, whom in the time of his sicknes wee had chosen to bee Captaine of 100 foote, but before hee tooke possession of his place hee dyed the 16 of this February, and was buried as a soldier with 3 volleyes of shott. Vpon the 22 of February wee held a generall day of thanks giveinge throughout the whole Colony for the safe arrivall of the shipp which came last with our provisions.

About this time wee apprehended one Robt. Wright who had been sometimes a lynn draper in Newgate market and after that a brewer on the banke side and on Thames Streete. This man we lately vnderstood had made an escape in London from those who came to his house to apprehend him for clipping the king's coyne had stollen after vs Vppon his examinacon hee confessed the fact and his escape, but affirmed hee had the kinge's pardon for it vnder the broad seale which hee yett not beeing able to prooue, and one to whome he was knoune chargeing him with untruth in some of

his answers wee therefore comitted him to prison to bee sent by the next shipp into England.

Likewise we were lately informed that one Mr. Gardiner, who arrived here a month before us (and who had passed here for a knight by the name of Sr. Christopher Gardiner all this while) was noe knight, but instead thereof, had 2 wiues, now liueinge in an howse at London, one of which came about September last from Paris in Ffrance, (where her husband had left her 4 years before) too London where shee had heard her husband had marryed a second wife, and whom by enquiry shee found out, and they both condoleinge each others estate wrote both their l'res to the Governour (by Mr. Peirce who had conference with both the women in the presence of Mr. Allerton of Plymouth) his first wife desireing his returne and conversion; his second his destruccon for his foule abuse, and for robbing her of her estate of a part whereof shee sent an Inventory hether compriseinge therein many rich jewells, much plate and costly lynnens. This man had in his family (and yett hath) a gentlewoman whom hee called his kinswoman and whom one of his wiues in her letter names Mary Grove affirming her to be a knoune harlott, whose sending back into Old England shee also desired together with her husband. Shortly after this intelligence wee sent to the house of the said Gardiner (which was 7 miles from us) to apprehend him and his woman with a purpose to send them both to London to his wiues there, but the man, who haueing heard some rumour from some who came in the shipp that l'res were come to the Governour reuireing justice against him, was readily prepared for flight soe soone as he should see any crossinge the river likely to apprehend him which hee accordingly perfourmed; for hee dwelling aloone easily descerned such who were sent to take him, halfe a mile before they approached his house, and with his peece on his neck went his way as most men think northwards, hoping to find some English there like to himselfe but likely enough it is which way so ever hee went, hee will loose himselfe in the woods and be stopped with some rivers in his passing, notwithstanding his compass in his pockett, and soe with hunger and cold will perish, before hee find the place hee seekes. His woman was brought vnto us and confessed hir name, and that hir mother dwells 8 miles from Boirdly in Salopshire, and that

Gardiner's father dwells in or neare Gloucester and was (as shee said) brother to Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester,* and did disinherit his sonne for his 26 years absence in his travailes in Ffrance, Italy, Germany, and Turkey, that he had (as he told hir) married a wife in his travailes, from whom hee was devorced and the woman long since dead,—that both herselfe and Gardiner were both Catholiques, till of late, but were now Protestants, that shee takes him to bee a knight but never heard where he was knighted. The woman was impenitent and close, confessing noe more than was wrested from her by her oune contradictions, soe wee haue taken order to send her to the 2 wiues in Old England to search her father

Vpon the 8 of March, from after it was faire day light untill about 8 of the clock in the forenoone, there flew over all the tounes in our plantacons soe many flocks of doues, each flock conteyning many thousands and some soe many that they obscured the lighte, that it passeth credit, if but the truth should bee written, and the thing was the more strange, because I scarce remember to haue seene tenne doues since I came into the country. They were all turtles as appeared by diverse of them wee killed flying somewhat bigger than those of Europe, and they flew from the north east to the south west; but what it portends I know not.

The shipp now waites but for wind, which when it blowes there are ready to goe aboard therein for England Sr. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Coddington and many others, the most whereof purpose to returne to vs againe, if God will. In the meane time wee are left a people poore and contemptible yet such as trust in God, and are contented with our condition, beeing well assured that hee will not faile vs nor forsake vs.

I had almost forgotten to add this, that the wheate wee received by this last shipp standes us in 13 or 14 shillinges a strike, and the pease about 11s. a strike besides the adventure, which is worth 3 or 4 shillinges a strike which is an higher price than I ever tasted bread of before.

Thus Madam, I haue as I came, told your Honr. all our matters, knowinge your wisdomes canne make good vse there-

* This story was probably of the knight's invention, to raise him in the eyes of his paramour. The Bishop of Winchester was born 147 years before this examination, and has been dead seventy-five years.

of. If I liue not to perfourme the like office of my dutye hereafter, likely it is some other will doe it better.

Before the depparture of the shipp (w'ch yet was wind bound) there came vnto vs Sagamore John and one of his subjects requireinge sattisfaction for the burning of two wigwams by some of the English which wigwams were not inhabited but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when vppon occasion they should travaile that wayes. By examination wee found that some English fowlers haueing retired into that which belonged to the subject and leaueing a fire therein carelessly which they had kindled to warm them were the cause of burninge thereof; ffor that which was the Sagamores wee could find noe certaine prooffe how it was fired, yet least he should thinke vs not scedulous enough to find it out and soe should depart discontentedly from vs, wee gave both him and his subjects sattisfaction for them both.

The like accident of fire also befell Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Colborne vppon the 17 of this March both whose howses, which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the plantacon were in 2 houres space burned to the ground together with much of their house hould stuff, apparell and other thinges as allsoe some goods of others who soiourned w'th them in their howses; God so pleaseinge to exercise vs with corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others, for the prevention whereof in our new toun this somer to bee builded, wee haue ordered that noe man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented unto, for that diverse other howses haue beene burned since our arrivall (the fire allwaies beginninge in the wooden chimneyes) and some English wigwams which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs.

And that this shipp might returne into Old England with heavy newes, vppon the 18 day of March, came one from Salem and told us that vppon the 15 thereof, there dyed Mrs. Skelton, the wife of the other minister there, who about 18 or 20 dayes before handling cold things in a sharpe morninge, put herself into a most violent fitt of the wind colleck and of vomitting, which continuinge, shee at length fell into a feaver & so dyed as before. Shee was a godly & an helpfull woman, & indeed the maine pillar of her family, haueing left behinde hir an hus-

band & 4 children weake and helpeles, who canne scarce till how to liue without her. Shee liued desired and dyed lamented and well deserves to bee honourably remembred.

Vppon the 25 of this March, one of Waterton haueing lost a calfe, and about 10 of the clock at night heareinge the howlinge of some wolues not farr off, raised many of his neighbours out of their bedds, that by discharginge their muskeets neere about the place, where hee heard the wolues, hee might soe putt the wolues to flight, and saue his calfe: the wind serveing fitt to cary the report of the musketts to Rocksbury, 3 miles of at such a time, the inhabitants there tooke an alarme beate vpp their drume, armed themselves and sent in post to vs to Boston to raise vs allsoe. Soe in the morninge the calfe beeinge found safe, the wolues affrighted, and our danger past, wee went merrily to breakefast.

I thought to haue ended before, but the stay of the shipp, and my desire to informe your ho'r of all I canne, hath caused this addition; and every one haueinge warninge to prepare for the shipp's departure to morrow, I am now this 28 of March 1631 sealinge my l'res.





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AMERICAN
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NUMBER FIVE

SEPTEMBER 1898

EXTRACT FROM A MANUSCRIPT COLLEC-
TION OF ANNALS RELATIVE TO VIRGINIA.
FROM THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE OF APRIL 21,
1774.

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COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for England and the Colonies. The number for October will contain "A Description of the Province of New Albion. And a Direction for Adventurers with Small Stock to get two for one, and good lands freely: And for Gentlemen, and all Servants, Laborers and Artificers to live plentifully. And a former Description re-printed of the healthiest, pleasantest, and richest Plantation of New Albion in North Virginia, proved by thirteen witnesses. Together with a letter from Master Robert Evelin, that lived there many years, showing the particularities and excellency thereof. With a brief of the charge of victual and necessaries to transport and buy stock for Each Planter or Laborer, there to get his Master 50 l. per Annum, or more in twelve trades, at 10 l. charges only a man. Printed in the year 1640."

EXTRACT

FROM A

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OF

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VOL. 2. COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 5.

EXTRACT, ETC.

AN event happened this year (1642) which at first gave great uneasiness to the colony, but in the end proved advantageous to them, as it removed all their apprehensions of being reduced to a proprietary government, and fixed the constitution on a firm and permanent basis.

The colony had now remained seventeen years under the immediate government of the crown, that is, from the dissolution of the company in the last year of James I to the year 1642. During this period they had enjoyed a felicity unknown to them under the company's government, which had been extremely severe and arbitrary. Several attempts were made to restore the company's power and authority, but they were constantly defeated by the vigilance of the grand assembly, who were determined never more to submit to a proprietary government.

In the year 1639 the grand assembly appointed George Sandis, Esq., their agent to the English court, with particular instructions to oppose the reestablishment of the company, and to give them the earliest intelligence of their machinations; but this gentleman, forgetting his duty to his constituents, presented a petition to the House of Commons, in the name of the adventurers and planters in Virginia, for restoring the letters patent of incorporation to the treasurer and company, with all the rights, powers, and privileges contained in their old charter, except that the right of nominating and appointing the governor was to be reserved to the crown.

When the grand assembly were informed of this petition, they immediately passed a solemn declaration and protestation against the company, in the form of an act, in which they disclaim their agent's conduct, declare he had mistaken his instructions, and that it never was the meaning or intent of the

assembly or inhabitants of the colony to give way for the introducing the said company, or any other.

They say that, having maturely considered the reasons for and against restoring the company, and looking back into the condition of the times under the company, and comparing it with the present state of the colony under his majesty's government, we find the late company in their government intolerable, the present comparatively happy, and the old corporation cannot with any possibility be again introduced without the absolute ruin and dissolution of the colony.

That the colony labored under intolerable calamities by the many illegal proceedings and barbarous treatments inflicted upon divers of his majesty's subjects in the time of the said company's government.

That the whole trade of the colony, to the great grievance and complaint of the inhabitants, was monopolized by the company; insomuch that, when any person desired to go for England, he had not liberty to carry with him the fruits of his own labor for his comfort and support, but was forced to bring it to the magazine of the company, and there to exchange it for unprofitable and useless wares.

That our present happiness is exemplified by the freedom of annual assemblies, warranted to us by his majesty's gracious instructions, by legal trials by juries in all criminal and civil causes, by his majesty's royal encouragement upon all occasions to address ourselves unto him by our humble petitions, which so much distinguisheth our happiness from that of the former times, that private letters to friends were rarely admitted a passage.

