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AMERICAN	
COLONIAL TRACTS	
Number Six	October 1897
Nova britannia: Offering most ex- cellent fruits by planting in virginia; exciting all such as be well affected to further the same. London: printed for samuel macham, and are to be sold at his shop in paul's church-yard, at the sign of the bul-head, 1609.	
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OLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to • offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for November will contain "The New Life of Virginia: Declaring the former success and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of Nova Britannia. Published by authority of his Majesty's Council of Virginia. London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for William Welby, dwelling at the sign of the Swan, in Paul's Church-vard, 1612."

26.

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OFFERING MOST

EXCELLENT FRUITS BY PLANTING

IN

VIRGINIA

EXCITING ALL SUCH AS BE WELL AFFECTED TO FURTHER THE SAME.

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LONDON:

Printed for SAMUEL MACHAM, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Churchyard, at the Sign of the Bul-head.

1609.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR THOMAS SMITH OF LONDON, KNIGHT OF ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL OF VIRGI-NIA, AND TREASURER FOR THE COLONY AND GOVERNOR OF THE COMPANIES OF THE MUSCOVIA AND EAST INDIA MERCHANTS, PEACE, HEALTH, AND HAPPINESS IN CHRIST.

Right Worshipful Sir:

FORASMUCH as I have always observed your honest zeal to God, accompanied with so excellent carriage and resolution in actions of best consequence, I cannot but discover unto you for your further encouragement, the sum of a private speech or discourse, touching our plantation in Virginia, uttered not long since in London, where some few adventurers (well affecting the enterprise) being met together touching their intended project, one among the rest stood up and began to relate, in effect, as follows :

R. I.

NO 6 OCTOBER 1897 COLONIAL TRACTS Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY ROCHESTER N Y

VOL. 1. COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 6.

NOVA BRITANNIA. OFFERING MOST EXCELLENT FRUITS BY PLANTING IN VIRGINIA

WHEREAS, in our last meeting and conference the other day, observing your sufficient reasons, answering all objections, and your constant resolution to go on in our plantation, they gave me so good content and satisfaction that I am driven against myself to confess my own error in standing out so long, whereby many of you, my friends, were engaged in the business before me, at whose often instigations I was but little moved, and lightly esteemed of it till being in place, where observing the wise and prudent speech of a worthy gentleman, well known to you all, a most painful manager of such public affairs within this city, which moved so effectually, touching the public utility of this noble enterprise, that withholding no longer, I yielded my money and endeavors as others did to advance the same, and now, upon more advised consideration, I must needs say I never accounted my poor means employed to better purpose; then by God's help the success of this may be, and therefore I cannot but deliver (if you please to hear), what I rudely conceive of a sudden.

There are divers monuments already published in print to the world, manifesting and showing that the coast and parts of Virginia have been long since discovered, peopled, and possessed by many English, both men, women, and children, the natural subjects of our late Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, conducted and left there at sundry times. And that the same footing and possession is there kept and possessed by the same English, or by their seed and offspring, without any interruption or invasion, either of the savages, the natives of the country, or of any other prince or people, for ought we hear or know to this day, which argues sufficiently to us, and it is true, that over those English and Indian people no christian king or prince other than James, our soverign lord and king, ought to have rule or dominion, or can by possession, conquest, or inheritance, truly claim or make just titles to those territories, or to any part thereof, except it be, as we hear of late, that a challenge is laid to all, by virtue of a donation from Alexander, the first Pope of Rome, wherein, they say, is given all the West Indies, including Florida and Virginia, with all America, and whatsoever islands adjacent.

But what is this to us ? they are blind indeed that stumble here; it is much like that great donation of Constantine whereby the Pope himself does hold and claim the City of Rome, and all the Western Empire, a thing that so crosseth all histories of truth, and sound antiquity, that by the apt resemblance of those two donations—the whole West Empire from a temporary prince to the Pope, and the whole West Indies from the Pope to a temporary prince. I do verily guess they be near of kin, they are so like each other; the one an old tale, vain and fabulous, the other a new toy most idle and ridiculous.

When the flatterers of Cambises, King of Persia, could find no law to warrant his immoderate lust and incestuous marriage with his own daughter, yet they told him of another law which they had found, whereby the kings of Persia might do what they listed; if in these cases likewise there be a law that the Pope may do what he list, let them that list obey him, for we believe not in him.

Letting go, therefore, these legendary fables, which, howsoever, some men hold authentic as their creed, yet are they in the judgment of wise men, things of no value, nor do import to us any cause of doubt or fear, but that we go on in our honest enterprise and lawful purpose now in hand, that, as we hope, his majesty mindeth not the relinquishing his estate and interest, derived to him by right of succession from his immediate predecessor, but for the further planting and succoring our old colony hath given us leave to make new supplies, which we lately sent thither under the conduct of Christopher Newport, captain; and hath granted many gracious privileges, under the great seal, to us and to our heirs forever, that will adventure or plant in the said plantation. So I wish and entreat all well affected subjects, some in their persons, others in their purses, cheerfully to adventure, and jointly to take in hand this high and acceptable work, tending to advance and spread

the kingdom of God, and the knowledge of the truth among so many millions of men and women, savage and blind, that never yet saw the true light shine before their eyes, to enlighten their minds and comfort their souls, as also for the honor of our king, and enlarging of his kingdom, and for preservation and defence of that small number our friends and countrymen already planted, least for want of more supplies we become a scorn to the world, subjecting our former adventures to apparent spoil and hazard, and our people, as we pray, to be sacked and pulled out of possession, as were the French out of Nova Francia not many years ago, and which is the least and last respect, yet usually preferred, for the singular good and benefit that will undoubtedly arise to this whole nation, and to every one of us in particular that will adventure therein, as by true relation, God willing, I shall make it manifestly appear to all.

