PVRCHAS
HIS
PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The ſixth, Contayning *Engliſh* Voyages, to the Eaſt, Weſt, and South parts of *America*: Many Sea and Land Fights, Inuaſions *and Victories againſt the* Spaniards *in thoſe parts, and the Spaniſh* Ilands, and Coaſt Townes on this ſide; Plantations *in* Guiana, *and many ſtrange aduentures of Engliſh-men* amongſt the *Americans.*

The ſeuenth, *Voyages to and about the Southerne* America, with many Marine Obſeruations and Diſcourſes of thoſe Seas *and Lands, by* Engliſh-men *and others.*

The eighth, Voyages to and Land-Trauels in *Florida*; *Virgina, and other parts of the Notherne* AMERICA. French Plantings, *Spaniſh* Supplantings; *Engliſh-Virginian* voyages, and to the Ilands AZORES.

The ninth, Engliſh *Plantations, Diſcoueries, Acts, and* Occurrents, in *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands*, ſince the *Yeere* 1606. *till* 1624.

The tenth, *Engliſh* Diſcoueries and Plantations in *New England*, New-found-land; *with the Patent and Voyages to* New *Scotland*: Relations alſo of the Fleets ſet forth by *Queene* ELIZABETH *againſt the* Spaniards.

The Fourth Part.

Vnus Deus, Vna Veritas.

LONDON
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1625.

bin giuen forth by him, as ciuill Magistrate of that place: whereupon the Gentleman extreamely discontented, and weary of contesting with him; hauing said that it was his part to rule them vpon earth, and theirs onely to guide him the way to heauen, he returned backe to *France*, leauing his Sonne *Biencourt* in his place. Who being a youth at that time of more courage then circumspectnesse, disdaining to be controuled by them whom he had enuited thither, and scorning their insupportable presumption, vsing spirituall armes for temporall ends, and an imperious kinde of carriage, who onely for spleene had excommunicated and branded him with a spirituall censure; he threatned them by his temporall power with a more palpable punishment. So that after much controuersie, resoluing to separate themselues, the two *Iesuites* taking a part of the Company with them, went from thence to a place in new *England*, called by them *Mount Desart*, where they seated themselues; and hauing a supply from the Queene Mother did plant sundry Fruit trees of the most delicate kindes in *France*, such as Apricockes and Peaches, neuer intending to remoue from thence.

At this time Sir *Samuel Argall* being then Gouernor * of *Virginia*, coasted alongst new *England* to traffique and discouer, or to acquire things necessary for the Southerne Colony in these parts, where the lands are reputed to be more fertil, and the Seas more frequented, & did conceiue by a description made vnto him by the Sauages, that there were some come from this part of the World to inhabit there; and being iealous of any thing that might derogate from the honour, or proue preiudiciall to the benefit of his Nation, where their interest in this was easie to be apprehended; he went whereas he was informed that they were, and his vnexpected arriuall, as it would seeme, not onely amazed the mindes of the *French*, but likewise preuenting their preparation and resolution; he approached so neere to a Ship that lay before their Fort, that hee beate them all that were therein with Musket shot from making any vse of their Ordnance, saue one of the two *Iesuites*, who was killed in giuing fire to a Peece: Hauing taken the Ship, they landed and went before the Fort, summoning them that were therein to yeelde themselues, who at the first made some difficulty, asking a time to aduise; but that being refused, they priuately abandoned the Fort, stealing out by some backe way into the Woods, where they staied one night, and the next day comming backe, rendered themselues to Sir *Samuel Argall*, who had lodged all that night within the Fort, giuing vp the Patent they had from the *French* King to be cancelled. He vsed them very curteously, as their owne Writers doe make mention, suffring such as had a minde to goe for *France*, to seeke out Fishers Ships wherein they might be transported; the rest that were willing to goe for *Virginia* went thither alongst with him; no man hauing lost his life but onely that one *Iesuite*, who was killed whilst they made resistance, during the time of the conflict. Thereafter Father *Biard*, the other of the *Iesuites*, comming backe from *Virginia* with Sir *Samuell Argall*, out of the indigestable malice that he had conceiued against *Biencourt*, did informe him where he had planted himselfe, offering (as he did) to conduct him thither. As soone as they were entered within the Fort, neere the vppermost of the Ilands, Sir *Samuel* directed the Ship to ride at a reasonable distance to attend occasions before the Fort did land himselfe with forty of the best of his men vpon a Meddow, where immediately they heard a peece of Ordnance from the Fort, and he conceiuing since it was shot whilst it could doe no harme, that it was done either but to giue terrour to them, or to warne some that might happen to be abroad, did make the greater haste towards the Fort, where he presently entered, finding it abandoned without any men at all left for the defence thereof. He went vp the Riuer side fiue or six miles, where he saw their Barnes, and the ground where a great quantity of Wheate had grown, which he carried with him to proue for Seede in *Virginia*: he saw also their corne Milne very conuenently placed, which together with the Barnes he left standing vntouched. As for the Fruit itselfe he destroied it downe to the ground, racing the *French* armes, and leauing no Monument that might remaine to witnesse their being here.

After this, *Biencourt*, who had been somewhere abroad trauelling through the Countrey comming home, desired to conferre with Sir *Samuel Argall*, who did meete with him a part from the company vpon a meadow: and after they had expostulated a space for what had past controuerting concerning the *French* and *English*, little to these bounds, at last *Biencourt* offered, if hee might haue a protection from him, to depend vpon our King, and to draw the whole Furres of that Countrey to one Port, where he would diuide them with him; as likewise hee would show him good mettalls, whereof he gaue him pieces, the other refused to ioyne in any societie with him, protesting that his Commission was onely to displant him, and that if hee found him there thereafter hee would vse him as an enemy. *Biencourt* labouring earnestly to haue had the Iesuite, as he confessed, with a purpose to hang him. Whilest they were discoursing together, one of the Sauages rushing suddenly forth from the Woods, and licentiated to come neere, did after his manner, with such broken *French* as he had earnestly mediate a peace, wondring why they that seemed to be of one Country, should vse others with such hostilitie, and that with such a forme of habit and gesture as made them both to laugh.

After *Biencourt* remouing from thence to some other, *Monsieur Champlein*, who had liued long here, did carry a company with him from *France* of some fortie persons or thereabouts, vp the

* I haue heard that Sir *T. Dale* was the Gouernor of *Virginia* and left him.

Iesuite killed.

the Riuer of *Canada* whom hee planted on the North side thereof, with a purpose to sue for a Factory, drawing all the trade of that farre running Riuer, within the hands of a few whom he doth command, which a Plantation would haue dispersed in many parts, otherwise, if his desires had beene bended that way, hee might haue planted many people there ere now; the place is called *Kebeck*, where the *French* doe prosper well, hauing Corne by their owne labour, which may furnish themselues for foode, and likewise for a stocke to traffique with the Sauages, with sundry other Fruites, Rootes, Vine grapes and Turkey Wheate. *Champlein* hath discouered the Riuer of *Canada* from the Gulfe vpwards aboue 1200. miles, finding in it sometimes such fals as he must carry his Boate a little way by land, and then put it in againe. He did many times come to great Lakes, at the end whereof he did alwaies finde a Riuer againe: and the last Lake where he came was a very huge one, iudged to be three hundred miles in length, by the report of some Sauages, who did affirme vnto him, that at the further end thereof they did finde Salt water, and that they had seene great Vessels; which made *Champlein* beleeue that a passage might be there to the Bay of *California*, or to some part of the South Sea, which would proue an inestimable benefit for the Inhabitants of these parts, opening a neere way to *China*, which hath bin so many sundry wayes with so great charges so long sought for. Howsoeuer, in regard of the season, and for want of necessary prouisions, *Champleine* did returne backe at that time, with a purpose to goe againe another yeare: which if hee hath done is not yet knowne, but this is most certaine, that the Riuer of *Canada* hath a long course, and through many goodly Countries: some of these great Lakes, by sending forth, or by receiuing great Riuers, doe afford meanes of commerce as farre as to some parts of *Terra Florida*, as may be gathered by *Champlesnes* discouery, &c.

The South Sea suspected (as before in *Dermers* letter) by Sauages relations.

THus haue I giuen these Others trauells to Virginia *and the* Summer Ilands, *I will conclude with mine owne trauells for them. I see many likely to bee disheartened by the slender growth of the* Virginian *Plantation, which for the time might haue beene not onely a safe, but a rich and blessed Mother of a numerous thriuing generation, branching farre into other Colonies; and yet is! But why doe I intercept your eyes and diuert your thoughts (suspend them at best) from that which for my Countries good, and zeale to* Virginia, *without partiall respect on the right hand or on the left, with a candid right hand I here present, and forbid all sinister hands to meddle with?* Tros Tyriusve mihi---*I side no where, but embrace* Virginia *with a right heart, my pen directed, my hands erected for her good, which can doe mee no other good, but in reference to the publike, whose I am and whom vnder God and his Maiestie I serue and obserue with all that I haue, am, and can. I had written it as a tractate by it selfe, at the request of some worthy friends, but here haue abridged it in some such things as the other parts of these Volumes containe.*

CHAP. XX.

Virginias *Verger: Or a Discourse shewing the benefits which may grow to this Kingdome from* American English *Plantations, and specially those of* Virginia *and* Summer Ilands.

GOd is the beginning and end, the Alpha and Omega, that first and last, of whom and for whom are all things. The first and last thing therefore in this *Virginian* argument considerable, is God; that is, whether we haue *Commission from him* to plant, and whether the Plantation may bring *glory to him*: This in regard of vs and our scope; That in regard of it, and the lawfulnesse thereof. To begin with this; *In the beginning God created heauen and earth* (all things therefore are his by a higher name then right, this rule and the things ruled, being his *creatures*) of both which Man onely amongst Visible creatures was created capable, which *Moses* deliuereth in these words, that *God created him after his owne Image*: which is spoken not onely of the spirituall, immortall substance of his soule, whose vnity shineth with that created Trinity of *Vnderstanding, Will, Memory*, in it selfe; and that of *Vegetation, Sense, Reason*, exercised in and by bodily motion; but more especially in regard of the Creator, a conformity to him *in righteousnesse & holinesse of truth* (the whole Man shining with a borrowed light, as the Moone is the image and reflexion of the Sunne) and in regard of the *Creature*, a iust dominion ouer the same, as the holy words manifest; *replenish the Earth and subdue it, and haue dominion ouer the Fish of the Sea, and ouer the Fowle of the ayre, and ouer euery liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth.* Although Mans rebellion had forfeited this Naturall Charter, yet was the same in the repeopling of the World renewed to *Noah* and his Sons, which euer since haue beene in actuall possession: and as *Adam gaue names* (as humaine earemarks) *to the liuing creatures*; so *Noahs* heires haue since giuen names to Seas and Lands, and other creatures quite thorow the knowne World. Neither did the *Fall of Man* so cracke this *earthen vessell*, that

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεθα τῶν δὲ θεῶν ἔσμεν. *Arat.* Of God, and the image of God in Man.

Gen. 1. 1.

Eph. 4. 24.

Gen 1. 28.

Gen. 9. 2.

Gen. 2.

that all his created excellence ran out: for neither were the substance or faculties of the soule extinct, nor his prerogatiue ouer the visible creatures (the spirituall creature naturally excelling the bodily, and the reasonable and liuing, the sensitiue, vegetatiue and torpid:) these receiued a wound, the other (his spirituall and religious conformitie in these to God) as a *purer water* of the purest life, ran forth irrecouerably; and as our naturall parts were weakned and *wounded*, so of those supernaturall wee were vtterly *robbed*; till that good *Samaritan* vndertooke the restitution of that in redemption, whereunto in creation he had giuen first institution, *God hath laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all, and in his stripes wee are healed*; our Charter is renued and now made so compleat, that whereas the deuills thought to rob man of Earth and Paradise, *Hee which taketh the wise in his craftinesse* hath restored him: nay (that is little) hath added Heauen Himselfe: that as the *Israelites* entred vpon the houses, Cities and possessions of the cursed *Canaanites*, so Christians into those Thrones and celestiall Dominions, which those spirituall Thrones and Dominions lost, and there haue God himselfe and the Lambe to be their *Temple and All in all* vnto them for euer, *Amen*.

Esay 53.

1. *Cor.* 3.

Apoc. 21. 1. *Cor.* 15.

Hence is it that Christians (such as haue the Grace of the Spirit of Christ, and not the profession of his merit alone) haue and hold the world and the things thereof in another tenure, whereof Hypocrites and Heathens are not capable. These haue onely a *Naturall right*, by the reliques of the Law of Nature left in Man, by the Creators goodnesse, for the conseruation of the face of a world in the world; the same further improued with a warrantization, *Contra omnes gentes* (our euidences dialect) by the Law of Nations vnto Nations, and Lawes Politicke and Ciuill in each Nation, allotting to the members thereof the publike and priuate ciuill rights and tenures, which either publike or priuate, persons or corporations, held therein.

Of the right of Christians and that of Heathens to the world. See these things more fully handled in *To.* 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 3, 4, 5. *Iob.* 8. 35, 36. Πιστὸς ἀνοικονόμος, 1. *Tim.* 1. 6. Christians may not spoile Heathens. *Gal.* 3. 17. *Tit.* 1.