That the old corporation cannot be introduced without proving the illegality of the king's proceedings against them, so that all grants since, upon such a foundation, must be void; and if, as they pretend, the king had no right to grant, our lands held by immediate grant from his majesty must be void, and our possessions must give place to their claim, which is an invincible argument of ruin and desolation to the colony, as we must be ousted of our possessions if their pretence take place. And, though it is alleged by them that the charter of orders from the treasurer and company (anno 1618) gives us claim and right to be members of the corporation *quatenus* planters,

yet it appears by the charter that planters and adventurers who are members of the company are considered by themselves, and distinguished in privileges, from planters and adventurers not being members ; and, as the king's grantees, we find ourselves condemned in the said charter, one clause of it pronouncing in these words : " We do ordain that all such ' persons as of their own voluntary will and authority shall ' remove into Virginia without any grant from us, in a great ' and general quarter court, in writing, under our seals, shall ' be declared, as they are, occupiers of our land ; that is, of the ' common lands of us, the said treasurer and company." Now, if persons who remove into this country without license from the treasurer and company, are to be deemed occupiers of the company's land, much more will such grantees be deemed occupiers of their land who hold their rights under an erroneous judgment, as they pretend.

That if the company be revived, and they have leave, by virtue of their charter of orders, publicly to dispossess us, the wiser world, we hope, will excuse us if we refuse to depart with what, next to our lives, nearest concerns us (which are our estates, the livelihood of ourselves, our wives, and children) to the courtesy and will of such taskmasters, from whom we have already experienced so much oppression.

That we will not admit of so unnatural a distance as a company to interpose between his sacred majesty and us, his subjects, from whose immediate protection we have received so many royal favors and gracious blessings.

That, by such admission, we shall degenerate from our birthrights, being naturalized under a monarchical and not a popular or tumultuary government, depending upon the greatest number of votes of persons of several humors and dispositions, as that of a company must be granted to be, from whose general quarter courts all laws binding the planters here did, and would again, issue.

That we cannot, without breach of natural duty and religion, give up and resign the lands we hold by grants from the king upon certain annual rents (fitter, as we humbly conceive, if his majesty shall so please, for a branch of his royal stem, than for a company) to the claim of a corporation ; for, beside our

births, our possessions enjoin on us a fealty without a *Salva Fide aliis Dominis*.

That by the admission of a company the freedom of our trade (the blood and life of a commonwealth) will be monopolized; for they who with most secret reservation, and most subtlety, argue for a company, though they pretend to submit the government to the king, yet reserve to the corporation property to the land, and power of managing the trade; which word *managing*, in every sense of it, is convertible to monopolizing, and will subject the trade to the sole control and direction of their quarter courts, held at so great a distance from us that it is not probable, or possible, for them to be acquainted with the accidental circumstances of the colony so as to form proper rules and regulations for our trade, which our grand assembly, acquainted with the clime and accidents thereof, have and may, upon better grounds, prescribe, and which in any other way will be destructive to us.

That the pretence that the government shall be made good to the king, that is, that the king shall nominate and appoint the governor, we take, at best, to be but a fallacy and trap, not of capacity enough to catch men with eyes and forethought; for upon a supposition that the governor shall be named and appointed by the king, yet his dependence, so far as respects his continuance or removal, will, by reason of their power and interest with great men, rest in the company, which naturally brings with it conformity to their wills in whatever shall be commanded, and we leave it to the best judgments whether such dependence will not be pernicious to the colony.

These are the great reasons given by the grand assembly for refusing to submit to a proprietary government. But they did not content themselves with bare reasons for their refusal; they proceeded (with a firmness, resolution, and spirit worthy the imitation of later times, when the rights and liberties of the colony are invaded) to enforce their reasons by their positive declaration and protestation, in the following remarkable words:

“ We, the governor, council, and burgesses of this present
 ‘ grand assembly, having taken into their serious consideration
 ‘ these and many other dangerous effects which must be con-

‘ comitant in and from a company and corporation, have thought
 ‘ fit to declare, and hereby do declare, for ourselves and all the
 ‘ commonality of this colony, that it was never desired, sought
 ‘ after, or endeavored to be sought for, either directly or indi-
 ‘ rectly, by the consent of any grand assembly, or the common
 ‘ consent of the people ; and we do hereby further declare, and
 ‘ testify to all the world, that we will *never* admit the restoring
 ‘ said company, or any for or in their behalf, saving to ourselves
 ‘ here in a most faithful and loyal obedience to his most sacred
 ‘ majesty, our dread sovereign, whose royal and gracious protec-
 ‘ tion, allowance, and maintenance of this our just declaration
 ‘ and protestation, we doubt not (according to his accustomed
 ‘ clemency and benignity to his subjects) to find.

“ And we do further enact, and be it hereby enacted and
 ‘ manifested by the authority aforesaid, that what person or
 ‘ persons soever either is, or shall hereafter, any planter or
 ‘ adventurer, shall go about, by any way or means, either
 ‘ directly or indirectly, to sue for, advise, assist, abet, counte-
 ‘ nance or contrive the reducing this colony to a company or
 ‘ corporation, or to introduce a contract or monopoly upon our
 ‘ persons, lands, or commodities, upon due proof or conviction
 ‘ of any of the premises (viz., by going about by any way or
 ‘ means to sue for, advise, abet, assist, countenance, or contrive,
 ‘ directly or indirectly, the reducing of this colony to a company
 ‘ or corporation, or to introduce a contract or monopoly as
 ‘ aforesaid, upon the conviction as aforesaid), shall be held and
 ‘ deemed an enemy to the colony, and shall forfeit his or their
 ‘ whole estate, or estates, that shall be found within the limits
 ‘ of the colony ; the one-half shall be and come to the public
 ‘ use, the other moiety, or half, to the informer.”

This act was passed upon the first day of April, 1642, with
 uncommon solemnity. It was signed by the governor, the
 respective members of the council of state, the house of
 burgesses ; the seal of the colony was affixed to it in their
 presence, and they immediately applied to the king, by their
 humble petitions, for his royal allowance and confirmation of it.

Having thus passed their solemn declaration and protestation,
 in which they had employed much time, the grand assembly
 adjourned to the second day of June, the same year, by partic-
 ular act for that purpose. At this meeting they entered upon



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OCTOBER 1898

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW ALBION. AND A DIRECTION FOR ADVENTURERS TO GET TWO FOR ONE, AND GOOD LAND FREELY : AND FOR GENTLEMEN, AND ALL SERVANTS, LABOURERS AND ARTIFICERS TO LIVE PLENTIFULLY. AND A FORMER DESCRIPTION, REPRINTED, OF THE HEALTHIEST, PLEASANTEST, AND RICHEST PLANTATION OF NEW ALBION IN NORTH VIRGINIA, PROVED BY THIRTEEN WITNESSES. TOGETHER WITH A LETTER FROM MASTER ROBERT EVELIN, THAT LIVED THERE MANY YEARS, SHOWING THE PARTICULARITIES THEREOF. PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1648.

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COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for England and the Colonies. The number for November will contain "The Discoveries of John Lederer, in three several Marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, and other Parts of the Continent. Begun in March, 1669, and ended in September, 1670. Together with a General Map of the whole Territory which he traversed. Collected and Translated out of Latin from his Discourse and Writings by Sir William Talbot, Baronet, London. Printed by J. C. for Samuel Heyrick, at Gray's Iron Gate in Halborn, 1672."

NO 18 OCTOBER 1898
COLONIAL TRACTS
Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

Entered at the Rochester Post-Office as Second Class Matter.

A DESCRIPTION
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF
NEW ALBION.

And a Direction for Adventurers with small stock to get two for one, and good land freely: And for Gentlemen, and all Servants, Labourers and Artificers to live plentifully. And a former Description, reprinted, of the healthiest, pleasantest, and richest Plantation of New Albion in North Virginia, proved by thirteen witnesses.

Together with a Letter from Master Robert Evelin, that lived there many years, showing the particularities, and excellency thereof. With a brief of the charge of victual and necessaries, to transport and buy stock for each Planter, or Labourer, there to get his Master 50*l.* per Annum, or more in twelve trades, at 10*l.* charges only a man.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1648.

THIS EPISTLE AND PREFACE SHOWS CATO'S BEST RULES
FOR A PLANTATION.

To the Right Honorable and Mighty Lord Edmund, by Divine Providence Lord Proprietor, Earl Palatine, Governor and Captain General of the Province of New Albion, and to the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Monson of Castlemain, the Lord Sherard, Baron of Letrim; and to all other the Viscounts, Barons, Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, Adventurers, and Planters of the hopeful Company of New Albion, in all, forty-four undertakers and subscribers, bound by indenture to bring and settle three thousand able, trained men in our said several plantations in the said province.

Beauchamp Plantagenet of Belvil, in New Albion, Esquire, one of the company, wisheth all health, happiness, and heavenly blessings.

May it please your good Lordships and fellow Adventurers:

HAVING been blasted with the whirlwind of this late unnatural and civil English war, seeing the storm more likely to increase than to calm, I recollected my former journal and manual notes of my travels by land and sea forty years since in Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and Belgia, and finding *Omne solum forti patria, ut piscibus æquor*, I perused all the books of any English colonies, and by often conferences of the traders and resident planters, of the present state, condition, numbers, enemies, bad neighbors, air, health, government, fortification, and safety, religion, quietness, profit and returns, shipping for supply, and vent of the growing commodities; I conferred with my fellow patients, seven knights and gentlemen, my kindred and neighbors, and reporting the true state of all our colonies; and while thus musing, I stood all amaze, unresolved; the storm grew far more tempestuous with thunder and lightning, black and terrible gusts, and spouts, that made the rivers rise and my friends to hide; for the roaring cannon beat down their walls and houses, the musqueteers, dragoons, and pistold horsemen swept all Ca . . . and their goods afore them; the pikemen in their inclosures and retreats left them no beds, pots, or pans; their silver plate was turned into earthen dishes; new names and terms, like an unknown language, and like to strange tongue unheard of in all the globe as far as our antipodes, called cavaliers, engagers, independents, roundheads, and malignants, like the Goths,

