

**Tracts and other papers relating principally to the origin, settlement, and progress of the colonies in North America from the discovery of the country to the year 1776. Collected by Peter Force. Vol. 2**

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TRACTS AND OTHER PAPERS, RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE ORIGIN, SETTLEMENT, AND PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE YEAR 1776.

COLLECTED BY PETER FORCE.

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VOL. II.

WASHINGTON: PRINTED BY PETER FORCE.

1838.

No. 2

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1836, BY PETER FORCE, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Columbia.

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With the prooffe of the present benefit this Countrey affoord: whither this present yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall.*

At LONDON Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and are to be sould at his house called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer against *Lincolnes Inne*. 1616.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1837.

TO THE HIGH HOPEFVL CHARLES, *Prince of Great Britaine.*

SIR:

SO fauourable was your most renowned and memorable Brother, Prince *Henry*, to all generous designes; that in my discouery of *Virginia*, I presumed to call two namelesse

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Headlands after my Soueraignes heires, *Cape Henry* and *Cape Charles*. Since then, it beeing my chance to range some other parts of *America*, whereof I heere present your Highness the description in a Map; my humble sure is, you would please to change their Barbarous names, for such *English*, as Posterity may say, Prince *Charles* was their Godfather. What here in this relation I promise my Countrey, let mee liue or die the slaue of scorne and infamy, if (hauing meanes) I make it not apparent; please God to blesse me but from such accidents as are beyond my power and reason to preuent. For my labours, I desire but such conditions as were promised me out of the gaines; and that your Highnesse would daigne to grace this Work, by your Princely and fauourable respect vnto it, and know mee to be

*Your Highness true and faithful seruant,* John Smith.

TO THE RIGHT HONOUR able and worthy Lords, *Knights, and Gentlemen, of his Maiesties Councell*, for all Plantations and discoeries; especially, of *New England*.

SEeing the deedes of the most iust, and the writings of the most wise, not onely of men, but of God himselfe, haue beene diuersly traduced by variable iudgments of the Times opinionists; what shall such an ignorant as I expect? Yet reposing myselfe on your fauours, I present this rude discourse, to the worldes construction; though I am perswaded, that few do think there may be had from *New England* Staple commodities, well worth 3 or 400000 pound a yeare, with so small charge, and such facilitie, as this discourse will acquaint you. But, lest your Honours, that know mee not, should thinke I goe by hearesay or affections; I intreat your pardons to say thus much of myselfe: Neere twice nine yeares, I haue beene taught by lamentable experience, as well in *Europe* and *Asia*, as *Affrick* and *America*, such honest aduentures as the chance of warre doth cast vpon poor souldiers. So that, if I bee not able to iudge of what I haue seene, contriued, and done; it is not the fault either of my eyes, or foure quarters. And these nine yeares, I haue bent my endeauours to finde a sure foundation to begin these ensuing proiects: which though I neuer so plainly and seriously propound; yet it resteth in God, and you,

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still to dispose of. Not doubting but your goodnesse will pardon my rudenesse, and ponder errorrs in the balance of good will; No more: but sacring all my best abilities to the good of my Prince, and Countrey, and submitting my selfe to the exquisit iudgements of your renowned vertue, I euer rest

*Your Honours, in all honest service, I. S.*

To the right Worshipfull Aduenturers for the Countrey of *New England*, in the Cities of *London, Bristow, Exceter, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Bastable, Totneys, &c.* and in all other Cities and Ports, in the Kingdome of *England*.

IF the little Ant, and the sillie Bee seek by their diligence the good of their Commonwealth; much more ought Man. If they punish the drones and sting them steales their labour; then blame not Man. Little hony hath that hiue, where there are more Drones then Bees: and miserable is that Land, where more are idle then well imployed. If the indeauours of those vermin be acceptable, I hope mine may be excuseable; Though I confesse it were more proper for mee, To be doing what I say, then writing what I knowe. Had I returned rich, I could not haue erred: Now hauing onely such fish as came to my net, I must be taxed. But, I would my taxers were as ready to adventure their purses, as I, purse, life, and all I haue: or as diligent to furnish the charge, as I know they are vigilant to crop the fruits of my labours. Then would I not doubt (did God please I might safely arriue in *New England*, and safely returne) but to performe somewhat more then I haue promised, and approue my words by deeds, according to proportion.

I am not the first hath beene betrayed by Pirats: And foure men of warre, prouided as they were, had beene sufficient to haue taken *Sampson, Hercules, and Alexander* the great, no other way furnisht then I was. I knowe not what assurance any haue do passe the Seas, Not to be subiect to casualty as well as my selfe: but least this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill will (by rumour) the behooffull worke I pretend; I haue writ this little:

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which I did think to haue concealed from any publike vse, till I had made my returnes speake as much, as my pen now doth.

But because I speak so much of fishing, if any take mee for such a deuote fisher, as I dreame of nought else, they mistake mee. I know a ring of golde from a graine of barley, as well as a goldsmith: and nothing is there to bee had which fishing doth hinder, but furdur vs to obtaine. Now for that I haue made knowne vnto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Patent and Commission; hauing also receiued meanes, power, and authority by your directions to plant there a Colony, and make further search and discouery in those parts there yet vnknowne: Considering, withall, first those of his Maiesties Councill, then those Cities aboue named, and diuerse others that haue beene moued to lend their assistance to so great a work, do expect (especially the aduenturers) the true relation or euent of my proceedings which I heare are so abused; I am inforced for all these respects, rather to expose my imbecillitie to contempt, by the testimonie of these rude lines then all should condemne me for so bad a Factor, as could neither giue reason nor account of my actions and designes.

*Yours to command,* Iohn Smith.

### ***In the deserued Honour of the Author, Captaine Iohn Smith, and his Worke.***

DAMn'd Enuie is a sp'rite, that euer haunts Beasts, mis-nam'd men; Cowards, or Ignorants. But, onely such shee followes, whose deere WORTH (Maugre her malice) sets their glorie forth. If this faire Ouerture, then, take not; It Is *Enuie's* spight (dear friend) in men-of-wit; Or *Feare*, lest morsels, which our mouthes possesse, Might fall from thence; or else, tis *Scottishnesse*. If either; (I hope neither), thee they raise; Thy\* Letters are as Letters in thy praise; Who, by their vice, *improue* (when they *reprooue* ) Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue. Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame; Scorning for any Smith to *forge* such *fame*.

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\* Hinderers.

*Io: Danies, Heref:*

### **To his worthy Captaine the Author.**

THhat which wee call the subiect of all Storie, Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight Of Enuie; which doth no mans merits right. My sword may help the rest: my Pen no more Can doe, but this; l'aue said enough before.

Your sometime souldier, *I. Codrinton*, now Templer.

### **To my Worthy friend and Cousen, Captaine Iohn Smith.**

IT ouer-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words O f these designes, with deeds I doe compare. *Heere* is a Booke, such worthy truth affords, *None* should the due desert thereof impare; *Sith* thou, the man, deseruing of these Ages, *Much* paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdoms good, *In* Climes vnknowne, *Mongst Turks* and Saluages, *T'inlarge* our bounds; though with thy losse of blood. *Hence* damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way, *Enuie*, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.

*N. Smith.*

### **To that worthy and generous Gentleman, my verie good friend, Captaine Smith.**

MAy Fate thy Prospect prosper, that thy name May be eternised with liuing fame: Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert, And Enuie euer waits vpon desert: In spight of *Pelias*, when his hate lies colde, Returne as *Iason* with a fleece of Golde. Then after-ages shall record thy praise, That a *New England* to this Ile didst raise: And when thou dyst (as all that liue must die) Thy fame liue heere; thou, with Eternitie.

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R: *Gunnell.*

### **To his friend Cap: Smith vpon his description of New England.**

Sir; your Relations I haue read: which shewe, Their's reason I should honour *them* and *you*; And if their meaning I haue vnderstood, I dare to censure, thus: Your *Project's* good; And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine, With honour, pleasure and a treeble gaine; Beside the benefit that shall arise To make more happie our Posterities.

For would we daigne to spare, though' twere no more Then what o're-filles, and surfets vs in store, To order *Nature's* fruitfulnessse a while In that rude *Garden*, you *New England* stile; With present good, ther's hope in after-daies Thence to repaire what *Time* and *Pride* decaies In this rich kingdome. And the spacious *West* Being still more with *English* blood possest, The Proud *Iberians* shall not rule those Seas, To checke our ships from sayling where they please; Nor future times make any forraine power Become so great to force a bound to *Our*.

Much good my minde fore-tels would follow hence With little labour, and with lesse expence. Thriue therefore thy *Designe*, who ere enuie: *England* may ioy in *England's* Colony, *Virginia* seeke her Virgine sisters good, Be blessed in such happie neighbourhood: Or, what-soere Fate pleaseth to permit, Be thou still honor'd for first moouing it.

*George Wither*, è societate Lincols.

### ***In the deserved honour of my honest and worthie Captaine, Iohn Smith, and his Worke.***

CAptaine and friends when I peruse thy booke (With *Iudgements* eyes) into thy *heart* I looke: And there I finde (what sometimes- *Albyon* ) knew) A *Souldier*, to his *Countries-honour*, true. Some fight for *wealth*; and some for *emptie praise*; But thou alone thy

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*Countries Fame* to raise. With due *discretion*, and *undanted heart*, I (oft) so well haue seene thee act thy Part In deepest plunge of hard extremitie, As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie. Though men of greater *Ranke* and lesse *desert* Would *Pish* -away thy *Praise*, it can not start From the true *Owner*; for, all good-mens tongues Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs. If, then, *Wit*, *Courage*, and *Successe* should get Thee *Fame*; the Muse for *that* is in thy *debt*: A part whereof (least able though I bee) Thus heere I doe disburse, to honor *Thee*.

*Rawly Croshaw.*

***Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, and Richard Wiffing, Gentlemen, and Souldiers vnder Captaine Smiths Command: In his deserued honor for his Worke, and worth.***

WHy may not we in this Worke haue our Mite, That had our share in each black day and night, When thou *Virginia* soild'st, yet kept'st vnstained; And held'st the King of *Paspeheh* enchained. Thou all alone in *Saluage* sterne didst take.

*Pamunkes* king wee saw thee captiue make Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men, To murder thee and vs resolved; when Fast by the hand thou ledst this *Saluage* grim, Thy Pistoll at his breast to gouerne him: Which did infuse such awe in all the rest (Sith their drad Soueraigne thou had'st so distrest) That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd Vnto our helpesse *ships*. Thou (thus admir'd) Didst make proud *Powhatan*, his subiects send To *Iames* his Towne, thy censure to attend: And all *Virginia's* Lords, and pettie Kings, Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene: And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene; So, making Valour Vertue, really; Who hast nought in thee counterfet, or slie: If in the sleight bee not the truest art, That makes men famoused for faire desert.

Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie, Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true storie. If it bee ill in Thee, so well to doe; Then, is it ill in Vs, to praise the too, But, if the

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first bee well done; it is well, To say it doth (if so it doth) excell! Praise is the guerdon of each deere desert, Making the praised act the praised part With more alacritie: *Honours Square* is *Praise*; Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies.

And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather, That future Times may know who was the father Of this rare Worke ( *New England* ) which may bring Praise to thy God, and profit to thy King.

Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruse this schedule; which will plainely shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new.

The old names. The new.

*Cape Cod Cape Iames*

*Milford hauen*

*Chawum Barwick*

*Accomack Plimouth*

*Sagoquas Oxford*

*Massachusets Mount Cheuit hill*

*Massachusets Riuer Charles Riuer*

*Totant Fawmouth*

*A Country not discoverd Bristow*

*Naemkeck Bastable*

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*Cape Trabigzanda Cape Anne*

*Aggawom Southampton*

*Smiths Iles Smiths Iles*

*Passataquack Hull*

*Accominticus Boston*

*Sassanowes Mount Snodon hill*

*Sowocatuck Ipswitch*

*Bahana Dartmouth*

*Sandwich*

*Aucociscos Mount Shooters hill*

*Aucocisco The Base*

*Aumoughcawgen Cambridge*

*Kinebeck Edenborough*

*Sagadahock Leeth*

*Pemmaquid S. Johns towne*

*Monahigan Barties Iles*

*Segocket Norwich*

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*Matinnack Willowby's Iles*

*Metinnicus Hoghton's Iles*

*Mecadacut Dunbarton*

*Pennobscot Aborden*

*Nusket Lowmonds*

### **A DESCRIPTION OF New-England, by Captaine *Iohn Smith*.**

My first voyage to new-England.

IN the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from *London*, of a few Marchants, I chanced to ariue in *New-England*, a parte of *Amerycya*, at the Ile of *Monahiggan*, in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make our selues, sauers howsoever: we found this Whalefishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: They beeing a kinde of lubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters deuce to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furres was now our guard: and by our late arriual, and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it; we thinking that their seasons serued at all times: but wee found it otherwise; for by the midst of Iune, the fishing failed. Yet in Iuly and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40000. of Cor fish about 7000. Whilest the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them might best bee spared; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skinnes, 100 Martins, and neer as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the Coast both East and West much further; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them

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better: and right against vs in the Main was a Ship of Sir *Frances Pophames*, that had there such acquaintance, hauing many yeares vsed onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade, during the time wee tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Saluages habitation. 2 With these Furrer, the Traine, and Cor-fish I returned for *England* in the Bark: where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arriued back. The best of this fish was solde for fiue pound the hundreth, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings. The other Ship staid to fit herselfe for *Spaine* with the dry fish which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls the quintall, each hundred weighing two quintalls and a halfe.

### The situation of New England.

*New England* is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea opposite to *Noua Albyon* in the South Sea; discovered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled *New England*, beeing in the same latitude. *New France*, off it, is Northward: Southwardes is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning Continent, with *New Granado*, *New Spain*, *New Andolosia* and the *West Indies*. Now because I haue been so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long vnknown, or not possessed by the *Spaniard*, and many such like demands; I intreat your pardons, if I chance to be too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

### Notes of Florida.

*Florida* is the next adioyning to the *Indies*, which vnprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the *French*. A Country farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian, but by the wonderful endeouours of *Ferdinando de Soto* a valiant *Spaniard*: whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

### Notes of Virginia.

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*Virginia* is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*; whose bounds may be streched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his Maiestie hath granted his Letters patents, the Coast extending South-west and North-east aboute 1500 miles; but to follow it aboard, the shore may well be 2000. at the least: of which, 20. miles is the most giues entrance into the Bay of *Chisapeak*, where is the *London* plantation: within which is a Country (as you may perceiue by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discouered) may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit. And Southward adioyneth that part discouered at the charge of Sir *Walter Rawley*, by Sir *Ralph Lane*, and that learned Mathematician Mr. *Thomas Heryot*. Northward six or seauen degrees is the Riuer *Sagadahock*, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of vertue Sir *John Popham* Lord chief Iustice 3 of *England*. Ther is also a relation printed by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnould*, of *Elizabeths Iles*: and an other by Captaine *Waymoth*, of *Pemmaquid*. From all these diligent obseruers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that long before and since haue ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place some in another, I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or neuer well obserued, or died with the Authors: so that the Coast is yet still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscovered. I haue had six or seauen seuerall plots of those Northren parts, so vnlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceiued as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawn a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to bee obserued which the haste of other affaires did cause me omit: for, being sent more to get present commodities, then knowledge by discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would: yet it will serue to direct any shall goe that waies, to safe Harbours and

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the Saluages habitations: What marchandize and commodities for their labour they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose: no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly dicouered. As for the goodnes and true substances of the Land, wee are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it bee those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack* and *Sagadahock*: but onely here and there wee touched or haue seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselues into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles; whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France* can describe the Harbors and dangers by landing here or there in some Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substances of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria* and the rest. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think euery one which hath bin at Virginia vnderstandeth or knowes what *Virginia* is: Or that the *Spaniards* know one halfe quarter of those Territories they possesse; no, not so much as the true 4 circumference of *Terra Incognita*, whose large dominions may equalize the greatnesse and goodnes of *America*, for any thing yet known. It is strange with what small power hee hath raigned in the *East Indies*; and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America*: where he hauing so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they neede not greatly feare his furie, in the *Bermudas*, *Virginia*, *New France*, or *New England*; beyond whose bounds *America* doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof one Master *Hutson* an English Mariner did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I knowe of, where he vnfortunately died. For *Affrica*, had not the industrious Portugales ranged her vnknowne parts, who would haue sought for wealth among those fryed Regions of blacke brutish Negers, where notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable aduentures and endeauours more then 140 yeares, they knowe not one third of those blacke habitations. But it is not a worke for euery one, to manage such an affaire as makes a discouerie, and plants a Colony: It requires all the best parts of Art, Iudgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Dilligence and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing

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then another; and therein are to be imployed: and nothing breedes more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus, Cortez, Pitzara, Soto, Magellanes*, and the rest serued more then a prentiship to learne bow to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Indes*: which to the wonder of all ages succesfully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, beeing instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keep vs back from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruites of their labours, his greatest glory, power and renowne.