This tenure comparatiuely that Christian, is by our Lord himselfe called a *tenure in villenage*, that *of sonnes: the seruant* hath his time and *abides not in the house for euer*: but the *sonne is heere* in fee simple (*fide simplici*) for euer. Neither yet is it lawfull for Christians, to vsurpe the goods and lands of Heathens; for they are villains not to vs; but to our and their Lord; nor hath the sonne in nonage power to dispossesse villaines: nor are wee sonnes by nature, but by adoption, and a later Euangelicall Charter which doth not disannull the former (*the Truth*, or Word of the Gospel receiued by Faith, *makes vs free*) free Tenants to our Lord, not Lordly subuerters of others tenures; which may with a good conscience vse our owne (all *things to the pure are pure*, which others cannot, whose *conscience* being pitchy, all things it toucheth, *are defiled*) and not, as some haue turned libertie into licentiousnesse, with a bad conscience take away that which is anothers. Christ *came not to destroy the Law*, of which one Commandement is, *Thou shalt not steale*: *My Kingdome*, saith hee, *is not of this world*, and therefore properly medleth not with proprietie and ciuill interests. *The weapons of our warfare*, saith Saint *Paul*, *are not carnall* but spirituall, and the Keyes so much boasted on by *Peters* pretended Successors, are called *Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen*; lawfull keyes, not thieuish picklocks; of Heauen, not of Earth. And it is remarkable that neither Pope nor Anabaptist (the troubles of *Israel* with worse then Heathenish conceits in this kind) euer inuerted or interuerted Scepters, till they had denied the very Christian name which they receiued in Baptisme; nor *dispised gouernment* till they were *twice dead*, nor *promised* this *libertie to others*, till *themselues were the seruants of corruption*. Euen a Malefactor, a Traytor, a very *Faux*, or *Rauiliac*, is permitted to breath, yea is in prison, the Kings house (whereof no priuate hand may dispossesse him) maintained at the Kings charge, till iudgement haue passed on him, which to the world is not till the end of the world, when Christ shall come to iudge the quick and dead; who once so respected the iurisdiction of Ethnickes, that himselfe was thereby adiudged to the worst of sufferings, yea acknowledged that *power giuen to* Pilat *from aboue*. His Birth acknowledged *Augustus* his Edict, his Infancy fled *Herods* tyranny, his Man-hood payd *Tiberius* tribute, and his Death was *Roman* both in kind and sentence. *Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers*, yeelded those noble armies of Martyrs in the Primitiue Church; the contrary whereof hath yeelded Mastiues and Monsters in these last and worst dayes.

Matth. 5. *John* 19. 36. 2. *Cor.* 10. 4. *Matth.* 16. *Iud.* 8. 2. *Pet.* 2. 19. *Iohn* 19. 11. *Rom.* 13. 1.

Therefore was *Babels* building in the East (and shall not *Babel* bable building in the West be) confounded that men might bee dispersed thorow the world, to take possession of their inheritance: and God which said, *Replenish the earth*, hath *made of one blood all Nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation*. Hee gaue *Ar* to the children of *Lot*, and the Land of the *Horims* to *Esaus* posteritie, though not with like circumstances as *Canaan* to *Israel*: and it was by speciall indulgence, that *Israel* both spoiled the *Egyptians* and disherited the *Canaanites*. Let it bee enough, that Christ hath giuen vs our selues in the Lords seruice to bee a perfect freeman, the Vniuersein an vniuersall tenure, and Heauen in reuersion; that hath giuen his *Sonne*, doth giue his *Spirit*, will giue *himselfe*; that *all things are ours, and wee Christs, and Christ Gods*: without thoughts of inuasion and vsurpation, knowing that Christian *Charity seeketh not her owne things* (much lesse obtrudes on others) and Christian libertie maketh liberall Saints of naturall men, not vnnaturall deuills of professed Saints. Our Light should *so shine before others, that they may see our good workes, that they which know not the world, may bee won without the Word*, in admiring our Christian conuersation.

Gen. 11. *Acts* 17. 27. *Deut.* 2. 9, 19. 1. *Cor.* 3. 1. *Cor.* 13. *Matth.* 5. 1. *Pet.* 3.

This

This should be, and in the most Aduenturers I hope is the scope of the *Virginian* Plantation, not to make Sauages and wild degenerate men of Christians, but Christians of those Sauage, wild, degenerate men; to whom preaching must needs bee vaine, if it begins with publike Latrocinie. And this is sufficient to preuent scruple of the Popes Bul, which (if *Basan* Buls roaring were euidence) maketh a swel against *England*, this being no lesse questionable then *Virginia*, *Paul*, *Pius*, *Gregory Sixtus* breathing as much fire against this, as *Alexander* for that. But what right can *England* then challenge to *Virginia*? I answere, that we would be loth to begin our right at wrong, either to Ethnick or Christian: nor need we, hauing so manifold and iust interests. First, as men, we haue a naturall right to *replenish the whole earth*: so that if any Countrey be not possessed by other men, which is the case of *Summer Ilands*, and hath beene of all Countries in their first habitations) euery man by Law of Nature and Humanitie hath right of Plantation, and may not by other after-commers be dispossessed, without wrong to human nature. And if a country be inhabited in some parts therof, other parts remaining vnpeopled, the same reason giueth libertyto other men which want conuenient habitations to seat themselues, where (without wrong to others) they may prouide for themselues. For these haue the same right vnto these latter parts, which the former had to the former; especially where the people is wild, and holdeth no settled possession in any parts. Thus the holy Patriarks remoued their habitations and pasturages, when those parts of the world were not yet replenished: and thus the whole world hath been planted and peopled with former and later Colonies: and thus *Virginia* hath roome enough for her own (were their nnmbers an hundred times as many) and for others also which wanting at home, seeke habitations there in vacant places, with perhaps better right then the first, which (being like *Cain*, both Murtherers and Vagabonds in their whatsoeuer and howsoeuer owne) I can scarsly call *Inhabitants*. To question this right, were to accuse almost all Nations which were rocked (for the most part) in no other cradle: and to disappoint also that Diuine Ordinance of *replenishing the Earth*, whose habitations otherwise would be like scattered Ilands in the Seas, or as the present *Spanish* Plantations in the *Indies*, so dispersed and disioyned that one cannot in any distresse succour another, and therefore are made an easier prey to euery Inuader. Another right is that of Merchandise: *Non omnia possumus omnes*, *Nec vero terra ferre omnes omnia possunt*; God in manifold wisedome hath diuersified euery Countries commodities, so that all are rich, and all poore; not that *one should be hungry and another drunken*, but that the whole world might be as one body of mankind, each member communicating with other for publike good. He hath made this immutable decree in the mutabilitie of the Winds, commodities & commodiousnesse of Seas, and Harbors, varietie of Baies and Riuers, multiplicity of all Mens both Necessities and Superfluities, and their vniuersall desires of Nouelties. Thus *Salomon* and *Hiram* had right to sayle ouer the Ocean, and to negotiate with the *Ophirians* for Gemmes, Gold, Ivory, and other commodities seruiceable for his peoples necessities, for pompous Magnificence, and for the Temples Holies. And if hee did not plant Colonies there, you must remember that the *Iewish* Pale was then standing, which prohibited voluntarie remote dwellings, where each man was thrice a yeere to appeare before the Lord in *Ierusalem*. Besides, it is a question whether the Countrey peopled so long before, had roome for such Neighbours.

Mans naturall right in places, either wholy or in great part not inhabited.

Abraham, *Lot*, *Iacob*, &c.

I haue heard by one which I thinke hath more searched the Countrie then any other Cap. *Smith*, that in ncere so much as all *England*, they haue not aboue 5000. men able to bear armes, which manured and ciuilly planted might well nourish 1500000. and many many more; as appeareth by this our countrie, nor hauing so rich a naturall Inheritance.

Right of Merchandise. 1. *Cor* 11. 21. Securitie of Ports. *Gen.* 10.

It is therefore vngodly, and inhumane also to deny the world to men, or like *Manger-dogges* (neither to eat hay themselues, nor to suffer the hungry Oxe) to prohibite that for others habitation, whereof themselues can make no vse; or for merchandise, whereby much benefit accreweth to both parts. They which doe this, *Tollunt è vita vitæ societatem*, to vse *Tullies* phrase, *& hominem ex homine tollunt*, to borrow Saint *Ierome* in another matter. The *Barbarians* themselues by light of nature saw this, and gaue Ours kind entertainment in mutuall cohabitation and commerce: and *they hauing not the Law were a Law to themselues*, practically acknowledging this Law of Nature written by him, which is *Natura naturans*, in their hearts: from which if they since haue declined, they haue lost their owne Naturall, and giuen vs another Nationall right; their transgression of the Law of Nature, which tieth Men to Men in the rights of Natures commons, exposing them (as a forfeited bond) to the chastisement of that common Law of mankind; and also on our parts to the seueritie of the Law of Nations, which tyeth Nation to Nation. And if they bee not worthy of the name of a Nation, being wilde and Sauage: yet as Slaues, bordering rebells, excommunicates and out-lawes are lyable to the punishments of Law, and not to the priuiledges; So is it with these *Barbarians*, Borderers and Outlawes of Humanity. *Arma tenenti, Omnia dat qui iusta negat*, If the Armes bee iust, as in this case of vindicating vnnaturall, inhumane wrongs to a louing and profitable Nation, entertained voluntarily, in time of greatest pretended amity. On this quarrell *Dauid* conquered all the Kingdome of the *Ammonites* and left it to his successours in many generations, notwithstanding *Moses* had otherwise left a speciall caution for their security, testifying that God had giuen it the sonnes of *Lot*, and prohibiting inuasion to *Israel*. That natural right of cohabitation and commerce we had with others, this of iust inuasion and conquest, and many others præuicus to this, we haue aboue others; so that *England* may both by Law of Nature and Nations challenge *Virginia* for her owne peculiar propriety, and that by all right and rites vsuall amongst men, not those mentioned

Right Nationall: *Ius gentium*.

Lucan. Right by right conquest. 2. *Sam.* 10. *Deut.* 2. 19.

alone

alone but by others also, first discouery, first actuall possession, prescription, gift, cession, and liuery of seisin, sale for price, that I mention not the naturall Inheritance of the *English* their naturally borne, and the vnnaturall outcries of so many vnnaturally murthered, for iust vengeance of rooting out the authors and actors of so prodigious iniustice.

Englands manifold rights to *Virginia*.

And first for discouery, the *English*, *Spaniard*, and *Portugall* seeme the *Triumuiri* of the Worlds first discoueries, the *Spaniard and Portugall* first opening the Eastern, Western, and Southern parts, the *English* the Northern *America*, and all known parts thence to the North & Northeast. I could bring authority for King *Arthurs* conquests, aboue 1000. yeers since in *Island*, *Gronland*, *Estotiland*: but I feare this would seeme too weake a foundation, and (which lyers get by lying) discredit our other authorities lesse suspicious; howsoeuer Authors of best note in Geography alledge those, which reuerence of the truth makes me let passe. And so I doe King *Malgo* soone after him, and Saint *Brandon*, and the Friar of *Oxford* (which *A.* 1360. is said to discouer to the *Pole*) and *Owen Gwined* Prince of North *Wales* his sonne *Madock*, *A.* 1170. which conueyed a Colony, as learned men thinke into the West *Indies*. In all Antiquities, as *Varro* obserued, there are somethings *fabulous* (so I deeme the former) something *vncertaine*, as this last; and somethings *Historicall*, as that which we shall deliuer. *Robert Thorne* in a Booke to Doctor *Leigh* writeth, that his father with another Merchant of *Bristol*, *Hugh Eliot*, were the first discouerers of the *New-found-landes*; and if the Mariners would haue beene ruled by their Pilot, the Lands of the West *Indies* from whence the Gold commeth had beene ours. What yeere this happened he expresseth not; but the words import that it was before *Columbus* his discouery. And before *Columbus* his discouery of the continent, Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, at the charges of K. *Henry* the seuenth, with two Caruels, in the yeere 1496. (so him selfe, in *Ramusio*; the Map with his picture in the Priuy Gallery hath 1497.) sailed to the *New-found Land*, which he called *Prima Vista*, and the Iland S. *Iohns*, because it was discouered on the Feast of S. *Iohn Baptist*; from whence he sailed Northerly to 67. deg. and a halfe, hoping by that way to passe to *Cathay*, but his mutinous company (terrified haply with Ice and cold) forced his returne, which hee made along the Coast toward the Equinoctiall, to the part of the firme land now called *Florida*, and then his victualls failing, he returned into *England*, where by occasion of warres with *Scotland*, the imploiment was laid aside. Afterwards the same Sir *Sebastian Cabot* was sent, *A.* 1516. by King *Henry* the eight, together with Sir *Thomas Pert* Viceadmirall of *England*, which after coasting this Continent the second time, as I haue read, discouered the Coast of *Brasil*, and returned from thence to S. *Domingo* and *Puerto Rico*. Now *Columbus* his first discouery of the Ilands, was in 1492. of the Continent in his third voyage in August, 1497. or as others, 1498. so that counting most fauourably for *Columbus*, *Cabot* had discouered the Continent in Iune next before; by one reckoning aboue a yeere, by another aboue two yeeres before. And indeed that New World might more fitly haue borne his name, then *America* of *Americus vesputius*, or of *Columbus*, *Cabot* hauing discouered farre more of that Continent then they both, or any man else in those Seas: to wit, from 67. degrees and an halfe to the Line, and from thence Southerly to the Riuer of *Plate*.

First discouery

Mercator. D. Dee. Ortel. &c.

M. *Thorne.*

Sir *Seb. Cabota.* his picture in the priuie gallerie at *White Hall* hath these words. *Effigies Seb. Cabotæ Agni filij Ioannis Cabotæ Veneti, militis aurati, &c.* he was born at *Venice*, and seruing *H.* 7. *H.* 8. *Ed.* 6. was accounted *English, &c. Galpano* saith he was borne at *Bristol*.