Huns, and Vandals, and Alans that invaded and conquered Italy, Spain, and France ; and like the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, that conquered Brittany. These having plundered, and put upon us new laws and ordinances, called contribution, excise, quartering, and sequestrations, my friends were now and rightly by God's providence made light, and not troubled or encumbered with much stuff to travel with, nor farms, tenements, or copyholds, and for our sins our pride abated, our hearts humbled ; our afflictions made us pray heartily, and call to God to direct us, to infuse contrition and true sorrow and purpose of amendment to follow His calling. We found this storm and heavy judgment had likewise afflicted Scotland, Ireland, Man, Jersey, and Garnsey Isles. Then perusing my old evidences, I found my ancestor Sir Richard Plantagenet had Chawton, Blendworth, Clanfield, and Catrington in Hampshire. But in those civil wars in Henry the Sixth's time, much like these or that of the Guelfs and Gibellines in Italy, all was lost. I resolved to be a neuter in this quarrel, not to kill Englishmen and Christians, but with Christ to fly into Egypt, and like the apostle Paul to fly out of one city into another, and get out of the fire. At last my seven knights and gentlemen employed me, the oldest and boldest traveler, to see all English plantations, by warrant to buy land in the healthiest and best for us eight, and for a hundred servants, and twenty of our old tenants and families. But in my private instructions, I was, on a full and deliberate council, directed to follow old Cato's rules in seating of the Roman colonies, begun to be seated to save charge of garrisons in new conquests: First, to seat in a healthy, pure air ; else after all the hazard, charge, and building past, their people die, and their posterity extinguish, and their children inherit sickness and weakness. Secondly, to sit down in a fresh, navigable river for trade and supply, where there was stone near to build, and not to build on wood subject to firing of enemies, negligence of servants, or treachery of slaves and apprentices ; for this reason, I, on my view of Virginia, disliked Virginia, most of it being seated scatteringly in wooden clove board houses, where many by fire were undone, and by two massacres in an instant fired, without any forts there, or retreats of safety in time of danger, and seated amongst salt marshes and creeks, where thrice worse than Essex, and Tenet,

and Kent for agues and diseases, brackish water to drink and use, and a flat country, and standing waters in woods bred a double corrupt air, so the elements corrupted ; no wonder, as the old Virginians affirm, the sickness there the first thirty years to have killed one hundred thousand men. And then generally five of six imported died, and now in June, July, and August chiefly, one in nine die imported, absent a year and returning, though much land more now is cleared and victuals . . . tell mendeth the diet. Thirdly, Cato's and the third Roman rules was to seat in rich land, so that the richness of the place and nearness of husbandry may continue the colony with plenty and safety ; this also, Virginia for the most part wanteth, they living in salts, and most of their lands, after two crops, is a light, hot earth, which kills barley with the hot ground and sun in May.

Thus instructed, I viewed Barbadoes and Saint Christopher's, Bermudas, New England, and Virginia and Maryland. Saint Christopher's I find worn out, two parts full of French aliens, subject to blast it, and winds blowing away cotton, wanting victuals, and no store of land. Barbadoes have some rich men, having sugar mills, indigo, ginger, suckets of oranges and lemons, and bad tobacco ; but their usual bread is of cassada roots, whose juice is poison, so the negligence of a servant or slave in the right making of it may cost the whole family a poisoning ; the servants' usual food is some peas, potatoes, roots, and those boiled make their drink called mobby, and plantain roots ; some rich have poultry, and hogs, and cows tied up to trees, for there are few ranches and enclosures. These two last years the plague, as I am informed, killed ten thousand brave people, and there are many hundreds rebel negro slaves in the woods. Here was no store of land for one hundred men and their families ; here wants the Englishman's grass, and so the Englishman's beef, mutton, milk, butter, and cheese, and they want rivers to turn their sugar mills, so that New England sendeth horses, and Virginia oxen, to turn them at excessive rates, and their keeping is there chargeable, and at Barbadoes they buy much beef, and meal, and peas, and fish, from New England, and other places, yet this isle is full of gallant people, very civil and well governed, and now no fear of the Spaniard, being so populous. Then I touched at

Bermudos, an isle twenty miles long, and ten miles over, and in some places more guarded with rocks and isles, difficult in access, full of figs, oranges, lemons, pomcitrons, potatoes and plantains, May's wheat for bread, excellent fish, tobacco, and peas; healthy, too, and quiet in government. But this isle, being but a pretty prison, was not for my companions' use. Thence I sailed to New England, where I found three months' snow, hard winter, but lean land, in general all along the sea coast well peopled towns, the people very thrifty, industrious, and temperate; their fish carried to Bilboa and Saint Sebastian's, their pipe-staves to the isles and Spain, and the corn of the floated river of Connecticut is transported, and the beaver trade is their best subsistence. Still hoping for a richer and more temperate soil, I went to Virginia, passing three hundred and ten miles along the shores and isles of New Albion, by Manhattan isle, by Long isle, Cape May, and the two capes of Delaware bay, by the lesser and southernmost, being by our seamen's observations just in thirty-eight degrees and forty minutes, and so to Congotto and Fetz isles in Maryland to Virginia; to Newport News, where receiving kind entertainment at Captain Matthews', at Master Fantleroy's, and free quarter in all places, finding the Indian war ended, first by the valor, courage, and hot charge of Captain Marshall, and valient Stilwel, and finished by the personal and resolute march and victory of Sir William Berkley, governor, there taking the old King Ope Chankino prisoner, I wandered all over, finding no place, for the reasons aforesaid, fit for our companies. I went to Chicacoen, the north part of Virginia, on Pawtomeck river, avoiding it and Maryland, which I found healthier and better than Virginia, for then it was in war both with the Sasquehannocks and all the Eastern Bay Indians, and a civil war between some revolvers, protestants, assisted by fifty plundered Virginians, by whom M. Leonard Calvert, governor under his brother the Lord Baltimore, was taken prisoner and expelled, and the Isle of Kent taken from him also, by Captain Clayborn of Virginia; yet I viewed Kent isle, too wet and plashy, having bad water, but there and at Chicacoen, and at Accomack in Virginia, and chiefly in New England, they related of the excellent temper and pure air, fertility of soil, of hills that sheltered off the northwest winds and blasts, valleys of grapes,

rich mines, and millions of elks, stags, deer, turkeys, fowl, fish, cotton, rare fruits, timber, and fair plains, and clear fields, which other plantations want, this excelling all others; and finding it lay just midway between Virginia, too hot and aguish in the blasted plains on one side, and the cold New England on the other, and in the same situation as Naples, the garden of Europe, after one hunting voyage and . . . sixty miles on one side of Albion, and three hundred and ten miles on the other side, and Long Isle, finding the countries better and pleasanter than related, I made my addresses to the Lord Governor of Albion, and having obtained under the province seal my grant of my manor of Belvill, containing ten thousand acres, on a navigable river, having in it and near alabaster, terras for plaster of paris, pudding and slatestone, store of timber, clear fields, meads, and woods, and no Indians near, and vines, I resolved to return to Holland, and to transport my friends, where most happily the second time meeting his lordship, and perusing, by his noble favor, all his lordship's cards and seamen's draughts, seventeen journal books of discoveries, voyages, huntings, tradings, and several depositions under seal of the great beaver, and fur trade, rich mines, and many secrets and rarities. In fourteen days, having with the two former books printed of Albion, 1637 and 1642, made a full abstract and collection, agreeing with my own view, and in the depositions and M. Evelins, and other the voyagers of Virginia and New England, I thought it most necessary for the good of all the company, and many volunteers in Holland, distressed in England, and noble knights, gentlemen, that with a little stock may gain fair and rich possessions, and live in peace and quiet, to print and publish this my labor under all your lordships' protections, most humbly craving your lordships' gentle acceptance.

And because it conduceth much for a general and a leader, to be known to his commanders and soldiers, his abilities and virtues and excellent parts drawing more men of honor and valor to follow him, it contenting many men of honor and dignity to be led and commanded by a better and more honorable, and more sufficient than themselves, and not their inferior, the meaner and poorer sort expecting all encouragement, justice, and protection; and all the company, the adventurers, and strangers to us all, may more freely and cheerfully go on, and

set out their men, and expect the more and better returns and contentment under his government in whom pity, religion, honor, justice, learning, valor, judgment, temperance, and policy shineth ; hope without offence or imputation of flattery, to affirm his virtues more than the gems of the coronet of this our earl palatine do adorn his noble part.

Since to me *conscientia mea mille testes*, I have had the honor to be admitted as his familiar, have marched, lodged, and cabined together, among the Indians and in Holland, have seen so many of his manuscript books and most excellent rules and observations of law, justice, policy, I found his conversation as sweet and winning, as grave and sober, adorned with much learning, enriched with six languages, most grounded and experienced in formal matters of state policy, and government, trade, and sea voyages by four years travel in Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, by five years living an officer in Ireland, and this last seven years in America, his study and suits at home and abroad enabling his impartial and infallible judgment of judicature, and certainly his perfect knowledge of his twenty-three Indian kings, under the command of this our lord royal, as of his good and bad neighbors, their power, wealth, and weakness, English aliens, and Indians appear by his notes and books where none of their treacheries, plots, conspiracies, haltings, and villanies, their antagonists, their numbers and abilities, the advantage of our arms and fights, and stratagems are as Greek phalanges, and they as Roman maniples and enemies to side with, and how to quiet and regain, kill, or surprise them, is not expressed. What port, bay, and soundings, creek, river, road, quarries of stone, slate, iron mines, gum-dragoon, lead, gold, and silver, alabaster, terras, bolarmack, red soap earth, terralemnia, dyer's ware, herbs, and plants, and their use, ochre, ruddle, cinnabar for quicksilver and vermilion, is not in particular, cards by compass, and scale in books, with all trials and witnesses recorded.

What land and sea profit, fishing, place for salt, potash, dies, fruits, herbs, and plants, clear fields, great plains, fine and thick grass, marshes, necks of land, rich black, moulded countries for tobacco, flax, rice, choice trees, and timber for shipping and pipe-staves, masts, yards, pitch, tar, sheltered places for grapes and fruits ; cotton in Cotton river, invincible places by

nature, others by a little change and fort to be made impregnable, is not in this huge and waste province, being one thousand mile compass delineated ; and what law or policy, and summary justice, courts of law, equity, appeals, awards, or references sit to compose differences, reconcile debates, to unite hearts, to settle the factious and seditious in any other English colonies or countries, and fit for our justice, is not explained.

Therefore, my good lords and adventurers, since I speak of knowledge or view, and certain reports of wise and knowing men, I shall joy and congratulate with you all, in so able, sufficient, and honorable a governor, happily to rule, to defend, and do us justice ; a tried and seasoned man, and excellent pilot in all this land and seas, not afear'd in person as a true captain general by land and sea, to lead and settle us by boat, horse, or foot, as able and willing as any of the meanest ; and therefore I think at first as most material, to express the law, statutes, and judgments, and acts of parliament, of counts, and count palatines, and county palatines, and of our province and county palatine, liberties, and the ancient family one thousand two hundred years from the Saxons in England, of our earl palatine, his pedigree, and alliance.