It is known to the world, and cannot be forgotten, that the days and reign of Queen Elizabeth brought forth the highest degree of wealth, happiness and honor that ever England had before her time, whereof to let pass the particular praises as impertinent to my purpose, I do only call to mind our royal fleets and merchant ships (the jewels of our land); our excellent navigators and admirable voyages, as into all parts and round about the globe with good success; to the high fame and glory of our nation, so especially their aim and course was most directed to the new found world; to the mainland and infinite islands of the West Indies; intending to discover with what convenience to plant and settle English colonies in places not already possessed and inhabited by subjects of other christian princes, wherein after many tedious and perilous adventures, howsoever strange seas and miserable famine had devoured and distressed ships and men of inestimable value, yet were not the remnant escaping, swallowed up of despair, nor their heart and spirits daunted with fear; but daily armed afresh with invincible courage and greater resolution, scorning to sit down by their losses, made new attempts, not enduring to look on while so huge and spacious countries, the fourth part of the world, and the greatest and wealthiest part of all the rest, should remain a wilderness, subject, for the most part, but to wild beasts and fowls of the air, and to savage

people which have no christian nor civil use of anything; and that the subjects only of one Prince Christian, which but within the memory of man began first to creep upon the face of those territories, and now by means of their remnants settled here and there, do therefore imagine the world to be theirs, shouldering out all other nations, accounting themselves kings and commanders, not only in towns and places where they have planted, but over all other parts of America which contain sundry vast and barbarous regions, many of which, to this day, they never knew, nor did ever settle foot therein ; which, notwithstanding, if it were yielded to them as due, yet their strength and means far inferior to their aspires, will never stretch to compass or replenish the hundredth part thereof. And this we proved true not many years ago, our prince and theirs being then at open hostilities, their best and chiefest residences were scattered with so poor and slender troops that with handfuls of men, at sundry times, we ran through all, surprising and sacking their strongest forts and towns in those parts, and might long since with ease, following and seconding our forces, have set them to their stint.

But seeing we so passed by their dwellings, that in seating ourselves we sought not to unsettle them, but by God's mercy, after many storms, were brought to the coast of another country far distant and remote from their habitations; why should any frown or envy at it, or if they do, why should we, neglecting so fair an opportunity, faint or fear to enlarge ourselves. Where is our force and ancient vigor ? Does our late reputation sleep in the dust ? No, no, let not the world deceive itself ! We still remain the same, and upon just occasion given, we shall quickly show it, too, having now by God's blessing more means than ever heretofore, being strongly fenced where we wonted to lie open. Our plant, we trust, is firmly rooted, our arms and limbs are strong, our branches fair and much desire to spread themselves abroad.

But before I come to describe this earthly paradise, or to prove the points of my proposition mentioned before, you shall know that the first discovery and actual possession taken thereof was in the reign and by the subjects of Henry the Seventh of England, at which time did Spain also discover, and by that right of discovery doth retain and hold their Nova

Hispania and all other their limits upon that coast. But that we now intend to ground upon is a more late discovery and actual possession, taken in the name and right of Queen Elizabeth, in Anno 1584, the 13th of July, as it is truly set down in the Book of English Voyages by sundry English captains and gentlemen in that voyage, whose names are recorded in that discourse (and many of whom are yet living), whereof when her majesty had true information she named the country Virginia, and did assign to Walter Raleigh, then a gentlemen of worth, power, and authority, to plant forces and colonies there at his pleasure, who transported thither in Anno 1587, by the conduct of John White, chief leader, above an hundred men, women, and children at one time, and left them there to inhabit to this day. Notwithstanding, it is true indeed, as some may object. It is now above twenty years ago since these things were done, and yet ever since in all this time, we never saw or heard of any good that hath come from thence, nor of any hope that might encourage us anew to engage ourselves therein.

But let us rightly weigh the reasons of it and then judge. Those hundred and upward conducted thither by John White and whose particular names you may see recorded in the same Book of Voyages, were left there with intent and promise to be supplied from England with more companies and all necessaries the next year following; in the meantime they were to plant and fortify themselves in best manner they could, and to make a discovery of such minerals and other merchandise as the country should yield by nature. But as all good actions have their crosses and their bane attending on them, so had this; for that those which had the managing of a new supply being the next year sufficiently furnished to sea for that end, yet most unnaturally being tainted with that common corruption of time, turned their heads another way, and with greedy minds betook themselves wholly to hunt after pillage upon the Spanish coast, where spending their men, their time and provisions, they were not able (being come and arrived at the port) to make up into the land to visit and relieve their friends, but were forced to retire for England again, whereby the edge of those adventurers that set them forth was so abated that this most honorable enterprise, so happily begun, was by this

last occasion most unhappily ended; neither had our poor countrymen left there any means from thence to visit us, nor in all this time to give us any light of their own estate; whereas then, if those beginnings had been followed as they ought, and as by God's help we now intend, that country had long since become a most royal addition to the crown of England, and a very nursery and fountain of much wealth and strength to this kingdom.

When Christopher Columbus, the first bewraver of this new world, was to make his proffer where he liked best, he chose Henry the Seventh of England, as in those days the most worthy and best furnished for navigations of all the kings in Christendom, offering to invest his majesty with the most precious and richest vines of the whole earth, never known before, as he did also the like to the kings of Portugal and Spain, who, as the story saith, for his poor apparel and simple looks, and for the novelty of his proposition, was of most men accounted a vain fool and utterly rejected, save that the Spanish better conceiving than some others, began to entertain and make use of his skill, which within these hundred years hath brought forth those apparent fruits to the world as cannot be hid. Their territories enlarged, their navigations increased, their subjects enriched and their superfluity of coin overspreading all parts of the world, procures their crown to flourish and highly commendeth the wisdom of Spain, whose quick apprehension and speedy address prevented all other princes : albeit, as you know, their greatness of mind arising together with their money and means, hath turmoiled all Christendom these forty years and more.