### The description of New England.

That part wee call *New England* is betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45: but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, some 75 leagues by a right line distant each from other: within which bounds I haue seene at least 40. seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast, and sounded about 25 excellent good Harbours; In many whereof there is ancorage for 500. sayle of ships of any burthen; in some of them for 5000: And more 5 than 200 Iles ouergrowne with good timber, of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as requireth a longer time then I had, to be well discovered.

### The particular Countries or Gouvernements.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot*: Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers we found *Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nusconcus, Kenebeck, Sagadahock*, and *Aumoughcawgen*; And to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago, Paghhuntanuck, Pocopassum, Taughtanakagnet, Warbigganus, Nassaque, Masherosqueck, Wawrigweck, Moshoquen, Wakcogo, Pasharanack, &c.* To these are allied the Countries of *Aucocisco, Accominticus, Passataquack, Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: all these, I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment:

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though most be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remember by name are *Mattahunts*; two pleasant Iles of groues, gardens and corne fields a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Pocapawmet*, *Quonahassit*, *Sagoquas*, *Nahapassumkeck*, *Topeent*, *Seccasaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomacak*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*; Then *Cape Cod* by which is *Pawmet* and the Ile *Nawset* of the language, and alliance of them of *Chawum*: The others are called *Massachusets*; of another language, humor and condition: For their trade and marchandize; to each of their habitations they haue diuerse Townes and people belonging; and by their relations and descriptions, more then 20 seuerall Habitations and Riuers that stretch themselues farre vp into the Countrey, euen to the borders of diuerse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Beuers and Otters. From *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahock* this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but ouergrown with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruites for mans vse.

The mixture of an excellent soyle.

Betwixt *Sagadahock* and *Sowocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especialy the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely diuided with trinctured veines of diuers colours: as, Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Fornaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conueniently to melt in them: but the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Deuonshire*, I thinke most of the cliffes would make such limestone: C 6 If they be not of these qualities, they are so like, they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine; all which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good iron and steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare engage my head

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(hauing but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building (the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good marchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 or 14 leagues: and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to procure it in a lesse limitation.

A prooffe of an excellent temper. A prooffe of health.

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffes and cliffes of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish and moderate temper of the ayre (for of twentie fiue, not any was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approoue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the foure parts of the world that I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather liue here then any where: and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

Staple commodities present. The Hollanders fishing.

The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which howeuer it may seeme a mean and a base commoditie: yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great aduentures the hopes of setting forth men of war to rob the industrious innocent, would procure; or such massie promises in grosse: though more are choked then well fedde with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy, and industrious? and by the venting this poore commodity to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin, Cordage, and such like (which they exchange againe, to the French, Spaniards, Portugales, and English, &c. for what they want) are made so mighty, strong and rich, as no State but *Venice*, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong

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Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, Pretious stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth 7 of golde; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse commodities? What Voyages and Discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land, haue they long maintained in despite of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And neuer could the Spaniard with all his Mynes of golde and Siluer, pay his debts, his friends, and army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil haue done by this contemptible trade of fish. Diuers (I know) may alledge, many other assistances: But this is their Myne; and the Sea the source of those siluered streames of all their vertue; which hath made them now the very miracle of industrie, the pattern of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum mobile* that turnes all their *Spheres* to this height of plentie, strength, honour and admiration.

Which is fifteen hundred thousand pound.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicite that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would thinke it) they yearly draw at least one million and a halfe of pounds starling; yet it is most certaine (if records be true:) and in this faculty they are so naturalized, and of their vents so certainly acquainted, as there is no likelihood they will euer bee paralleld, hauing 2 or 3000 Buffes, Flat bottomes, Sword pinks, Todes, and such like, that breedes them Saylers, Mariners, Souldiers and Marchants, neuer to be wrought out of that trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they, that will vse it, though not so certainly, nor so much in quantity; for want of experience. And this Herring they take vpon the Coast of *Scotland* and *England*; their Cod and Ling, vpon the Coast of *Izeland* and in the North Seas.

*Hamborough*, and the *East Countries*, for Sturgion and Caiiare, gets many thousands of pounds from *England*, and the *Straites: Portugale*, the *Biskaines*, and the *Spaniards*, make 40 or 50 Saile yearely to *Cape-blank*, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and make *Puttardo*: and *New found Land*, doth yearely fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane skinny Poore-lohn, and Corfish, which at least yearely amounts to 3 or 400000 pound. If

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from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of fish, and by them hath neither meate, drinke, nor clothes, wood, iron, nor steele, pitch, tarre, nets, leades, salt, hookes, nor lines, for shipping, fishing, nor prouision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fifth hand, drawne from so many seuerall parts of the world ere they come together to be vsed in this voyage: If these I say can gaine, and the Saylers liue going for shares, lesse then the third part of their labours, and yet spend as much time in going and comming, as in staying there, so short is the season of fishing; why should wee more & doubt, then *Holland, Portugale, Spaniard, French*, or other, but to doe much better then they, where there is victuall to feede vs, wood of all sorts, to build Boats, Ships, or Barks; the fish at our doores, pitch, tarre, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries onely for making? And here are no hard Landlords to racke vs with high rents, or extorted fines to consume vs, no tedious pleas in law to consume vs with their many years disputations for lustice: no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God and his Maiesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master and owne labour and land; or the greatest part in a small time. If hee haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp this trade; and by industrie quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time wel, which in *England* we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill. Here is ground also as good as any lyeth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate and as fruitfull as any other paralell in the world. As for example, on this side the line West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, discovered as is said, by Sir *Francis Drake*. East from it, is the most temperate part of *Portugale*, the ancient kingdomes of *Galazia, Biskey, Nauarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Castilia* the olde, and the most moderatest of *Castilia* the new, and *Valentia*, which is the greatest part of *Spain*: which if the *Spanish* Histories bee true, in the *Romanes* time abounded no lesse with golde and siluer Mines, then now the *West Indies*; The *Romanes* then vsing the *Spaniards* to work in those Mines, as now the *Spaniard* doth the *Indians*.

Examples of the altitude comparatiuely.

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In *France*, the Prouinces of *Gasconie*, *Langadock*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine*, *Pyamont*, and *Turyne*, are in the same paralell: which are the best and richest parts of *France*. In *Italy*, the prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous Sate of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the great Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Istrya*, and *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia*, that famous Kingdome of *Macedonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated the most pleasant and plentiful Citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*. In *Asia* also, in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *China*, besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in these most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*. Southward, in the same height, is the richest of golde Mynes, *Chily* and *Balduia*, and the mouth of the 9 great Riuer of *Plate*, &c: for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknown. Besides these reasons, mine owne eyes that haue scene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes, as well as it, can finde no aduantage they haue in nature, but this, They are beautified by the long labor and dilligence of industrious people and Art. This is onely as God made it, when he created the worlde. Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intralls of those Regions were sought: if their Land were cultured, planted and manured by men of industrie, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what neede they doubt, hauing those aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of those famous Kingdomes, in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions? seeing euen the very edges doe naturally afford us such plenty, as no ship need returne away empty; and onely vse but the season of the Sea, fish will returne an honest gaine, beside all other aduantages; her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused.

The particular staple commodities that may be had.

And whereas it is said, the *Hollanders* serue the *Easterlings* themselues, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod; the *Easterlings*, a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Caiuare; *Cape-blanke*, *Spain*, *Portugale*, and the *Leuant*, with Mullet, and

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Puttargo; *New found Land*, all *Europe*, with a thin Poore Iohn; yet all is so ouerlade with fishers, as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway*, and *Polonia*, Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Yardes; *Sweathland*, and *Russia* Iron, and Ropes; *France*, and *Spaine*, Canuas, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oyle; *Italy* and *Greece*, Silks, and Fruites. I dare boldly say, because I haue seen naturally growing, or breeding in those parts the same materialls that all those are made of, they may as well be had here, or the most part of them, within the distance of 70 leagues for some few ages, as from all those parts; vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe, and with all those aduantages.

The nature of ground approued.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits, or Seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions afore named: But it may be, not euery kinde to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarie, because the Summer is not so hot, and the winter is more colde in those parts wee haue yet tryed neere the Sea side, then we finde in the same height in *Europe* or *Asia*; Yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rockie Ile in 43.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 4 leagues from the Main, in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for sallets in Iune and Iuly. All sorts of cattell may here be bred and fed in the Iles, or *Peninsulaes*, securely for nothing, In the *Interim* till they 10 encrease if need be (obseruing the seasons) I durst vndertake to haue come enough from the Saluages for 300 men, for a few trifles; and if they should bee vntoward (as it is most certaine they are) thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiECTION, and make this prouision; if they understand what they doe: 200 whereof may nine monethes in the yeare be employed in making marchandable fish, till the rest prouide other necessaries, fit to furnish us with other commodities.

The seasons for fishing approued.

In March, April, May, and halfe Iune, here is Cod in abundance; in May, Iune, Iuly, and August Mullet and Sturgion; whose roes doe make Caiiare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the

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Saluages compare their store in the Sea, to the haire of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you haue Cod againe to make Cor fish, or Poore lohn: and each hundred is as good as two or three hundred in the *New-found Land*. So that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning, is saued: and you may haue your fish at what Market you will, before they can haue any in *New-found Land*; where their fishing is chiefly but in Iune and Iuly: whereas it is heere in March, April, May, September, October, and Nouember, as is said. So that by reason of this plantation, the Marchants may haue fraught both out and home: which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration.

Your Cor-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugale* (as *Lisbon, Auera, Porta port*, and diuers others, or what market you please) before your *Ilanders* returne: They being tyed to the season in the open sea; you hauing a double season, and fishing before your doors, may euery night sleep quietly a shore with good cheare and what fires you will, or when you please with your wiues and familie: they onely, their ships in the maine Ocean.

The Mulletts heere are in that abundance, you may take them with nets, sometimes by hundreds, where at *Cape blank* they hooke them; yet those but one foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured: much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers, as they haue passed: and heere the ayre is so temperate, as all these at any time may well be preserued.

Employment for poore people and fartherlesse children.

Now, young boyes and girles Saluages, or any other, be they neuer such idlers, may turne, carry, and return fish, without either shame, or any great paine: hee is very idle that is past twelve yeares of age and 11 cannot doe so much: and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thred to make engines to catch them.

The facility of the plantation.

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For their transportation, the ships that go there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must doe in the *New-found Land*, to get their fraught; but one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn: notwithstanding, they must haue meate, drinke, clothes, and passage, as well as the rest. Now all I desire, is but this; That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choise they can, or accept such as are presented them, to serue them at that rate: and their ships returning leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and such like as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their boates and doe them many other profitable offices: prouided I haue men of ability to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon an occasion; because of the abuses which haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the liberty both French or any that will, hath to deale with them as they please: whose disorders will be hard to reforme; and the longer the worse. Now such order with facilitie might be taken, with euery port Towne or Citie, to obserue but this order, With free power to conuert the benefits of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion; who euer as they are able to subsist of themselues, may beginne the new Townes in *New England* in memory of their olde: which freedome being confined but to the necessity of the generall good, the euent (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

### Present commodities.

Salt vpon salt may assuredly be made; if not at the first in ponds, yet till they bee prouided this may be vsed: then the Ships may transport Kine, Horse, Goates, course Cloath, and such commodities as we want; by whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the Ships that they stay not: and then if the sailers goe for wages, it matters not. It is hard if this returne defray not the charge: but care must be had, they arriue in the Spring, or else prouision be made for them against the Winter.

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Of certaine red berries called Alkermes which is worth ten shillings a pound, but of these hath been sould for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yearely be gathered a good quantitie.

Of the Musk Rat may bee well raised gaines, well worth their labour, that will endeour to make tryall of their goodnesse.

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Of Beuers, Otters, Martins, Blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yearely be had 6 or 7000: and if the trade of the *French* were preuented, many more: 25000 this yeare were brought from those Northren parts into *France*; of which trade we may haue as good part as the *French*, if we take good courses.

Of Mynes of Golde and Siluer, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Christall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances. It is true indeed, I made many trials according to those instructions I had, which doe perswade mee I need not despaire, but there are metalls in the Countrey: but I am no Alchymist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, Who will vndertake the rectifying of an Iron forge, if those that buy meate, drinke, coals, ore, and all necessaries at a deer rate gaine; where all these things are to be had for the taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose.

Of woods seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boates, buy wood at so great a price, as it is in *England, Spaine, France, Italy, and Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishing of mans life; liue well by their trade: when labour is all required to take those necessaries without any other tax; what hazard will be here, but doe much better? And what commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood? For the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill, or barren, or as it is: seeing it is certaine it beares fruites, to nourish and feed man and beast, as well as *England*, and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fish I haue related. Thus seeing all good prouisions for mans sustenance, may with this facility be had, by a little extraordinarie labour, till that

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transported be increased; and all necessaries for shipping, onely for labour: to which may bee added the assistance of the Saluages, which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kindes, towards fishing, planting and destroying woods. What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses, dwelling there, you may serue all *Europe* better and farre cheaper, then can the *Izeland* fishers, or the *Hollanders*, *Cape blank*, or *New found Land*: who must be at as much more charge, then you) may easily be conjectured by his example.

An example of the gains vpon euey yeare or six monethes returne.

2000. pound will fit out a ship of 200. and 1 of a 100 tuns: If the dry fish they both make, fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintall; but commonly it giueth fifteen, or twentie; especially when it commeth first, which amounts to 3 or 4000 pound: but say but tenne, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate, to 2000 pound, which is the whole charge of your two ships, and their equipage: 13 Then the returne of the money, and the fraught of the ship for the vintage, or any other voyage, is cleere gaine, with your shippe of a 100 tuns of Train and oyle, besides the beuers, and other commodities; and that you may haue at home within six monethes, if God please but to send an ordinarie passage. Then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victual, ouerplus of men and wages; with her fraught thither of things necessarie for the planters, the salt being there made: as also may the nets and lines, within a short time: if nothing were to bee expected but this, it might in time equalize your *Hollanders* gaines, if not exceed them: they returning but wood, pitch, tarre, and such grosse commodities; you wines, oyles, fruits, silkes, and such *Straits* commodities, as you please to prouide by your Factors, against such times as your shippes arriue with them. This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so employ and encourage a great part of our idlers and others that want employments fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to doe that they would doe abroad; that could they but once taste the sweet fruites of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good

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discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humours of dissolute idlenesse.