Hee also was the principall mouer in the setting forth of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in King *Edwards* time (vnder whom he was constituted Grand Pilot of *England*, with the annuall stipend of one hundred sixtie six pound thirteene shillings foure pence) in which voyage *Greeneland* was discouered (neither is there any other *Willoughbys Land* to be found, but in erroneous Maps) and the *Russian* Empire by the North Cape, and the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*. But for *Virginia*, as it was then discouered by Sir *Seb. Cabot*, so it receiued that name from our Virgin-Mother, Great *Elizabeth*: in whose time formal & actual possession was taken for her Maiesty, the thirteenth of Iuly, 1584. by Captain *Philip Amadas*, and Captain *Barlow*, whom Sir *Walter Raleigh* had sent thither with two Barkes furnished, who also the next yeere, 1585. sent Sir *Richard Greenevile* with seuen sayle, which there left an *English* Colony vnder the gouernment of M. *Ralph Lane*. *A.* 1586. hee sent another Ship of one hundred Tuns thither for their reliefe: but the Colony being returned in Sir *Francis Drakes* Fleet, shee returned also. Sir *Richard Greenevile* also about a fortnight after their departure arriued with three Ships, and not finding the Colonie, left fifteene men to keepe possession, furnished with prouision for two yeeres.

Sir *Seb. Cab.* Grand Pilot of *England*.

Possession, continuation, prescription.

A. 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent a new Colony of one hundred & fifty persons, with three saile, a Ship of one hundred and twenty Tuns, a Fly-boat and a Pinnace. Hee appointed twelue Assistants to the Gouernour, and incorporated them by the name of *Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia*. To these, Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent succour fiue seuerall times, the last by *Samuel Mace*, 1602. *An.* 1603. the *Bristow* men sent thither, by leaue of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in which Expedition was Master *Robert Saltern*, who the yeere before had beene with Cap. *Bart. Gosnold*. And thus are wee come to the beginning of his Maiesties gracious raigne, when the North and South Plantations were by new Patents eagerly pursued, the one from hence, the other from the West parts of *England*. *Mawooshen* and other parts, were many yeeres visited by our men, and *An.* 1607. a Plantation setled at *Sagadahoc*, by two Ships sent by that wise and seuere Iustice Sir *Iohn Popham* and others: the successe whereof hath been such, that from the North Plantation it hath beene dignified with the Title of *New England*. And for the Southerne parts, *A.* 1606.

The names of aboue 100. are extant in M. *Hack.* 3. Tome.

A. 1606. a Colony went from hence, set forth by the *Virginia* Company, which haue euer since maintained their Plantation in differing fortunes. As for the former Plantations of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, some children were borne to them there: and whether they liue, they continued the possession; or if the Sauages dealt perfidiously with them (as *Powhatan* confessed to Cap. *Smith*, that hee had beene at their slaughter, and had diuers vtensills of theirs to shew) their carkasses, the dispersed bones of their and their Countrey mens since murthered carkasses, haue taken a mortall immortall possession, and being dead, speake, proclaime and cry, *This our earth is truly English, and therefore this Land is iustly yours O English*.

Two former Colonies wholly, &c.

Thus haue we discouered the *English* right by Discouery, Possession, Præscription; to which we may adde, that none other Nation hath once aduentured to settle in those parts, nor scarce to view them: yea the *French* and *Spanish* Plantations in *Florida*, *Virginias* Southerne neighbour, soone ended in bloudy massacres, the *Spanish* cruelly * murthering the *French*, vnder the conduct of *Pedro Melendes*, which *An.* 1567. was repaid them by *Dominique de Gorgues*, the acquittance written with his sword in *Spanish* bloud: *Florida* euer since expecting ciuilizing from her first discouerers the *English*: which is further ratified by the former *Spanish* disasters in the Expeditions of *Pamphilo de Nauarez*, 1527. and of *Soto*, 1537. into *Florida*: which two iourneyes consumed neere one thousand men therein imployed: besides other Expeditions of *Ponce de Leon* and others mentioned by *Vega* and the *Spanish* Authors.

Virginians acknowledge subiection and seruice to the *English*.

Now for voluntary subiection of the Natiues, giuing themselues and their lands to the Crown of *England*, M. *Ralph Lane* hath testified for the first Colonie, that *Menatonon* their King by his Messenger, & with him twentie foure principal men sent from *Okisko* King of *Weopomiok* his Vassall, formally acknowledged Her Maiesty as seruants and homagers to her, and vnder her to Sir *W. R.* For the last Plantation by the present Patent of His Maiesty, *Paspehay*, one of their Kings sold vs land for Copper, and *Powhatan* the chiefe Lord of all the Sauages, with thirty nine *Werowances*, haue yeelded to more then formes and circumstances of homage; besides contribution, hauing also actually sold for Copper by him receiued of Cap. *Iohn Smith*, and made voluntary cession of as much as the *English* desired, going away with his people to leaue it to the *English* onely. This purchase was much increased by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and for whatsoeuer else which he held, hee accepted a Copper Crowne as Vassall to His Maiesty: which also hee really performed for a time, howsoeuer since they haue beene perfidious. And this perfidiousnesse of theirs hath further warranted the *English* Title. Temperance and Iustice had before kissed each other, and seemed to blesse the cohabitations of *English* and *Indians* in *Virginia*. But when *Virginia* was violently rauished by her owne ruder Natiues, yea her Virgin cheekes dyed with the bloud of three Colonies (that of Sir *R. Greenevile*, that of Sir *W. R.* both confessed by themselues, and this last butchery intended to all, extended to so many hundreths, with so immaine, inhumane, deuillish treachery) that I speake not of thousands otherwise mis-caring here and mis-carrying there, taking possession of *Virginia* by their facts, and fates, by so manifold losses adding to the price of *Virginias* purchase: Temperance could not temper her selfe, yea the stupid Earth seemes distempered with such bloudy potions and cries that shee is ready to spue out her Inhabitants: Iustice cryeth to GOD for vengeance, and in his name aduireth Prudence and Fortitude to the execution.

Right by buying & selling: and by cession.

Right by Forfeiture.

Fatall possession.

The Holy Patriarks had a promise of *Canaan*, yet held no possession but with their dead bodies; *Ioseph by faith gaue charge concerning his bones*: *Virginia* by so many rights naturalized *English*, by first discouery, actuall possession, chargeable continuation, long prescription, voluntary subiection, deliuery of seisin, naturall inheritance of *English* there borne, reall sale, legall cession, regall vassallage; disloyall treason hath now confiscated whatsoeuer remainders of right the vnnaturall Naturalls had, and made both them and their Countrey wholly *English*, prouoking vs, if wee bee our owne, not base, degenerate, vnworthy the name of *English*; so that wee shall not haue any thing left (like *Dauids* Embassadors, which thus abused, brought their Master a iust title to *Ammon*, purchased by their disgraces) to couer our nakednesse, till *Virginia* couer, reward, inrich vs with a totall subiection at lest, if not a fatall reuenge. And thus much for our right which God hath giuen vs: whose *Virginian* tribute is *his glory*, that hee may indeed be *Alpha* and *Omega* (as hath beene said) of the *Virginian* Plantation: which if it hath not satisfied the expectation hitherto, no doubt that defect hath in great part proceeded from this.

Heb. 11.

The Glorie of God in his Word and Workes aduanced by this Plantation.

The end of a thing is the beginning, being first in intention though last in execution: the end which Christians ought to ayme at is God, *Doing all things in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father*, by the gracious guide and assistance of the *Holy Ghost*. Glory is, * *Frequens de aliquo fama cum laude*, *And hereby is our Father glorified*, sayeth Christ, *if yee bring forth much fruite, and so shall yee be my Disciples*. Loe here the scope of Christians Plantations, to plant Christianity, to produce and multiply Christians, by our words and works to further the knowledge of God in his Word and Workes. The workes of God glorifie their Creator: *The Heauens*, saith *Dauid*, *declare the glory of God*, &c. *I will triumph in the workes of thy hands. O Lord, how great are thy workes? and thy thoughts are very deepe. A bruitish man knoweth not, neither doth a foole vnderstand this*. All creatures are inuited to *praise the name of the Lord*

* *Cicero.*

Io. 15.

Ps. 19. 1.

Ps. 92. 4.

Psal. 148. 5. Psal. 16. & ac. 2. Ecc. 1

Lord, for hee hath commanded and they were created: How much more should the tongue of man be the *Pen of a readie writer*, and as it is called, *The glory of the man*, so imploy it selfe in setting forth the glory of God, in his Workes of Creation, Prouidence, Redemption?

The workes of God, and variétie there seen set forth his glorie.

God is a Glorious Circle, whose Center is euery where, his circumference no where: himselfe to himselfe is Circle and Circumference, the Ocean of Entitie, that very *vbique*, from whom, to whom (the Centre of vnitie) all diuersified lines of varietie issue and returne. And although we euery where feele his present Deitie, yet the difference of heauenly climate and influence, causing such discording concord of dayes, nights, seasons; such varietie of meteors, elements, aliments; such noueltie in Beasts, Fishes, Fowles; such luxuriant plentie and admirable raritie of Trees, Shrubs, Hearbs: such fertilitie of soyle, insinuation of Seas, multiplicitie of Riuers, safetie of Ports, healthfulnesse of ayre, opportunities of habitation, materialls for action, obiects for contemplation, haps in present, hopes of future, worlds of varietie in that diuersified world; doe quicken our mindes to apprehend, whet our tongues to declare, and fill both with arguments of diuine praise. On the other side considering so good a Countrey, so bad people, hauing little of Humanitie but shape, ignorant of Ciuilitie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish then the beasts they hunt, more wild and vnmanly then that vnmanned wild Countrey, which they range rather then inhabite; captiuated also to Satans tyranny in foolish pieties, mad impieties, wicked idlenesse, busie and bloudy wickednesse: hence haue wee fit obiects of zeale and pitie, to *deliuer from the power of darknesse*, that where it was said, *Yee are not my people, they may bee called the children of the liuing God:* that Iustice may so proceed in rooting out those murtherers, that yet *in iudgement* (imitating Gods dealing with vs) wee may *remember Mercy* to such as their owne innocence shall protect, and Hope shall in Charitie iudge capable of Christian Faith. And let men *know that hee which conuerteth a sinner from the errour of his way, shall saue a soule from death, and shall hide a multitude of sinnes.* And *Sauiours shall* thus *come on Mount Zion to iudge the Mount of Esau, and the Kingdome* (of *Virginia*) *shall be Lord.* Thus shall wee at once ouercome both Men and Deuills, and *espouse* Virginia *to one husband, presenting her as a chast Virgin to Christ. If the eye* of Aduenturers were thus *single*, how soone and *all the body* should *be light*? But the louing our selues more then God, hath detained so great blessings from vs to *Virginia*, and from *Virginia* to vs. *Godlinesse hath the promises of this life, and that which is to come.* And if wee be carefull to doe Gods will, he will be ready to doe ours.

Propagation of the Gospell: & rewards therof

Ose 2.

Iam. 5. 20.

Obad. vlt. 2. Cor. 11. 2. Matth. 6. 22.

1. Tim. 4. 8.

All the rich endowments of *Virginia*, her Virgin-portion from the creation nothing lessened, are wages for all this worke: God in wisedome hauing enriched the Sauage Countries, that those riches might be attractiues for *Christian* suters, which there may *sowe spirituals and reape temporals.*

Answeres to Obiections: & first to the want of Gold and Siluer Mines.

But what are those riches, where we heare of no Gold nor Siluer, and see more impouerished here then thence enriched, and for Mines we heare of none but Iron? Iron mindes! *Iron age* of the world! who gaue Gold or Siluer the Monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almighties fauorites? Precious perils, specious punishments, whose originall is neerest hell, whose house is darknesse, which haue no eye to see the heauens, nor admit heauens eye (guilty malefactors) to see them; neuer produced to light but by violence, and conuinced, vpon records written in bloud, the occasioners of violence in the World; which haue infected the surface of their native earth with deformity and sterility (these Mines being fit emblemes of mindes couetous, stored with want, and euer wanting their owne store) her bowels with darknesse, damps, deaths, causing trouble to the neighbour Regions, and mischiefe to the remotest! Penurious mindes! Is there no riches but Gold Mines? Are Iron Mines neglected, reiected for hopes of Siluer? What, and who else is the Alchymist, and impostor, which turnes the World, and Men, and all into Iron? And how much Iron-workes in Warres and Massacres hath *American* Gold and Siluer wrought thorow all *Christendome*? Neither speake I this, as if our hopes were blasted, and growne deplorate and desperate this way, the Country being so little searched, and the remote in-land-Mountaines vnknowne: but to shew the sordid tincture and base alloy of these Mine-mindes. Did not the *Spanish* Iron (tell me you that contemne Iron-mines) draw to it the *Indian* Siluer and Gold? I will not be a Prophet for *Spaine* from *Virginia*. But I cannot forget the wily apophthegme of the Pilots Boy in the *Cacafuego*, a great Ship laden with treasure taken in the South Sea, by Sir *Francis Drake*; who seeing the *English* Ordnance command such treasure from the *Spanish Cacafuego*; *Our Ship*, said he, *shall be called the Cacaplata, and the English may be named the Cacafuego.* I will not be so vnmannerly to giue you the homely *English*; it is enough that *English* Iron brought home the *Spanish-Indian* Siluer and Gold. But let vs consult with the wisest Councellour. *Canaan*, *Abrahams* promise, *Israels* inheritance, type of heauen, and ioy of the earth! What were her riches? were they not the Grapes of *Eshcol*, the balme of *Gilead*, the Cedary neighbourhood of *Libanus*, the pastury vale of *Ieriebo*, the dewes of heauen, fertility of soile, temper of climat, the flowing (not with Golden Sands, but) with Milke and Hony (necessaries, and pleasures of life, not bottomelesse gulfes of lust) the commodious Scituation for two Seas, and other things like (in how many inferiour?) to this of *Virginia*. What golden Country euer nourished with her naturall store the hundreth part of men, in so small a proportion of earth, as *David* there mustered,

mustered, being 1100000. of *Israel*, and 500000.* of *Iuda*, not reckoning the Tribes of *Leui* and *Beniamin*, all able men for warres? And after him, in a little part of that little *Iehoshaphat* (More I dare say then the *Spaniards* can finde in one hundred times so much, of their Mine lands, and choose their best in *Peru*, *New Spaine*, and the Ilands) the Scriptures containing an infallible muster-booke of 1160000. able Souldiers in his small territories?