And this I but mention to note the blind diffidence of our English natures, which laugh to scorn the name of Virginia, and all other new projects, be they never so probable, and will not believe till we see the effects; as also to show how capable men ought to be in things of great importance, advisedly to take the first occasions. We read of Hannibal when chasing home the Romans to the gates of Rome, and neglecting then to scale the walls, could never after, with all his strength and policies, come near the like advantage; yet I must briefly tell you now, what I conceive with joy, that howsoever the business of this plantation hath been formerly miscarried, yet it is now going on in better way, not enterprised by one or two private subjects, who, in their greatness of mind, sought to compass that which rather beseemed a mighty prince such as ours, or the whole state to take in hand; for it is not unknown to you all how many noble men of honorable minds, how many worthy knights, merchants and others of the best disposition, are now joined together in one charter, to receive equal privileges, according to their several adventures; every man engaging his purse, and some noblemen, knights, and gentlemen intending to go in their own persons, which I did hear to protest and vow against any people whomsoever shall anyway seek to entrap or impeach our proceedings, an utter revenge upon their bodies or goods if they be to be found upon sea or land, whereby we have assured hope (God assisting us), to be effectually able to make good against all, and in short time to bring to a most happy event the thing we take in hand.

And now in describing the natural seat and disposition of the country itself, if I should say no more but with Caleb and Joshua: "The land which we have searched out is a very good land. If the Lord love us he will bring our people to it and will give it us for a possession," this were enough to you that are willing, but yet a little more in particular observed by the best maps and printed discourses, and by conference of such as have been lately there and seen it, I think good to deliver to satisfy others : First, the voyage is not long or tedious; six weeks at ease will send us thither, whereas six months suffice not to some other places where we trade. Our course and passage is through the great ocean, where is no fear of rocks or flats, nor subject to the straights and restraint of foreign princes; most winds that blow are apt and fit for us, and none can hinder us. When we come to the coast there is continual depth enough, with good bottom for anchor hold, and the land is fair to fall withal, full of excellent good harbors; the world affords no better for ships of all burdens, many pleasant islands, great and small, affronting the coast. Two goodly rivers are discovered winding far into the main, the one in the north part of the land by our western colony, knights and gentlemen of Excester, Plymouth and others. The other in the south part thereof by our colony of London. Upon which river, being both broad, deep and pleasant, abounding with store of fish, our colony have begun to fortify themselves, and have built a town and named it, in honor of our king, Jamestown, four-score miles within land, upon the north side of the river, as is London upon the river of Thames, from whence we have discovered the same river one hundred miles further into the mainland, in the searching whereof they were so ravished with the admirable sweetness of the stream, and with the pleasant land trending along on either side, that their joy exceeded and with great admiration they praised God.

The country itself is large and great assuredly, though as yet, no exact discovery can be made of all. It is also commendable and hopeful every way; the air and climate most sweet and wholesome, much warmer than England and very agreeable to our natures. It is inhabited with wild and sayage people, that live and lay up and down in troups like heards of deer in a forest. They have no law but nature ; their apparel. skins of beasts, but most go naked. The better sort have houses, but poor ones. They have no arts nor science, yet they live under superior command, such as it is; they are generally very loving and gentle, and do entertain and relieve our people with great kindness. They are easy to be brought to good, and would fain embrace a better condition. The land vieldeth naturally for the sustenance of man, abundance of fish, both scale and shell; of land and water fowls, infinite store; of deer, kain, and fallow, stags, coneys, and hares, with many fruits and roots good for meat.

There are valleys and plains streaming with sweet springs, like veins in a natural body; there are hills and mountains making a sensible proffer of hidden treasure, never yet searched. The land is full of minerals, plenty of woods (the wants of England); there are growing goodly oak and elms, beech and birch, spruce, walnut, cedar, and fir trees in great abundance; the soil is strong and lusty of its own nature, and sendeth out naturally fruitful vines running upon trees and shrubs. It yields also resin, turpentine, pitch, and tar, sasafras, mulberry trees, and silkworms; many skins and rich furs, many sweet woods and dye woods, and other costly dyes; plenty of sturgeon, timber for shipping, mast, plank, and deal, soap ashes, caviare, and what else we know not yet, because our days are young. But of this that I have said, if bare nature be so amiable in its naked kind, what may we hope when art and nature both shall join and strive together to give best content to man and beast? As now in handling the several parts propounded, I shall show in order as they lie.

For the first (if I forget not myself), how it may tend to advance the kingdom of God by reducing savage people from their blind superstition to the light of religion, when some object, we seek nothing less than the cause of God, being led on by our own private ends; and secondly how we can warrant a supplantation of those Indians, or an invasion into their right and possessions.

To the first we say, as many actions both good in themselves and in their success, have been performed with bad intents, so in this case, howsoever our naughtiness of mind may sway very much, yet God may have the honor, and his kingdom advanced in the action done. But yet, by the way, methinks this objection comes in due time, and doth well admonish us how to rectify our hearts and ground our meditations before we begin. We do generally applauad and highly commend the goodness of the cause, and that it is such a profitable plough as every honest man ought to set his hand unto, both in respect of God and the public good. This is our general voice, and we say truth, for so it is.

But we must beware that under this pretence that bitter root of greedy gain be not so settled in our hearts, that being in a golden dream, if it fall not out presently to our expectation, we slink away with discontent and draw our purses from the charge. If any show this affection, I would wish his baseness of mind to be noted. What must be our direction then—no more but this: If thou to once approve the work, lay thy hand to it cheerfully, and withdraw it not till thy task be done at all assayes and new supplies of money be not lag, nor like a dull horse that's always in the lash, for here lies the poison of all good attempts, when as men without hauling and pulling, will not be drawn to performance, for by this others are discouraged, the action lies undone and the first expense is lost. But are we to look for no gain in the lieu of all adventures ? Yes, undoubtedly there is assured hope of gain, as I will show anon

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in due place, but look it be not chief in your thoughts. God that hath said by Solomon : "Cast thy bread upon the waters 'and after many days thou shalt find it;" he will give the blessing. And as for supplanting the savages, we have no such intent. Our intrusion into their possessions shall tend to their great good, and no way to their hurt, unless as unbridled beasts, they procure it to themselves. We purpose to proclaim and make it known to them all by some public interpretation, that our coming thither is to plant ourselves in their country, yet not to supplant and root them out, but to bring them from their base condition to a far better. First, in regard to God the Creator, and of Jesus Christ their Redeemer, if they will believe in him. And secondly, in respect of earthly blessings, whereof they have now no comfortable use, but in beastly, brutish manner, with promise to defend them against all public and private enemies. We can remember since Don Jon Daquila with his forces invading Ireland, a noble, civil kingdom where all except a few runagates were settled in the truth of religion, and lived by wholesome laws, under the mild government of christian kings and princes, long before his grandsier's cradle. Yet he thought it no robbery to proclaim and publish to the world that his coming thither was to none other end but to free their nation from their bondage and tyranous subjection, and to bring the blind souls to Catholic religion — a plausible pretence, the least end of his thought.