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

But, to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my projects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Ayre, the Land, the Fruites, the Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories, and Limitations, Friends, and Foes: but, as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language to my vnderstanding, during the time I ranged those Countries &c. The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuerranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing among the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods, for Deer and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Ilands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length, which diuides it into many faire and excellent good harbours. On the East of it, are the *Tarrantines*, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the *French*, as they report that liue with those people, as one nation or family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the *Tarrantines*, adioyning to the high mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea: But ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them sixteene or eighteene D 14 leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next; then *Nusconcus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*. Vp this Riuerr where was the Westerne plantation are *Aumuckcawgen*, *Kinnebeck*, and diners others, where there is planted some corne fields. Along this Riuerr 40 or 50 miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffes of barren Rocks, ouergrowne with wood: but where the Saluages dwelt there the ground is exceeding fat and fertill. Westward of this Riuerr, is the Countrey of *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good harbours. *Sowocotuck* is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay, which hath many Rocks and Iles, but few good harbours, but for Barks, I yet

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know. But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre I could see Eastward of it is nothing but such high craggy Clifffy Rocks and stony Iles, that I wondered such great trees could growe upon so hard foundations. It is a Countrie rather to affright, then delight one. And how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation or more barren I knowe not. Yet the Sea there is the strangest fish-pond I euer saw; and those barren Iles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish, and foule, that it makes mee thinke though the Coast be rockie, and thus affrightable; the Vallies, Plaines, and interior parts, may well (notwithstanding) be verie fertile. But there is no kingdom so fertile hath not some part barren: and *New England* is great enough, to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited. As you passe the Coast still Westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient harbors for small barks; and a good Countrie, within their craggie cliffs. *Angoam* is the next; This place might content a right curious iudgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbor: and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles, and on their tops and descents many corne fields, and delightfull groues. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groues of mulberrie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good and safe harbor.

*Naimkeck* though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is sandie) not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor any thing I could perceiue, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, fronted with three Iles called the three *Turks heads*: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields: they report a great Riuer, and at least thirtie habitations, doo possesse this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discover it. The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where 15 are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the Countrie of the *Massachusetts*, which is the Paradise of all those parts: for, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbors: the Coast is for the

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most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the *French* hauing remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles; and that the Riuer doth pearce many daies iourneies the intralles of that Countrey. We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell wee had with one of them, hee onely with three others crossed the harbor of *Quonahassit* to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.

Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good harbor, good land; and no want of any thing, but industrious people. After much kindnesse, vpon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those: though some were hurt, and some slaine; yet within an houre after they became friendes. *Cape Cod* is the next presents it selfe: which is onely a headland of high hils of sand, ouergrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This *Cape* is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a sickle: on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet*: and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of *Chawum*. Towards the South and South west of this *Cape*, is found a long and dangerous shoale of sands and rocks. But so farre as I incircled it, I found thirtie fadom water aboard the shore and a strong current: which makes mee thinke there is a Channell about this shoale; where is the best and greatest fish to be had, Winter and Summer, in all that Countrey. But, “the Saluages” say there is no Channell, but that the shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet*, to the Ile of *Nausit*; and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea. The next to this is *Capawack*, and those abounding Countries of copper, corne, people, and mineralls; which I went to discover this last yeare: but because I miscarried by the way, I will leaue them, till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

A good Countrey.

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The *Massachusetts*, they report, sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobskot*, and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliants: but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other, so farre as they haue societie, on each others frontiers. For they make no such voiages as from *Pennobskot* to *Cape Cod*; seldom to 16 *Massachewset*. In the North (as I haue said) they begunne to plant corne, whereof the South part hath such plentie, as they haue what they will from them of the North; and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and foule: but both Winter and Summer hath it in the one part or other all the yeare; being the meane and most indifferent temper, betwixt heat and colde, of all the regions betwixt the Lyne and the Pole: but the furs Northward are much better, and in much more plentie, then Southward.

The land markes.

The remarkeablest Iles and mountains for Landmarkes are these; The highest Ile or *Sorico*, in the Bay of *Peanobskot*: but the three Iles and a rock of *Matinnack* are much funder in the Sea; *Metinicus* is also three plaine Iles and a rock, betwixt it and *Monahigan*: *Monahigan* is a rounde high Ile; and close by it *Monanis*, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride. In *Damerils* Iles is such another: *Sagadahock* is knowne by *Satquin*, and foure or fiue Iles in the mouth. *Smyths* Iles are a heape together, none neere them, against *Accominticus*. The three Turks heads are three Iles seen far to Sea-ward in regard of the headland.

The cheefe headlands are onely *Cape Tragabigzanda* and *Cape Cod*.

Hearbs.

The cheefe mountaines, them of *Pennobscot*: and twinkling mountaine of *Aucocisco*; the greate mountaine of *Sasanou*; and the high mountaine of *Massachusit*: each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude. The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrals of rockie mountaines; the hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kindes: as alkermes, currans, or a fruit like currans, mulberries, vines, respices, goosberries, plummes, walnuts, chesnuds, small nuts, &c. pumpions, gourds, strawberries,

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beans, pease, and mayze: a kinde or two of flax, where with they make nets, lines and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities.

### Woods

Oke, is the chiefe wood; of which there is great difference in regard of the soyle where it groweth. firre, pyne, walnut, chesnut, birch, ash elme, cypresse, ceder, mulberrie, plumtree, hazell, saxefrage, and many other sorts.

### Birds.

Eagles, Gripes, diuerse sorts of Haukes, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Guls, Turkies, Diue-doppers, and many other sorts, whose names I knowe not.

### Fishes.

Whales, Grampus, Porkpisces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddock, Cole, Cusk, or small Ling, Shark, Mackerrell, Herring, Mullet, Base, Pinacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eels, Crabs, Lobsters, Muskles, Wilkes, Oysters, and diuerse others &c.

### 17 Beasts.

Moos, a beast bigger then a Stagge; Deere, red, and Fallow; Beuers, Wolues, Foxes, both blacke and other; Aroughconds, Wild-cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuerse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not. All these and diuerse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, and decrease with little diminution, whereby they growe to that abundance. You shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore, or Coue of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places lode your boat if you please; Nor Iles where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskles, or all of them, for taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cunners, and Pinacks, and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more then sixe or tenne can eate in a daie; but with a casting-net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerrell, Seate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And, in diuerse sandy

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Baies, a man may draw with a net great store of Mulletts, Bases, and diuerse other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore: no Riuer where there is not plentie of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both; all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmasse to gather Cherries in *Kent*, he may be deceiued; though there be plentie in Summer: so, heere these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed. We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decaied they wrought all day, laie abroade in the Iles all night, and liued on what they found, yet were not sicke: But I would wish none put himself long to such plunges; except necessitie constraine it: yet worthy is that person to starue that heere cannot liue; if he haue sense, strength and health: for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their prouisions for a day: and hee that hath experience to manage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: prouided that they haue engins, that be proper for their purposes.

### A note for men that haue great spirits, and smal meanes

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for 18 his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vnjust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Natiue mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde

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employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembering thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the *Chaldeans*, the *Syrians*, the *Grecians*, and *Romanes*, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: *Rome*, What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the iustice and iudgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their vnderdeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealosies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely for-mall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pains and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the vse of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; the golden age: and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would liue at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or by vsing that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or to (maintaine a silly shewe of brauery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceiue thy friends, by faire promises, and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with excesse, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea euen thine owne brother,

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and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rawards, the world yet hath for them will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would be sory to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life. And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most neede of their employment? drawing by all manner of inuentions, from the Prince and his honest subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the onely baite, to cause vs not to be onely assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceiue it.

An example of secure couetousness.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures last taken by the *Turke* (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember vs, of the effects of priuate couetousness? at which time the good *Emperour* held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacie, and prodigalitie. His pouertie when the *Turke* besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiuing the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the Emp. so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodainly he, they, and their citie were all a prey to the dououring *Turke*. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their enemies to torment them, their friends, and countrey, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to robbe you) not grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that haue little, yet willing to learne how to defend you: for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing. The *Romanes* estate hath beene worse then this: for, the

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meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them, so mooued the rest, that not hauing any employment, but contemplation; their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction: Let this mooue you to embrace employment, for those whose educations, spirits, and iudgements, 20 want but your purses; not onely to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue. And you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couetous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they growe your masters; or become so basely vnkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts growe dissolute: and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and case your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound a yeer; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduerture with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time but with a little assistance of your prouidence, might bee better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, that any place yet vnknowne can afford such fortunes; you would not beleeeue him, no more then *Columbus* was beleeeued there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*; much lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Affrica*, and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*; where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes generous disposition, the labours of his subiects, and the very marrow of his maintenance.

### The Authors conditions.

I haue not beene so ill bred, but I haue tasted of *Plenty* and *Pleasure*, as well as *Want* and *Miserie*: nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeauors: nor am I ignorant what small thanke I shall haue for my paines; or that many would haue the Worlde imagine them to be of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want employment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne senselesnesse, and incredulity; Hoping that gaine will make

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them affect that, which Religion, Charity, and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore deuce in me, To deceiue my selfe; much more the King, and State, my Friends, and Countrey, with these inducements: which, seeing his Maiestic hath giuen permission, I wish all sorts of worthie, honest, industrious spirits, would vnderstand: and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it: Not to perswade them to goe onely; but goe with them: Not leaue them there; but liue with them there. I will not say, but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may be taken, may make vs miserable enough: But if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected; if they want to eate, let them eate or neuer digest Me. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines may sute my paines, 21 The planters pleasures, and profits. quality, and condition. And if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeares end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of those Countries; and by the prooffe of that wealth I hope yearely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents, as are beyond my power in reason to preuent: For, I am not so simple, to thinke, that euer any other motiue then wealth, will euer erect there a Commonweale; or draw companie from their case and humours at home, to stay in *New England* to effect my purposes. And lest any should thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labour, and dilligence: I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamply in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England*, to enioy it, then I should doe heere to gaine wealth sufficient: and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for, our pleasure here is still gaines; in *England* charges and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords vs that freely, which in *England* we want, or it costeth vs dearely. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore) in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs, in contriuing their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c. to recreate themselues before their owne doores, in their owne boates vpon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling, may take diuerse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull vp two pence,

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six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can hale and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher, cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dried, if they be sould there for ten shillings the hundred, though in *England* they will giue more then twentie; may not both the seruant, the master, and marchant, be well content with this gaine? If a man worke but three dayes in seauen, he may get more then hee can spend, vnlesse he will be excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke: or? if they will not eate it, because there is so much better choise; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or merchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea? wherein the most curious may finde pleasure, profit, and content. Thus, though all men be not E 22 fishers: yet all men, whatsoever, may in other matters doe as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a Commonwealth, and each in their seuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

### Imployments for gentlemen.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them, then ranging dayly those vnknowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing, for hunting and hauking? and yet you shall see the wilde haukes giue you some pleasure, in seeing them stoope (six or seauen after one another) an houre or two together, at the skuls of fish in the faire harbours, as those a-shore at a foule; and neuer trouble nor torment your selues, with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them: nor kill horse and man with running and crying, *See you not a hawk?* For hunting also: the woods, lakes, and riuers, affoord not onely chase sufficient, for any that delights in that kinde of toyle, or pleasure; but such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompence thy dayly labour, with a Captains pay.

### Imployments for labourers.

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For labourers, if those that sowe hemp, rape, turnips, parsnips, carrats, cabidge, and such like; giue 20, 30, 40, 50 shillings yearely for an acre of ground, and meat, drinke, and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich; when better, or at least as good ground, may be had and cost nothing but labour; it seemes strange to me, any such should there grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents; men from their wiues; nor seruants from their masters: onely, such as with free consent may be spared: But that each parish, or village, in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children, of thirteene or fourteen years of age, or young married people, that haue small wealth to liue on; heere by their labour may liue exceeding well: prouided alwaies that first there bee a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for them; for, any place may bee ouerlain: and it is most necessarie to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, Carpenters, Masons, Fishers, Fowlers, Gardiners, Husbandmen, Sawyers, Smiths, Spinsters, Taylors, Weauers, and such like) to take ten, twelue, or twentie, or as their is occasion, for Apprentises. The Masters by this may quicklie growe rich; these may learne their trades themselues, to doe the like; to a generall and an incredible benefit, for King, and Countrey, Master, and Seruant.

### Examples of the Spanyard.

It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spanyards*, and *Portugals*, 23 their affronts, and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honour and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemne vs, of too much imbecillitie, sloth and negligence: yet the Authors of those new inuentions, were held as ridiculous, for a long time, as now are others, that doe but seek to imitate their vnparalleled vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprong from the plants of their generous indeauours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleeeue nothing; or so curiously contest, to preuent

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wee knowe not what future euent; that wee either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire sand, rather then rough rocks, iudge that wee knowe not, gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their willes to be idle or as ill. And who is he hath iudgement, courage, and any industrie or qualitie with vnderstanding, will leaue his Countrie, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweete *England* doth afford to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by inioying his deserts? whose prosperitie once appearing, will incourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe, and vnderstand it selfe; and not corrected, nor oppressed aboue its strength, ere it knowe wherefore. A child can neither performe the office, nor deedes of a man of strength, nor indure that affliction He is able; nor can an Apprentice at the first performe the part of a Maister. And if twentie yeeres bee required to make a child a man, seuen yeares limited an apprentice for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States man; and commonly, a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet: If perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must bee practice, as well as theorick: Let no man much condemne this paradox opinion, to say, that halfe seauen yeeres is scarce sufficient, for a good capacitie, to learne in these affaires, how to carie himselfe: and who euer shall trie in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the ende of seauen yeeres occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and, in the *Interim* all the content, rewards, gaines, and hopes will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it bee able to creepe, to stand, and goe, yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it wil grow too fast, or euer to any thing; except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the planters of those affaires, in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude, and such 24 double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaues, and honest men turne knaues: which hath euer bin the ruine of the most popular common-weales; and is verie vnlikelie euer well to begin in a new.

The blisse of Spaine.

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Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spanyard*, but these new conclusions, in searching those vnknowne parts of this vnknowne world? By which meanes hee diues euen into the verie secrets of all his Neighbours, and the most part of the world: and when the *Portugale* and *Spanyard* had found the *East* and *West Indies*; how many did condemn themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*? who, vpon our neglect, brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since wee finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and trades, and still daily dooe finde both in *Asia*, *Africa*, *Terra incognita*, and *America*; so that there is neither Soldier nor Mechanick, from the Lord to the begger, but those parts afforde them all imploiment; and discharge their Natiue soile, of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now he knowes little, that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; It is strange we should be so dull, as not maintaine that which wee haue, and pursue that wee knowe. Surely I am sure many would taste it ill, to bee abridged of the titles and honours of their predecessors: when if but truely they would iudge themselues; looke how inferior they are to their noble vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honours and liuings: which neuer were ordained for shewes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by heroycall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it, They would not doe both in purse and person, for the good of the Commonwealth? which might moue them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designes. Religion, aboue all things, should moue vs (especially the Clergie) if wee were religious, to shewe our faith by our workes; in conuerting those poore saluages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spanyards* take to bring them to their adulterated faith. Honor might moue the Gentry, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all; if wee were that we would seeme, and be accounted. Or

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be we so far inferior to other nations, or our 25 spirits so far dejected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to seine the *Portugall, Spanyard, Dutch, French, or Turke* (as to the cost of *Europe*, too many dooe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of imployments; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discovering these North parts of *America*.