* Compare 2 Sam. 24. with 1 Chron. 21. It seemes that there were aboue two millions of men besides women and children.

That then is the richest Land which can feede most men, Man being a mortall God, the best part of the best earth, and visible end of the visible World. What remarkeable Gold or Siluer Mines hath *France*, *Belgia*, *Lumbardy*, or other the richest peeces of *Europe*? what hath *Babylonia*, *Mauritania*, or other the best of *Asia* and *Africke*? What this our fertile Mother *England*? Aske our late Trauellers which saw so much of *Spaine*, the most famous part of *Europe* for Mynes of old, and inriched with the Mynes of the New World, if an *Englishman* needs to enuy a *Spaniard*, or prefer a *Spanish* life and happinesse to his owne. Their old Mynes made them the seruants of *Rome* and *Carthage*: and what their Mynes and mindes doe now I leaue them to others. Once, as the Mynes are in barrennest soyle, and couetous men haue least, euen when they are had of most money (*medijs vt Tantalus vndis*) so I haue heard that in *Spaine* is lesse Gold and Siluer, then in other parts of *Europe*, (I dare not mention the proportions) from both *Spanish* and *English* relation: their vsuall money also (to meddle with no more) is of base mettall, and their greatest summes computed by *Marauedis* lesse then our later tokens: except which (deuised for poorer vses of the poorest) *England* of long time knowes no base monyes: and hath seene plentie of Siluer and Gold, of Wine and Oyle which (grow not in her) when *Spaine*, which produceth these, is fed with salads, and drinketh water, helped now and then with Hogges-kinne vnsauoury Wine. The *Indian* Fountaines runne with golden and siluer streames (*sic vos non vobis*) not to themselues, but into that *Spanish* Cisterne; and these Cisternes are like those of the *London* Water-house, which hath the Conduit Pipes alway open in the bottome, so that a thousand other Cisternes hold more water then it: so may it be said of the other; it is not *Concha* but *Canalis*, a Pipe rather then Cisterne, a Cash-keeper rather then Owner; and (which is spoken of better things) remaining poore, makes many rich. To proceed, are not Myners the most miserable of Slaues, toyled continually, and vnto manifold deaths tired for others, in bringing to light those Treasures of darknesse, and liuing (if they liue, or if that bee a life) in the suburbs of Hell, to make others dreame of Heauen? Yea Paradise, the modell of heauen, had in it no Minerals, nor was *Adam* in his innocency, or *Noah* after the Worlds recouery, both Lords of all, employed in Mines, but (in those happy workes which *Virginia* inuiteth *England* vnto) in Vines, Gardening, and Husbandry. Neither let any man thinke that I pleade against the soureness of the Grapes, like the Foxe which could not reach them: but I seriously shew that they are calues and not men, which adore the golden Calfe, or *Nabuchadnezzars* great golden statue, as if the *body* were not *more then raiment*, and those things to be preferred to money, for whose sake mony (the creature of man; base Idolatry where the Creator worships his creature!) was first ordained, and still hath both vse and being.

Doe we not see in this respect, that the Silkes, Calicos, Drugges, and Spices of the East swallow vp (not to mention the *Belgian* whirlepoole) all the Mines of the West? and that one Carricke carrieth more Rials thither, then perhaps some whole Region in *Spaine* retaineth for vulgar vse? And whence are *English*, *Portugals*, or *Dutchmen* fitted for that commerce? as if *America* had ominously (for other iust reason there is none) beene called *India*, as if the West were but drudge and factor for the East. And what hath dispeopled the New World, not leauing in some places one of Millions, but *Auri sacra fames*, others killing them in the Mines, or they killing themselues to preuent the Mines? Let it be riches enough, that Sir *Thomas Dale* testified by Letters from thence, and after his returne to me that foure of the best Kingdomes of *Christendome* were not for naturall endowments comparable to *Virginia*: and which I haue heard of one which hath trauelled in all the best Regions of *Europe*, and hath seene more of *Virginia* then perhaps any man else, and which needes not speake for any gaine there or thence gotten, as no reputed fauourite or fauourer of that Society and their actions; that he hath seene no Country to be preferred for soile, nor for commodious Riuers to be compared.

Virginias high valuation. Cap. *Iob. Smith*

And if successe hath not beene correspondent to *English* hopes: who seeth not the causes of those disasters?

Answer to the obiected ill successes and causes thereof.

Diuision that taile-headed *Amphisbana* and many-headed monster, deformed issue of that difformed old Serpent, in some of the Colony there & Cõpany here, hath from time to time thrust in her forged venomous tongue, wherby they haue swolne with deadly poison of *great thoughts of heart* (*onely by pride doe men make contention*) with blinde-staring eyes of self-loue *abounding in their own sense*: whence suspicions, iealousies, factions, partialities to friends and dependants, wilfull obstinacies, and other furious passions haue transported men from *Virginias* good and their owne. Couetousnesse hath distorted others to minde earth and not heauen, in hastinesse of more then speedy returne and present gaine, forgetting that *Godlinesse is the best gaine*, and that they are planting a Colony, not reaping a haruest, for a publike and not (but in subordinate order) priuate wealth. A long time *Virginia* was thought to be much encombered with *Englands* excrements,

Iud. 5. 16. *Prou.* 13. 10.

1 Tim. 6.

some

some vicious persons, as corrupt leuin sowring, or as plague sores infecting others, and that Colony was made a Port Exquiline for such as by ordure or vomit were by good order and physicke worthy to be euacuated from This Body: whence not only lazie drones did not further the Plantation, but wicked Waspes with sharking, and the worst, that is beggerly tyrants, frustrated and supplanted the labours of others. *Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.* A prodigious Prodigall here, is not easily metamorphosed in a *Virginian* passage to a thrifty Planter: nor can there neede wiser choise or more industrious course in any vndertaking, then is requisite in a *Christian* Colonies plantation amongst Infidels. Which I suppose hath beene carefully by many Aduenturers practised: and whatsoeuer faults happened by ignorance in the beginnings, neglect of seasons, riot, sloath, occasionall wants of or in Gouernours or Gouernment, abuses of Mariners, trechery of Fugitiues, and Sauages; and other diseases, which haue in part attended all new Plantat ons, and consumed many: experience I hope by this time hath taught to preuent or remedy. The late barbarous Massacre *(hinc illæ lachrymæ)* still bleedeth, and when things were reported to be in better forwardnesse then euer, in great part blasted those hopefull blossomes, disiointed the proceedings in the Iron workes, Vineyards, Mulberry plants; and in sudden shifts for life, exposed them to manifold necessities; insomuch, that many of the Principals being slain, the rest surprised with feare, reduced themselues almost from eighty to eight Plantations; whereby pestered with multitude, and destitute of Corne and other forsaken necessaries, they incurred a grieuous and generall sicknesse, which being increased by infection of some passengers tainted in their Ship-passage with corrupt Beere, there followed a mortality which consumed about fiue hundred persons, besides three hundred and fifty or thereabouts murthered in that Sauage-Massacre. All which notwithstanding, there remaine, some haue if truely calculated and coniectured eighteene hundred persons: for whose security and prouision it hath pleased his Maiesty to haue a Royall care, as likewise the Honorable Lords of his Maiesties priuy Councell, besides the honorable endeuours of the Councell and well affected members of that Society, which God almighty, the great Founder of Colonies, prosper.

The massacre hath been the chiefe cause of later miscarying.

This number of 1800. was presented by the Companie to the Lords of the Councell.

Now that I may shew *Virginia* worthy those princely, honorable and industrious thoughts, I haue aduentured briefely to point out, rather then to paint out her beauty and attractiue ornaments.

Arguments for *Virginian* plantation, as being honorable.

1. Religion.

First Religion (as is before obserued) inuiteth vs there to seeke the *Kingdome of God first, and all other things shall be ministred to vs*, and added as aduantage to the bargaine: seeke the Kingdome of God, and see an earthly Kingdome in recompence, as the earnest, and the heauenly Kingdome for our full paiment. Of glorifying God in his word and workes in this designe is already spoken.

2. Humanitie.

Secondly, Humanity and our common Nature forbids to *turne our eyes from our owne flesh*; yea commands vs to loue our neighbours as our selues, and to play the good *Samaritan* with these our neighbours (though of another Nation and Religion, as the wounded *Iew* was to him) to recouer them if it be possible, as by Religion, *from the power of Sathan to God*; so by humanity and ciuility from Barbarisme and Sauagenesse to good manners and humaine polity.

3. Honor of the *English* Nation

Thirdly, the Honour of our Nation enioyneth vs not basely to loose the glory of our forefathers acts, which here haue beene shewed in King *Henry* the seuenth, King *Henry* the eight, King *Edward* the sixt, and Queene *Elizabeths* times, all which illustrated their names by Discouery of Realmes remote, vnknowne parts and ports, (and the first, first of all Kings, and the last holding to the last) Discouering and possessing these, and leauing them as iust inheritance to his Maiesty. What shame to a degenerate posterity, to loose so honorable a claime, and gaine; yea, to neglect that which many *English* haue purchased with doing and suffering so much, and not with their sweate alone, their care and cost, but with their deerest bloud and manifold deaths?

4. Honour of the King.

Fourthly, wee may reckon the Honour of our King, and his Royall posterity: to which, in time *Virginia* may performe as much with equall manuring as euer *Britannia* and *Ireland* could promise when first they became knowne to the then ciuiller World. And were not comparisons odious! I am sure I heard Sir *Thomas Dale* confidently and seriously exulting in priuate conference with me, in the hopes of future greatnesse from *Virginia*, to the *English* Crowne. And if the wise King wisely said, the *honour of a King is in the multitude of his Subiects*, loe here the way to preserue, employ, encrease them; and for his Maiesty to reach his long royall armes to another World. The *Roman* Empire sowed *Roman* Colonies thorow the World, as the most naturall and artificiall way to win and hold the World *Romaine*.

5. Honor of the Kingdome.

Fifthly, the honour of the Kingdome, thus growing and multiplying into Kingdomes, that as *Scotland* and *England* seeme sisters, so *Virginia, New England, New found Land* in the Continent already planted in part with *English* Colonies, together with *Bermuda*, and other Ilands may be the adopted and legall Daughters of *England*. An honorable designe, to which Honor stretcheth her faire hand, the fiue fingers whereof are adorned with such precious Rings, each enriched with inualuable Iewels of Religion, Humanity, Inheritance, the King, the Kingdome; *Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ.*

And

And if Honour hath preuailed with honorable and higher spirits, we shall come laden with arguments of profit to pretse meaner hands and hearts to the seruice of *Virginia*. Onely I desire that men bring their hearts first, and consider that the very names of a Colony and Plantation doe import a reasonable and seasonable culture, and planting before a Haruest and Vintage can be expected: which if they here exercise our Faith and Hope both for earth and heauen, where all things are prepared; let vs not in ruder and cruder foundations and beginnings there, precipitate vnto hasty fals.

6. Argument of profit, generally propounded.

And before we come to *Virginias* particular probabilities for this Kingdomes good, we need not far fetched speculations, we haue euidence from experience. *Castile* (a Kingdome which now stoops to none, and which some of her flatterers aduance aboue all, making it Catholike without respect to Faith) grew from an almost nothing out of the *Moorish* deluge, to be but a pettie something in comparison of others in *Europe*, till *Ferdinands* time who sent *Columbus* to *America*. And how poore abilities or probabilities had they for it, when *Columbus* vpon false grounds hauing conceiued strong, strange hopes of the Easterne *Indies*, stumbled vpon a Westerne World whereof hee neuer dreamed, which therefore he called *India*, and *Hispaniola Ophir*: to which Expedition (neither founded on sound reason, nor experience of former Discoueries, when as yet the Mariners Art was but crept out of the Cradle, and blessed only in the Euent) the state of *Castile* was as poorely furnished as it seemes, eyther with money or credit, the Queene pawning part of her Iewels for 2000. Duckets, to set *Columbus* forth with three poore Caruels for this Discouery. Little was it then imagined, that in *Hispaniola* should be found (which happened in the taking of *Domingo* by Sir *Francis Drake*) a *Spanish* Scutchion with a Horse, whose hinder feet trod on the Globe, his fore-feet prauncing as if he would foot out another World (like *Alexander* hearing Philosophers discourse of other Worlds, weeping that hee had not yet finished the conquest of this) hauing this Motto annexed, *Non sufficit Orbis*. Yea, but they found Gold and Siluer in abundance? the Pockes they did! and plagued all *Europe* with the great ones, with the small consuming *America*: and if they did find Gold and Siluer, how poore were the proportions till the *Mexican* Discouery almost thirty yeeres, and that of *Peru* forty yeeres after their *Indian* plantation. And who knowes what *Virginia* in that space may produce by better Discouery of it, and further Discouery of parts adioyning, whereof we haue ten thousand times more pregnant hopes, then they had in their first Expedition, by knowledge gathered from their Discoueries.

Illustrated by the *Castilian* greatnesse,

Vpon lesse probabilities,

See *Oviedo* & our sixth Booke

Their greatest benefit in commodities, not in Mines, to the common subiect.