But if this were coined in these days by the printers themselves, to pass for current through the world, howsoever base it was indeed, we hope they will be as favorable to our case, and give as free passage and allowance to our invasion, much more current and so far different as not to bring a people (according to our proverb) out of the frying pan into the fire, but to make their condition truly more happy by a mutual interchange and commerce in this sort. That as to our great expense and charge, we make adventures to impart our divine riches, to their inestimable gain, and to cover their naked misery with civil use of food and clothing, and to train them by gentle means to those manual arts and skill which they so much affect and do admire to see in us. So in lieu of this we require nothing at their hands but a quiet residence to us and ours, that by our own labor and toil we may work this

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good unto them and recompence our own adventures, costs, and travels in the end. Wherein they shall be most friendly welcome to conjoin their labors with ours, and shall enjoy equal privileges with us in whatsoever good success time or means may bring to pass. To which purpose we may verily believe that God has reserved in this last age of the world an infinite number of those lost and scattered sheep, to be won and recovered by our means, of whom so many as obstinately refused to unite themselves unto us, or shall maligne or disturb our plantation, our chattel, or whatsover belonging to us, they shall be held and reputed, recusant, withstanding their own good, and shall be dealt with as enemies of the commonwealth of their country, whereby how much good we shall perform to those that be good, and how little injury to any, will easily appear by comparing our present happiness with our former ancient miseries, wherein we had continued brutish, poor, and naked Britains to this day if Julius Cæsar, with his Roman legions (or some other) had not laid the ground to make us tame and civil.

But for my second point propounded (the honor of our king by enlarging his kingdom) to prove how this may tend to that, no argument of mine can make it so manifest, as the same is clear in itself. Divine testimony shows that the honor of a king consists in the multitude of subjects, and certainly the Jews were far more glorious by the conquests of David, and under the ample reign of Solomon, than ever before or after. The twelve tribes were then all subject; the bordering nations tributary, no doubt a happy subjection to many of them, whereby they had the better means to believe and know God the creator of heaven and earth. Honorable, I grant, is just conquest by sword, and Hercules is fained to have had all his felicity in subduing and rooting out the tyrants of the world; but unfeignedly it is most honorable indeed to subdue the tyrany of the roaring lion that devours those poor souls in their ignorance and leads them to hell for want of light when our dominions shall be enlarged and the subjects multiplied of a people so bought and ransomed, not by storms of raging cruelties (as West India was converted) with rapier's point and musket shot, murdering so many millions of naked Indians, as their stories do relate, but by fair and loving means suiting to

our English natures, like that soft and gentle voice wherein the Lord appeared to Elias. How honorable will this be in the sight of men, and of ages to come ? But much more glorious in the sight of God, when our King shall come to make his triumph in heaven. The prophet Daniel doth assure that for this conquest of turning many unto righteousness he shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

And yet this is not all that may be said: the ancient law, the law of Moses, sets it down as a blessed thing when the prince and people of God shall be able to lend to all, and need to borrow of none; and it added very much to the fame and wisdom of King Solomon, which the world came far and near to wonder at, in that his kingdoms were replenished with gold and silver in abundance, and with riches brought in by ships sent yearly forth in ample trade of merchandise, whereof we read not the like among all the kings of Israel. And upon good warrant I speak it here in private, what by these new discoveries into the western parts, and our hopeful settling in chiefest places of the East, with our former known trades in other parts of the world, I do not doubt, by the help of God, but I may live to see the days, if merchants have their due encouragement, that the wisdom, majesty, and honor of our king shall be spread and enlarged to the ends of the world, our navigations mightily increased, and his majesty's customs more than trebled.

And as for the third part—the relieving of our men already planted, to preserve both them and our former adventures, I shall not need to say much; the necessity is so apparent that I hope no adventurer will be wanting therein.

Our Saviour, Christ, resembles them that give over in their best duties, to foolish builders that, having laid the foundation, do grovel themselves in the middle way, and so become ridiculous. It had been extreme madness in the Jews, when, having sent to spy the land that flowed with milk and honey, and ten for two returned back with tidings of impossibility to enter and prevail, if then they had retired and lost the land of promise. No doubt the devil that envied then that enterprise doth now the like in ours, and we must make account, and look to be encountered with many discouragements, partly by our friends and neighbors, such as (we use to say) will neither go to church nor tarry at home, as also (which is no new thing) even by such as have been sent to spy the land, one while objecting the charge will be great, the business long, and the gains nothing, and, besides, the Anakim that dwell in the mountains will come and pull us out by the ears, with such like fooleries, I know not what.

But we must be prepared, with Caleb and Joshua, so highly commended, to oppose an extraordinary zeal against the detractings of such, to rescue our enterprise from malicious ignorance, and to still their murmurings with reproofs, for though, in ordinary and common occasions, it be our duty to be carried with ordinary patience, meekness, and humility, yet to show an excellent spirit when the cause is worth it, and in such a case as this requiring passing resolution. It is but our weakness to stumble at straws, and a baseness to gnaw upon every bone that is cast in our way, which we may observe by those noble dogs of Albania, presented to King Alexander, whose natures contemned to encounter or prey upon seely beasts of no valor, but with an overflowing courage flying upon the lion and the tiger, did then declare their virtue.