### My second voyage to New England.

Now to make my words more apparent by my deeds; I was the last yeare, 1615. to haue staid in the Countrie, to make a more ample triall of those conclusions with sixteene men; whose names were

Thomas Dirmir. William Ingram. Edward Stalings. Robert Miter. Daniel Cage. Gent. David Cooper. Souldiers. Francis Abbot. Iohn Patridge, Iohn Gosling. and two boies. Thomas Digbie. Thomas Watson Daniel Baker. Walter Chissick Sailers. Adam Smith. Iohn Hall.

I confesse, I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions bin in like proportion: nor would I haue had so fewe, could I haue had measles for more: yet (would God haue pleased wee had safely arriued) I neuer had the like authoritie, freedom, and prouision, to doe so well. The maine assistance next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the Saluages; especially, with *Dohannida*, one of their greatest Lords; who had liued long in *England*. By the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue gotte that credit with the rest of his friends, and alliants, to haue had as many of them, as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange of their Countrie commodities; which both with ease and securitie in their seasons may be vsed. With him and diuerse others, I had concluded to inhabit, and defend them against the *Terentynes*; with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyranny did inforce them to imbrace my offer, with no small deuotion. And though many may thinke me more bolde then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treacherie, and inconstancie, hauing so desperately assaulted and betraied many others: I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more

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in *Virginia*, then I intended heere, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught me) that to mee it seemes no daunger 26 more then ordinarie. And though I know my selfe the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiuie inspection can pearce beyond the boundes of my habilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreate such giue me leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eight yeares which I haue been conuersant with these affairs, I haue not learned there is a great difference, betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumor, humor, or misprison haue such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie, not sufficient to keep one from being deceiued. Therefore I know no reason but to beleue my own eies, before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne proiects, and indeauours. But I honor, with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement; so farre to obserue, as they tie mee not to the crueltie of vnknowne events.

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other employments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures. Wherein, though I haue had many discouragements by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friendes, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of aduenturers; but chiefly by one *Hunt*, who was Master of the ship, with whom oft arguing these proiects, for a plantation, howeuer bee seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots, and obseruations, and so to leaue me alone in a desolate Ile, to the fury of famine, and all other extreamities (lest I should haue acquainted Sir *Thomas Smith*, my Honourable good friend, and the Councell of *Virginia* ) to the end, he and his associates, might secretly ingrosse it, ere it were knowne to the State: Yet that God that alway hath kept me from the worst of such practices, deliuered me from the worst of his dissimulations. Notwithstanding after my departure, hee abused the Saluages where hee came, and betrayed twenty seauen of these poore innocent soules, which he sould

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in *Spaine* for slaues, to mooue their hate against our Nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult.

Now, returning in the Bark, in the fifth of August, I arriued at Plimouth: where imparting those my purposes to my honourable friende Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and some others; I was so encouraged, and assured to haue the managing their authoritie in those parts, during my life, that I ingaged my selfe to vndertake it for them. Arriuing at London, I found also many promise me such assistance, that I entertained *Michaell Cooper* the Master, who returned with mee, and others of the company. How hee dealt with others, or others with him I know not: But 27 my publike proceeding gaue such encouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some fewe of the Southren Company, as these proiects were liked, and he furnished from London with foure ships at Sea, before they at Plimouth had made any prouision at all, but onely a ship cheefely set out by Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*; which vpon *Hunts* late trecherie among the Saluages, returned as shee went, and did little or nothing, but lost her time. I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with *Cooper*; in that they offered mee that imploiment, if I would accept it: and I finde, my refusall hath incurred some of their displeasures, whose fauor and loue I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly inioy it. And though they doe censure me as opposite to their proceedings; they shall yet still in all my words and deedes, finde, it is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike: for hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrie; I had beene verie dishonest to haue broke my promise; nor will I spend more time in discouerie, or fishing, till I may goe with a companie for plantation: for, I know my grounds. Yet euery one that reades this booke can not put it in practice; though it may helpe any that haue seene those parts. And though they endeavour to worke me euen out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but, I would bee sory, their intruding ignorance should, by their defailements, bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse: So that the businesse prosper, I haue my desire; be it by *Londoner, Scot, Welch, or English*, that are true subjects to our King and Country: the

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good of my Countrey is that I seeke; and there is more then enough for all, if they could bee content but to proceed.

The occasion of my returne.

At last it pleased Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and Master Doctor *Sutcliffe Deane* of *Exceter*, to conceiue so well of these proiects, and my former imployments, as induced them to make a new aduenture with me in those parts, whither they haue so often sent to their continuall losse. By whose example, many inhabitants of the west Countrey, made promises of much more then was looked for, but their priuate emulations quickly qualified that heat in the greater number; so that the burden lay principally on them, and some few Gentlemen my friends, in *London*. In the end I was furnished with a Ship of 200. and another of 50. But ere I had sayled 120 leagues, shee broke all her masts; pumping each watch 5 or 6000 strokes: onely her spret saile remayned to spoon before the wind, till we had reaccomodated a lury mast, and the rest, to returne for *Plimouth*. My Vice-Admirall beeing lost, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage: Now with the remainder of those prouisions, My reimbarkment, incounters with pyrats and imprisonment by the French. 28 I got out again in a small Barke of 60 tuns with 30 men (for this of 200 and prouision for 70) which were the 16 before named, and 14 other saylors for the ship. With those I set saile againe the 24 of Iune: where what befell me (because my *actions* and *writings* are so publicke to the world, enuy still seeking to scandalize my indeauours, and seeing no power but death, can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens mindes) lest my owne relations of those hard euent, might by some constructors, be made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukley* a worthie Knight, and Vice admirall of *Deuonshire*; which were as followeth.

*The examination of Daniel Baker, late Steward to Captaine Iohn Smith in the returne of Plimouth; taken before Sir Lewis Stukley Knight, the eight of December 1615.*

Captaine Fry his ship 140 tuns, 36 cast peeces and murderers, 80 men; of which 40, or 50, were master gunners.

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Who saith, being chased two dayes by one *Fry*, an English Pirate, that could not board vs, by reason of foule weather, *Edmund Chambers*, the Master, *John Minter*, his mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pilot, and others importuned his saide Captaine to yeeld; houlding it vnpossible hee should defend himselfe: and that the saide Captaine should send them his boate, in that they had none: which at last he concluded vpon these conditions, That *Fry* the Pyrate should vow not to take any thing from Captaine *Smith*, that might ouerthrowe his voyage, nor send more Pirates into his ship then hee liked off; otherwaies, be would make sure of them he had, and defend himselfe against the rest as hee could.

More: he confesseth that the quarter-masters and *Chambers* receiued golde of those Pirats; but how much, he knoweth not: Nor would his Captain come out of his Caben to entertaine them; although a great many of them had beene his saylers, and for his loue would haue wafted vs to the Iles of *Flowers*.

The one of 200, the other 20.

At *Fyall*, wee were chased by two French Pyrats, who commanded vs *Amaine*. *Chambers*, *Minter*, *Digby*, and others, importuned againe the Captaine to yeeld; alledging they were *Turks*, and would make them all slaues: or *Frenchmen*, and would throw them all ouer board if they shot but a peece; and that they were entertained to fish, and not to fight: vntill the Captaine vowed to fire the powder and split the ship, if they would not stand to their defence; whereby at last we went cleere of them, for all their shot.

The Admirall 140 tuns, 12 peeces, 12 murderers, 90 men, with long pistols, pocket pistols, musket, sword and poniard, the Viceadmirall 100 tuns, the Rere-admiral 60, the other 80: all had 250 men most armed as is said.

At *Flowers* wee were chased by foure French men of warre; all with their close fights afore and 29 after. And this examinants Captaine hauing provided for our defence, *Chambers*, *Minter*, *Digby*, and some others, againe importuned him to yeeld to the fauour of those, against whom there was nothing but ruine by fighting: But if he would gee aboard them in that hee could speake *French*, by curtesie hee might goe cleere; seeing they offered

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him such faire quarter, and vowed they were Protestants, and all of *Rochell*, and had the Kings commission onely to take *Spaniard*, *Portugales*, and *Pyrats*; which at last hee did: but they kept this examinate Captaine and some other of his company with him. The next day the French men of warre went aboard vs, and tooke what they listed, and diuided the company into their seuerall ships, and manned this examinate ship with the Frenchmen; and chased with her all the shippes they saw: vntill about fiue or six dayes after vpon better consideration, they surrendered the ship, and victualls, with the most part of our prouision, but not our weapons.

The gentlemen and souldiers were euer willing to fight.

More: he confesseth that his Captain exhorted them to performe their voyage, or goe for *New found Land* to returne fraughted with fish, where hee would finde meanes to proceed in his plantation: but *Chambers* and *Minter* grew vpon tearms they would not; vntill those that were Souldiers concluded with their Captaines resolution, they would; seeing they had clothes, victualls, salt, nets, and lines sufficient, and expected their armes; and such other things as they wanted, the French men promised to restore, which the Captaine the next day went to seeke, and sent them about loading of commodities, as powder, match, hookes, instruments, his sword and dagger, bedding, aqua vitæ, his commission, apparell, and many other things; the particulars he remembreth not: But, as for the cloath, canuas, and the Captaines cloathes, *Chambers*, and his associats divided it amongst themselues, and to whom they best liked; his Captaine not hauing any thing, to his knowledge, but his wastecoat and breeches. And in this manner going from ship to ship, to regaine our armes, and the rest; they seeing a sayle, gaue chase vntill night. The next day being very foule weather, this examine came so neere with the ship vnto the French men of warre that they split the maine sayle on the others spret sayle yard. *Chambers* willed the Captaine come aboard, or bee would leaue him: whereupon the Captaine commanded *Chambers* to send his boate for him. *Chambers* replied shee was split (which was false) telling him hee might come if he would in the Admiralls boat. The Captaines answer was, he could not command her, nor come when hee would: so this examine fell F 30 on sterne; and

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that night left his said Captaine alone amongst the French men, in this manner, by the command of *Chambers*, *Minter*, and others.

*Daniel Cage*, *Edward Stalings*, Gentlemen; *Walter Chissell*, *David Cooper*, *Robert Miller*, and *John Partridge*, beeing examined, doe acknowledge and confesse, that *Daniel Baker* his examination aboue written is true.

### A double treachery

Now the cause why the *French* detayned me againe, was the suspicion this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them, that I would reuenge my selfe, vpon the Bank, or in *New found Land*, of all the *French* I could there incounter; and how I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouerperswaded mee: and many other such like tricks to catch but opportunitie in this maner to leaue me. And thus they returned to *Plimouth*; and perforce with the *French* I thus proceeded.

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

Being a Fleet of eight or nine sayle, we watched for the *West Indies* fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other 8. Still we spent our time about the Iles neere *Fyall*: where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse; thinking to haue sent it you of his Maiesties Councill, by some ship or other: for I saw their purpose was to take all they could. At last we were chased by one Captain *Barra*, an *English* Pyrat, in a small ship, with some twelue peeces of ordinance, about thirty men, and neer all startued. They sought by curtesie releefe of vs; who gaue them such faire promises, as at last wee betrayed Captaine *Wolliston* (his Lieftenant) and foure or fiue of their men aboard vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce. Now my part was to be prisoner in the gun-room, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life: yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing wel these *French* intents, made ready to fight, and *Wolliston* as resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused vs demurre vpon the matter longer, som sixteene houres; and then returned their prisoners, and some victualls also, vpon a small composition. The next wee tooke was a small *English* man of

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*Poole* from *New found Land*. The great caben at this present, was my prison; from whence I could see them pillage those poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish when hee was gone, they sould his poore cloathes at the maine mast, by an outcry, which scarce gaue each man seauen pence a peece. Not long after, wee tooke a *Scot* fraught from *Saint Michaels* to *Bristow*: hee had better fortune then the other. For, hauing but taken a boats loading of suger, marmelade, suckets, and 31 A prize worth 16000 crowns. A prize worth 200000 crownes. such like, we discried foure sayle, after whom we stood; who forling their maine sayles attended vs to fight. But our *French* spirits were content onely to perceiue they were *English* red crosses. Within a very small time after, wee chased foure *Spanish* shippes came from the *Indies*: wee fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their sayles and sides; yet not daring to board them, lost them. A poore Caruell of *Brasile*, was the next we chased: and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her, with 370 chests of sugar. The next was a *West Indies* man, of 160 tuns, with 1200 hides, 50 chests of cutchanell, 14 coffers of wedgeses of siluer, 8000 ryalls of 8, and six coffers of the King of *Spaines* treasure, besides the pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers. Two monethes they kept me in this manner to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and be a prisoner when they tooke any *English*. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me a-shore on the Iles, or the next ship he tooke; yet, at last, he was intreated I should goe for *France* in the Caruell of sugar: himself resolued still to keepe the Seas. Within two dayes after, we were haled by two *West Indy* men: but when they saw vs waue them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot through our mayne mast and so left vs. Hauing liued thus, neer three moneths among those French men of warre; with much adoe, we arriued at the *Gulion*, not far from *Rochel*; where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction, and full content, they kept me fiue or six daies prisoner in the Caruell, accusing me to bee him that burnt their Colony in *New France*; to force mee giue them a discharge before the Iudge of the Admiralty, and so stand to their curtisie for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischief. To preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all vnder Hatches, I watched my

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opportunity to get a-shore in their boat; where-into, in the darke night, I secretly got: and with a halfe pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat Ile*: but the Current was so strong and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea; till it pleased God the winde so turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearfull night of gusts and raine, in the Sea, the space of 12 houres, when many ships were driuen a shore, and diuerse split (and being with sculling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke mee) at last I arriued in an oazie Ile by *Charowne*; were certaine fowlers found mee neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, colde, and hunger. By those, I found meanes to gette to My escape from the French men. 32 Sir Thomas Edmunds. *Rochell*; where I vnderstood the man of warre which we left at Sea, and the rich prize was split, the Captaine drowned and halfe his companie the same night, within seauen leagues of that place, from whence I escaped alone, in the little boate, by the mercy of God; far beyond all mens reason, or my expectation. Arriuing at *Rochell*, vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiralltie. I founde many good words, and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, tolde mee the newes they heard of my owne death: these I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held prooffe sufficient. All which being performed according to the order of iustice, from vnder the Judges hand; I presented it to the English Ambassador then at *Burdeaux*, where it was my chance to see the arriual of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*. Of the wrack of the rich prize some 36000. crownes worth of goods came a shore and was saued with the Caruell, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge did promise me I should haue iustice; what will bee the conclusion as yet, I know not. But vnder the colour to take Pirats and West-Indie men (because the *Spaniards* will not suffer the *French* trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, though they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize; or from any of his territories out of the limits of *Europe* .

They betrayed mee hauing the broad seale of England: and neere twentie sayle of English more, besides them concealed in like maner were betrayed that year. My returne for England, 1615.

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Leaving thus my businesse in *France*, I returned to Plimouth, to find them that had thus buried me amongst the *French*: and not onely buried mee, but with so much infamy, as such trecherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies: But my clothes, bookes, instruments, Armes, and what I had, they shared amongst them, and what they liked; fayning, the *French* had all was wanting; and had throwne them into the Sea, taken their ship, and all, had they not runne away and left me as they did. The cheeftaines of this mutinie that I could finde, I laied by the heeles; the rest, like themselues, confessed the truth as you haue heard. Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, I rest at your censures. But to the matter.