And since according as other palatines, as he of Chester and Duresme, made their barons and knights, as therein many are yet living, you, my lord, have begun to honor first your own children, I tender my best respects unto your own son and heir apparent, Francis Lord Ployden, baron of Mount Royal, and governor, and to Thomas Lord Ployden, baron of Roymont, high admiral ; and to the Lady Winefrid, baroness of Uvedale, the pattern of mildness and modesty ; and to the Lady Barbara, baroness of Ritchneck, the mirror of wit and beauty ; and to the Lady Katherine, baroness of Prince . . . t, that pretty babe of grace, whose fair hands I kiss, hoping on your lordship's invitation C. C. T. and your two baronets L. and M., to get them, as they promised, to go with us. I hope to get your knights and two hundred planters on this side ready. And thus with tender of my service to your lordships, and all the company, I rest,

Your humblest servant,

BEAUCHAMP PLANTAGENET.

Middleboro, this 5th of December, 1648.

VOL. 2. COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 6.

THE CONTENTS OF THE SEVERAL CHAPTERS.

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OF Counts or Earls created, and County Palatines, and of our Province and County Palatine, Liberties, and the Ancient Family 1200 years of our Earl Palatine from the Saxons in England, his Pedigree and Alliance.

CHAPTER II.

His Majesty, and his Ancestors' just title, and actual possession of these Countries, of some Aliens and Pirates in landing and disinheriting the English Crown, and of bad English and Fugitives to them adhering; the just cause and excuse to expel them.

CHAPTER III.

The Description of Master Robert Evelin and thirteen witnesses, printed seven years since, and now reprinted.

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The more large and exact Description and Declaration of many things these last seven years, the bounds of all to it adjoining of Virginia, Maryland, New England; and Answer to Objections of bounds. The number of the present Inhabitants, and their Cattle in this Province, one thousand miles compass; the number of Indians.

CHAPTER V.

What Cargason is necessary to transport for the Lord of a Manor, or to trade or truck with the Indians.

CHAPTER VI.

Our present staple commodities, how oft a man transported and stocked to make of his one hundred acres, fifty or seventy per annum.

CHAPTER I.

FOR the first creation of earls in the Saxons' time, and since by the Norman kings in England, I refer you to that learned antiquary, Master Selden, his book who writeth at large in his Book of Titles and Honors, as well of this as of foreign nations. But there you shall find records cited, and earls made both by privy signet and privy seal, without the great seal. And they were not then merely titular and nominal, without interest, power, and judicature, as now they are commonly all, except the Earl of Arundell, who still is a local feudal earl, by possession of the castle, and of some rapes or liberties, for the Lord Lumley, not long since, for some years being possessed thereof, was for such time Earl of Arundell, and that earldom is confirmed, and so adjudged with his honor and precedency, by the House of Peers entered both in the parliament and court of honor rolls, and the royal grant was, *Do tibi Comitatum & tertiam partem proficuorum, unde Comes est*. And he made the sheriffs, or his viscount, or deputy; and the county court was his, and it was an honor and office, both with the county and assignable, the assignee enjoying the county, honor, and office, as in Master Selden's book is cited, in their patents, and was not so many large words for his title and peerage, as is now used.

But in the Reports of Jacobi of Sir John Davis, in the case of the County Palatine, and in the fourth part of the Institutes of Sir Edward Coke, of jurisdiction of courts of the three county palatines, yet in England you may see acts of parliament, judgments and full matter, showing that there were *Comites Palatini* of the first and higher rank, which had in their territories absolute command in martial, civil, and criminal matters, with all royalties and regalities which the second order of titular or nominal earls had not, both in the Saxons' and Normans' time, long before the title of duke, marquis, or viscount was there granted. Secondly, *Comes Palatinus* was *Comes Palatii*, being a chief council and companion to the emperor, or king, *Comes Curarum par extans Curis solo diademate dispar*. That in Chester, Durham, Lancaster, and Pembroke were made earl palatines, and county palatines; and in Ireland in Lemster, Earl Strongbow, Sir Hugh de Lacy in

Sir Jo. Davis,
fol. 59.

Folio 60.

Meth, to Sir Hugh de Lacy the younger in Ulster. That William Marshall, marrying Earl Strongbow's daughter, had by her five daughters. So as the Province of Lemster descending to them, it was divided into five counties, to each of them one county palatine. That Bracton, the ancientest of lawyers, avers earl palatines have regal power in all things saving liegance to the king; Hugh Lupus by the Conqueror was made earl palatine of the county of Chester, as free to the sword as the king to the crown, and the Palatine of Chester made barons, the Baron of Haulton, the Baron of Malbanck, the Baron of Malpas, the Baron of Kinder-ton, and in Lancaster, the Baron of Walton in Durham, the Baron of Hilton, and in Meth, magnates and barons; Baron de Streene, Baron de Naven, Baron de Baltrim, Baron de la Nar-ron, Baron de Rheban in Kildare; the Baron Idrone in Caterlogh, the Baron of Burn-Church in Kilkenny, Baron of Nevill in Wexford, Baron of Loughmo in Tipperary, Baron Misset, and Baron Savage in Ulster. That these earls palatines had parliaments, made tenures in *capite*, and grand serjeancy, and the tenants sued out license of alienations, and all writs and pleas, officers, chancellors, judges, and that none of the king's officers could enter there, or that the king's writs, neither at law nor chancery, did lie or run there, and that the county palatine was thereby absolutely severed from the crown. That the county palatine of Lancaster was created by that of Chester, and to Chester was annexed his conquered small county of Flint in Wales, and made, besides the four above, four other barons: Vernon of Saybrook, Hammond de Massi, Baron of Dunham, and the Barons of Hawardin and Stockport, and in other antiquities, Cornwall, Baron of Burford in Shropshire.

Folio 62.

Folio 67.

Sir E. Coke.
fol. 211.

Folio 215.

That any manors or lands lying out of the county palatine if held thereof, and the pleas of the inhabitants there arising shall be tried within the county palatine.

Thomas and Hugh, count palatines both, and both bishops, pleaded and returned to the king's writs: I am a lord royal here, the king's writs do not run here.

Folio 221.

The eldest sister's son by descent after her mother was Earl

Palatine of Pembroke, and the law, reports, and abridgements show they made knights, and as knights were to be impleaded. Divers statutes show Durham and the earl palatines, mints, Durham pence yet extant. The earl palatines had in their counties *Jura Regalia*, as the king had in his palace, etc.

Folio 204.

In the Lord Lovel's case, the name or title of a baron is no name of dignity or addition, 8 H. 6, 10, but earl is parcel of his name, and if it be left out of the writ, the writ shall abate, 39 E. 3, 35, the case of Gilbert Umfrevill, Earl of Angus, and 14 E. 3, brief 278, the case of Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester; yet note Master Burlacy, for not calling the Lord Mohun lord, but Mohun, was committed to prison; and note in a star-chamber brief the Lord Verulam, his widow marrying Sir John Underhill, was called and charged as my Lady Underhill, the late wife of Viscount Verulam, and not being called viscountess the bill was cast out, and a fine for dishonor imposed.

Sir Jo. Davis
fol. 60.

Now there be four other lord proprietors that have palatine jurisdiction granted, and provinces in the West India isles, Florida and Maryland, and as free as the Bishop of Durham had, but none have a special creation of an earl palatine, but ours of New Albion; nor have they the lords with such additions, titles, dignities, and privileges as either Durham or any other had, nor any special grant to coin money; in that of Maryland special resort or sovereign dominion, which is a Court of Appeal, as in the case of King E. the Third, and his son E. in Aquitany, with free fishing and wood for houses, and to set up fishing stages, is reserved; else all the lord proprietors have all the like royalties and regalities, and all these, 11 H. 6, in a long roll, particularly expressed, are confirmed by parliament to the Bishop of Durham,

Sir E. Coke,
fol. 216.

and so thereby to all the lord proprietors. And all of them have a special clause to give to the well-deserving inhabitants in those provinces, titles, honor, and dignities, so as they be not the same used in England. Now, though some question is made whether the other four lord proprietors can make barons or any knights in their provinces, because such honors and titles of barons and knights are used here; but there is no question or doubt in the province of New Albion, our lord being

an earl palatine sixteen years standing, as free as Chester and Pembroke, or Lacy, or Strongbow in Ireland, by that second power according to the judged cases in law and in parliament may make provincial, local, and feudal barons, as the nineteen above named, and make knight bachelors, though here used, and to have precedency, as others have had heretofore, though his intended order of knights of the conversion of Albion is more proper. And for our earl palatines honor and peerage in Ireland, and to make his proxy in his absence in the House of Peers there, with all such honor and titles of precedency to him, his countess, and children in all places, as an Irish earl, the special decree and clauses in the charter doth fully warrant it. All the civilians, pleaders in the Court of Honor, and two sergeants of the coif at law, nine in number, have certified it, and enrolled on record, and is exemplified under the seal, the barons of Nova Scotia being president in the like case. And note both the king of France, and this our king, have made barons and knights, Hollanders, that have precedency there before other the subjects there.

But to answer an objection of some not truly informed and mistaken, conceiving that our earl palatine might in his country only, and nowhere else, have his honor, title, and precedency. I answer, that our sovereign lord King Charles as emperor of England, under his privy signet, signed with his royal hand, so granted and created him, which alone had been sufficient, as others have been made, in Master Selden's book, records, and precedents mentioned; but being farther with special clauses and decree, and special creation, so made and particularly granted, that both by tenure and dependency, and that this province shall be of the liegance of Ireland, and all there born to be free denizens thereof, and under his majesty's great seal, there is no doubt or question thereof; for he is no alien earl made by an alien king, as Copply by the French king, Duke Dudley and Count Arundell by the emperor, but by our own king, the fountain of honor, for an earl by his charter carrieth his honor with him in all places, and that is his true name as above is adjudged, and is not to be sued or sue, is adjudged without it, and so the more learned civilians and sergeants have certified; and Nova Scotia is so annexed to Scotland, Adam de Valentia and Marshall, earl palatines of Pembroke by

conquest in the kingdom or principality of Wales, then out of England, was a peer to the English Parliament, and so the three Irish conquerors palatines recited ; and how absurd a conceit it is that our earl palatine of Albion, and he of Pembroke in Wales, and the rest having all regalities, and powers, lordship, honor, and titles, and power to give honors and make barons coming out of their countries into England, should here be unlorded and debased unto esquires without lordship, honor, or precedency. And note all these, and Earl Fitz Allen in his local earldom of Arundell by writ being called to parliament, is not there by an earl, for to be called there by a writ, is only to be a lord or baron, and so the Earl of Arundell's title and precedency was adjudged him after long debate by parliament. To conclude, the earl palatines of Chester and Pembroke, and Montgomery, or de Belesmo in Shropshire, were the greatest princes of England, and by their conquests, and so in Ireland by their hazard and conquests that kingdom and Wales is gotten to this crown. And so the now lord five proprietors that now conquer on Indians, and convert pagans, and civilize them, and bring them to the obedience of our sovereign, and at their own charges have made an entrance and sure way with the other colonies of America to make our sovereign an emperor of America, having now near two hundred thousand to defend his empire, and therefore deserve all honor and encouragement, amongst which our earl palatine, having adventured his person seven years with so much hazard and charges, is chiefly to be advanced and honored according to his worth.