And now it follows, how it can be good for this commonwealth, which is likewise most apparent many ways. First, if we consider what strength of shipping may be raised and maintained thence, in furnishing our own wants of sundry kinds, and the wants of other nations too, in such needful things arising thence which can hardly now be obtained from any other part of the world, as plank and timber for shipping, with deal and wainscot, pipestaves, and clapboard, with store of soap ashes, whereof there grow the best woods to make them in great abundance, all which we may there have, the wood for the cutting, and the ashes for the burning, which, though they be gross commodities, yet no merchandise is better requested nor will sooner yield gold or silver in any of our bordering nations. England and Holland alone spend in these about three hundred thousand pounds sterling every year. We may transport hither or unto Hamburg, Holland, or other places, fifty per centum better cheap, than from Prussia or Polonia, from whence they are only now to be had, where also the woods are so spent and wasted, that from the place where the wood is cut and the ashes burnt, they are brought by land at least two hundred miles to ship. And from thence we may have iron and copper also in great quantity, about which the expense and waste of wood, as also for building of ships, will be no hurt, but great service to that country; the great superfluity whereof, the continual cutting down, in many hundred years, will not be able to overcome, whereby will likewise grow a greater benefit to this land, in preserving our woods and timber at home, so infinitely and without measure upon these occasions cut down and fallen to such a sickness and wasting consumption, as all the physic in England cannot cure.

We doubt not but to make there in few years store of good wines as any from the Canaries, by replanting and making tame the vines that naturally grow there in great abundance; only send men of skill to do it, and coopers to make casks, and hoops for that and all other uses, for which there is wood enough at hand.

There are silkworms and plenty of mulberry trees, whereby ladies, gentlewomen, and little children, being set in the way to do it, may be all employed with pleasure in making silk comparable to that of Persia, Turkey, or any other. We may bring from thence sturgeon, caviare, and new land fish of the best. There grows hemp for cordage, an excellent commodity, and flax for linen cloth, which, being sewn and well manured, in such a climate and fertile soil, will make great benefit and will put down that of other countries.

And for the making of pitch, tar, turpentine, soap ashes, deal, wainscot, and such like, we have already provided and sent thither skilled workmen from foreign parts, which may teach and set ours in the way, whereby we may set many thousands at work in these such like services.

For, as I told you before, there must be art and industry with our helps and means extended, with a little patience to bring these things to pass, we must not look to reap with joy except we sow in tears. The abundance of King Solomon's gold and silver did not rain from heaven upon the heads of his subjects, but heavenly providence blessed his navigations and public affairs, the chief means of their wealth.

Experience has lately taught us by some of our neighbor provinces, how exceedingly it mounts the state of a commonwealth to put forth navigation, if it were possible, into all parts and corners of the world, to furnish our own wants, and also to supply, from one kingdom to another, such several needful things as for want of shipping and other means they cannot furnish of themselves; for this will raise experience and men of skill, as also strength at sea and land, with honor, wealth, and riches returning still to the heads and fountains from whence their first occasions grew.

We may but look a little back and we shall see what a novice our nation was within these six-score years in case of foreign trade, not knowing whence to fetch nor which way to transport, but only to some mart or staple town within two days' sailing, and that was counted so great a matter then that therefore they were called merchant adventurers; and the great hulks of Italy, which in those days brought spices, currants, and such like, and landed at Southampton (the storehouse then for merchandise) are chronicled for wonders in our English stories, for indeed we knew no better then, but were content, as babes, with easterlings on the one hand and Lombards on the other, which were continual liegers in London, and fed us as they listed.

And take this ever as a rule, that domestic merchandising brings forth but poor effects in a commonwealth, whereof I needed not have showed example further than our own doors.

What was the case of England before the golden days of Queen Elizabeth, at whose coming to the crown the state of merchants was so poor and mean that renting out her customs in wards, but at a very low rate, yet it brought the farmer upon his knees.

A man that marks the difference, and shall compare those times and these together, shall think it were impossible, unless his knowledge taught him otherwise, that the days and reign of one Elizabeth, whose hand was ever lending to distressed neighbor princes, and her sword unsheathed continually, repulsing foreign enemies, yet should relieve and raise the state of her customs, the strength of her navy, and the condition of her people, every way seven-fold to that they were before, only by encouraging the royal trade of merchandise as we see it this day apparent. Let God have the honor, and blessed be her memory, and the memorial of those managers of state in her days for their worthy counsels, many of which, though they now sleep and rest with their sovereign in peace, yet some do still remain and do succeed in place, where long may they stand and their seed after them, like the pillars and worthies of King David, to shield the head and honor of our Solomon, and still to uphold and enlarge our happiness forever; and this I am driven to speak and mention by the way, where I meant it not in regard of some which upon a disaster begin to wax weary of all, discouraging themselves and others from this and all other foreign adventures, to let them know that each thing hath increase from whence it had beginning, and to put ourselves in mind that we fail not in furthering those causes that bring forth such effects.

Another instance might be shown in one particular, which taxeth very much our English nation and all the subjects of our sovereign king, that, enjoying such plenty of woodlands and fruitful soils within England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, yet our want of industry is such that Netherlanders, which have not a stick of wood growing, nor any land for sowing, should surpass and go beyond us in continual plenty of corn and shipping. Methinks the reformation hereof should find more favor at our hands, that in such points of civil policy, no people of lesser means should cast us so behind, and each well-minded man should lend his help to heal and cure such stains and scars in the face of our state, as being viewed and weighed well, may very well make us blush.