*Newfound-land* at the first, I haue heard, was held as desperate a fishing, as this I proiect in *New England*. *Placentia*, and the *Banke*, were also as doubtfull to the *French*: But, for all the disasters happened mee, the businesse is the same it was: and the fiue ships (whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes) went forward; and found fish so much, that neither Izeland-man, nor *Newfound-land*-man, I could beare of hath beene there, will goe any more to either place, if they may 33 The successe of my vice Admirall: and the foure ships of London, from *New England*. goe thither. So, that vpon the returne of my Vice-admirall that proceeded on her voyage when I spent my masts, from Plimouth this yeare are gone foure or fiue saile: and from London as many; onely to make voyages of profit where the Englishmen haue yet beene, all their returnes together (except Sir *Fr. Pophames*) would scarce make one a sauer of neere a douzen I could nominate; though there be fish sufficient, as I perswade my selfe, to fraught yearely foure or fiue hundred sayle, or as many as will goe. For, this fishing stretcheth along the Coast from *Cape Cod* to *Newfound-land*, which is seauen or eight hundered miles at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yeare long; keeping their hants and feedings as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But, all men are not such as they should bee, haue vndertaken those voiajes: and a man that hath but heard of an instrument, can hardly vse it so well, as hee that by vse hath contriued to make it. All the *Romanes* were not *Scipioes*: nor all the *Geneweses*, *Columbuses*: nor

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all *Spanyards, Corteses*: had they diued no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries, then wee, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chances; they had neuer beene remembred as they are: yet had they no such certainties to begin as wee. But, to conclude. *Adam* and *Eue* did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posteritie; but not without labour, trouble and industrie. *Noe*, and his family, beganne againe the second plantation; and their seede as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one countrie another: and so the world to that estate it is. But not without much hazard, trauell, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthie Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beene more dilligent for vs now in these Ages, then wee are to plant that yet vnplanted, for the after liuers: Had the seede of *Abraham*, our Sauour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselues to no more dangers to teach the Gospell, and the will of God then wee; Euen wee our selues, had at this present been as Saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage yet vnciuilized. The *Hebrewes*, and *Lacedæmonians*, the *Goths*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Territories, enrich their subjects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden *Pharises*, but industrious iron-steeled *Publicans*: They regarded more prouisions, and necessaries for their people, then iewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselues. Riches were their seruants, not their Maisters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tyrantes) their people as children, not as slaues: there was no disaster, could 34 discourage them; and let none thinke they incounered not with all manner of incumbrances. And what haue euer beene the workes of the greatest Princes of the earth, but planting of countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations, to ciuilitie and humanitie? whose eternall actions, fill our histories. Lastly, the *Portugales*, and *Spanyards*: whose euerliuing actions, before our eyes will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrie; and of want charity to those poore saluages, whose Countrie wee challenge, vse and possesse; except wee bee but made to vse, and marre what our Fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme our selues

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too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them, to prouide that doth maintaine vs? and baseness for vs to doe the like for others? Surely no. Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth and the minute of our death: Seeing our good deedes, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life: and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their venues to bee worthily their successors.

*FINIS.*

*At London printed the 18. of Iune in the yeare of our Lord 1616.*

### **To his worthy Captaine, the Author.**

Oft thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere In bloodie wars, where thousands haue bin slaine. Then giue mee leaue, in this some part to beare; And as thy seruant, heere to read my name. Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene In the fierce wars of *Transiluania*: Long ere that thou *America* hadst seene, Or led wast captiued in *Virginia*; Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme No more, then t'were to gee to bed, or drinke, And all thou yet hast done, thor dost esteeme As nothing; This doth cause mee thinke That thou l'aue seene so oft approu'd in dangers (And thrice captiu'd, thy valor still hath reed) Art yet preserued, to conuert these strangers: By God thy guide, I trust it is decreed. For mee: I not commend, but much admire Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her. For it will praise it selfe in spight of me; Thou, it, it thou, to all posteritie.

*Your true friend, and souldier, Ed. Robison.*

### **To my honest Captaine, the Author.**

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Malignant Times! What can be said or don, But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!  
This worthy Work, which thou hast bought so dear, Ne thou, nor it, Detractors neede to  
fear. Thy words by deedes so long thou hast approu'd, Of thousands knowe thee not thou  
art belou'd. And this great Plot will make thee ten times more Knowne and belou'd, than  
ere thou wert before. I neuer knew a Warryer yet, but thee, From wine, Tobacco, debts,  
dice, oaths, so free. I call thee *Warrier*: and I make the bolder; For, many a *Captaine* now,  
was neuer Souldier. Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise) When they haue  
don like thee, my Muse shall raise Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come, To liue like  
thine (admit'd) till day of Doome.

*Your true friend, sometimes your soldier, Tho. Carlton.*

### NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 80 Ships employed thither within these eight yeares; *and the  
benefit Of that Countrey by Sea and Land.*

With the present estate of that happie Plantation, begun but by 60 weake men *in the yeare  
1620.*

And how to build a Fleete of good Shippes *to make a little Nauie Royall.*

Written by *Captaine John Smith*, sometimes *Gouernour of Virginia*, and *Admirall of New-  
England.*

The second Edition

LONDON, Printed by WILLIAM IONES.

1622.

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1837.

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TO THE MOST HIGH AND EXCELLENT PRINCE CHARLES, Prince of *Wales*; Duke of *Cornwall, Yorke, and Albanie*; Marquis of *Ormond, and Rothsey*; and Earle Palatine of *Chester*; Heire of *Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, &c.*

SIR,

WHen scarce any would beleeeue mee there was any such matter, your Highnesse did not disdaine to accept my description, & calld that *New England*, whose barbarous names you changed for such English, that none can denie but Prince *Charles* is the Godfather. Whereby I am bound in all reason and dutie to giue you the best account I can how your child doth prosper: and although as yet it is not much vnlike the Father in fortune, onely vsed as an instrument for other mens ends; yet the grace you bestowed on it by your Princely fauor, hath drawn so many iudgments now to behold it, that I hope shall find, it will giue content to your Highnesse, satisfaction to them, and so increase the number of well-willers, *New England* will be able to reiect her maligners, and attend Prince *Charles* with her dutifull obedience, with a trophie of honour, and a kingdome for a Prince. Therefore the great worke contained in this little booke, humbly desires your Princely patronage. No more but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite iudgement of your renowned vertues, I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

*Your Highnesse true and faithfull seruant, Io. Smith.*

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT WORTHY ADVENTurers, to all Plantations and Discoveries, their friends and well-willers, especially of *Virginia* and *New England*.

[???

Right Ho.

*I Confesse it were more proper for me doing what I say, then writing what I know: but that it is not my fault, there is many a hundreth can testifie, if they please to remember*

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*what paines I have taken both particularly and generally to make this worke knowne, and procure meanes to put it in practise. What calumniations, doubts, or other mispritions hath opposed my endeavours, I had rather forget then remember, but still to expresse my forwardnesse, to the consideration of your favorable constructions I present this short discourse of the proceeding and present estate of New England: if you please to peruse it, and make use of it, I am richly rewarded, though they be but the collections and obseruations of a plaine souldier, yet if you please to grace them with your countenance and good acceptance, I shall therein thinke my selfe happie, and hope that those labours may in time returne you such fruites as hereafter may perswade you to pardon this boldnesse, and accept them to be your honest seruants.*

Yours to command, *Io. Smith.*

### **ENGLANDS TRIALS AND PRESENT ESTATE.**

Concerning the description of this Countrey, six yeares ago I writ so largely, as in briefe I hope this may suffice you to remember, that *New England* is a part of *America*, betwixt the Degrees of 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line. From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren and broken lles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe, close to the shore; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber. From 43. to 41. & a half, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand and clay, much corne, many people, some lles, many good harbours, a temperate aire, and therein all things necessary for the building ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraught, within a square of 12 leagues: 25 harbours I sounded; 30 seuerall Lordships I saw, and so neare as I could imagine, 3000 men. I was vp one riuier fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people who trade with those of *New-England*, and them of *Canada*.

*The benefit of fishing, as Mr. Dee reporteth in his British Monarchie.*

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He saith that it is more then 44 yeares ago, and it is more then 40 yeares since he writ it, that the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were 500. besides 100 Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemmings.

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The coasts of *Wales* and Lancashire was used by 300 saile of strangers.

*Ireland* at *Baltemore* fraughted yearely 300 saile of Spaniards, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to have made a strong Castle, because of the strait, to have tribute for fishing.

*Blacke Rocke* was yearely fished by three or foure hundred saile of Spaniards, Portugals & Biskiners.

Mr. Gentleman *and many Fisher-men and Fish Mongers with whom I have conferred, report,*

The Hollanders raise yearely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons and Pilchards, 300000 pounds.

*Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

*Cape Blanke* for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards 30000 pounds.

*But diuers other learned experienced Observers say, though it may seeme incredible,*

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute of the fishers for Tunny, Mullit and Purgos, more then 10000 pounds.

*Lubeck* hath 700 ships: *Hambrough* 600: *Embden* lately a fisher towne, 1400. whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

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*Holland and Zeland*, not much greater then *Yorkshire*, hath thirtie walled townes, 400 villages, and 20000 saile of shippes and hoyes; 3600 are fishermen, whereof 100 are Doggers, 700 Pinckes and Welbotes, 700 Frand botes, Britters and Todebotes, with 1300 Busses, besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and fifteene yeares ago they had more then 116000 sea-faring men.

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000 Last of fish, twelue barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000 pounds by the Fishermens price, that 14 yeares ago did pay for their tenths 300000 pound; which venting in *Pumerland, Sprussia, Denmarke, Lesland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000 pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build ships, nor merchandize to set them 9 foorth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other Nations decay. But leaving these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine,

That the coast of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, the North Sea, with *Ireland* and the Sound, New-found land and Cape Blanke, do serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz.

*Herring.*

*Salt-fish.*

*poore lohn.*

*Sturgion.*

*Mullit.*

*Tunny.*

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*Porgos.*

*Caviare.*

*Buttargo.*

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

But *New Englands* fishings is neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugale, Prouance, Sauoy, Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caiiare, and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Littuania, or Germany*, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking; they returning but wood, pitch, tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities: we, wines, oyles, sugars, silks and such merchandize as the Straits affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners. And for prooffe hereof:  
Prooffe 1. 1614.

*With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, M. Iohn Buley and W. Skelton, I went fr? the Downes the third of March, and ariued in New England the last of April, where I was to haue stayed but with ten men to keep possession of those large territories. Had the whales proved, as curious information had assured me and my aduentures, (but those things failed.) So having but fortie five men and boyes, we built seven boates, 37 did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the*

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*coast, I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants; 1100 Beuer skins, 100 Martins and as many Otters. 40000 of drie fish we sent for Spaine 2 10 with the salt fish, traine oile and Furres, I returned for England the 18 of Iuly, and ariued safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in six moneths I made my voyage out and home; and by the labour of 45, got neare the value of 1500 pounds in those grosse commodities. This yeare also one went from Plimmouth, set out by divers of the Isle of Wight and the West country, by the directions & instructions of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.*

### Proofe 2. 1615.

*The Virginia Company vpon this sent 4 good ships; and because I would not undertake it for them, having ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me. They set saile in Ianuary, and ariued there in March; they found fish enough untill halfe lune, fraughted a ship of 300 Tuns, went for Spaine, which was taken by the Turks; one went to Virginia to relieve that Colonie, and two came for England with the greene fish, traine oile and Furres within six moneths.*

### Proofe 3. 1615.

*In Ianuary with 200 pounds in cash for adventure, and six Gentlemen wel furnished, I went from London to the foure ships was promised, prepared for me in the West country, but I found no such matter; notwithstanding at the last with a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmoth with a ship of 200 Tuns, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done onely with 15 I was to stay in the country; but ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to returne to Plimmoth, where rather then lose all, reimbarking myselfe in a Bark of 60 Tuns, how I escaped the English pyrates and the French, and was betrayed by foure French men of warre, I referre you to the Description of New England: but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March, the Londoners in Ianuary, she ariued in May, they in March, yet came home well fraught in August, & all her men well, within 5 months, odde days.*

### Proofe 4. 1616.

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*The Londoners ere I returned from France, for all their losse by the Turks, which was valued about 4000 pounds, sent two more in Iuly; but such courses they took by the Canaries to the West Indies, it was ten moneths ere they ariued in New England, wasting in that time their seasons, victuall and healths, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselves, and the one returned, neare fraught with fish and traine, within 2 moneths after.*

Prooffe 5. 1616.

*From Plimmoth went 4 ships, onely to fish and trade, some in Frebruarie, some in March, one of 200 Tuns got thither in a month, and went full fraught for Spain, the 11 rest returned to Plimmoth well fraught, and their men well, within fiue moneths, odde dayes.*

Prooffe 6. 1616.

*From London went two more, one of 200 Tuns, got thither in six weeks, and within six weeks after with 44 men and boyes was full fraught, and returned again into England within fiue moneths and a few daies; the other went to the Canaries with drie fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of 8, and as I heard turned pirats.*

Prooffe 7. 1617.

*I being at Plimmoth prouided with 3 good ships, yet but fifteen men to stay with me in the country was Windbound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, ships went for New-foundland, whereby my designe was frustrate, which was to me & my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners in the behalfe of themselves; and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of our endeouours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged; now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would willingly forget me; but I am not the first they have deceived.*

Prooffe 8. 1618.

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*There was foure good ships prepared at Plimmoth, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely 2 went forward, the one being of 200 Tuns, returned well fraught for Plimmoth, and her men in health, within five moneths; the other of 80 Tuns, went for Bilbow with drie fish, and made a good returne. In this voyage Edward Rowcroft, alias Stallings, a valiant souldier, that had bin with me in Virginia, and seuen yeares after went with me from Plimoth towards New England with Thomas Dirmer an understanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all whose names with our proceedings you may reade at large in my description of New England, upon triall before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, how when we had past the worst, for pure cowardize the Maister and sailers ran away with the ship and all I had, and left me alone among 8 or 9 French men of Warre in the yeare 1615. This Stallings went now againe in those ships, and hauing some wrong offered him in New England by a French man, hee tooke him, and as he writ to me, he went with her to Virginia with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare; he knew both these countries well, yet he promised me the next Spring to meet me in New England; but the ship and he perished in Virginia.*

12 Prooffe 9. 1619.

*This yeare againe, divers ships intending to go from Plimmoth, so disagreed, as there went but one of 200 Tuns, who stayed in the country about 6 weeks, with 38 men and boyes, had her fraught, which she sold at the first penie, for 2100 pounds, besides the Furies: so that every poor sailer that had but a single share, had his charges, and 16.l. 10.s. for his seuen moneths worke. Mr . Thomas Dirmer hauing liued about a yeare in New-found-land, returning to Plimmoth, went for New England in this ship, and not only confirms what I haue writ, but so much more approved of it, that he stayed there with fiue or six men in a little boate; finding 2 or 3 Frenchmen among the sauages, who had lost their ship, augmented his companie, with whom he ranged the coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcomed and well refreshed; thence returned to New England again, where having bin a yeare, in his back-returne to Virginia, he was so wounded by the sauages, he died vpon it, them escaped were relieued at Virginia. Let not men attribute their great*

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*adventures and untimely deaths to unfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserve them, with so small means to do so much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an encouragement to those our poore vndertakings; and this for aduantage as they writ vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by cruell warres and a mortall disease; for where I had seene 100 or 200 people, there is scarce ten to be found. From Pembrocks bay to Harrintons bay there is not 20; from thence to Cape An, some 30; from Taulbuts bay to the Riuer Charles, about 40; and not any of them touched with any sicknes, but one poore Frenchman that died.*

Proofe 10. 1620.