Now for the pedigree and ancient family of our earl palatine of two hundred years descent, being in England and borders of Wales, I find only a letter in the name changed in each age, and conquest or change of nation ; for in Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmsbury, his chronicles of all the Saxon princes that have arrived, and seated, and conquered the Britons, this family descending of a daughter, came with those princes into Britany, and I find that in lower Saxony, near Hamboro and Holstein, a member of the empire, and in all maps, there is still in that harsh language Ployen, a walled city by a lake, and Plowen, a walled castle of Count Plowen, a count of the sacred empire, in Grimstone's and other histories mentioned. Now the Welsh make and turn the vowel *u* into *i* or *y*, as from Brutus

to Britons, so Plowden to Ployden, as all maps write it. In deeds, and the Bishop of Hereford's records, I find, *anno Domini* 904, an exchange *pro decem manlis vocat Ploydanes place super quas Episcopus ædificaturus est Castrum*, called Bishop's Castle, in which town the Ploydens have much lands and tenements, having Ployden manor, Ployden hall, Longvill castle, and thirteen towns about it to this day, and at the coming in of H. the Seventh were commanders of that country, and constables, or chastellains of that fort of Bishop's Castle ; now, Ploydan and Ployden is all one, forest of Danes for Dene, the Norman pronunciation, which name of Ployden signifieth *hill* Dane, or *wound* Dane ; and Pleyden by Rye in Sussex, was of this house, and signifieth in French *hurt* Dane, and this Pleyden sent his sons and conquered in Normandy, where are five families yet ; and the heir of Pleyden, wanting issue, made it an hospital, now held by the Earl of Thanet, Lord Toston ; so Plowen, Ployen, Playdane, Ployden, Plowden, and Pleyden is all one, for the change in time, and several nations' pronunciation, Saxons, Danes, English, Welsh, and Normans. And note, to this day, an esquire in France, of three hundred years' standing of coat armor, shall take place and precedency of any earl, viscount, or baron which is not so ancient of coat armor, they not allowing the king by new creations to bar their inheritance and precedency. And for their greatness and pedigree, I find Ployden married the daughter of John de Monte Gomerico (now called Mount Gomery), Earl of Salopshire, in William the Conqueror's reign, and in Edward the Third's time married the daughter of that great and rich Knight Burley, conqueror in France ; Humphrey Poyden in H. the Seventh's time married the daughter and heir Stury of Stury hall, daughter of Corbet, of Morton Corbet, by whom the Lacons, Laytons, . . . omlees, Purcelswollascot of Wollascot, and the two baronets Lee and Corbet, knights for the county of Salop to this parliament, are of his kindred. And of the daughters of John Ployden, Lord Blany of Ireland, and of the other daughter married to Hardwick, grandmother to that great . . . in of Clause castle ; the third daughter married to Walcot of Walcot Close . . . Ployden, yet men of great possessions, the Countess of Bristol being a Walcot, and so her sons, the Lord Digby and Sir Lewis Dives, and Viscountess Chichester, or Belfast, and

the other ladies, her daughters, are descended, and are his kindred. Our earl palatine's mother being sister of Sir Richard Fermor of Somerton, and cousin of Sir George and Sir Hatton Fermor, descended of the Knightlies, and so the Lord Viscount Say and Seal, the Countess of Thomond, a Fermor, and her children, and Viscount Wenman marrying Sir Hatton Fermor's children; the Baroness of Abergenny, and her sister married to Baronet Gage, are his nieces; his mother, the Lady Penelope, daughter to the Lord Darcy, Viscount Colchester, Earl Rivers, but his branches for three last descents are so many, and at least fifty baronets, knights equires, of 1000*l.* per annum at least, and their numerous issue; but for heir males of the name, his first is Ployden of Wansteed, Ployden of Shipla . . . , Ployden of Askon, Ployden of Ployden, and Ployden of Lee, and Doctor Ployden, late of Lambeth. And for his now wife, countess palatine, daughter and heir to two worthy families, niece of Sir George and Sir Hamb. Paulet, deceased, in that pedigree three hundred from the Marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer of England, are allied; all which I have more fully published, that all of his kindred may, anyways poor or oppressed, the sooner be preferred, advanced, and transplanted to this most rich and pleasant province, and to great possessions and honors there, as great Strongbow did twelve hundred of his to Wexford and Lemster in Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

NOW, for the full and ample satisfaction of the reader of his majesty's full title and power to grant, enjoy, and possess these countries, as well against aliens as Indians, which this forty years hath not been by print declared, we may read at large Master Hacluit's Voyages and Discoveries, Master Purchas' and Captain Smith's; for when the Spaniard and Portugal discovered and possessed, one hundred and forty years since, the East Indies, Brazil, the south part of America, the Caribbees, and Antell isles, and seated Saint John de Porto Rico, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Cuba, and the fort and port of Havanah, against the gulf and current, Batuana isles, and point of Florida, then that most powerful and richest king of Europe, King Henry the Seventh of England, sent out an Englishman born in Bristol, called Cabot, granted under his great seal to him all places and

countries by him to be discovered and possessed ; who then, beginning at Cape Florida, discovered, entered on, took possession, set up crosses, and procured attunment and acknowledgement of the Indian kings to his then majesty, as head, lord, and emperor of the southwest America all along that coast both in Florida from twenty degrees to thirty-five, where old Virginia in thirty-five and thirty minutes, sixty-five years since, was seated by five several colonies about Croatan cape, Haloraske, and Rawley's isle, by Sir Walter Rawley, who had from Queen Elizabeth that place, and two hundred leagues from it in all places adjoining ; Sir Richard Greenfield, Sir Ralph Lane, and Master White, his partners, seating and fortifying there, the said Cabot farther taking possession in thirty-seven of that part called Virginia and Chesapeak bay, being now his majesty's demesne colony of Virginia, and of the next great bay in or near thirty-nine, called now by the Dutch Cape Henlopen, the south river, and by us Cape James and Delaware bay, of the Baron of Delaware's name, being then governor of Virginia, who by Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Samuel Argoll, forty years since, took possession and attunment of the Indian kings, and sixty years since Sir Walter Rawley seated and left thirty men and four pieces of ordnance at the creek near St. James, by the Dutch called Hoarkill, by us Roymont, and by the Indians Cui Achomoca ; and so the next river by us called Hudson's river, of the name of Hudson, an Englishman, the discoverer, thirty-five years since, who sold his discovery, plots, and cards to the Dutch ; and so Cabot discovered several rivers and countries all along the coast northeast, now called New England, and divided in nine several governments, and further discovered Port Royal, and that part called New Scotland, and set up crosses, where you may see, in the French book called New France, the French found an old cross all mossy, in an eminent place at the head of that bay and port, and discovered all that coast and Newfoundland, and that called Terra de Labrador, or New Britain, as far as the frozen strait of Davis. Shortly after, one Master Hore, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, renewed this actual possession, attunment of the Indian kings, brought home divers of the chief Indian kings to England, who gave their homage and oath of fidelity for these countries to King Henry the Eighth in person,

sitting on his throne in state in his palace hall at Westminster. Then Virginia being granted, settled, and all that part now called Maryland, New Albion, and New Scotland, being part of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Samuel Argoll, captains and counsellors of Virginia, hearing of divers aliens and intruders, and traders without license, with a vessel and forty soldiers landed at a place called Mount Desert in Nova Scotia, near St. John's river, or Twede, possessed by the French, there killed some French, took away their guns and dismantled the fort, and in their return landed at Manhatas isle in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor, under the West India Company of Amsterdam, share or part, who kept trading boats, and trucking with the Indians; but the said knights told him their commission was to expel him and all aliens intruders on his majesty's dominion and territories, this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery of Hudson, an Englishman; the Dutchman contented them for their charge and voyage, and by his letter sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself, company and plantation to his majesty and to the governor, and government of Virginia; but the next pretended Dutch governor, in maps and printed cards calling this part New Netherland, failing in paying of customs at his return to Plymouth in England, was there, with his beaver goods and person, attached to his damage of 1500*l.*, whereupon at the suit of the governor and council of Virginia, his now majesty, by his ambassador in Holland, complaining of the said aliens' intrusion on such his territories and dominions, the said lords, the states of Holland, by their public instrument declared that they did not avow, nor would protect them, being a private party of the Amsterdam West India Company, but left them to his majesty's will and mercy. Whereupon, three several orders from the council table and commissions have been granted for the expelling and removing them thence, of which they taking notice, and knowing their weakness and want of victuals, have offered to sell the same for 2500*l.* And lastly, taking advantage of our present war and distractions, now ask 7000*l.*, and have lately offered many affronts and damages to his majesty's subjects in New England, and in general endangered all his majesty's adjoining countries most wickedly, feloniously, and traitorously, contrary

to the marine and admiral laws of all Christians, sell by wholesale guns, powder, shot, and ammunition to the Indians, instructing them in the use of our fights and arms, insomuch as two thousand Indians by them armed, Mohawks, Raritans, and some of Long isle, with their own guns so sold them, fall into war with the Dutch, destroyed all their scattering farms and boors, in forcing them all to retire to their up fort, forty leagues up that river, and to Manhatas, for all or most retreating to Manhatas, it is now a pretty town of trade, having more English than Dutch; and it is very considerable that three years since Stuy, their governor, put out his declaration, confessing that the neighbor English might well be offended with their selling Indians arms and ammunition, but being but a few and so scattered, they could not live else there, or trade, the Indians refusing to trade or suffer the Dutch to plow without they would sell them guns. The like folly they committed, and inconvenience to themselves and all English, for eight years since, in their West India fleet, battered by the Spanish armada, they brought home forty Swedish poor soldiers, and hearing that Captain Young and Master Evelin had given over their fort begun at Eriwomeck, within Delaware bay, there half starved and tottered, they left them; who, learning the Indian language and finding much talk and trials of a gold mine there, though in truth fifty shillings charges produced of that light sand, but nine shillings in gold, and therefore was of Captain Young that tried it slighted; yet one Bagot, under the Swedes' name and commission, there traded to cross the Dutch of Manhatas, and to undersell them, and left and seated there eighteen Swedes, who, proclaiming a gold mine, drew more to them, and have gotten a great trade; and now this last summer fifteen Swedes and fifteen Dutch had a skirmish; the Swedes pulled down a Dutch trading house, and do both undersell them, and spoiled much their and English trading with the Indians, both striving to please and side with the Indians, both entertaining and refusing to return all English fugitives and servants. The Swedes hiring out three of their soldiers to the Sasquehannocks, have taught them the use of our arms and fights, and marching with them into the king's own colony of Virginia, have carried thence the king of Pawtomeck prisoner, and expelled his and eight other Indian nations in Maryland, civilized and subject

to the English crown. Now if a proclamation of open war be set out against the Dutch and Swedes for this their villainy, and all English forbid to trade, victual, or relieve them, they must both vanish, especially if those bad English that live, adhere and obey these aliens in these his majesty's countries be warned of the statute of King James, of famous memory, in these words: That all subjects giving any obedience or acknowledgement to any foreign prince, state, pope, or potentate within his majesty's territories and dominions in England or beyond the sea, is a traitor, and shall forfeit and suffer as a traitor. And certainly all English, and chiefly those of New England, being ready in twenty-four hours, will join to expel them both to regain their own trade, to get their seats, and to be rid of the danger of armed gunning Indians.