Besides, though Gold and Siluer from thence hath enriched the *Spanish* Exchequer, yet the Magazines haue found other and greater wealth, whereof *Virginia* is no lesse capeable, namely, the Countrey Commodities. What Mynes haue they, or at least, what doe they vse in *Brasill*, or in all the Ilands, where yet so many wealthy *Spaniards* and *Portugalls* inhabit? Their Ginger, Sugar, Hides, Tobacco and other Merchandize, I dare boldly affirme, yeeld far far more profit to the generalitie of the *Spanish* Subiects thorow that vast World, then the Mynes do or haue done this last Age. Which I shall make apparant by honourable testimonie, in one of the last *English* Exploits on the *Spanish Indies*. The Right Honorable Earle of *Cumberland* in a Letter of his after the taking of Port *Rico*, (chiefe Towne if not the greatest Iland in those parts, and far short of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*) affirmeth, that if hee would haue left the place, hee might haue had by good account as much Sugar and Ginger in the Countrey, as was worth 500000. pounds. But he intended to keepe it, as the *Key of the Indies, which who soeuer possesseth* (I vse his owne words) *may at his pleasure goe to any Chamber in the House, and see how they sleepe before hee be either stopped or descried: so as they must at euery doore keepe so great a force to guard them, as will consume a great part of their yeerely Reuenue; and send it from place to place with so great a wastage, as will cause them to curse their new Porter: for when they haue done what they can, they shall beare his charge to their owne destructions, and still be loosing places both of strength and wealth.* Thus that valorous and renowmed Earle, whose bloud ennobled his attempts, whose attempts added glory to his bloud, and noblenesse to his Nobiltie: which I rather recite that you might see the great wealth which the *Spaniards* reape of Ginger and Sugar, to which that of Hides in that Iland holds such proportion, that one inhabitant thereof named *Cherigo*, had no fewer then twelue thousand Beeues: where Beeues growing wild, it was tolerable to any Ilander to kill a beast, if hee returned the skinne to the Owner: and what he speakes of a *Key* and a *Porters* aduantage, *Mutato nomine de te*, change the name, and if *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* fall short some wayes, they will, more then equall it other wayes, in Case! But I must containe my selfe, lest I purchase a *Purchas* Case for medling.

The Earle had purposed to leaue Sir *John Berkley* with a Garrison to hold it, but a great sicknesse and mortalitie consuming most of his men, he was forced to leaue the place, to bring home his ships.

I finde this in a written Extract of all the Ports, shipping Cities, Men, &c. of *Spaine*, which sometimes belonged to that industrious Gentleman M. *W. Burrough* Controller of the Nauie.

Now if any shall thinke that the many transplantations of people into those parts, would exhaust *England, Spaine* will answere that point also, now in these dayes complayning no more of scarcitie of people (notwithstanding their many and long Warres in so many parts of *Europe*, except the expulsion of the *Moores* and *Marans*, haue caused it) then when first they vndertooke those consuming vast Enterprizes, not of a *Virginia*, but of a World. And yet what in comparison is *Spaine* for multitudes of people, whose vastnesse is said to yeeld (the King, Dukes, Marquesses and Earles only with their retinue excepted) from eighteene yeeres of age to fiftie, but

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1125390. men of all sorts, as I haue seene in an Extract of the Royall Muster-booke, which how much is it exceeded by the numerous excesse of people in this Iland, straitned in farre lesse roome, and wanting necessary employments, which almost exacteth a *Virginian* vent and aduenture. For how much more conuenient is a transmigration, into a fruitfull, large and wholesome Region, where the Countrie hath need of a Colonie to cultiuate it, as well as those *Colons* and Inhabitants haue need of a Countrie to inhabit rather then to breed a fulnes in This Bodie, which without some such euacuation either breeds matter for the pestilence and other Epidemicall Diseases, or at least for Dearth, Famine, Disorders, ouer-burthening the wealthier, oppressing the poorer, disquieting both themselues and others; that I mention not the fatall hand of the Hangman? And thus you haue *Virginias* hopes in generall propounded by *Spanish* example vrged and enforced by our necessitie of seeking vent to such home-fulnesse.

Arg. 7. from necessitie by our multitudes

But looke vpon *Virginia*; view her louely lookes (howsoeuer like a modest Virgin she is now vailed with wild Couerts and shadie Woods, expecting rather rauishment then Mariage from her Natiue Sauages) suruay her Heauens, Elements, Situation; her diuisions by armes of Bayes and Riuers into so goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her Virgin portion nothing empaired, nay not yet improoued, in Natures best Legacies; the neighbouring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; her opportunities for offence and defence; and in all these you shall see, that she is worth the wooing and loues of the best Husband. First, for her Heauens and Climate, she with her Virgin Sisters hath the same (being extended from 30. to 45. degrees of North latitude) with the best parts of *Europe*, namely the fat of *Gracia, Thracia, Spaine, Italie, Morea, Sicilia*, (and if we will looke more Northward to the height of *France* and *Britaine*, there her Sisters *New England, New Scotland*, and *New-found-land*, promise hopefull and kinde entertainment to all Aduenturers. If you looke Southwards, you may parallel it with *Barbarie, Egypt*, and the fertilest parts of *Africke*) and in *Asia*, all that *Chuersonessus*, sometime the seate of foure thousand Cities, and so many Kingdomes, now called *Natolia*, with her Neighbours *Antiochia*, and other Regions of *Syria, Damascus, Libanus*, with *Babylonia* and the glorie of the Earth: and Types of Heauen, *Iudaa* and *Paradise*; the Silken Countries also of *Persia, China* in her best parts, and *Iapan*, are in the eleuation; and *Virginia* is Daughter of the same Heauens, which promise no lesse portion to this Virgin, then those Matrons had for the foundation-stock of their wealth and glory.

Arguments of particular cõmodities and commodiousnesse.

1. The same climate with best Countries

Secondly, this Climate as it promiseth wealth, so it doth health also, enioying the temper of the most temperate parts, euen of that in which *Adam, Abraham*, with the Prophets and Apostles were bred in, and receiued as an Earthly priuiledge; and in which Christ conuersed in the flesh. And thirdly for extension, if couetousnesse gape wide, ten *Iudaas*, and a hundred Paradises, may be equalled for quantitie in *Virginia*, whose mid-land Regions are wholly vnknowne, till we arriue at that *Noua Albion*, which yeelded it selfe *English* before the first *Virginian* plantation.

2. Temperate.

3. Large extension.

Fourthly for commodious diuisions, the Lands and Seas contend by fresh Riuers and Armes of the Sea so to diuersifie the soyle as if in luxuriant wantonnesse they were alway engendring manifold Twinnes of Commoditie and Commodiousnesse, Profit and Pleasure, Hunting and Fishing, Fruits and Merchandizing, Marinership and Husbandry, *Opus* and *Vsus*, Meate and Drinke, Wares and Portage, Defending and Offending, Getting and Keeping, Mountaines and Valleyes, Plaines and Hillocks, Riuers Nauigable and shallower Foords, Ilands and Land-iles (or *Peninsula*) Woods and Marishes, Vegetatiues and liuiug creatures maruellously diuersified. Looke on the Map, and tell me if any Countrey in the World promiseth more by the lookes then it. Yea I haue obserued in the Letters of greatest Malcontents from thence, foe and friend and themselues are blamed rather then the Countrey, the least finger of *Virginias* hand (I meane the least of fiue Riuers (or as Master *Alexander Whitakers* relateth, the least of seuen) in a small part of that great Countrie, is bigger then the First-borne of Britaines waters, the famous *Thames*, all Nauigable, some one hundred miles, some one hundred and sixtie, receiuing Tributes by the way of innumerable Springs, Brookes, Riuerets (such as that of *Ware*, and fit for portage of Wares in smaller Barkes, of which kind *Iames* Riuer hath fiue Attendants in ordinary) the fall of euery one of the fiue is within twentie or fifteene miles of some other: and not aboue fifteene miles in some places is the Great Riuer of *Roanoke* said to be distant from some of those which fall into *Iames* Riuer, yeelding a commodious intercourse twixt those Southerly and these more Northerly parts of the Countrey. I know not how Nature hath here also wantonized and danced a *Loath to depart* in the winding of those Streames, which seeme willingly againe and againe to embrace that beloued Soile, and to present her with rich Collers of siluer Esses, murmuring that they must leaue so fresh and fertile a Land, of which at last with *Salt* teares they take their leaue, but contracting with their New Sea Lord to visit their old Land-lord and former Loue euery Floud. Meane whiles those many impetuous clippings and sweet embraces, searching refuges euery way make shew as if they would meet together in consultation, and agree on some Conspiracie, which howsoeuer disappointed, yeeld neuertheless many conueniences of entercourse and easier portage, each Riuer comming within foure, eight, ten miles, more or fewer in diuers places of another. All these

4. Commodious diuision of Lands and Riuers.

these Riuers runne into a faire Bay, on which the Earth euery way is a greedie gazing Spectator, except where the Ocean rusheth in to rauish her beauties, flowing neere two hundred miles into it, and forcing a Channell one hundred and fortie, of depth betwixt seuen and fifteene fathome, and ten or fourteene miles in ordinary breadth. The Earth yet vndermining it by Ilands, and mustering those Riuer Captaines and innumerable Springs and Brookes, maintaineth his *fresh* challenge with continuall Warres, forcing backe the Ocean euery Ebbe to retire, which yet loth to lose so sweete a possession returneth within few houres, freshly flowing with *Salt* reenforcements.

Bay of *Chesepeake*.

Fifthly, the soile is blessed, euery Element bestowing a rich portion on her. The *fire* hath treasures laid vp to maintaine her fewell vnto prodigality (yea which seldome meete, a thriftie prodigality) for many yeeres. Her store of waters you haue heard, but not her watery store of fishes vnto incredibility in kinds, goodnesse, numbers. The *Aire* is no lesse luxuriant in the Fowles of Heauen. But the Earth (fruitfull Mother of Mankind) she is prodigiously prodigall, in fatnesse of the soile; talnesse, sweetnesse, strength, varietie, numberlesse numbers of her Trees: her Oakes no lesse excellent then frequent, many of them bearing two foote and an halfe square of good Timber twenty yards long: of which also are diuers kinds. Elmes and Ashes (of which Sope-ashes are made) Wal-nuts in three sorts, Cypresses (or much resembling them) Cedars and other sweet smelling Timbers, Chesnuts, Plummes of diuers sorts, Cheries and other Trees, &c. reckoned by *Virginian* Relators, I omit. But most remarkable and promising are the Mulberie and the Vine, the one to the backe, the other to the belly, yeelding Silkes and Wine.

5. Fertile soile.

6. Trees for timber and other vses many

As for Silke, how great profits are raised thereof to the *Chinois* and *Persian*? Yea to come neerer, in *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*, which haue prouoked *France* to a generall imitation. And how vnualuable are the expenses of this Kingdome for that materiall, *Vt matronæ in publico luceant*? Likewise for Wines from *France, Spaine, Germanie*, and other parts how many thousands are yeerely expended to the profits of Strangers, that I say not to enemies, or at least to suspected friends? It hath pleased his Maiestie to take these two into his Princely consideration and by his Letter to the Right Honorable the Earle of *Southampton*, and the Company of *Virginia* to commend and command this care to them.

7. Specially for Silkes.

8. And for Wines.

Iuly 9. *A.R.* 20. See *sup. c.* 15.

The Countrey it selfe naturally produceth Vines in great abundance, and some of a very good sort: diuers plants also haue beene sent thither of the better kinds of Christendome, with eight Vignerons procured from *Languedock* for the husbanding of that commoditie. The Soyle is no lesse naturally happy in Mulberie Trees of the best kind and some Silke-wormes also: and generall order hath beene taken for the abundant planting of them in all places inhabited: large supply also of Silke-worme-seed from his Maiesties store, and men skilfull in that kind for the well ordering of that businesse haue beene sent. In a word, the very prosperity and pregnant hopes of that Plantation made the Deuil and his limbs to enuy, feare and hate it. Hence that bloudy Massacre which caused almost a sudden Chaos to the hinderance of those affaires, by the convulsions, combustions, and almost confusion of that Body and their Designes: whereof yet we hope not only a recouery but greater aduantage, the greatest danger from the Sauages, growing out of our mens confidence, which that terrible stroke (except a stupid Deuill possesse vs) hath cut off; which likewise requires that seruile natures be seruily vsed; that future dangers be preuented by the extirpation of the more dangerous, and commodities also raised out of the seruilenesse and seruiceablenesse of the rest.

9. Iust aduantage from the Sauages to make vse of their labours.

10. Drugs, and diuers other commodities.

As for Sassafras, Salt, *Terra Lemnia*, Gummes and other profitable Drugges I shall not neede speake: nor of their Silke-grasse naturally growing, besides a kind of Hempe or Flaxe, yeelding most excellent Cordage. Pot-ashes, Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre haue beene the employment of *Polacres* sent thither.

In foure yeeres space before the Massacre (the Iron Oare of *Virginia* being found very good and very plentifull) aboue fiue thousand pounds were spent, and one hundred and fiftie persons sent for that imployment; which being brought in manner to perfection, was interrupted by that fatall accident, since which the restituion is with all possible diligence (as it is said) ordered and furthered.

11. Iron mines.

There haue beene also sent skilfull men from *Germany*, for setting vp of Saw-mils: *Virginia* yeelding to no place in the knowne World for Timbers of all sorts, commodious for strength, pleasant for sweetnesse, specious for colours, spacious for largenesse, vsefull for Land and Sea, for housing and shipping: in which Timber vses *England* and *Holland* alone are said to disburse about 300000. pounds sterling yeerely. And the defects at home, where the Hearth hath climbed into the Roofe, where back-fewell hath deuoured our buildings in the Woods, and belly-fewell hath deuoured the Woods, and conuerted them to arable: where so many ships are employed for prouisions of and for shipping, *Virginia* by diuine bountie is *Magnæ spes altera Britanniæ*. Herein we may verifie the old Prouerbe, That he which liueth longest, shall fetch his wood furthest; but so, as he shall be paid for the fetching with great aduantage.