*For to make triall this yeare there is gone 6 or 7 saile from the West country, onely to fish, three of whom are returned, and as I was certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that every sailer for a single share had 20 po?ds for his 7 moneths work, which is more then in 20 moneths he should have gotten had he gone for wages any where. Now though all the former ships haue not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kind of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me.*

13

*A plantation in New England.*

Proofe 11. 1620.

Vpon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of *London* and other places prouided two ships, the one of 160 Tunnes, the other of 70; they left the coast of *England* the 23 of August, with about 120 persons, but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake that forced their returne to *Plimmoth*, where discharging her and 20 passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of Nouember fell *Cape Iames*; but being pestred nine weeks in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their cabbins, most of

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them grew very weake, and weary of the sea, then for want of experience ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter, fortie of them died, and 60 were left in very weake estate at the ships coming away, about the first of April following, and ariued in England the sixt of May.

Proofe 12. 1620.

Immediately after her ariuall, from London they sent another of 55 Tunnes to supply them, with 37 persons, they set saile in the beginning of Iuly, but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimmoth*, and ariued at *New Plimmoth* in *New England* the eleuenth of November, where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lustie and in good health, except six that died. Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laded with clapboard, wainscot & walnut, with about three hogsheads of Beuer skins and some Saxefras, the 13 of December, and drawing neare our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of *Cera* Gouvernour of Ile *Deu* on the coast of *Poytou*, where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and companie, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds; and after 14 days sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquis and his hungry seruants; they ariued at London the 14 of Februarie, leauing all them they found and caried to *New England* well and in health, with victuall and corne sufficient till the next haruest.

The copie of Letter sent by this ship.

A Letter fro New Plimmoth.

*Louing cousin, at our ariuall at New Plimmoth in New England, we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable 14 and friendly, the country very pleasant and temperate, yeelding naturally of it self great store of fruites, as vines of diuers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much*

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*varietie of flowers, rootes, and herbs no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better, Timber of all sorts you haue in England, doth couer the Land, that affoords beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of Turkies, Quailles Pigeons and Patriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Beuers and Otters. The sea affoords vs as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the rivers and lles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most usefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indian corne, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble us, and all those good blessings we have, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught vs euery Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I have in England, and so I rest*

Your louing kinsman *William Hilton*.

Proofe 13, 1621.

*From the West country went ten or twelve ships to fish which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow made 17 pounds a single share, besides Bever, Otters and Martins skins; but some of the rest that came to the same ports that were already furnished, so glutted the market, their price was abated, yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to go againe.*

For this yeare 1622.

*There is gone from the West of England onely to fish 35 ships, & about the last of April two more from London, the one of 100 Tuns, the other of 30, with some 60 passengers to supply the plantation with all necessary prouisions. Now though the Turke and French hath bin somewhat too busie, would all the Christian Princes but be truly at unities as his royall Maiestie our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, 70 saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his coasts in the Levant, and make such a guard in the straits*

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*of Hellespont, as would make the great Turke himselfe more afraid in Constantinople, then the smallest red crosse, crosses the seas would be, either of any French, Piccaroun, or the pirats of Argere.*

15

An abstract of Letters sent from the Collony in New England, July 16, 1622.

*Since the newes of the massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them then before; for their hands hath bin embrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.*

Here I must intreate a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beate them out of their dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, or discourage any either in *Virginia* or *New England*? No: for I haue tried them both. For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong; with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weekes; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutchmen sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now living in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechaukanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head, with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their owne wants was

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such, I have given them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I haue, caused *Powhatan* send his owne men to *Iames Towne* to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: & thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest. It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspakegh* prisoner, and by keeping him, forced his subjects to worke in chaines, till I made all the country pay contribution, hauing little else whereon to live.

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Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had any man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that through their confidence in six months came most to c<sup>o</sup>fusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia*. When I went first to those desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more run away then went. But after the ice was broken, came many brave voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the honorable Company haue bin humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction and discouragement, & this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now suters to go, then ever hath bin constrained knaues; and it is not vnknown to most men of vnderstanding, how happie many of those Collumners doe thinke themselues, that they might be admitted, and yet pay for their passage to go now to *Virginia*: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would go, I might haue choise of 10000 that would gladly be in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by vngratefull base minds.

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To range this countrey of *New England* in like maner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their brute conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked; when your West country men were many of them wounded and much tormented with the sauages that assaulted their ship, as they did say themselves, in the first yeare I was there 1614. and though Mr. *Hunt* then Master with me did most basely in stealing some sauages from that coast to sel, when he was directed to haue gone for *Spaine*, yet that place was so remote from *Capawuck*, where *Epenew* should have fraughted them with gold ore. His fault could be no cause of their bad successe, howeuer it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vainglory, as it may be some gleaners, or some was neuer there may censure me, but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those sauages are that thus strangely doe murder and betray our country men. But to the purpose.

*What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the aire, the richnesse of the soile, the goodnes of the woods, the abundance of fruits, fish, and fowle in their season, they stil affirm that have bin there now neare 2 yeares, and at one draught, they have taken 1000 basses, and in one night twelve hogsheads of 17 herring. They are building a strong fort, they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are wel prouided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neare 60 acres of ground well planted with corne, besides their gardens well replenished with useful fruits; and if their Adventures would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly be supplied. To supply them this 16 of October is going the Paragon with 67 persons, and all this is done by priuat mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they have found, they thinke they should not be beleueed.*

*For the 26 saile of ships, the most I can yet understand is M. Ambrose Iennens of London, and M. Ambrab? Iennens of Plimmoth sent ( their Abraham) a ship of 220 Tuns and the Nightingale of Porchmouth of 100. whose fish at the first penie came to 3150 pounds: in all they were 35 saile: and were in New found land they shared six or seuen pounds for*

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*a common man, in New England they shared 14 pounds; besides six Dutch and French ships made wonder full returnes in furre.*

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe 1622. from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which hath bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right; and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters haue crossed both them & me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first; not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell me he hath gone from *Billings gate* and discovered *Greenwich, Grauesend, Tilbery, Quinborow, Lee and Margit*, which to those did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might be made seem some rare secrets and great countries vnknowne, except the relations of Mr . *Dirmer*.

In *England* some are held great trauelers that haue seene *Venice and Rome, Maarill and Algere, Prague or Ragousa, Constantinople or Ierusalem*, and the *Piramides of Egypt*; that 3 18 thinke it nothing to go to the *Summer Iles* or *Virginia*, which is as farre as any of them, and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable lourney. As for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to go thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer the to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and so oft hath preserued.

What here I haue writ by relation, if it be not right, I humbly intreate your pardons, but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue bin actors or sharers in those voyages: in some particulars they might deceiue me, but in the substances they

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could not, for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished: but seeing all those haue liued there, do confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of plantation, will move both Cittie and Country freely to aduenture with me and my partners more then promises, seeing I haue from his Maiestie Letters Pattents, such honest, free and large conditions assured me from his Commissioners, as I hope wil satisfie any honest vnderstanding.

But because some fortune tellers saith, I am vnfortunate; had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeu in God then their calculations, & peradventure haue giuen as bad account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those objectors, that think it strange if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rests so long without employment, and hath no more reward nor preferment: to which I say:

I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*, where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, or could I euer learne to beg; what there I got, I haue thus spent: these sixteen yeares I haue spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the meanes to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, miseries and incumbrances I endured gratis, where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitati? of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister now called *New England*, an. 1616. at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince *Charles* hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which although 19 I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities.

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If it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what think you I vndertook when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast land; I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing, though more hath bin spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniversitie: where had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses and performe the conditions they promised me, as to crop the fruites of my labours, thousands ere this had bin bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of Desire and the bridle of Reason I am neare ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the raines are in your hands, therefore I intreate you to case me: and those that think I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause, & know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warning enough, not to be so forward again at euery motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to cary newes. For now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first, would not aduenture a groate, so they may be at home again by Michaelmas: which makes me remember M. *Hackluts*; oh incredulitic! the wit of fooles, that slouely do spit at all things faire; a sluggards cradle, a cowards castle, how easie it is to be an infidell: but to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approued: & it is certain, from *Cannada* and *New England* within these six yeares hath come neare 20000 Beuer skins. Now had each of those ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing beasts, fowles, fruit, plants and seeds, as I proiected, by this time their increase might haue bin sufficient for a thousand m?. But the desire of present gain (in many) is so violent, and the endeours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that it is hard to effect any publick good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, unlesse both authoritie and mony assist experiences. It is not a worke for euery one to plant a Colonie; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancie, diligence and experience to do but neare well: your home bred ingrossing projectors shall finde there a great difference

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betwixt saying and doing. But to conclude, the fishing wil go forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might prouide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, 20 as I would hope no ship should go or come empty from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely salt, nets, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugs, course cloth, beades, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the sauages, beside our owne necessary prouisions, whose endeuours wil quickly defray all this charge; and the sauages haue intreated me to inhabite where I will. Now all these ships, till this last yeare, haue bin fished within a square of two or 3 leagues, and not one of them all would aduenture any further, where questionlesse 500 saile may haue their fraught better then in *Island, Newfoundland*, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships, because *New Englands* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* & the *Bermudas*, whose emptie ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of need to the inhabitants of *New found land*.

The returnes made by the Westerne ships, are commonly deuided into three parts, one for the owner of the ship, another for the Master and his companie, the third for the victuallers: which course being still permitted, wil be no hindrance to the plantation, go there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearely for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gaine twentie, thirtie, fiftie in the 100, nay 300 for 100. in 7 moneths, as you see they haue done, spending wise so much time in going & coming as in staying there: were I there planted, seeing the varietie of the fishings in their seasons serueth the most part of the yeare, & with a little labour we might make all the salt we need vse. I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two moneths in a yeare: and if those do giue 20. 30. or 40. shillings for an acre of land, or ship carpenters, forgers of iron, &c. that buy all things at a

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deare rate, grow rich; when they may haue as good of all needful necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore; and no commodity in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Mr . *Dee* recordeth in his *British Monarchie*, that King *Edgar* had a nauie of 4000 saile, with which he yearely made his progresse about this famous Monarchie of *Great Britaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof: whereupon it seemes he projected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of 60 saile, he called a little Nauie Royall; imitating the admired *Pericles* Prince of *Athens*, that could 21 neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captain of the Sea.

At this none need wonder; for who knowes not, her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and what valiant souldiers and sea-men, notwithstanding all trecheries at home, the protecting and defending *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*, yet all the world by sea or land both feared, loued, & admired good Queen *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his kingdomes consideration: That if the Tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings high wayes are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing; so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish, but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission on, or at their perils. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her own shores as strangers do, that pay to their own Lords the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of; whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintain this little Nauie Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine

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peace with all forreiners, and allow them more courtesie then any nation in the world affoords to *England*.

It were a shame to alledge, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wool and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the 100 peny of his Rents, and the 500 peny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 40.s. wages, 4.d; and euery forreiner of 7 yeares of age 4.d. for 7 yeares: not any of these but they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse or some superfluitie. And do any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not be humble suters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but the one halfe of this, (or some such other course as I haue propounded to diuers of the Companies) free fr? any constraint, taxe, lottery or imposition, so it may be as honestly and truly employed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanick in this kingdom would gaine by it: you might build ships of any proportion 22 and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can do here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any, to the terror of pyrats, the amazem?t of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing of Merchants, and so much increase of nauigation to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all good subiects, & would cause thousands yet vnborn blesse the time and all them that first put it in practise.

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath bin to priuate ends, or so weekly vndertak? by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilst we contend for *New Engl?ds* good, but not *Englands* good; I present this to your Highnes and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping by your gracious good liking and approbation to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble Citie, and all the Cities and Countries in the whole

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Land to consider of it, since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facilitie they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profit and content, & inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel, which with my life & what I haue I wil endeouour to effect, if God please, and you permit. But no man will go from hence, to haue lesse freedome there then here; nor aduenture all they haue, to prepare the way for them that know it not: and it is too well knowne there hath bin so many vndertakers of Patents and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performances. In the interim, you see the *Dutch* and *French* already frequent it: and God forbid them in *Virginia* or any of his Maiesties subjects should not haue as free libertie as they. To conclude, were it not for Mr. *Pierce* and a few priuate Aduenturers with him, what haue we there for all these inducements?

This yeare 3 ships went from London, set out by Maister *Iohn Farar* and his partners. *The Bona nous* 200 tunns. *The Hopwell* 70. *The Darling* 40.

As for them wh? pride or couetousnes lulleth asleep in a cradle of slothfull carelesnes, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue bin brought to confusion; or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes and Prouinces in the faire rich kingdoms of *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldauia*; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants and others, haue in one day lost goods, liues and honors; or sold for slaues like beasts in a market 23 place; their wiues, children & seruants slaine or wandring they knew not whither, dying or liuing in all extremities of extreame miseries and calamities. Surely they would not onely do this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and libertie at home; or but aduenture their persons abroad, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth & best preuailleth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Though the true condition of war is onely to suppress the proud, and defend the innocent and humble, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus Bathor* Prince of those

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countries, against them, whom vnder the colour of iustice and pietie, to maintaine their superfluitie of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them, or keepe them from abilitie to do any thing that would not admire and adore their honors, fortunes, couetousnes, falshood, bribery, crueltie, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all maner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue and noblenesse.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honorable and fauourable constructions and pardons if any thing be amisse.

If any desire to be further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia and New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Maps: what defect you finde in them, they shall find supplied in me or my authors, that thus freely hath throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stir vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Collumbus* could giue the *Spaniards* any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him foorth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike *Hollanders* let vs imitate, but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing. Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word *Fish* distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tumbatu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie; and so I humbly rest.

FINIS.

THE PLANTERS PLEA. OR THE GROVNDS OF PLANTATIONS EXAMINED, And vsuall Objections answered.

*Together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately undertaken a Plantation in New-England:*

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For the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulness of the Action.

2 Thes. 5. 21.

*Prove all things, and holde fast that which is good.*

London, Printed by WILLIAM IONES.

1630.

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1837.

TO THE READER.