CHAPTER III.

WHEREAS, that part of America, or North Virginia, lying about 39 degrees at Delaware bay, called the Province of New Albion, is situate in the best and same temper and as Italy, between too cold Germany and too hot Barbary; so this, lying just midway between New England, two hundred miles north, and Virginia one hundred and fifty miles south, where now are settled eight thousand English, and one hundred and forty ships in trade, is freed from the extreme cold and barrenness of the one and heat and aguish marshes of the other, and is like Lombardy, and a rich, fat soil, plain, and having thirty-four rivers on the main land, seventeen great isles, and partaketh of the healthiest air and most excellent commodities of Europe, and replenished with the goodliest woods of oaks, and all timber for ships and masts, mulberries for silk, sweet cypress, cedars, pines, and firs, four sorts of grapes for wine and raisins, and with the greatest variety of choice fruits, fish, and fowl, stored with all sorts of corn, yielding five, seven, and ten quarters an acre; silkgrass, salt, good mines and dyer's ware, five sorts of deer, buffalo, and huge elks to plow and work, all bringing three young at once; the uplands covered many months with berries, roots, chestnuts, walnuts, beech and oak mast to feed them, hogs, and turkeys five hundred in a flock, and having near the colony of Manteses, four hundred thousand acres of plain mead land, and meer level, to

be flowed and flooded by that river, for corn, rice, rape, flax, and hemp. After seventeen years trading and discovery there and trial made, is begun to be planted and stored by the governor and company of New Albion, consisting of forty-four lords, baronets, knights, and merchants, who for the true informing of themselves, their friends, adventurers, and partners, by residents and traders there for several years, out of their journal books, namely, by Captain Brown, a shipmaster, and Master Stafford, his mate, and by Captain Claybourne, fourteen years there trading, and Constantine, his Indian there born and bred, and by Master Robert Evelin, four years there ; yet by eight of their hands subscribed and enrolled, do testify this to be the true state of the country, of the land, and Delaware bay, or Charles river, which is further witnessed by Captain Smith, and other books of Virginia, and by New England's prospect, new Canaan, Captain Powell's map, and other descriptions of New England and Virginia.

CAPTAIN BROWN,	RICHARD BUCKHAM,
CAPTAIN CLAYBORN,	CHRISTOPH. THOMAS,
ROBERT EVELIN,	EDWARD MONMOUTH,
STAFFORD,	TENIS PALEE,
CONSTANTINE,	EDWARD RHODES,
STRATTON,	PETER RIXFORD,
	THOMAS WHITE.

MASTER EVELIN'S LETTER.

Good Madam :

SIR EDMUND, our noble governor and lord earl palatine, persisting still in his noble purpose to go on with his plantation in Delaware or Charles river, just midway between New England and Virginia, where with my Uncle Young I several years resided, hath often informed himself both of me and Master Stratton, as I perceive by the hands subscribed of Edward Monmouth, Tenis Palee, and as Master Buckham, Master White, and other shipmasters and sailors, whose hands I know, and it to be true, that there lived and traded with me, and is sufficiently instructed of the state of the country and people there, and I should very gladly, according to his desire, have waited on you into Hamshire to have informed your honor in person, had not I next week been passing to Virginia. But nevertheless, to satisfy you of the truth, I thought good to write unto you my knowledge, and first to describe you from the north side of Delaware unto Hudson's river, in Sir Edmund's patent, called New Albion, which lieth just between New England and Maryland, and that ocean sea, I take it to be about one hundred and sixty miles. I find some broken land, isles and inlets, and many small isles at Egbay ; but going to Delaware bay by Cape May, which is twenty-four miles at most, and is, as I understand, very well set out and printed in Captain Powell's map of New England, done, as is told me, by a draught I gave to M. Daniel, the plot-maker, which Sir Edmund saith you have at home, on that north side about five miles within a port, or road for any ships, called the Nook, and within lieth the king of Kechemeches, having, as I suppose, about fifty men, and twelve leagues higher, a little above the bay and bar, is the river of Manteses, which hath twenty miles on Charles river, and thirty miles running up a fair, navigable, deep river, all a flat level of rich and fat black marsh mould, which I think to be three hundred thousand acres. In this, Sir Edmund intendeth, as he saith, to settle, and there the king of Manteses hath about one hundred bowmen ; next above, about six leagues higher, is a fair deep river, twelve miles navigable, where is

freestone, and there over against is the king of Sikonesses, and next is Asomoches river and king with an hundred men, and next is Eriwoneck, a king of forty men, where we sat down, and five miles above is the king of Ramcock, with a hundred men, and four miles higher the king of Axion, with two hundred men, and next to him, ten leagues overland, an inland king of Calcefar, with an hundred and fifty men, and then there is in the middle of Charles river two fair, woody isles, very pleasant and fit for parks, the one of a thousand acres, the other of fourteen hundred, or thereabout; and six leagues higher, near a creek called Mosilian, the king having two hundred men. And then we come to the falls made by a rock of limestone, as I suppose it is, about sixty and five leagues from the sea, near to which is an isle fit for a city, all materials there to build; and above, the river fair and navigable, as the Indians inform me, for I went but ten miles higher. I do account all the Indians to be eight hundred, and are in several factions and war against the Sasquehannocks, and are all extremely fearful of a gun, naked and unarmed against our shot, swords, and pikes. I had some bickering with some of them, and they are of so little esteem, as I durst with fifteen men sit down, or trade in despite of them; and since my return eighteen Swedes are settled there, and so sometimes six Dutch do in a boat trade without fear of them.

I saw there an infinite quantity of bustards, swan, geese, and fowl, covering the shores as within the like multitude of pigeons and store of turkeys, of which I tried one to weigh forty and six pounds. There is much variety and plenty of delicate fresh and sea fish, and shellfish, and whales, or grampuses, elks, deer that bring three young at a time, and the woods bestrewed many months with chestnuts, walnuts, and mast of several sorts, to feed them and hogs, that would increase exceedingly. There the barren grounds have four kinds of grapes, and many mulberries, with ash, elms, and the tallest and greatest pines and pitch trees that I have seen. There are cedars, cypresses, and sassafras, with wild fruits, pears, wild cherries, pineapples, and the dainty parsemenas. And there is no question but almonds and other fruits of Spain will prosper, as in Virginia. And (which is a good comfort) in four and twenty hours you may send or go by sea to New England or

Virginia, with a fair wind ; you may have cattle, and from the Indians two thousand barrels of corn, at twelve pence a bushel, in truck, so as victuals are there cheaper and better than to be transported. Neither do I conceive any great need of a fort or charge, where there is no enemy.

If my lord palatine will bring with him three hundred men or more, there is no doubt but that he may do very well and grow rich, for it is a most pure, healthful air, and such pure, wholesome springs, rivers, and waters, as are delightful, of a desert, as can be seen, with so many varieties of several flowers, trees, and forests for swine. So many fair risings and prospects, all green and verdant, and Maryland a good friend and neighbor, in four and twenty hours, ready to comfort and supply.

And truly I believe, my Lord of Baltimore will be glad of my lord palatine's plantation and assistance against any enemy or bad neighbor. And if my lord palatine employ some men to sow flax, hemp, and rapes in those rich marshes, or build ships, and make pipe-staves, and load some ships with these wares, or fish from the northward, he may have any money, ware, or company brought him by his own ships, or the ships of Virginia or New England, all the year.

And because your honor is of the noble house of the Pawlets, and, as I am informed, desire to lead many of your friends and kindred thither, whom as I honor I desire to serve, I shall entreat you to believe me as a gentleman and a Christian, I write you nothing but the truth, and hope there to take opportunity in due season to visit you, and do all the good offices in Virginia, my place or friends can serve you in. And thus tendering my service, I rest, madam,

Your honor's most humble, faithful servant,

ROBERT EVELIN.

CHAPTER IV.

NOW, since Master Elmes' letter and seven years' discoveries of the lord governor in person, and by honest traders with the Indians, we find, beside the Indians' kings by him known and printed in this province, there is in all twenty-three Indian kings or chief commanders, and besides the number of eight hundred by him named, there is at least twelve hundred under the two Raritan kings on the north side, next to Hudson's river, and those come down to the ocean about little Egby and Sandy Barnegat, and about the south cape two small kings with forty men apiece, called Tirans and Tiascons, and a third reduced to fourteen men, at Roymont, the Sasquehannocks are not now of the naturals left above one hundred and ten, though with their forced auxiliaries, the John a Does and Wicomeses, they can make two hundred and fifty; these together are counted valiant and terrible to other cowardly, dull Indians, which they beat with the sight of guns only; but in truth, meeting with English, are the basest cowards of all, though cunning and subtle to entrap and surprise on all straits, coverts, reeds, and ambushes, for at the last Maryland march against them, these two hundred and fifty having surprised in the reeds, and killed three Englishmen with the loss of one of theirs, Captain Cornwallis, that noble, right valiant, and politic soldier, losing but one man more, killed with fifty-three of his, and but raw and tired Marylanders, twenty-nine Indians as they confessed, though compassed round with two hundred and fifty; and summer this twelve month, Captain Lewis of Maryland, at the coves, drawing but twenty men out of his wind-bound sloops, and in two small cock-boats, much distant, finding twenty-four canoes, and therein an hundred and forty Sasquehannocks, reduced by these three Swedes into a half moon, with intent to encompass the first small boat before the second could reach the former, at the first volley of ten shot, and loss of one Indian, they run all away; for note, generally twelve English with five-foot calivers, shoot thirty pellets or dag shot, and fifty yards distance, and the naked Indian shooteth but one arrow, and not thirty yards distance, so as his lordship knoweth well with such a squadron of twelve or thirteen marksmen, to encounter three hundred, and to bring off the lock the