12. Timbers for all vses.

13. More especially for building both houses & ships

And if an Iland needs woodden Wals to secure it against others, to enrich it from others, *Virginia* offers her seruice herein, and will looke so much more cheerefully on you, how much more you

you shall disburthen her in this kind: yea, as *England* hath wooed and visited *Virginia*, so herein *Virginia* will be glad and reioyce to visit *England*, in her there-built ships, and to dwell here with vs in thence-brought Timbers, and esteeme her selfe aduanced to adorne our Towres, and take view of our Pomps and Spectacles.

14. The manifold materials for shipping.

And touching shipping and the materials thereof; Timbers, Pitch, Tarre, Cordage, Sayles, Anchors, &c. necessitie of the times exacteth in our defects at home, for securitie from enemies abroad, employment of Mariners, Merchants and our numerous multitudes, offending our Offenders, defending our Allies, that I adde not the Riches of the World, and glory of Exploits, all which depend on Nauigation. Hence *Tyrus* and her Daughter *Carthage* of old (*Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior*) hence the *Egyptian Alexandria* and many Nations since, haue reaped wealth and honour. Hence the *Lumbards* and *Easterlings* sucked out the sweetes of this Kingdome in former times, whiles we like children were fed by their hands, and they were inriched by the Importation and Exportation of Merchandise to and from vs: which when that glorious *Elizabeth* altered, and sought to stand in the Seas on her owne legs, and to flie ouer them with her owne wings, it not only wanne her renowme but dread abroad, and such strength at home, that notwithstanding her manifold wars offensiue and defensiue, and motherly protection of her Neighbours round about with Men and Monies; her Custome, her Nauie, and the wealth of her people is thought to haue receiued in her time a seuen-fold aduancement. And what hath so long vpholden and enhanced the *Hanse* Townes? What hath raysed the rich and glorious States of *Venice* and *Genoa*? What hath since freed, and doth still sustaine the *Hollanders*, but their mouing Magazines and Castles, their strength and magnificence being (by a Miracle in State) hereby most, wherein it is least, in their Sea-forrests; Nature denying that to their Soyle, which Art hath superabundantly supplied by shipping, to their Lands, to their Seas, for vse, for admiration? hence hath the *Abassine* or *Prester Iohn* lost his estate, the *Turke* not encreased his by swallowing the rest of Christendome, the *Persian*, the *Mogull* and other mighty *Asian* Potentates haue not bin mighty, howsoeuer sirnamed *Great*; haue beene so long awed, and as it were, imprisoned within their owne shores, there also often braued, assaulted, forced to receiue Lawes and conditions, yea to pay Customes for their owne ships, and prohibited Trade with others by a handfull of *Portugalls*. Hence the *Portugals* themselues crept out of their Straites and obscuritie, and hence the *Castilian* colours haue been so far displayed, and set the rest of the World in this present Maze: Hence our *Edgar*, *Edward* the Third, and Great *Elizabeth*, haue left such memories of them, after them; hence all Maritime States and Kings haue receiued encrease or diminishing; as their Nauies haue beene, so haue they. Yea, without a Nauie, *Salomon* had not beene so meet a Type of Christ, so glorious in Domesticall, Politicall or Ecclesiasticall magnificence.

Haile then, al-haile *Virginia*, hope of our decayed Forrests, Nursery of our Timbers, second supply to our shipping, the *succenturiatæ copiæ* in distresse of Nauall materials: and those independant on forreine States, disburthened of Taxes, Customes, Impositions, and Suspensions of forreine Princes: yea gainfull not in the ships alone, but in Shipmen and Mariners trained vp and multiplyed by that imployment, with mutuall entercourse of Wares and manifold Commodities. Hee that lookes on the best Corne-fields soone after the sowing, seeth expense and labour without any profit but in expectation. Now is our Seed-time; and if cost and industry want no, *Virginia*, in her Soyle and Climate not only promiseth these materials, there also to be made at easier rates; but infinite other Commodities also which may be transplanted from these and other parts, as the *Spaniards* in their *Indies*, haue giuen vs example. These haue reserued Wines and Oyle, as Staple Commodities to be carried from *Spaine* (that these *Americans* may still haue need of *Spanish* Commodities) which else would easily grow there. They haue againe furnished these parts both from *Spaine* and many other Countries, with Figs, Oranges, Limons, and fruits for present vse and for Merchandize, with Sugar-canes, Gingers, Cattell and other Commodities, yeelding exceeding summes of Treasure to the Planters. And I know not but in a settled *Virginian* Plantation, Sugars, Gingers, Hides, &c. may there prooue as gainfull, as they haue in the *Spanish Indies*, that is, beyond all conceit of ordinarie valuation, and as good as many Mynes.

15. Sauing of expenses and freeing from dangers in forreine Countries.

16. Imployment and breeding of Mariners.

17. Many probabilities by transplantation of cattell, fruits, &c. exemplified by *Spaniards*.

18. The Countrie, cattell & beasts not only for vse there but Merchandise here.

Now for the Cattell and Fowles, I might here present their Deere of all sorts, reported to haue three or foure Fawnes at a time, and none vnder two (which some impute to the qualitie of that Countrey, hauing happened likewise to the Goats transported from hence) and were it not for this increase, eyther they must faile, or the Natiues (these sparing neither old nor young, nor old with young, nor obseruing any rule of Season or Reason therein) I might adde Shag-haired Oxen-seene by Sir *Samuell Argoll*, Beauers, Otters, Foxes, Wilde and Ciuet Cats, Muske Rats, and many Beasts which beare good Furres; their large Turkeyes, Cranes, Herons, Partridges, and innumerable other Fowles: fish also of innumerable numbers and manifold kinds, Sturgeon, Porpose, Base, Rock-fish, Carpe, Shad, and the rest. It seemeth to vs incredible, which is related of the both numbers * and excellencie at one draught taken. As for the varietie of Corne, the excellencie also and multiplication to 1500. or 2000. for one stalke of Maiz, the vsefulnesse, their succeeding-exceeding Harueſts, their Roots, Herbs, Pulse, and the rest, I referre to all the Writers in that

* Cap. *Smith* tels of 1000. Basses at a draught: M. *Rolfe* of 5000. the least of two foot long, 300. as big as Cod, by Sir *T. Dale*.

that Argument, and to as many as haue beene Eye-witnesses themselues to be Relaters.

19. Benefits by fishing. D. D. *Brit. Monarchie.*

Were it but a fishing trade, yet his vnderstanding is contemptible, that thinkes contemptibly of it. He that should reade Doctor *Dees* relations of so many hundred Busses, and *Flemmish* saile on the *English*, and *Spanish*, on the *Irish* coasts: or what Master *Gentleman* hath related of the Commodities raised that way by the *Holanders*, summed to millions of pounds in Herring, Cod and Ling: and that which others relate of 3600. saile of Fishermen in *Holand* and *Zeland*, with other things of like nature gathered together by Captaine *Smith* in his *New Englands Trials*, with the experiments of that coast also (part of our *Virginian* subiect, shall see, as greatest bodies composed of least parts, so greatest summes raised out of least and meanest meanes, that being dundant in tale, which seemeth wanting in weight. Once, the impregnable wals of the vnited Prouinces are their Ships (whereof some reckon small and great of all sorts 20000,) and their principall and most generall Trade is Fishing, which is the Seminary of their Mariners of which some haue reckoned aboue 100000. and summed their returnes thence growing to 7000000. pounds in a yeare. I am none of *Neptunes* Secretaries; yet know this, that there is no fishing to the Sea, and no Country so strong by Sea as that which findeth most employment in this kinde, where no exportation of treasure, no custome, no consumption and exhausting of commodities can be quarelled. Thus then, whether we consider Wines, Silkes, and other the appurtenances of our pleasures, as Dies, Drugges, Gummes, Sugars, Ginger, Furres, and the like, which cost this Kingdome yearely some hundreths of thousands of our pounds: or whether wee reckon those more staple and necessary commodities for Shipping, and all sorts of Timber, Cordage, and other like, no lesse costly, *Virginia* inuiteth our hopes, and couenanteth to bestow them on the industrious: so that we shall saue those treasures and costs that way expended, shall lesse depend on other Nations, lesse feare imbarguing, detention, imposts; yea, shall from other Nations raise by returne of our excesse in these kindes great Summes, besides the furnishing of the Kingdome with greater encrease of Shipping, Marriners, and innumerable employments, and the securing and enriching the Ports, both of *Ireland* and *England*. As for Tobacco I haue said little of it, because it is so generally knowne (which yet is said to be worth to *Spaine* 100000. pounds yearely; and that (I grieue to speak it) from the fume-some-froth-spirits of *England*) & the abundance brought from *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* (*inopes nos copia fecit*) exceedeth the Market: and because so many by immoderate vse thereof are corrupted here at home, and the present benefit thereby accrewing in quicke returne, hindreth designes of better consequence there. And thus much of *Virginias* present or very probable Commodities: to which we may adde the hopes in future times by finding there as good vent for our Wools and Clothes, both to the *English* and ciuilized *Indian*, as the *Spaniards* doe in their *Indies* by their Wines and Oyle, of which I haue already said that they permit not the generall growth in their *Indian* plantations for the continuance and necessitie of commerce with *Spaine*. And who seeth not the exceeding benefit which may arise by compleat commerce, in venting our owne superfluities of Men; of others, and specially the principall of *English* Commodities, Cloth and Wooll, with the Gospel of our Lord Iesus; and returning from thence, Clapboord, Pipe-staues, Cauiare, Oade, Madder, Salt, Cordage, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Pot-ashes, Cotton-wools, Gaules, Furres, Hops, Hides, Gummes, Dyes, Gingers, Sugars, Silkes, Wines, Iron, Timbers, Fish, Ships, Mariners, Merchants, and a World of the Worlds most vseful good things thorow an open Sea, obnoxious to no forreine Potentate, from and to known and secure Ports and Harbours?

Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa iuuant.

20. Tobacco. A Booke presented to the Parliament by Master *Bennet*. It is said that some maliciously father all their bad Tobacco on *Virginia* and *Bermuda*, and th. go. from thence, on *Spanish* growth.

21. Hopes of future Trade for clothes & other *English* commodities.

It is also not only vsefull at all times, but necessary to these times, as to transport superfluous numbers from hence to *Virginia*, so to cure the diseases of the times caused by the wants of Monies (the life of trading, and sinewes of a great State) attended with wants of sale for the Merchant, and consequently of Clothiers and other subordinate professions; want of worke for Spinsters, Weauers, and innumerable poorer Trades and Handicraftsmen; want of trading for Citizens (neither hath such a generall breaking beene euer knwone, so many shops in the principall limmes and streets of this Citie, yea, in Cheapside the faire face, yea, in the eye of that beauteous face, the Gold-Smiths Row (where besides so many shoppes conuerted to other Trades, I haue told this last Winter betwixt Friday-street and Bread-street the third part shut vp) want of employment for decayed Gentlemen, both the elder Vnthrifts and younger Gallants; which want of moneyes and store of wants thence issuing, is in greatest part caused by the Merchandizes sought and bought in other Countries, whereby our Moneyes fall into forraine Whirle-pooles without hopes of recouery; whereas if our Trade lay (as we see the *Spanish*) with our owne Colonies and Plantations else-where, wee should hold them still current in our owne Nation, and draw others to bring to vs both Wares and Moneyes from other Regions for the Commodities aforesaid. And thus should the *Vices* of the Times be remedied, and the vices of men or vicious men finde from Tobacco, Silkes, Wines and other excesses (like the sting of Scorpions from the Oyle of Scorpions) a cure thence, whence they receiued their wounds; and so many ruptures should eyther be preuented or healed; prouisions also procured for employment of honest and humble pouertie at home, and the inordinate spirits of others tamed by the Sea, and trained at labour to better Discipline.

22. Manifold necessities of these times.

I adde

25. Necessarie for strengthening other Plantations.

I adde further, that the prosecution of the *Virginian* Plantation, is both profitable and necessary for the strengthning of the Plantations already begun in *Summer Ilands, New England*, and *New found Land*, and that other expected in *New Scotland*.

24. Probabilities of a South Sea passage & manie manie commodities thereoy.

Now if we adde the hopefull passage to the South Sea, that one argument is more then all the rest, if our eyes shall once be blessed with that desired sight. For the trade of the whole world is then made compendious, all the rich trades of the East *Indies* are obuious and neerer hand, and no force is able to scoure so large a Coast as that Westerne shoare of all *America*, and secure it from our trading. Hence, if we finde not golden Countries before not possessed by other *Christians* (whereof also Sir *Francis Drakes Noua Albion* so long since subiected by voluntary surrender to the *English* Crowne, hath giuen vs hope) yet trade will bring the Mines of the West into our ships, and the Spices and other rich Merchandize of the East into our shops at easier charge, and therefore saleable at easier rates. 10

25. Necessitie of maintaining *Virginia* in case of war forcedly o-thers.

But this Designe of the South Sea may seeme desperate, and the Argument ridiculous. I shall therefore indeuour to giue better light therein, and withall to adde another Argument as weightie as it, and greater then all exceptions.

I may adde also the case of Warre, which I desire not; but which may happen, and *Bellona* may euen now seeme pregnant and alreadie conceiued, whose abortion might be wished, if necessitie adde not honour to the lawfulnesse. I but propound a case possible. The most certaine, honorable, and beauteous front of Peace, hath a backe part of Warre, and therefore in securest Peace, Prudence is not so secure, but she armeth her selfe against feares of War, forewarning and forearming men by the Sword drawne to preuent the drawing of Swords, and eyther eschewes it, or reaps good out of it. 20

South Sea why so called.