LEB 15 Apr 03

Courteous Reader:

*IT will appeare to any man of common sense at first sight, that this rude draught, that sets forth certaine considerable grounds in planting Colonies, being wrested out of the Authours hand, hardly overlooked, much lesse filed and smoothed for the Presse, was never intended to be presented to publicke view, especially in this attire: wherefore the Reader is intreated to observe, that the particulars of this small Pamphlet, being all ranged under these two heads, matters of Fact or of Opinion: In the former the Authour sets downe his knowledge, and consequently what he resolves to justifie; In the latter what he conceives to be most probable, not what he dares warrant as certaine and infallible. Wherefore if in the declaring of his owne opinion, either concerning Colonies in general, or this in particular, he propose any thing that to men of better and more solid judgement upon mature advise shall seeme either not sound, or not evident, or not well fortified by strength of reason; he desires rather advertisement thereof by some private intimation, than by publicke opposition, as not conceiving an argument of this nature, wherein neither Gods glorie nor mans salvation have any necessary interest, (though the worke be*

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*directed to, and doth in a good measure further both,) worth the contending for in a time when so many weighty controversies in the fundamentalls of religion are in agitation: and withall professing himselve willing to receive backe any light golde that hath passed from him unweighed, and to exchange it for that which will be weight, as being conscions to himselve, that he desires not willingly to beguile any man. Besides, the Reader may be pleased further to observe, that seeing the arguments produced in this Treatise are rather proposed than handled, they cannot carry with them that appearant and cleare evidence of truth at the first view, as they might and would doe, if they were more largely deduced, and more fully fortified. Wherefore he is intreated not to reject them too easily, as carrying more weight than they seeme to doe at the first appearance. Howsoever the Authors intention and opinion be construed and approved; if it may be beleaved that the Gentlemen that are lately issued out from us, to lay the foundation of a Colony in New-England, haue not beene thrust forward by unadvised precipitation, but led on by such probable grounds of reason and religion, as might be likely to prevaile with men that desire to keepe a good conscience in all things: I trust these will holde themselves reasonably satisfied; howsoever both they, and such as wish the futherance of your designe, have (I assure my selfe) a testimonie from God and your owne consciences, that they have endeavoured to take there footing upon warrantable grounds, and to direct themselves to a right scope, as will be further manifested in this ensuing Treatise.*

1

### **A BRIEFE SVRVIEW OF COLONIES: And first, *Of their Ground and Warrant.***

#### **CHAP. I. *By a Colony we meane a societie of men drawne out of one state or people, and transplanted into another Countrey.***

1. That Colonies have their warrant from God. 1. Argument from Gods Commandement.

COLONIES (as other conditions and states in humane society) have their warrant from Gods direction and command; who as soone as men were, set them their taske, to replenish the earth, and to subdue it, *Gen. 1. 28.* Those words, I grant, expresse a

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promise, as the title of a benediction prefixed unto them here, & in the repetition of them to *Noah*, implies. *Gen.* 9. 1. But that withal they include a direction or command was never, as I conceive, doubted by any. *Lunius* upon them: *Prout vim intus indiderat, sic palam mandatum dedit curandæ propagationis & dominationis exercendæ. And Paræus, lubet igitur replere terram, non solum generatione & habitatione, sed cum primis potestate cultu & usu: Etsi vero nonnullæ orbis partes manent inhabitabiles; habemus nihilominus totius dominium iure Divino, licet non habemus totius orbis usum culpâ & defectu nostro.* And before them, *Calvin; lubet eos crescere & simul benedictionem suam destinat, &c.* , and divers others.

It will be granted then that the words include and have the force of a Precept, which perhaps some may conceive was to 2 continue during the worlds Infancy, and no longer; but such a limitation wants ground. It is true that some commandements founded upon, and having respect unto some present state and condition of men, received end or alteration when the condition was ended, or changed. But Precepts given to the body of mankind, as these to *Adam* and *Noah*, receive neither alteration in the substantials, nor determination while men, and any void places of the earth continue, so that allowing this Commandement to bind *Adam*, it must binde his posterity, and consequently ourselves in this age, and our issue after us, as long as the earth yeelds empty places to be replenished.

### 2. Argument from Gods gift of the earth to men.

Besides the gift of the earth to the sonnes of men, *Psal.* 115. 16. necessarily inforceth their duty to people it: It were a great wrong to God to conceive that hee doth ought in vaine, or tenders a gift that he never meant should be enjoyed: now how men should make benefit of the earth, but by habitation and culture cannot bee imagined.

Neither is this sufficient to conceive that Gods intention is satisfied if some part of the earth be replenished, and used, though the rest be wast; because the same difficulty urgeth us still, that the rest of which we receive no fruit, was never intended to us, because it was

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never Gods minde wee should possesse it. If it were then the minde of God, that man should possesse all parts of the earth, it must be enforced that we neglect our duty, and crosse his will, if we doe it not, when wee have occasion and opportunitie: and withall doe little lesse then despise his blessing.

### 3. Argument from the Law of marriage.

Withall, that order that God annexed to marriage in his first institution, *viz.* that married persons should leave father and mother, and cleave each to other, is a good warrant of this practice. For sometime there will be a necessitie, that yong married persons should remove out of their fathers house, and live apart by themselves, and so erect new families. Now what are new families, but pettie Colonies: and so at last removing further and further they overflow the whole earth. Therefore, so long as there shall be use of marriage, the warrant of deducing Colonies will continue.

### 4. Argument from the benefit that comes to mens outward estates.

It is true, that all Gods directions have a double scope, mans good, and Gods honour. Now that this commandement of God is directed unto mans good temporall and spirituall, is as cleere as the light. It cannot be denyed but the life of man is every way made more comfortable, and afforded a more plentiful supply in 3 a larger scope of ground, which moves men to bee so insatiable in their desires to joyne house to house, and land to land, till there be no more place; exceeding, I grant, there in the measure and bounds and lustice; and yet building upon a principle that nature suggests, that a *large place best assures sufficiency*: as we see; by nature, trees flourish faire, and prosper well, and waxe fruitfull in a large Orchard, which would otherwise wither and decay, if they were penned up in a little nursery: either all, or at best, a few that are stronger plants and better rooted, would encrease and over-top, and at last, starve the weaker: which falls out in our civill State; where a few men flourish that are best grounded in their estates, or best furnished with abilities, or best fitted with opportunities, and the rest waxe weake and languish, as wanting roome and meanes to nourish them.

### 5. Argument is from the furthering of godlinesse and honesty.

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Now, that the spirits and hearts of men are kept in better temper by spreading wide, and by pouring, as it were, from vessell to vessell (the want whereof is alleaged by the Prophet *Ieremy* as the cause that *Moab* settled vpon his lees, and got so harsh a relish *Ier.* 48. 11.) will euident to any man, that shall consider, that the husbanding of unmanured grounds, and shifting into empty Lands, enforceth men to frugalitie, and quickneth invention: and the setling of new States requireth justice and affection to the common good: and the taking in of large Countreys presents a naturall remedy against couetousnesse, fraud, and violence; when euery man may enjoy enough without wrong or injury to his neighbour. Whence it was, that the first ages, by these helpe, were renowned for golden times, wherein men, being newly entred into their possessions, and entertained into a naked soile, and enforced thereby to labour, frugality, simplicity, and justice, had neither leisure, nor occasion, to decline to idlenesse, riot, wantonnesse, fraud, and violence, the fruits of well-peopled Countreys, and of the abundance and superfluities of long settled States.

### 6. Argument from the aduancement of Gods glory.

But that which should most sway our hearts, is the respect unto Gods honor, which is much advanced by this worke of replenishing the earth. First, when the largeness of his bounty is tasted by setling of men in al parts of the world, whereby the extent of his munificence to the sonnes of men is discovered; The Psalmist tells us that God is much magnified by this, *that the whole earth is full of his riches, yea and the wide sea too, Psal.* 104. 24. 25. And God, when hee would have *Abraham* know what he had bestowed on him when he gave him *Canaan*, wills him to walke 4 through it in the length of it, and in the breadth of it, *Gen.* 13. 17.

Secondly, Gods honour must needs bee much advanced, when, together with mens persons, religion is conveyed into the severall parts of the world, and all quarters of the earth sound with his praise; and Christ Iesus takes in the Nations for his inheritance, and the ends of the earth for his possession, according to Gods decree and promise, *Psal.* 2. 8.

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

Besides all that hath beene said, seeing Gods command, and abilities to performe it, usually goe together, we may guesse at his intention and will, to have the earth replenished, by the extraordinarie fruitfulnessse that hee gave to mankinde in those first times, when men manifested their greatest forwardnesse for the undertaking of this taske; which seemes to bee denyed to the latter ages, and peradventure for this reason among others, because the love of ease and pleasure fixing men to the places and Countreyes which they finde ready furnished to their hand, by their predecessors labours and industry, takes from them a desire and will of undertaking such a laborious and unpleasant taske as is the subduing of unmanured Countreyes.

#### *Objection.*

*But, it may be objected, if God intended now the issuing out of Colonies, as in former ages, hee would withall quicken men with the same heroicall spirits which were found in those times: which wee finde to be farre otherwise. Although the strong impression upon mens spirits that have beene and are stirred up in this age to this and other Plantations might be a sufficient answer to this objection, yet we answer further.*

#### *Answer.*

Its one thing to guesse what God will bring to passe, and another thing to conclude what hee requires us to undertake. Shall we say that because God gives not men the zeale of *Moses* and *Phineas*, therefore hee hath discharged men of the duty of executing judgement? It is true indeed, that God hath hitherto suffered the neglect of many parts of the world, and hidden them from the eyes of former ages; for ends best knowne to himselfe: but that disproves not that the duty of peopling voyd places lyes upon us still, especially since they are discoverd and made knowne to us. And, although I dare not enter so farre into Gods secrets, as to affirme, that hee avengeth the neglect of this duty by Warres, Pestilences and Famines, which unlesse they had wasted the people of

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these parts of the world, wee should ere this, have devoured one another; Yet it cannot be denied, but the neare thronging of people together in these full Countreyes, have often occasioned amongst us ciuill Warres, Famines, and Plagues. And it is as true that God hath made advantage of some of these Warres, especially which have laid many fruitfull Countreyes wast, to exercise men in these very labours which employ new Planters; by which he hath reduced them to some degrees of that frugality, industry, and justice, which had beene disused and forgotten through long continued peace and plenty.

8. Argument drawne from Gods acknowledgement of peopling the earth to bee lus owne worke.

Although no man can desine what particular summons the first undertakers of planting Colonies had; whether from the mouth of God immediatly (as *Abraham* first, and the Children of Israel afterwards,) or from the advice and Counsell of men; yet, that the wisdom of God directed them in this course, is evident by *Moses* Testimony, affirming that hee separated the Sonnes of *Adam*, and set the bounds of their habitation, *Deut.* 32.

8. so that whoever set on the worke, God acknowledgeth it as his owne.

### **CHAP. II. *What ends may bee proposed in planting Colonies?***

The Ends that men have proposed to themselves, in issuing out Colonies have beene divers: Some, and the worst, and least warrantable are such as are onely swayed by private respects; as when men shift themselves, and draw others with them out of their Countries, out of undutifull affections to Governours, to exempt themselves from subjection to lawfull power; or aime at a great name to themselves, and to raise their owne glory. As for the enlargement of Trade; which drew on the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Colonies in the East *Indies*, or securing of conquered Countries, which occasioned many Colonies of the *Romanes* in *Italy* and other lands, they may bee so farre warranted, as the grounds of the Conquests, or Trades were warrantable; (if they were caried with 2 6 out injury or wrong to the natives) seeing naturall commerce betweene nations, and Conquests upon just warres, have beene alwayes approved by the Lawes of God and man.

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As for those Colonies that have beene undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing wast and voyd Countries; they have a cleare and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God, as immediately concurring with one speciall end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

But, seeing Gods honour, and glory; and next mens Salvation, is his owne principall scope in this and all his wayes; it must withall bee necessarily acknowledged that the desire and respect unto the publishing of his name where it is not knowne, and reducing men, that live without God in this present world, unto a forme of Piety and godlinesse, by how much the more immediately it suites with the mind of God, and is furthest carried from private respects, by so much the more it advanceth this worke of planting Colonies above all civill and humane ends, and deserves honour, and approbation, above the most glorious Conquests, or successfull enterprizes that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the Sunne hath seene, and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act, then a victory over men: and the enlargement of Christs Kingdome, then the adding unto mens dominions: and the saving of mens soules, then the provision for their lives and bodies.

It seemes, this end, in plantation, hath beene specially reserved for this later end of the world: seeing; before Christ, the Decree of God that suffered all Nations to walke in their own waies, *Acts* 14. 16. shut up the Church within the narrow bounds of the Promised Land, and so excluded men from the propagation of Religion to other Countries. And in the Apostles time, God afforded an easier and more speedy course of converting men to the truth by the gift of tongues, seconded by the power of Miracles, to winne the greater credit to their doctrine, which most especially, and first prevailed upon Countries civilized, as the History of the Apostles *Acts* makes manifest. As for the rest. I make no question, but God used the same way to other barbarous Nations, which hee held with us, whom hee first Civilized by the Romane Conquests, and mixture of their Colonies with us, that

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hee might bring in Religion afterwards: seeing no man can imagine how Religion should prevaile upon those who are not subdued to the rule of Nature and Reason.

Nay, I conceive, God especially directs this worke of erecting 7 Colonies unto the planting and propagating of Religion in the *West Indies*, (although I will not confine it to those alone) and that for divers Reasons, which ought to be taken into serious consideration, as affording the strongest Motives that can be proposed to draw on the hearts and affections of men to this worke now in hand, for this purpose; which gives occasion unto the publishing of this Treatise.

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

### 1. Reason from the course of the Gospell from the beginning.

It is true, that from the first planting of Religion among men, it hath alwayes held a constant way from East to West, and hath, in that Line, proceeded so farre, that it hath extended to the uttermost Westerne bounds of the formerly knowne world; so that if it make any further passage upon that point of the Compasse, it must necessarily light upon the *West Indies*. And they conceive withall, that our Saviours Prophecie, *Matth. 24. 27.* points out such a progresse of the Gospell. It is true, that the comparison there used taken from the Lightning, aymes at the sudden dispersing of the knowledge of Christ by the Apostles ministry: but whereas wee know, the Lightning shines from divers parts of the heaven, shewing it selfe indifferently, sometimes in the West, sometimes in the North, or South; why doth our Saviour in that similitude choose to name the Lightning that shines out of the East into the West, unlesse it be to expresse not only the sudden shining out of the Gospell; but withall the way, and passage, by which it proceedes frown one end of the world to the other, that is, from East to West?

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

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But passing by that onely as a probable argument; this which followes seemes to carry greater weight.

The knowledge of Christ must certainly be manifested unto all the quarters of the World, according to divers predictions of Prophets, ratified and renewed by Christ and his Apostles. But that the knowledge of Christ hath never been discovered unto these Westerne nations may be almost demonstrated, seeing no Historie for five hundred yeares before Christ, ever mentioned any such Inhabitats of the earth, much lesse left any record of any passage unto them, or commerce with them. So that, unlesse wee should conceive a miraculous worke of conceiving knowledge, without meanes; wee cannot imagine how these Nations should once heare of the name of Christ. Which seemes the more evident by this, that we finde among them not 8 so much as any Reliques of any of those principles which belong to that Mysterie, although in some place may be discovered some foot-steps of the knowledge of GOD, of the Creation, and of some Legall Observations.

As in New England the Nations beleieve the Creation of the world by God, the Creation of one man and woman, their happy condition at the first, and seduction by the envy (as they say) of the Cony which moves them to abhorre that creature unto this day more then any Serpent. It is also reported that they seperate their women in the times appointed by the Law of *Moses*, counting them and all they touch uncleane during that time appointed by the Law: whether upon any other ground, or by a tradition received from the *Iewes*, it is uncertaine. Some conceive, their Predecessors might have had some commerce with the *Iewes* in times past, by what meanes I know not: Howsoever it bee, it fals out that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, proves to bee perfect Hebrew, being called *Nahum Keike*, by interpretation, *The bosome of consolation*: which it were pittie that those which observed it not, should change into the name of *Salem*, though upon a faire ground, in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a generall meeting betweene them and their neighbours, after expectance of some dangerous jarre. Now then, if all nations must have Christ tendred unto them, and the *Indies* have never

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yet heard of his name, it must follow, that worke of conveighing that knowledge to them, remaines to bee undertaken and performed by this last age.