proudest Sagamore, to be ransomed for any trespass, and not to suffer any Indian or trader, without his lordship's badge or stamped livery worn, to come within twenty miles of his plantation, or ten miles of their cattle, as in all the outskirts of Virginia is used but to kill them ; insomuch that the Emperor Nicotowance's saying was, my countrymen tell me I am a liar when I tell them the Englishmen will kill you if you go into their bounds, but valiant Captain Freeman made him no liar, when lately he killed three Indians so without badge, encroaching. And therefore fair and far off is best with heathen Indians, and fit it is to reduce all their trading to five ports, or pallsadoed trucking houses, and to kill all stragglers and such spies without ransom. Then shall Christians and their cattle be safe and quiet, and severely putting to death all that sell the Indians guns, arms, and ammunition, then Indians are sooner ruled, civilized, and subjected, as in New England is daily seen. In Long isle are about four kings, and eight hundred bowmen, most of them two hundred miles off his lordship's seat of Watcessit in Charles river. These of Long isle are well civilized, living within ten miles, and in sight of eight thousand English in that part of New England being, and the five towns in Connecticut river, and New Haven town being populous, discourageth any hostility ; but chiefly his lordship's six good freeholding towns in Long isle is a bridle to check and contain them, for Southampton, Hempstead, Flushing, Gravesend, and Ainsford are placed like distinct garrisons to command them. Then between the two south capes there are two petty kings, called Aquats and little Matankin, having both an hundred bowmen, and above Watcessit, southwest, are the black and white Mincos, near three hundred men, being special friends to Watcessit and enemies to the Sasquehannocks. Now for choice seats for English, Watcessit first, where were seventy English, as Master Miles deposeth, he swearing the officers there to his majesty's allegiance, and to obedience to your lordship as governor, being twenty-one leagues up Delaware bay, in Charles river, to which any ship may come, and about it Manteses plain, which Master Evelin avoucheth to be twenty miles broad, and thirty long, and fifty miles washed by two fair navigable rivers, and is three hundred thousand acres fit to plow and sow all corn, tobacco, and flax, and rice, the four

staples of Albion. The second seat is three miles off to Watcesit, adjoining to Charles and Cotton river, so named of six hundred pounds of cotton wild on trees growing, and is called Ritchneck, being twenty-four miles compass, oak wood, huge timber trees, and two foot black mould, much desired of the Virginians to plant tobacco, they alleging each plant there dried and cured will bring a pound, and their large leaves in the new land, and freshes, serve to lap up all the bad S. Christopher's and Barbadoes rolled tobacco, and maketh it fire sooner. Of the three upper leaves they make Varinas and Spanish. The Dutch give for this double price, and the English double for sweet scented; and though Charles river is one hundred and twenty miles north of James river in Virginia, yet having a more fair, constant, and tempered growing heat, tobacco three years together tried, is riper, and sooner struck by wet seasons by full three weeks than in Virginia, and hath yielded double the price; and no doubt cotton will grow as in Millai . . . being three degrees more northward, though as there it dieth yearly by frost, is replanted by the seed as a rosebush giveth a full cod.

The third seat is at Raymont, a strong, rich, and fit place for a fort. Sir Walter Rawley left there thirty men, and four guns; the Dutch seated there fifteen men and a fort, both to plant in that rich five miles neck to Roymont river (which runneth down into Chesapeake bay), choice tobacco, and thereby to prejudice and undersell Virginia, as to set up a fishing stage for whales, these proved but grampus, and they killing basely an Indian, refusing quarter or ransom, were by the Indians killed and expelled twenty years since. This place is close to the in-south cape, having a creek of six foot water only, and two furlongs of the grand Delaware bay. On one side is an isthmus or peninsula nine miles compass, fit for pasturage, and hogs and goats, and on the other side is a second isthmus, four miles compass, easily fenced, and is but sixty miles overland to the northermost and nearest part of Virginia, to drive cattle by land, and have supplies by horse and foot; and here is never ice or frost; sea fish, all oysters, and shellfish, and fowl, all winter cod, to lade ships, three months after December, fit for salt and trade; and there is a poor Indian of fourteen men

only, and weak to hinder any, all the soil is under a brick earth, stone slate hard by, and timber to build.

The fourth seat is Uvedale, under Websneck, and is a valley six miles long, sheltered by hills from the northwest winds; below it is six miles a thicket of four sorts of excellent great vines, running on mulberry and sassafras trees; there are four sorts of grapes, the first is the Tholouse Muscat, sweet scented, the second the Great Fox and thick grape, after five months reaped, being boiled and salted, and well fined, it is a strong red Xeres; the third is a light claret, the fourth a white grape, creeps on the land, maketh a pure, gold-colored white wine. Tennis Pale, the Frenchman, of these four made eight sorts of excellent wine, and of the Muscat, acute boiled, that the second draught will fox a reasonable pate four months old; and here may be gathered and made two hundred tun in the vintage month, and replanted, will mend. Two other valleys there of the same grapes, and large, above Uvedale, the hill is called Websneck, environed with three rivers round, one of sixteen foot water, navigable, all but a neck, a caliver shot over, easily embarked, being nine thousand acres, the cliffs all of rich black mould, with huge timber trees, most fit for tobacco and corn. Not far off are rich lead mines, containing silver tried, and ironstone, and by it waters, and falls to drive them in an inhabited desert, no Christians or Indians near it, where elks, stags, and deer are most quiet, most fat, and not disturbed, so as five men in three or four days kill and salt sixty deer, or an hundred twenty sides for summer's food; four or five hundred turkeys in a flock, swans, hoopers, geese, ducks, teals, and other fowls, a mile square, and seven miles together on the shores, for here is all chestnuts, walnuts, and mast berries, and March seeds wild oats and vetches to feed them. Near hand is also in August custard apples, and papaws, to make the best Perry English for one hundred tun in a place, and all plums, hurtleberries, black cherries, wild annis seed, persiminas, and other dainty fruits, and roots, are had, as in all the huge long meads and marshes, sweet seg roots, ground nuts, tucaho, and cuttinamon roots for hogs, and whole warrens, and berries of sweet muskerats, and here black bears and lions, feeding on sweet foods, are killed and eaten. In the head of Chesapeake

river, by Tomkins and Walton, was seen a camel mare, brown black, seven foot high, of which three hundred miles westward are stores their skins brought and sold by the Indians, confirm it.

The fifth seat is Brent's fort, a steep rock, invincible and not to be battered, having an isthmus of low, hard ground like a tongue below it, environed with fresh water, and under it a cove close to hide two ships or galleys, ships of five hundred ton may come to it, and hard by is good mead and rich land, and woods to plant; and in this desert is best living, stored as before with all game, and their food to maintain them.

The sixth is an isle called Palmer's isle, containing three hundred acres, half mead, half wood; in it is a rock forty foot high, like a tower, fit to be built on for a trading house for all the Indians of Chesapeake gulf. It lieth a mile from each shore, in Sasquehannock's river mouth, and there four sakers will command that river, and renew the old trade that was; it lieth in forty degrees and twelve minutes, it is most healthy, but cold near the hills, and full, as all the seventeen rivers there, of eleven sorts of excellent fresh fish; the Indians instead of salt do barbecue, or dry and smoke fish, to each house a reek or great pile, and another of sun-dried on the rocks, strawberries, mulberries, sycamores, maycocks, and horns, like cucumbers.

The seventh is five miles off it, called Mount Royal, or Bolalmanack hill, and more properly Belveder, for thence you may see one hundred miles off high hills, above the clouds like sugar-loaves, that shelter and bear off the northwest winds; here is a clear Indian field, six miles long, to plant and plow rich land, and as well stored as the rest, and under it is Elk river, having many branches navigable; in all these the tide of fresh sweet water ebbs and flows, and hath three fathoms deep; the mouth of it is like a fort, with fit isthmus and necks, and runneth up seven leagues to a street, but eleven miles overland into Charles river and Delaware bay; this neck is a rare work of God, for it is four hundred and fifty miles compass to go by sea and water, from one side to the other of this eleven miles street, and Uvdale is on one of these branches.

The eighth seat is Kildorpy, near the falls of Charles river, near two hundred miles up from the ocean; it hath clear fields to plant and sow, and near it is sweet large meads of clover,

or honeysuckle, nowhere else in America to be seen, unless transported from Europe ; a ship of one hundred and forty tons may come up to these falls, which is the best seat for health, and a trading house to be built on the rocks, and ten leagues higher are lead mines in stony hills.

The ninth is called Mount Ployden, the seat of the Raritan king, on the north side of this province, twenty miles from Sandhay sea, and ninety from the ocean, next to Amara hill, the retired paradise of the children of the Ethiopian emperor, a wonder, for it is a square rock, two miles compass, one hundred and fifty foot high, a wall-like precipice, a strait entrance, easily made invincible, where he keeps two hundred for his guard, and under it is a flat valley, all plain, to plant and sow.

The Sasquehannocks' new town is also a rare, healthy, and rich place, with it a crystal broad river, but some falls below hinder navigation, and the hook, all on the ocean, with its clear fields, near Hudson's river on one side, and a ten leagues flowing river on the south side, is much commended for health and fish, were it not so northerly.

The bounds is a thousand miles compass, of this most temperate, rich province, for our south bound is Maryland, north bounds, and beginneth at Aquats, or the southermost or first cape of Delaware bay, in thirty-eight and forty minutes, and so runneth by, or through, or including Kent isle, through Chesapeake bay to Pascatway, including the falls of Pawtomeck river, to the head or northermost branch of that river, being three hundred miles due west, and thence northward to the head of Hudson's river fifty leagues, and so down Hudson's river to the ocean, sixty leagues ; and thence by the ocean and isles across Delaware bay to the south cape fifty leagues ; in all, seven hundred and eighty miles. Then all Hudson's river, isles, Long isle, or Pamunke, and all isles within ten leagues of the said province being ; and note, Long isle alone is twenty broad, and one hundred and eighty miles long, so that alone is four hundred miles compass. Now I have examined all former patents, some being surrendered, and some adjudged void, as gotten on false suggestions, as that at the council table was at Master George's suit, of Massachusetts, and as Captain Clayborn, heretofore secretary, and now treasurer of Virginia, in dispute with Master Leonard Calvert, allegeth ; that of Mary-

land is likewise void in part as gotten on false suggestions, for as Captain Clayborn showeth, the Maryland patent in the first part declareth the king's intention to be to grant a land thereafter described, altogether dishabited and unplanted, though possessed with Indians. Now Kent isle was with many households of English by C. Clayborn before seated, and because his majesty, by his privy signet, shortly after declared it was not his intention to grant any lands before seated and inhabited, and for that it lieth by the Maryland printed card, clean northward within Albion, and not in Maryland, and not only late seamen, but all depositions in Clayborne's hand, show it so to be out of Maryland, and for that Albion's privy signet is elder, and before Maryland patent, Clayborn by force entered and thrust out Master Calvert out of Kent; next, Maryland patent coming to the ocean, saith along by the ocean unto Delaware bay; that is the first cape of the two most plain in view, and expressed in all late English and Dutch cards; and note, unto Delaware bay is not into the bay, nor farther than that cape heading the bay, being in thirty-eight and forty, or at most by seven observations I have seen, thirty-eight and fifty minutes. So as undoubtedly that is the true intended and ground bound and line, and no farther, for the words following are not words of grant, but words of declaration, that is, *which Delaware bay lieth in forty degrees where New England ends*; these are both untrue, and so being declarative is a false suggestion, is void, for no part of Delaware bay lieth in forty. Now if there were but the least doubt of this true bounds, I should wish by consent or commission, a perambulation and boundary, not but there is land enough for all, and I hold Kent isle having lately but twenty men in it, and the mill and fort pulled down, and in war with all the Indians near it, not worth the keeping.