It is not vnknowne what expenses *England* hath sustained in, and euer since Sir *Sebastian Cabots* first Discouerie, as in those of Sir *Hugh Willoughby, Burrough, Pet* and *Iackman* by the North-east, of *Hudson, Poole, Fotherby*, and diuers other Naugations by the North; of Sir *Martine Frobusher*, Captaine *Dauies*, Sir *Thomas Button*, Master *Knight, Hudson, Hall, Baffin*, and other manifold Discoueries by the North-west, all seeking a compendious passage to *Cathay*, and to the East *Indies*. The Reasons which mooued them were far more hopefull then that of *Columbus*, which found notwithstanding far better and speedier successe. Successe is a seruile Argument, for Sense rather then for Reason, and in this whole *Virginian* proiect, I speake to *English* Aduenturers, aud not to pettie Pedlers, or *Virginian* Sauages, to such whose eyes are in their heads and not in their hands: *Careat successibus opto, Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putet.* Yet hath not Successe beene wholy frustrate, yea both Reason and Sense plead for a Passage, and *Virginias* vsefulnesse therein. 30

I will not bring vncertaine testimonies of a *Portugall* taken in a Carrike in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, and of another *Portugall* in *Guinie*, which affirmed to Sir *Martine Frobusher* that hee had past it; nor of *Garcia Loaisa*, which is said by the Coast of *New-found-land* to haue gone to the *Moluccas*; nor of *Vasco Coronado* in his Letter to the Emperour *Charles*, and other antiquated Witnesses of Antiquitie. 40

* See *sup.* the end of the 4. Booke: & *Dermers* Letter in this.

I haue already in due place produced * *Thomas Cowles, Iuan de Fuca, Thomas Dermer*, Sir *Thomas Button*, Master *Bridges*, besides the constant and generall report of all the Sauages from *Florida*, to the great Riuer of *Canada*. Now for the hopes of *Virginia* by a South-Sea Discouery, how neere is *England* that way to the Trade of both *Indies*, that is, of all the remoter World? It stands midway betwixt vs and the most frequented Ports of the West, which perhaps may shortly come to full age and sue out her Liuerie, how euer hitherto kept in close Wardship, and debarred the rights of common humanite, that is, the commerce with other Nations, without discerning Friend and Foe. Strange iealoune and worthy of iealous Suspicion! to admit Trade in all *European* Ports, not *Siuill* and *Madrid* excepted, and to prohibit the same in all the East and West, where it can lesse be prohibited! there to repute all in nature of Pyrats, and accordingly to make prize of ships, goods, and men which shall attempt to sayle that vast Ocean, or offer Trade in any of those Habitations! But leauing that to consideration of my Betters, in the East both *English* and *Dutch* haue maintayned their iust Trade by force, which by vniust force was denied, and haue paid themselues largely for all lesses sustayned by the Insultings or Assaultings of those Monopolians, with gaine, with honour: that trade being almost denied to those iniurious deniers, their owne reputation and traffique now bleeding, which would haue cut the throates of all others aduentures, of all other aduenturers. I neither prophesie, nor exhort vnto the like in the West: Our prudent and potent Mother *Elizabeth* wan renowne and wealth in their owne harbours and Cities at home, and no lesse in the remotest of their Lands and Seas. Yea, the South Sea by furthest compasse was neere to her long and iust armes, and their *Cacaplata* and Saint *Anne*, with other their richest Ships and Ports were ransacked by *English Cacafuegos*, and the charges of those warres borne by those enemies which caused them. *Nulla salus bello pacem te poscimus omnes.* He whose words and workes hath euer beene *Beati pacifici*, knowes best when and how to exact his and the Worlds right, in the World, of which God hath granted a Monopoly to no man; and (if others can embrace the whole Globe with dispersed habitations) not to suffer his long arme 50

to be shortned, and the strong armes of his to be pinioned, and forced to accept of a bounded and limited commerce in a little corner at others pleasure. Once, in iust and euen peace, *Virginia* stands fit to become *Englands* Factor in *America*; if war should happen, both it and *Bermuda* are fit Sentinels and Scouts, yea fit Searchers and Customers, fit Watch-towers and Arsenals to maintaine right against all wrong-doers. And for the South Sea, if a passage be found neere vnto *Virginia*, as Master *Dermer* was confident vpon relations (as he writ to me) of a thousand witnesses, wee then see *Virginias* lap open, yeelding her Ports and Harbours for the Easterne treasures to be the neerest way conueied by the West. Yea if it be more remote, as *Chacke* and *Fuca* relate, yet hath *Virginia* an vsefull neighbourhood both for sicke men, weatherbeaten Ships, and prouisions exhaust in long Voyages, to make them fitter for returne. And if such passage were not at all, yet the Mountaines of *Virginia* cannot but send Riuers to that Sea; so that as the wealth of *Peru* is brought to *Panama*, and thence by Land conuaied to the Ports of this Sea, so may the wealth of the South Sea, and the Regions of the West of *America* be that way passed to *English* hands. The like may be said of the Ilands of *Salomon*, the South vnknowne Continent, which after-times may discouer (probably as rich as the rest) that I mention not the knowne Regions of the East already traded. And although the passage be not yet perfectly knowne, yet may the seasons and fittest opportunities and prouisions for that discouery be most easie from *Virginia*: and there, if crossed with stormes or other diasters, they may finde securest refuge and refreshing. And if (which God auert) we may not haue the wares of peace, yet the peace of warres (that is, a fit rendeuous and retiring place, where to cheere and hearten, to repaire and supply vpon all occasions) is there offered, by the aduantages of both Seas. For in both, that vast body must needes be of slow motion, where the limmes are so disioynted, and one member vnfit to helpe another by remotenesse. And if it should but force the aduersary to maintaine Garrisons in his Ports on both sides, to secure them from inuasion, and a double Nauie of War in both Seas, the one to secure the Coasts, the other to secure his Shippes in the South Sea passing from the *Philippinas*, or from one Port to another; and in the North Sea to wafte his Treasures and Merchandise into *Europe*, the wings of that Eagle would be so pulled with such costs, that hee could not easily make inuasiue flight vpon his neighbours in these parts; yea, both those and these Dominions would be exposed to the easier inuasions of others. *Tam Marte, quam Mercurio*, in Peace and Warre, so vsefull may *Virginia* and *Bermuda* be to this Kingdome.

Now if any say *Medice cura teipsum*, and alleadge that they themselues are not able to stand against an enemy: I answere, first, for *Bermuda*, or *Summer Ilands*, that little body is all heart, and hath the strength of Nature and Art conspiring her impregnablenesse. For the Rockes euery way haue so fortified the situation, that she would laugh at an Armada, at a World of Ships; where the straight passage admits not two Ships abreast to enter, and hath ten Forts with Ordnance to entertaine them. She feares no rauishment, and as little needes she famishment, so that vnlesse God for our sinnes, or the Diuell by the worst of sinnes, treason, and the worst of his Sonnes, some *Indas*, expose her to the Enemy, she can know no other loue or Lord but *English*. And for *Virginia* against the Sauages greatest fright, Captaine *Smith* maintained himselfe without losse, with gaine with thirty eight men: against others she hath so fit places for fortification; so fit meanes and materials to secure her, as eye-witnesses report, that the worst of enemies to be feared is *English* backwardnesse or frowardnesse, like *Sampsons* Foxes either drawing backe, or hauing fire at their tongues ends.

* M. *Thomas Turner* an *English* Merchant liuing then in *Portugall* in name of an *Almaine*.

Q. *Elizabeths* praise.

Now if Queene *Elizabeth* of glorious memory, were able from *England* onely to annoy her enemies, so great and potent, so much and farre: what may we in Gods name hope of a *New England, New found Land, Bermuda* and *Virginia* already planted with *English*? When vpon newes of the fall of that great Northen Starre, the Duke of *Braganzas* brother, spake of her as the *Iesuites* had slandered; hold your peace brother, said the Duke himselfe (one then present related this to me) had it not beene for her Religion (for which wee most honour her, for which God did most blesse her) she might iustly haue beene ranked with the ancients *Romans: England* is a small thing, as the Map sheweth, to *Spaine*, and yet we durst not looke out of doores for her and hers. Thus worthily that worthy man, of the Worthy of women in her time. Great and glorious *Elizabeth*! how didst thou contemne the Iberian threates? How didst thou inuert, diuert, subuert their attempts? How victoriously didst thou euade their *inuincible* Inuasion? how didst thou inuade the Inuaders, at their gates, in their ports? how didst thou meete them in the Atlanticke, pursue them to the South, to the *Indian* Seas, and round about the World? How did the skie, windes, waues serue to a higher prouidence in thy deliueries, in thy triumphs? how often were the prodigious Carrikes of the East, and prodigall Vessels of the West, either staid at home for feare, or driuen to fort-couert by the way, or costly wafted on their way, or burned in the way, or sunke out of the way, or carried quite a way to visite the *English* shoares, and adorne the Trophees of great and glorious *Elizabeth*? Rouze vp your braue spirits *English* hearts in loyall subiection to your Royall Soueraign: be ready to offer right, feare not to suffer wrong: seeke the good, and see the goods which *Virginia* offers. Here could I wilder my selfe in thickets of argu-

ments, and could Muster more motiues and more necessarily concluding for *Virginias* aduancement, if that which we desire not be enforced on vs, then I haue already numbred in plantation and commerce: Yea almost all those former arguments are pressed of necessity, or offer their seruice voluntarily, some more, others no lesse seruiceable that way, then to publike peace and traffique, which also are securest when they neede not feare a Warre.

The honour of Religion defended by the *Defender of the Faith*; of our Nation, King, Kingdome; the Materials of Ships, Mariners, Armes, Victuals; Fishing, Merchandise, and Prize subseruient to each Voyage, that one may supply if the other faile; in crossed Voyages, a conuenient receptacle for refreshing; fit place of stay in not fitting and vnseasonable seasons: a safe repository for spoiles gotten in expectation of greater purchase: a redresse to weatherbeaten and storme-distressed Ships: a refuge to such as the enemy hath battered and endangered: an Hospitall for sicke, wounded, and presently vnseruiceable Mariners and Souldiers: a storehouse to repaire Timbers, Tackling, and other prouisions to Ships and Men: a fit meane (in supplying vs from thence with necessaries) to keepe those Monies in our owne hands, whereby we are destitute of the principall sinewes of warre, yea perhaps the enemy armed against vs: a schoole and training place for our youth to endure labour and hardship, and to prepare them like the *Iewes* in *Nehemiahs* time, to vse the Sword with one hand, and instruments of labour in the other: an exercise to breede Men for longer Voiages: a backe-doore to breake out suddenly on the enemy: an ambushment, whiles Ships from hence & thence shal at once be expected, and he which flees the one shall fall into the other: a redoubling of our forces when they meete: a safe harbour in *Bermuda* or in *Virginia* for a hundred sailes, or many more, to awaite all opportunities: a place likely to yeelde to men of merit entertainment and reward: a place yeelding opportunity by trade there to weaken our possible or probable enemies, to whom now wee seeke for trade, and consequently to weaken them by the want of our Commodities, and to adde a double strength to our selues: a place commodious to preuent warre by diuerting it, to diuert it by preuenting: to subuert the enemies Plantations by sudden assaults, or force them to costly Garisons: to euert their Merchandising by trade suspended, surprized, or defended with chargeable wastage: to interuert their intelligence and profits: to inuert the hearts of Malecontents, and those hands which feare now curbeth and bruleth: to conuert to our parts those which maintaine a fugitiue and wilde enmity with them: to auert the profits of their Mines by other imployments: and in a word, to make that vse of others against them, which their examples haue taught vs in acquiring the great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, with other parts of *America*, which without the helpe of *Indians* against *Indians*, banding themselues with a contrary faction, such handfuls had neuer beene able to haue effected: What shall I say more? If others impotence and importunities force a War, *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* seeme to this *English* body as two *American* hands, eares, feete; two eyes for defence: two Keyes (as before is said) for offence: two Armes to get, encompasse, embrace: two Fists to strike: the Sword and Dagger; Ship and Pinnace; Castle and Rampire, Canon & Musket, Arsenale and Peere, and whatsoeuer God shall please to giue to humaine industry, who giues all things of free grace, but to such to whom he hath giuen grace freely to seeke them; and is alway a facile and easie giuer, but to them onely which loue not their ease and idle pleasure. And although I am no Secretary of Gods Counsell for the *Indies*, yet euent hath reuealed thus much of his will, that no other *Christian* Nation hath yet gotten and maintained possession in those parts, but the *English*: to whom therefore wee may gather their decreed seruiceablenesse in Peace, aduantagiousnesse in Warre, and opportunity for both, to be both Magazine and Bulwarke, and ready euen by naturall scituation to *sit on the skirts* of whatsoeuer enemies, which passe from *America* to *Europe*.

Acosta, l.3.c.4. 5.c.7. Oviedo Summary & Gen. hist. l.2. Herera. Descri. of Ind. c.2.3.

Three *Spanish* witnesses, *Acosta, Oviedo*, and *Herrera*, haue related this, in describing the course of that Nauigation; yea, all experience, the Heauens also and Elements subscribe to it. For such is the statute of the windes, which all Shipping in that Sea must obey: they must goe one way and returne another. To the *Indies* the course from *Europe* is by the *Canaries*, and thence entring the Tropike, they meete with the *Brises*, which are perpetuall Easterne windes, or I know not what impetuosity by the motion of the heauens breathed into the lower aire betwixt the Tropikes, and pressing all vapours and exhalations vnto that seruice in one or other point Easterly: which force the Ships to returne neerer the *American* coast there to seeke as it were some alloy of that impetuous motion (euen as you see Water-men in the *Thames* rowing against the tide, to couet neere the shoare where the tide is weakest) and thence passing the Tropike to seeke Westerly windes, which from twenty seuen to thirty seuen doe there vsually remaine, as wee see in Eddies caused by stronger motions. Thus the *Spanish* Ships on the South Sea make one way from *Acapulco* to the *Philippinas*, which is the Tropicke; and another without in the height of *Iapan*, to returne. And thus in the *Atlanticke* the Ships from their seuerall ports come to the *Havana* in *Cuba*, and thence must take their course neere to *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands*, to finde the *Azores*: in which way, from thence it is easie for *English* Ships (not far from their owne home or Ports) to disperse themselues in expectation of a surprisall.