And now to our present business in hand, which so many stumble at: in regard of the continual charge, I would have them know that it cannot be great nor long, as the business may be handled. Two things are especially required herein: people to make the plantation, and money to furnish our present provisions and shippings now in hand. For the first we need not doubt, our land abounding with swarms of idle persons, which having no means of labor to relieve their misery, do likewise swarm in lewd and naughty practices, so that if we seek not some ways for their foreign employment, we must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions, for it fares with populous common weals, as with plants and trees that be too frolic, which not able to sustain and feed their multitude of branches, do admit an engrafting of their buds and scions into some other soil, accounting it a benefit for preservation of their kind, and a disburdening their stock of those superfluous twigs that suck away their nourishment. And we shall find that hence it was, the Goths and Vandals with other barbarous nations, seeing an overflowing of their multitudes at home, did therefore send their armies out as raging floods, at sundry times, to cover the faces of Spain, Italy, and other provinces, to free their own from pestering, so that you see it no new thing, but most profitable for our state, to rid our multitudes of such as lie at home, pestering the land with pestilence and penury, and infecting one another with vice and villainy worse than the plague itself; whose very miseries drive many of them, by means to be cut off, as bad and wicked members, or else both them and theirs to be relieved at the common charge of others.

Yet I do not mean that none but such unsound members and such poor as want their bread, are fittest for this employment; for we intend to have of every trade and profession, both honest, wise, and painful men, whereof our land and city is able to spare, and furnish many, as we had experience in our last sending thither, which will be glad to go and plant themselves so happily, and their children after them, to hold and keep conformity with the laws, language, and religion of England forever.

Touching which, I do earnestly admonish you to beware and shun three kinds of people: The first, a most vile minded sort, and for the most part bad members of this city, by some means shaken out of their honest courses, and now shifting by their wits, will be always devising some unhappiness to wrong the plantation; such as daily beat their brains, and seek by lying suggestions, under color of good pretence to the commonwealth to infringe our ancient liberties, and would, if they were not met withal and curbed by authority, make a monoply to themselves of each thing after other, belonging to the freedom of every man's profession, the very wrack of merchandising.

The second sort are papists, professed or recusant of which I would not one, seasoned with the least taint of that leaven, to be settled in our plantation, nor in any part of that country, but if once perceived, such a one, weed him out, and ship him home for England, for they will ever be plotting and conspiring to root you out if they can; howsoever they swear, flatter, and equivocate, believe them not. Keep only these two examples in mind.

Watson, the seminary priest, in his printed "Quodlibets," he of all other men protesteth the greatest truth and fidelity to his prince and country, objecting all the bloody plots and treasons to have come from the combination of Jesuits, and from Parsons, the arch-athiest-in-chief, but as for himself he wished no longer to live and breathe; then the thoughts of his heart should be true and upright to his prince and country. Notwithstanding, this Watson was the very first wretch of all others that had his hand in treason against our king, and reaped his reward according to his wish.

The other example is a Popish pamphlet, called the "Lay Catholic's Petition," offered to his majesty for toleration of Popery, protesting likewise their fidelity and unfeigned love to his majesty, offering to be bound life for life with good sureties for their loyal behavior; happy men had we been to have taken their bonds, no doubt, for even at that instant, when this petition was exhibiting, the chief heads of those lay Catholics were then laboring with all their might to undermine the parliament house, to shake the pillars, and the whole frame of the kingdom to shivers.

And which is more, there is newly dispersed an idle discourse against an honorable personage of this land, by a papist that terms himself a Catholic divine, defending Garnet, the popish priest, saying there was nothing against him at his arraignment but only his acquaintance with the powder plot; which, saith he, being revealed unto him in auricular confession he might not therefore by the law and right of Catholic religion disclose or make known.

How like you these Catholics and this divinity? If they grow so bold and desperate in a mighty settled state, how much more dangerous in the birth and infancy of yours? Therefore, if you will live and prosper, harbor not this viperous brood in your bosom, which will eat out and consume the womb of their mother.

The third sort to avoid are evil affected magistrates, a plague that God himself complains of by the prophet lsaiah—"O my

people, they that lead thee, cause thee to error." Touching which, I am no way able to speak enough, for herein lies the very life of all. Let no partiality prefer them, unless they be worthy men; if they be papists or popishly minded; if profane atheists, contemning God and his word, turning religion to policy, unchaste, idle, ambitious, proud, and tyrannous, forgetting their allegiance to their king, and duty to their country, neglecting their commission of employment, advancing vile and vicious persons like themselves, and basely using those that are virtuous, godly, and well affected, then look for no blessing nor assistance of God, but misery, crosses, and confusions in all we take in hand; but in men of knowledge, and religious education there is ever found true humility, temperance, and justice, joined with confidence, valor, and noble courage, such as was in Moses, the man of God, whose justice exceeded and courage was incomparable, and yet the meekest man that went upon the earth. Ten of such will chase an hundred. No adversities can make them dispair. Their provident care will ever be to repulse injuries, repress the insolent, to encourage the painful and best minded, to employ the soul to some honest labors, and to relieve with mercy and commiseration the most feeble, weakest, and meanest member.

And as for the general sort that shall go to be planters, be they never so poor, so they be honest, and painful, the place will make them rich. All kind of artificers we must first employ are carpenters, shipwrights, masons, sawyers, brickmakers, bricklayers, plowmen, sowers, planters, fishermen, coopers, smiths, mettlemen, tailors, turners, and such like, to make and fit all necessaries for comfort and use of the colony; and for such as are of no trades, if they be industrious, they shall have there employment enough, for there is a world of means to set many thousands to work, partly in such things as 1 mentioned before, and many other profitable works, for no man must live idle there.

And by this employment we may happily stop the course of those irregular youths of no religion, that daily run from us to Rome and Rhemes for exhibition, which after a little hammering and training there by Parsons and his imps, they become pliable for the impression of any villainy whatsoever, as appears by their positions and practices at home and abroad. And hereby our mariners shall not lie idle, nor our owners sell their ships for want of freight. You know how many good ships are daily sold, and made away to foreign nations. How many men for want of employment betake themselves to Tunis, Spain, and Florence, and to serve in courses not warrantable, which would better beseem our own walls and borders to be spread with such branches, that their native country, and not foreign princes, might reap their fruit, as being both exquisite navigators, and resolute men for service, as any the world affords.