But it is material to give a touch of religion and government, to satisfy the curious and well-minded adventurer. For religion, it being in England yet unsettled, several translations of Bibles, and those expounded to each man's fancy, breeds new sects, I conceive the Holland way now practised best to content all parties. First, by act of parliament or grand assembly, to settle and establish all the fundamentals necessary to salvation, as the three creeds, the ten commandments, preaching on the Lord's day, and great days, and catechising in the afternoon,

the sacrament of the altar, and baptism ; but no persecution to any dissenting, and to all such as to the Walloons free chapels ; and to punish all as seditious, and for contempt, as bitter, rail and condemn others of the contrary ; for this argument or persuasion all religion, ceremonies, or church discipline should be acted in mildness, love, and charity, and gentle language, not to disturb the peace or quiet of the inhabitants, but therein to obey the civil magistrate.

For the politic and civil government, and justice, Virginia and New England is our precedent. First, the lord head governor, a deputy governor, secretary of estate or seal keeper, and twelve of the council of state, or upper house ; and these or five of them is also a chancery court. Next, out of counties and towns, at a free election and day prefixed, thirty burgesses or commons. Once yearly, the tenth of November, these meet as a parliament, or grand assembly, and make laws, or repeal, alter, explain, and set taxes and rates for common defence, and without full consent of lord, upper and lower house nothing is done. Appeals are here also tried, all criminal cases for life, above only by two juries, or actions at law, a jury on either side may be called, and by them tried ; and any before judgment may stop the law, and be tried in equity. The two months' courts may try, before four justices of peace, any action not exceeding 10 *l* or 1500 *l* of tobacco, at 4 *s* charge only, and plead without attorney ; an appeal lieth thence to each quarter, or chancery first court above, and from thence an appeal to the grand assembly. Any matter under 40 *s* value, or 200 *l* of tobacco, to be ended by the next justice at 1 *s* charge, no deposition to be taken but before two justices, whereof one of the quorum, or in court, or before a council, or of estate ; and here is no jeofails, nor demurrers, but a summary hearing, and a sheriff and clerk of court, with small fees, ends all for the most part in a few words.

Last of all, how plentifully may a quiet, industrious man live here, having with corn land, mead, and pasture, and timbers, and woods covered many months with chestnuts, and four other nuts, and mast for deer, hogs, and turkeys, fish, fowl, venison, wine, and fruits, gratis ? Our chief staples are tobacco, then flax, and rice, of which in floated lands you have infinite increase, and without floating you may have, and all

the winter, ship planks, clove board, and pipe-staves ; these lade home ships twice a year hence, and for them bring you any English servants, or English or Dutch wares, cloths, stuffs, drams, wines, or what you bespeak ; but surely we may easily grow rich if we will, and buy no clothes, for a good weaver brought thither will make us of our own flax nine sorts of linens, tufted Hollands, velures, velvets, tuftaffetas, and plushes, and for winter a good glover, with some only of our own elk skins, maketh the best buff coats, our own stag and deer skins make best genteel and soldiers' clothes, fittest for our woods ; a doe-skin breeches, with the fur inside, in our short winter, is better than two broadcloths, and warmer, so we need no English clothing. Cattle in Virginia, and all grain in New England, brought to our doors cheaper than here ; Indian corn, or peas, or beans, at twelve pence a bushel, by truck with the Indians, and rye meal, a third with the white, and any maize meal, which is altogether but twenty pence ; a bushel of meal maketh the best bread, and we have more choice drinks than here, for sweet . . . alk and pumpion drink hopped, is good beer, and ale we have, and malt for you ; and in the hot summer rock cold water, with an eighth of peach vinegar, is the best beverage. Peaches, better than apricots, by some do feed hogs ; one man hath ten thousand trees, all apples, pears, cherries, and other fruits grow here in half the time as in your cold and blasty region, and do all hops, and roots, and herbs, and garden stuff. Our days in summer two hours shorter, and in winter more comfortable, two hours longer, and a warm sun and bigger fires, and no rent to my landlord, makes us merry. He that is lazy and will not work needs not fear starving, but may live as an Indian, sometimes oysters, cockles, wilkes, clams, scollons, two months together ; sometimes wild peas, and vetches, and long oats, sometimes tuckaho, cuttenoman, ground nuts, marhonions, sometimes small nuts, filberts, walnuts, pokikerries, ten sorts of berries, eggs of fowl, small fish in coves at low water, will teach him to live idly.

CHAPTER V.

EACH adventurer of twenty or fifty men must provide household necessities, as irons, and chains for a draw-bridge, two mares or horses to breed or ride on, pots, pans, dishes, iron for a cart and plow, chains, scythes, and sickles, nets, lines, and hooks. A sail for a fishing shallop of three ton, and hemp to employ his people in making them, as with hair, and canvas for quilts, as well on shipboard as demurring at the seaport, as with locks, keys, bolts, and glass casements for his house. And generally fit implements for the work or trade he intends.

For trade with the Indians, buy Dutch or Welch rugged cloth, seven quarters broad, a violet blue or red, at four or five shillings a yard, small hooks and fishing lines, Morris bells, jewsharps, combs, trading knives, hatchets, axes, hoes; they will bring you venison, turkeys, and fowls, flesh, etc., for a pennyworth of corn at twelve pence a bushel.

PROVISIONS FOR EACH MAN, AND THE CHARGE FROM LONDON.

1. Canvas or linen clothes, shoes, hats, etc., costing here four pounds for two men, to buy cows, goats, and hogs, in Virginia, which there yield six pound, and will buy one cow and ox, two goats, two sows, which one each man, comes to

2 / 10 0

2. Freight for a passenger and his half ton of provisions and tools,

1 / 10 0

3. Victuals, till his own stock and crop maintain him, for seven months,

3 / 10 0

That is, peas, oatmeal, and aquavitæ, 7 s, five bushels of meal, of which to be baked into biscuits, and five bushels of malt, some must be ground and brewed for the voyage, both 1 / 10 s, a hundred of beef and pork, 1 / 2 s, two bushels of roots, 2 s, salt fish, 2 s, cask to carry provisions, 5 s, five pounds of butter, 2 s.

4. One hoghead of ears of corn, garden seed, hemp, and linseed, with husk, and some rice from Virginia, 0 16 0

5. Arms, viz., a sword, caliver five foot long, or long pistol, pikehead, six pound of powder, ten pound of shot, half an old slight armor, that is, two to one armor, 0 19 0

6. Tools, a spade, axe, and shovel, 5 s, iron and steel to make and mend more, and two hundred of nails, 5 s,	0 10 0
7. Guns and powder for the fort, that is, to every fifty-four murderers, . . . a barrel of powder, 4 l 10 s, that is to each man,	5 s
8. A bed and sheets of canvas, to be filled with hulls, each man a rug,	15 s
Sum total,	10 l 5 0

CHAPTER VI.

HERE by bringing good laborers and tradesmen, the provident planters may do well by giving shares or double wages, when each man may earn his five, nay, six shillings a day in tobacco, flax, rice.

2. For here the ship carpenters, ten men a day, will build a ton of shipping, as in England, which, with masts and yards there taken, is here and there worth . . . a ton, and yet here and there is built at 1 l a ton wages, which is 6 s a day's work, having the timber without money.

3. Here in fourteen days they make a thousand of pipe-staves, worth here four pound, and at the Canaries twenty pound a thousand, and so get six shillings a day's work.

4. Here in making iron they save five pounds a ton in the price of wood, and three pounds more in digging the iron mine and saving land carriage of it, and of the charcoal for mine is taken on the sea beach, and wood floated down the rivers, and so each man earns five shillings ten pence a day, iron valued at twelve pounds per ton.

5. Here the constant trade of three hundred and fifty ships and seven thousand men a fishing begin leave cold Newfoundland small fish, and late taken, when this is before theirs two months at the market, one hundred fish here yields four quintals, there scarce one, and here is fish all the year, there but only in the four warm months, and is for nine weeks' work each man above his diet, passage, and return, gets twenty pound, and twelve pound a man, and herein dried bass, in sturgeon, in dressed mackerel, herrings, and pilchers, is got as well as in codfish, six shillings and eight shillings a day, and this returns ready French and Spanish coin.

6. Here the glorious ripening sun, as warm as Italy or Spain,

will bring rare fruits, wines, and such store of aniseed and licorice, as well as bay salt made without boiling, only in pans with the sun, that each laborer may make six bushels a day, worth in these three twelve shillings a day, and this maiden soil, so comforted with the sun's glittering beams, and being digged and set with the Indian wheat, and their beans and peas, with forty shillings charge in forty days' work with seed, yields ten quarters an acre, the same wheat being ten times as big and as weighty as ours, besides potatoes, wood, madder, roots, and many plants, and tobacco, will yield half a ton of flax and a ton of hemp, worth twelve pounds an acre, and six shillings a day's work.

7. Here, as in Provence in France, walnut milk or oil ground and pressed will yield the gatherer ten gallons and ten shillings a day's work.

8. Here the land lieth covered seven months with beech and oak mast, walnuts, chestnuts, and three months with ground nuts, sage, and other roots, and wild peas and fetches, yearly, so as forty hogs for one, and ninety turkeys, partridges, heathpouts, and tame poultry, eating their fill, for once ordinary increased.

9. Here, the soap and potashes men, paying in England twelve pence a bushel and four pence carriage for ashes, and twenty pounds a ton for potashes, may make them at a quarter and less, and get eight shillings a day's work by cutting, raking and burning whole plains of fern, brambles and wild vines, being thrice as strong as wood ashes.

10. Here a ship may go and return in five months laded, and comfortable, see their friends, making two voyages a year, in a healthy air, free from enemies and Turks, and get two for one each voyage, that is, four for one of that stock, and proceed in a year.

11. Here the kind gentlemen that in England doth not live without deep mortgages, suretyship, lawsuits, and troubles, may here settle, and avoid ill company, and tempting occasions, and live in plenty and variety of all sports, hunting deer, hawking fowl, fishing, and many more sports, and sorts of game, as with dainty fruits, and lay up his spare rents.

12. Here, the soldier and gentleman wanting employment, and not hire to labor, without going to war to kill Christians