The brises and course of Nauigation.

Eddy windes.

The want of such helpes in Queene *Elizabeths* glorious times, enforced our men of Warre still

to awaite both for the *Indian* Carrickes, and all *American* Ships, houering about the *Azores* Ilands subiect to the *Spanish* Crowne, where they neither had harbour in stormes, nor could in any wants refresh themselues with water, victuals, or other prouisions but by force; where a greater and stronger Armada of the enemy waited to waste home their Ships returning; where it often hapned that the Ships could not so soone be descried, but they gat either into some Port, and vnder some Fort which secured them; or else there ran themselues aground, and sauing what they could with their persons, fired the rest, so to sacrifice it to *Neptune* or *Vulcan*, rather then permit it to *English* hands. Neither had the *English* any neere Port where to supply themselues in any distresse, or exhaustion of prouisions, but must necessarily returne home for *England*, if not (as sometimes) perishing in the way, with little or perhaps no prize attained. Likewise in long Voyages, as to the East *Indies*, and to the South Sea, hauing no harbour to friend, euery disease proued mortall to their Voyage, and forced at lest a returne, that is, a miscarrying of the designe, if not of themselues: whereas, such a refuge as *Virginia* and *Summer Ilands* might either haue recouered the Voyage intended, or refreshed and inabled them to make as good a purchase vpon the enemy, making him to pay their charges, perhaps with more gaine then the first intents could haue produced. Examples will make this more euident.

Disaduantage to our Ships of warre by want of some such Plantation as this Island may be whence many Voyages were frustrated in part or wholly.

S. Seb. Sabot.

Anno 1517. Oviedo. Gen. hist. l.19.c.13.

And first to begin with the first of our great Discouerers; Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, and Sir *Thomas Pert*, were set forth by King *Henry* the eight (as before is mentioned) in a Voyage of *American* Discouery, a Ship of which Fleete comming from the coast of *Brasil* to *Domingo* (*Oviedo* mentions it in the *Spanish* stile, branding them with Piracy, yet laieth nothing to their charge but discouery and offer of trade, paying with Pewter dishes for what they tooke) was thence repelled *Anno* 1517. and obtained some prouisions at Saint *Iohn*, from whence in their returne to *England*, *Oviedo* thinkes they perished: at least the Voyage miscarried, as appeareth by Master *Thornes* and Master *Edens* testimony thereof, for want of prouisions. The like happened to Master *Hores* Voyage, described in Master *Hakluit* *Anno* 1536. when want of victuals made them eate one another, and at last to steale a *French* Ship, in which they returned.

Master *Hore.* 1536.

Sir *Io. Hawkins.* 1564. 1567.

Anno 1564. Sir *Iohn Hawkins* hauing made a profitable Voyage by sale of *Negros* on the coast Townes of *America*, was driuen to seeke reliefe of the *French* (then planted in *Florida*, rooted thence not long after by *Spanish* butchery) And in another Voyage 1567. incurred by perfidious treachery of the *Spaniards*, a most lamentable disaster. He then sailed in the *Iesus* of *Lubecke*, hauing to his consorts, the *Minion*, the *William* and *Iohn*, the *Iudith*, the *Angell* and the *Swallow*. Hauing gotten *Negros* in *Guinnee* and made his market in the *Spanish Indies*, he put in for reliefe at Saint *Iohn de Vlhua*. Whiles his Fleete was there, the *Spanish* Fleete came thither with their new Viceroy, which he could easily haue kept out of the harbour; but there being then no Warres betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, certaine Articles were concluded betwixt them; from which the Viceroy perfidiously resulting, with close trechery (contrary to his faith plighted) assaulted the *English* with a strong power on the sudden: the issue whereof was the firing, drowning, taking many of the *English*, whom they put also to execrable tortures. Onely the *Minion* and *Iudith* of that whole Fleete escaped, if it be an escaping to auoide *Scylla* and rush on *Charibdis*. For they were so shaken in fight first, after with stormes, lastly and worst of all, with famine, that they were forced to expose a hundred and foureteene men to the mercy of cruell elements, crueller Sauages, cruellest *Spaniards*, who exercised in the Inquisition with bondage, rackes, whips, fires, famishments, & *plurima mortis imago*, what the other had spared; so that of a hundred and foureteene not aboue the odde foure, and those foure after *Odysses* of wandrings, and *Iliades* of miseries returned home from the foure corners of the World. Had Sir *Iohn Hawkins* had a *Virginian* opportunity of refreshing, the first danger should not haue needed, and the last had not proued worse then the first: that exposing being not farre from the *Virginian* shoare, and the current fitting to carry him thither. Sir *Francis Drake* was then Captaine of the *Iudith*, and repaied that courtesie to the *Spaniards* after, who to shew the possibility of such refreshing *Anno* 1585. hauing sacked Saint *Iago*, *Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and Saint *Augustine*, returned by *Virginia* to relieue the Colony there planted by Sir *W. Raleigh*.

Spanish perfidie.

Spanish cruelties.

Cap. *Lancaster* 1591.

Anno 1591. Captaine *George Raymund* in the *Penelope*, Captaine *Foxcroft* in the *Merchant Royall*, and Captaine *Lancaster* in the *Edward Bonaduenture*, set forth a Voyage intended for the East *Indies*. Their Company were so weakened with sicknesse, that the Viceadmirall was sent backe from *Soldanha* with sicke men. The Admirall was lost, the Rereadmirall returned, and for want of prouisions put ouer from Saint *Helena* to *Trinidad*, in hope of reliefe. Yet being there disappointed, they intended to get to *Newfoundland*, but being crossed with stormes in the way, and forced backe to Port *Ricco*, the Ship was driuen away and lost not far from *Mona*, whiles the famished Company were seeking refreshing (which how easily had a *Bermuda* or *Virginia* supplied, had an *English* plantation flourished there?) Sir *Iames Lancaster* and the rest being forced to return after much misery, in *French* Ships for *France*, and thence home.

Cap. *Benjamin* 1596. *Santos of the Orientall.*

Anno 1596. the *Beare*, the *Beares Whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*, were set forth for *China* vnder the command of Captaine *Beniamin Wood*. Frier *Ioaon dos Santos* mentions both the two former of *Raymund* and *Lancaster*, and two also of these seene on the coast of *Mozambique*. *Bartolomo Leonardo*

nardo de Argensola in his Booke, printed at *Madrid* 1609: hath published the Letter of the *Chinese* Visitor of *Chincheo*, in which he writeth to *Don Pedro de Acunaa*, Gouernour of the *Philippinas*, that the King of *China* had done two *Sangleys* to death, for shewing the hauen to these two *English* Ships: and *Acunna* rescribes that the *English* were Pyrates, &c. after the *Spanish* wont. These Ships were vnheard of in *England*, vntill a Letter of *Alcasar de Villa sennor*, Auditor of *Domingo*, writ to the King his Master, being by an *English* Ship intercepted, gaue intelligence of one of those two Ships which distressed for want of necessaries, by mortality, had foure men only left aliue in her, which seeking reliefe, put themselues into their Boate, and comming on shoare in the Iland *Vtias*, not farre from *Domingo*, with Iewels and great riches, confessed that they had taken three *Portugall* prizes. The *Spaniards* at first receiued them on good conditions, but some villaines seeing their wealth, murthered them, for which this Auditor had sentenced *Roderigo de Fuentes*, with others, as his Letter to the King of *Spaine* importeth. Now had there then beene a *Virginian* or *Bermudan* Plantation, how easily might they haue attained thither (the Boat at least) and escaped that butchery? I could hither adde instructions from the *English Indian* Ships 1604. and 1608. from Captaine *Fenton* 1582. from the Earle of *Cumberlands* Voyages before related, in the yeares 86.89.91.93.96.97. and from Master *Candish*, Master *Dauis*, and others.

But we haue made too long a *Virginian* Voyage, hauing no better freight then Arguments, which the Times doe now promise, if not worthy wise mens approbation, yet good mens indulgence; where in a weake body, and manifold weighty imployments, the willingnesse of a heart truely *English*, sincerely *Christian*, may seeme tolerable, if not commendable; pardonable if not plausible.

East *Indie* societie.

Another labour remaines to set downe rules and proiects of best fecibility and accomplishing this noble worke, but I am onely a Freeman, no Councellour of that Plantation, and haue neither Lands there, nor other aduenture therein, but this of my loue and credit, which with the allegiance to my Soueraigne, and desire of the publike good of this Kingdome, is more to me then all the treasures of *America*. I seeke the good and not the goods of *England* and *Virginia*. I follow the hand of God, which haue giuen *England* so many rights in *Virginia*, right naturall, right nationall, right by first discouery, by accepted trade, by possession surrendred voluntarily, continued constantly, right by gift, by birth, by bargaine and sale, by cession, by forfeiture in that late damnable trechery and massacre, and the fatal possession taken by so many murthered *English*. Gods bounty before, his iustice now hath giuen vs *Virginia*, that we should so in iudgement remember mercy, as to giue *Virginia* againe to God, in Christian acknowledgement of his goodnesse and mercy, of his word and workes, and in our owne more serious conuersion to prepare that of *Virginia*. God goeth before vs in making this designe honorable to Religion, to Humanity, to our Ancestors, to our King, to our Kingdome. God goeth before vs, and hath giuen *Virginia* so rich a portion, to allure and assure our loues; in multiplying our people, and thereby our necessities enforcing a vent: in endowing *Virginia* with so large a iointure, so temperate, so commodious for the climate compared with other Countries, beyond other Countries in her own diuersified Lands, Seas, Riuers; in so fertile a soyle, in so strong, sweete, stately, delicate Woods and Timbers, in her naturall hopes of Wines, of Silkes, of the bodies of Natiues seruile and seruiceable: in Drugges, Irons, and probability also of other Mines; in all materials for Shipping, and other buildings: God goeth before vs in offering that meane to saue that which wee seeke and spend in other (perhaps enemies) Countries; to breede vp Marriners, to train vp Souldiers, to exercise labourers, by transportation of *English* and *European* creatures to plant another *England* in *America*, enriched with the best things of *Europe*; to giue vs Fish, Tobacco, and other present improuements as earnest of future better hopes; and that in these times, which haue so manifold necessities thereof, in regard of monies, men, and trades decayed, in regard of neighbour plantations, in the probabilities of a South-Sea glory, and in the case of obtruded warre, obtruding on vs absolute necessity, and including and concluding euery way so manifold vse. God the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, which goe before vs in these things, if not in miraculous *fire and cloudy pillars*, (as when *Israel* went to *Canaan*) yet in the light of reason, and right consequence of arguments; come into vs and fillvs with the spirit of wisedome and vnderstanding, the spirit of counsell and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and the feare of the Lord (I may adde the spirit of vnity and counsell) that he may vouchsafe to goe with vs, and we with him, and after him to *Virginia*, *Amen*, O *Amen*. Be thou the Alpha and Omega of *Englands* Plantation in *Virginia* O GOD.

The Conclusion.

Briefe recapitulation of the most remarkable premisses.

Ex. 13.

Es. 11.

The end of the ninth Booke.

ENGLISH

ENGLISH DISCOVERIES AND PLANTATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW-FOVND-LAND; WITH THE PATENT AND VOYAGES TO NEW-SCOTLAND: Relations also of the *Fleets set forth by Queene* Elizabeth against the *Spaniards*.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A briefe Relation of the Discouerie and Plantation of New-England; *and of sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the yeere of our Lord* 1607. *to this present* 1622. *Published by the President and Councell, and dedicated to the Princes Highnesse here abbreuiated.*

When this Designe was first attempted, some of the present Company were therein chiefly interessed; who being carefull to haue the same accomplished, did send to the discouery of those Northern parts a braue Gentleman, Cap. *Henry Challons*, with two of the Natiues of that Territorie, the one called *Maneday*, the other *Assecomet*. But his misfortunes did expose him to the power of certaine strangers, enemies to his proceedings, so that by them, his Company were seized, the ships and goods confiscated, and that Voyage wholly ouerthrowne.

This losse, and vnfortunate beginning, did much abate the rising courage of the first Aduenturers; but immediately vpon his departure, it pleased the Noble Lord Chiefe Iustice, Sir *Iohn Popham* Knight, to send out another shippe, wherein Captayne *Thomas Hanam* went Commander, and *Martine Prinne* of *Bristow* Master, with all necessary supplyes, for the seconding of Captayne *Challons* and his people; who arriuing at the place appointed, and not finding that Captayne there, after they had made some Discouerie, and found the Coasts Hauens, and Harbours answerable to our desires, they returned. Vpon whose Relation the Lord Chiefe Iustice, and we all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following euery man of any worth, formerly interessed in it, was willing to ioyne in the charge for the sending ouer a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull Plantation.

1. Ca. *Challons*
2. Cap. *Hanam*, sent by Lord Chiefe Iustice *Popham*.

Hereupon Captaine *Popham*, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert*, and others were sent away with two ships, and an hundred Landmen, Ordnance, and other prouisions necessary for their sustentation and defence; vntill other supply might be sent. In the meane-while, before they could returne,

3. Cap. *Popham* & Cap. *Gilbert*.