We intend to plant there, God willing, great plenty of sugar canes, for which the soil and climate is very apt and fit; also linseed and rape seed to make oils, which, because the soil is strong and cheap, may there be sowed and the oil made to great benefit. We must plant also oranges, lemons, almonds, anise seeds, rice, cumin, cotton wool, caraway seed, ginger, madder, olives, oris, sumach, and many such like, which I cannot now name, all very good merchandise, and will there grow and increase as well as in Italy or any other part of the straits, whence we fetch them now. And in searching the land there is undoubted hope of finding cochineal, the plant of rich indigo, grainberries, beaver hides, pearls, and rich treasure, and the south sea, leading to China, with many other benefits which our daylight will discover.

But of all other thing that God hath denied that country. there is want of sheep to make woolen cloth, and this want of cloth must always be supplied from England, whereby when the colony is thoroughly increased, and the Indians brought to our civility, as they will in a short time, it will cause a mighty vent of English clothes, a great benefit to our nation, and raising again of that ancient trade of clothing, so much decayed in England, whose lifting up again, methinks I see apparently approaching, by the good dispositions of our best sort of citizens, who willingly engage themeslves to undertake all new discoveries, as into this of the West, and by the Northwest to find out China. And unto the East, beyond the cape, into the Red sea and the Gulf of Persia, the Straits of Sunda, and among all the kings of India, for the good and honor of our nation, which calls to mind a blind prophesy in one of the sibyl, that before the end of the world there would be a discovery of all nations, which shall come to be known and acquainted together as one neighbor with another, which since confusion of tongues have lain obscure and hid.

But, however that be, yet these good minds and resolutions do serve for imitation to others, and do deserve assuredly the best encouragement, whereby we shall not still betake ourselves to small and little shipping, as we daily do begin, but shall rear again such merchant ships, both tall and stout, as no foreign sail that swims shall make them vail or stoop, whereby to make this little northern corner of the world to be in short time the richest storehouse and staple for merchandise in all Europe.

The second thing to make this plantation is money, to be raised among the adventurers, wherein the sooner and more deeply men engage themselves, their charge will be the shorter and their gain the greater, as in this last point which I have to speak for the good of each particular adventurer, I will make it plain.

First, you shall understand that his majesty has granted us an enlargement of our charter with many ample privlieges, wherein we have knights and gentlemen of good place, named for the king's council of Virginia to govern us; as also every planter and adventurer shall be inserted in the patent by name. This ground being laid, we purpose presently to make supply of men, women, and children (so many as we can), to make the plantation. We call those "planters" that go in their persons to dwell there, and those "adventurers" that adventure their money and go not in person, and both do make the menbers of one colony. We do account twelve pounds ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will go and dwell there, and every child above ten years that shall be carried thither to remain, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had adventured twelve pound ten shillings in money. Every extraordinary man, as divines, governors, ministers of state and justice. knights, gentlemen, physicians, and such as be men of worth for special services, are all to go as planters, and to execute their several functions in the colony, and are to be maintained at the common charge, and are to receive their dividend (as others do) at seven years' end, and they are to be agreed with all before they go, and to be rated by the council according to the value of their persons, which shall be set down and registered in a book that it may always appear what people have gone to the plantation, at what time they went, and how their persons were valued; and likewise, if any that go to be planters will lay down money to the treasurer, it shall be also registered and their shares enlarged accordingly, be it for more or less.

All charges of settling and maintaining the plantation. and of making supplies, shall be borne in joint stock of the adventurers of seven years after the date of our new enlargement, during which time there shall be no adventure, nor goods returned in private from thence, neither by master, mariner, planter, nor passenger, they shall be restrained by bond and search, that as we supply from hence to the planters at our charge all necessaries for food and apparel for fortifying and building of houses in a joint stock, so they are also to return from thence the increase and fruits of their labors for the use and advancement of the same joint stock, till the end of seven years, at which time we purpose (God willing) to make a division by commissioners appointed, of all the lands granted unto us by his majesty to every of the colony according to each man's several adventure agreeing with our register book, which we doubt not will be for every share of twelve pound ten shilling, five hundred acres at least. Now, if any think that we shall be tied to a continual charge of making new supplies for seven years, let them concieve thus much, that if we do it thoroughly at the first, by engaging ourselves at once in furnishing many men and other means, assuredly after the second year the returns from thence will be able with an overplus to make supplies at large, so that our purses shall be freed, and the over-plus of stock will also grow to greatness, which stock is also (as the land) to be divided equally at seven years' end or sooner, or so often as the company shall think fit for the greatness of it to make a dividend.

And as by this we shall be soon freed from charge and expense, so there grows a greater benefit to the planters (by bestowing their labors cheerfully), to make return of stock, for hereby the sooner they freeing us from disbursements, the more our shares and portions will be lessened in the dividend of stock and land at seven years' end, whereby the less coming to us, the more will be to them, so that here is no discouragement any way if men will be capable to do themselves good. But if we will be so wise to linger, and to lie in the wind, to hear what news, to bring in our stock next year, and when we are behind for four or five adventures, we come dropping in with one or two and still run in arrearages for twice so much. (For I know many that would bring in stock amongst us, but they lie out to see what success first, and upon such like terms.) Is this gentlemanlike, or merchantlike? In truth it is paltry, and such as would bring all to naught, if we should be so minded too, and I tell you true, our single shares will make but a hungry plantation if we do not at the least double them now, and therefore I urge it the more, for that the very life of all is now in the beginning by making our supplies thoroughly, and thence will our gains arise both sooner and certain. Yet 1 grant that others may come in hereafter at any time, either to adventure his person or money, or both, but if there be spent one year of the seven before he comes in, or he that comes in with the first shall notwithstanding be a year behind in supplies, they shall be both alike shortened in a seventh part of the dividend both of stock and lands, and if two years behind, then shortened two sevenths, and if but six months, yet a fourteenth part, for every man is registered according to the time his money or person began to adventure, or made supply, so that they which come late get not the start of those that bore the first brunt of the business, and this will neither advantage him that withholds, or hinder him that is forward, for whatsoever falls from him that is slack, will be found of him that supplies in due time. But every man that comes in now in the first of these seven years, and shall afterwards upon all occasions perform in due time every twelve pound ten shillings so brought in shall be accounted an entire single share, and shall receive accordingly without abridgment, as it had been brought in when the enterprise first began and not otherwise.

And as for the division of lands at seven years' end, which, some may object will be little worth and unequally divided, let them understand that no man shall have his lot entirely in one place, to be all of the best or all of the worst, but each man shall have proportionately to his adventures, in three or four distinct differences, that may be made in the goodness or badness of the grounds by commissioners equally chosen by the adventurers here and the planters there; and as for the value and little worth now of those grounds in Virginia, we know that in England, within these thirty or forty years, the yearly rent of those grounds, in many places, was not worth five shillings, that now do go for forty or more.

And howsoever those grounds in Virginia are now but little worth indeed, yet time and means will make them better, considering how they pass our grounds in England, both in regard of the soil and climate, fit for many precious uses; and also in how many several places we purpose to plant our colony, and not to bestow our costs upon Jamestown only, and upon the grounds lying thereabout, and let all the rest lie barren. For, seeing his majesty hath granted to our colony as much circuit of ground as all England almost, we purpose, God willing, if we may be supplied with sufficient means, to settle out of hand six or seven plantations more, all upon or near our main river, as capital towns, twenty miles each from other, and every plantation shall manure and husband the lands and grounds lying near unto it and allotted for the circuit thereof, and shall all endeavor for a joint stock, and shall be still supplied from hence with more money and provisions, and against any public injury shall be ready to unite and join themselves together. And by this means we shall come to have our dividend in lands of worth and well manured, which will be either bought or rented of us at a good value by the planters or by such as intend hereafter to inhabit there, as also by these several plantations, which happily one place better fitting than another, we shall bring forth more several sorts of merchandise, and be also better fortified; and besides, the planters will be in such hope to have their own shares and habitations in those lands, which they have so husbanded, that it will cause contending and emulation among them, which shall bring forth the most profitable and beneficial fruits for the joint stock.

Whereby, undoubtedly, we shall be soon freed from further expense, our gains will grow, and our stock increase, we shall fell our timber, saw our plank, and quickly make good shipping there, and shall return from thence with good employment, an hundred sail of good ships yearly, all which good, and much

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more, we shall withstand and bring ourselves into a labyrinth, if we pinch and spare our purses now. Therefore, not to hold you longer with many words (being near exchange time, as 1 take it), remember what I have said in proving my proposition, and take my conclusion in a word or two.

Seeing our provocations are so many, our cause and title good, avaunt all idle oracles that seek to bar us. The wisdom of the wisest saith in these cases, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might."

Our forefathers, not looking out in time, lost the prime and fairest proffer of the greatest wealth in the world, and we tax their omission for it, yet now it falls out that we, their children, are tried in the like, there being yet an excellent portion left, and by divine providence offered to our choice, which, seeing we have arms to embrace, let it not be accounted hereafter as " a prize in the hands of fools, that have no heart to use it."

The honor of our nation is now very great by his majesty's means, and we his subjects cannot enlarge and uphold it by gazing on and talking what hath been done, but by doing that good which may be commended hereafter. If we sit still and let slip occasions, we shall gather rust, and do unfeather our own wings, committing the folly of the wise Romans herein, that in time of their glory, flowing with the conquests and spoils of the world, and having gotten the goddess Victoria to Rome, they clipped her wings and set her up among the gods, that she might take her flight no more, as she had formerly done from the Grecians and others, and so effeminating their valor with idleness and security, it brought confusion and ruin to their state.

Let not such a prize of hopeful events, so lately purchased by the hazard of our valient men in the deep seas of foreign dangers, now perish in the haven by our neglect. The lives of our friends already planted, and of those noble knights and gentlemen that intend to go shortly, must lie at our mercy to be relieved and supplied by us or to be made a prey unto others, though we fear not the subjects of any prince in amity that they will offer wrong unto us. And howsoever we hear tales and rumors of this and that, yet be not dismayed, for 1 tell you, if we find that any miscreants have wronged or go about to hurt our few hundreds there, we shall be ready to

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right it again with many thousands, like the giant Anteus, whose often foils renewed his strength the more.

And consider well that great work of freeing the poor Indians from the devourer, a compassion that every good man, but passing by, would show unto a beast. Their children, when they come to be saved, will bless the day when first their fathers saw your faces.

If those undaunted English and Scotch captains, that so often ventured their lives and spilt their blood to reconquer Palestine from the Turks and Saracens, had seen the gap so open in their days, and the way leading to so many goodly purchases, certainly it had not now been left for us to do. How strange a thing is this, that all the states in Europe have been asleep so long! That for an hundred years and more the wealth and riches of the East and West should run no other current but into one coffer, so long till the running over spread itself abundantly among a factious crew of new-created friars, and that to no more special end than with instigating bloody plots to pierce the heart of a christian state and true religion.

It is long since I read in a little treatise made by Frith, an English martyr, an excellent foretelling touching the happiness of these northern islands, and of great wonders that should be wrought by Scots and English before the coming of Christ, but I have almost forgotten and cannot readily call it to mind as I would, and therefore I omit it now, protesting unto you, it would be my grief and sorrow to be exempted from the company of so many honorable-minded men, and from this enterprise, tending to so many good ends, and than which, I truly think this day, there is not a work of more excellent hope under the sun, and far excelling, all circumstances weighed, those noble deeds of Alexander, Hercules, and those heathen monarchs, for which they were deemed gods among their posterity.

And so I leave it to your consideration, with a memorable note of Thomas Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey, when King Henry the Eighth, with his nobles at Dover, took shipping at Turin or Turney, and bidding the said earl farewell, whom he made governor in his absence. The story says the nobleman wept and took his leave with tears, an admirable good nature in a valient mind, grieving to be left behind his prince and peers in such an honorable service. HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain) and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type, 1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price, \$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y.