### 3. Reason from the miraculous opening of the passage to these parts of the world.

Againe, what shall we conceive of that almost miraculous opening the passage unto, and discovery of these formerly unknowne nations, which must needs have proved impossible unto former ages for want of the knowledge of the use of the Loadstone, as wouderfully found out as these unknowne Countries by it. It were little lesse then impietie to conceive that GOD, (whose Will concures with the lighting of a Sparrow upon the ground) had no hand in directing one of the most difficult and observeable workes of this age; and as great folly to imagine, that hee who made all things, and consequently orders and directs them to his owne glory, had no other scope but the satisfying of mens greedy appetites, that thirsted after the riches of that new found world, and to tender unto them the objects of such barbarous cruelties as the world never heard of. Wee cannot then probably conceive that GOD, in that strange discovery, aymed at any other thing but this, that, after hee had 9 punished the Atheisme, and Idolatry of those heathen and bruitish Nation by the Conquerors cruelty, and acquainted them by mixture of some other people, with civility, to cause at length the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ to shine out unto them, as it did to our forefathers, after those sharpe times of the bitter desolations of our Nation, betweene the *Romanes* and the *Picts*.

### 4. Reason from the nearnesse of the *Iewes* conversion.

A fourth reason, to prove that God hath left this great, and glorious worke to this age of the world, is the nearnesse of the *Iewes* conversion; before which, it is conceived by the most, that the fulnesse of the *Gentiles* must come in, according to the Apostles prophesie, *Rom.* 11. 25. That this day cannot be farre off appears by the fulfilling of the prophesies, precedent to that great and glorious worke, and the generall expectation thereof by all men, such as was found among the *Iewes* both in *Iudea* and in some other parts of the world before the comming of Christ in the flesh, now then let it bee granted that the *Iewes* conversion is neare, and that the *Gentiles*, and consequently the *Indians* must needs be

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gathered in before that day; and any man may make the conclusion, that this is the houre for the worke, and consequently of our duty to endeavour the effecting that which God hath determined; the opening of the eyes of those poore ignorant soules, and discovering unto them the glorious mystery of Iesus Christ.

### **CHAP. III. *The English Nation is fit to undertake this taske.***

THat this Nation is able and fit to send out Colonies into Forraigne parts will evidently appeare by the consideration of our overflowing multitudes: this being admitted for a received principle, that Countreyes super abound in people when they have more then they can well nourish, or well employ, seeing we know, men are not ordained to live onely, but, withall and especially, to serve one another through love, in some profitable and usefull calling. Granting therefore that 10 this Land by Gods ordinary blessing, yeelds sufficiency of corne and cattell for more then the present Inhabitants, yet, that wee have more people, then wee doe, or can profitably employ, will, I conceive, appeare to any man of understanding, willing to acknowledge the truth, and to consider these foure particulars.

1. Many among us live without employment, either wholly, or in the greatest part (especially if there happen any interruption of trade, as of late was manifested not onely in *Essex*, but in most parts of the Land) and that doe not onely such as delight in idlenesse: but even folke willing to labour, who either live without exercise in their callings, or are faine to thrust into other mens, to the evident prejudice of both.
2. The labours of many others might well bee spared, and to the States advantage, as serving to little else then luxury and wantonnesse, to the impoverishing and corrupting of the most; of which there needes no better evidence then this, that when we taxe pride and excesse in apparell, buildings, &c., the evils are justified, and our mouthes stopped with this answer; without this how should many men live and bee maintained? No man is so uncivill, as to deny supernecessaries for distinction of degrees; or supercilious, as to thinke it necessary to reduce a wealthy and abounding State to the plainnesse and homelinesse

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of the Primitive ages. But let our excess be limited to those bounds of decency, modesty, and sobriety that may answer the proportion of mens callings, and degrees, and it will be demonstrated, the tenth person of such as are busied about superfluities, will hardly finde sufficient employment to yeeld themselves and their families necessarie maintenance.

3. That warrantable and usefull callings are overcharged, all mens complaints sufficiently witnesse: not onely Inholders and Shop-keepers, of both which wee need not the third person, but even handy-craftsmen, as Shoemakers, Taylors, nay Masons, Carpenters, and the like, many of whom with their families live in such a low condition as is little better then beggery, by reason of the multitudes that are bred up and exercised in those employments. And yet through the excessive numbers of persons in those and other callings, necessity enforceth them to require so large a price and recompence of their labours, that a man of good estate is not able to afford himselfe conveniencies for his condition (everie calling he hath use of exhausting so much for the commodities it puts off unto him;) whereas if the number of those persons in their severall callings were abated, the rest having full employment, might be able to abate of their excessive prices; whereby both they and their chapmen, might live more comfortably and plentifully; and the Common-wealth<sup>11</sup> by this helpe would be eased of many burthens it groanes under, in making supply to the scantie meanes of many thousands in these callings so much overlaid with multitudes.

4. Yea, of such as are employed, a great part of their labour were needlesse, if their workes were faithfull and loyall; the deceitfulnessse of our workes (of which all men complaine, but few discern the cause) occasioneth the often renewing of those things which are made, which otherwise would endure for far longer continuance.

Now what a disease this must needs bee in a State, where mens necessities inforce them to inventions of all wayes and meanes of expence upon the instruments of pride, and wantonnesse; and of as many subtilties and frauds in deceitfull handling all works that passe through their fingers, that by the speedy wasting of what is made, they may bee the

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sooner called upon for new; I leave it to any wise man to judge. It is a fearfull condition, whereby men are in a sort enforced to perish, or to become meanes and instruments of evill. So that the conclusion must stand firme, we have more men then wee can imploy to any profitable or usefull labour.

*Objection.*

*But the idlenesse or unprofitable labours of our people arise not from our numbers, but from our ill Government, inferiour Magistrates being too remisse in their offices; and therefore may more easily be reformed by establishing better order, or executing those good lawes already made at home, then by transporting some of them into forraigne Countreyes.*

*Answer.*

Good government though it doe reforme many, yet it cannot reforme all the evils of this kind; because it will bee a great difficulty to finde out profitable employments for all that will want; which way we should helpe our selves by tillage I know not: wee can hardly depasture fewer Rother beasts then we doe, seeing we spend already their flesh and hides: and as for sheepe, the ground depastured with them, doth or might set on worke as many hands as tillage can doe. If we adventure the making of linen cloth, other soiles are so much fitter to produce the materialls for that worke, their labour is so much cheaper, the hindering of Commerce in trade likely to bee so great, that the undertakers of this worke would in all probability bee soone discouraged. Nay the multiplying of new Draperies, which 12 perhaps might effect more then all the rest, yet were in no proportion sufficient to employ the supernumeraries which this Land would yeeld if wee could bee confined within the bounds of sobriety and modesty, seeing it may bee demonstrated, that neere a third part of these that inhabite our Townes and Cities (besides such spare men as the Country yeelds) would by good order established, be left to take up new employments.

2. Arg'ument from the opportunity of the Sea.

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We have as much opportunity as any Nation to transport our men and provisions by Sea into those Countries, without which advantage they cannot possibly be peopled from any part of the world; not from this Christian part at least, as all men know: And how usefull a neighbour the sea is to the furthering of such a worke; the examples of the Græcians and the Phænicians, who filled all the bordering coasts with their Colonies doe sufficiently prove unto all the world: Neither can it be doubted, but the first Planters wanting this helpe (as *Abraham* in his removing to *Charran* first, and to *Canaan* afterwards) must needs spend much time and indure much labour in passing their famlies and provisions by Land, over rivers and through Woodes and Thickets by unbeaten pathes.

### 3. Argument from our owne practice alreadie.

But what need Arguments to us that have already determined this truth? How many severall Colonies have wee drawne out and passed over into severall parts of the West *Indies*? And this we have done with the allowance, encouragement, & high c?mendation of State, perhaps not alway with the best success, who knowes whether by erring from the right scope? Questionlesse for the want of fit men for that imployment, and experience to direct a worke, which being carried in an untrodden path, must needs be subject to miscariage into many errors.

### 4. Argument from our fitnes to the maine end of Colonies, the planting of true Religion.

Now whereas it hath beene manifested that the most eminent and desirable end of planting Colonies, is the propagation of Religion; It may be conceived this Nation is in a sort singled out unto that worke; being of all the States that enjoy the libertie of the Religion Reformed; and are able to spare people for such an employment, the most Orthodoxe in our profession, and behind none in sincerity in embracing it; as will appeare to any indifferent man, that shall duly weigh and recount the number and condition of those few States of *Europe*, that continue in the profession of that truth which we embrace.

**CHAP. III. *That New-England is a fit Country for the seating of an English Colonie, for the propagation of Religion.***

1. Argument or occasion, trade into the countrey.

NOT onely our acquaintance with the soyle and Natives there, but more especially our opportunity of trading thither for Furres and fish, perswade this truth, if other things be answerable. It is well knowne, before our breach with *Spaine*, we usually sent out to *New-England*, yearely forty or fifty saile of ships of reasonable good burthen for fishing onely. And howsoever it fals out that our New-found-land voyages prove more beneficiall to the Merchants; yet it is as true, these to *New-England* are found farre more profitable to poore Fishermen; so that by that time all reckonings are cast up, these voyages come not farre behind the other in advantage to the State.

2. The fitnessse of the countrey for our health and maintenance.

No Countrey yeelds a more propitious ayre for our temper, then *New-England*, as experience hath made manifest, by all relations: manie of our people that have found themselves alway weake and sickly at home, have become strong, and healthy there: perhaps by the drynesse of the ayre and constant temper of it, which seldome varies suddenly from cold to heate, as it doth with us: So that Rheumes are very rare among our English there; Neyther are the Natives at any time troubled with paine of teeth, sorenesse of eyes, or ache in their limbes. It may bee the nature of the water conduceth somewhat this way; which all affirme to keepe the body alwaies temperately soluble, and consequently helps much to the preventing, and curing of the Gout, and Stone, as some have found by experie<sup>ce</sup>. As for provisions for life: The Corne of the Country (which it produceth in good proportion with reasonable labour) is apt for nourishme<sup>t</sup>, and agrees, although not so well with our taste at first; yet very well with our health; nay, is held by some Physitians, to be restorative. If wee like not that, wee may make use of our owne Graines, which agree well with that soyle, and so doe our Cattle: nay, they grow unto a greater bulke of body there, then with us in 3 14 *England*. Vnto which if wee adde the fish, fowle, and *Venison*, which that Country yeelds in great abundande, it cannot be

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questioned but that soile may assure sufficient provision for food. And being naturally apt for Hempe and Flax especially, may promise us Linnen sufficient with our labour, and woollen too if it may be thought fit to store it with sheepe.

### 3. Argument from the emptinesse of the Land.

The Land affords void ground enough to receive more people then this State can spare, and that not onely wood grounds, and others, which are unfit for present use: but, in many places, much cleared ground for tillage, and large marshes for hay and feeding of cattle, which comes to passe by the desolati? hapning through a three yeeres Plague, about twelve or sixteene yeeres past, which swept away most of the Inhabitants all along the Sea coast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman & childe, so that there is no person left to lay claime to the soyle which they possessed; In most of the rest, the Contagion hath scarce left alive one person of an hundred. And which is remarkable, such a Plague hath not been knowne, or remembred in any age past; nor then raged above twenty or thirty miles up into the Land, nor seized upon any other but the Natives, the *English* in the heate of the Sicknesse commercing with them without hurt or danger. Besides, the Natives invite us to sit downe by them, and offer us what ground wee will: so that eyther want of possession by others, or the possessors gift, and sale, may assure our right: we neede not feare a cleare title to the soyle.

### 4. Argument from the usefulness of that Colony to this State.

In all Colonies it is to bee desired that the daughter may answer something backe by way of retribution to the mother that gave her being. Nature hath as much force, and founds as strong a relation betweene people and people, as betweene person and person: So that a Colonie denying due respect to the State from whose bowels it issued, is as great a monster, as an unnaturall childe. Now, a Colonie planted in *New-England* may be many wayes usefull to this State.

### 1. In our fishing voyages.

As first, in furthering our Fishing-voyages (one of the most honest, and every way profitable imployment that the Nation undertakes) It must needs be a great advantage unto

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our men after so long a voyage to be furnished with fresh victuall there; and that supplied out of that Land, without spending the provisions of our owne country. But there is hope besides, that the Colonie shall not onely furnish our Fisher-men with Victuall, but with Salt too, unlesse mens expectation and conjectures much deceive them: and so quit 15 unto them a great part of the charge of their voyage, beside the hazard of adventure.

Next, how serviceable this Country must needs be for provisions for shipping, is sufficiently knowne already: At present it may yeeld Planks, Masts, Oares, Pitch, Tarre, and Iron; and hereafter (by the aptnesse of the Soyle for Hempe) if the Colonie increase, Sailes and Cordage. What other commodities it may afford besides for trade, time will discover. Of Wines among the rest, there can be no doubt; the ground yeelding naturall Vines in great abundance and varietie; and of these, some as good as any are found in *France* by humane culture. But in the possibilitie of the serviceableness of the Colonie to this State, the judgement of the *Dutch* may somewhat confirme us, who have planted in the same soyle, and make great account of their Colonie there.

### 5. Argument the benefit of such a Colony to the Natives. unto the Natives.

But the greatest advantage must needs come themselves, whom wee shall teach providence and industry, for want whereof they perish oftentimes, while they make short provisions for the present, by reason of their idlenesse, and that they have, they spend and wast unnecessarily, without having respect to times to come. Withall, commerce and example of our course of living, cannot but in time breed civility among them, and that by Gods blessing may make way for religion consequently, and for the saving of their soules. Unto all which may bee added, the safety and protection of the persons of the Natives, which are secured by our Colonies. In times past the *Tarentines* (who dwell from those of *Mattachusetts bay*, neere which our men are seated; about fifty or sixty leagues to the North-East) inhabiting a soile unfit to produce that Country graine, being the more hardy people, were accustomed yearely at harvest to come down in their Canoes, and reape their fields, and carry away their Corne, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened, and kept them low in times past: from this evill our neighbourhood hath wholly

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freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates; which makes the Natives there so glad of our company.

*Objection 1.*

*But if we have any spare people, Ireland is a fitter place to receive them then New-England. Being 1, Nearer. 2, Our owne. 3, Void in some parts. 4, Fruitfull. 5, Of importance for the securing of our owne Land. 6, Needing our helpe for their recovery out of blindnesse and superstition.*

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*Answer.*

*Ireland* is well-nigh sufficiently peopled already, or will be in the next age. Besides, this worke needs not hinder that, no more then the plantation in *Virginia, Bermudas, S. Christophers, Barbados, &c.*, which are all of them approved, and encouraged as this is. As for religion, it hath reasonable footing in *Ireland* already, and may easily be propagated further, if wee bee not wanting to our selves. This Countrey of *New-England* is destitute of all helpes, and meanes, by wch the people might come out of the snare of Satan. Now although it be true, that I should regard my sonne more then my servant; yet I must rather provide a Coate for my servant that goes naked, then give my sonne another, who hath reasonable clothing already.

*Objection 2.*

*But New-England hath divers discommodities, the Snow and coldnesse of the winter, which our English bodies can hardly brooke: and the annoyance of men by Muskitoes, and Serpents: and of Cattle, and Corne, by wild beasts.*

*Answer.*

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The cold of Winter is tolerable, as experience hath, and doth manifest, and is remedied by the abundance of fuell. The Snow lyes indeed about a foot thicke for ten weekes or there about; but where it lies thicker, and a month longer as in many parts of *Germany*, men finde a very comfortable dwelling. As for the Serpents, it is true, there are some, and these larger then our Adders; but in ten yeares experience no man was ever indangered by them; and as the countrey is better stored with people, they will be found fewer, and as rare as among us here. As for the wilde beasts, they are no more, nor so much dangerous or hurtfull here, as in germany and other parts of the world. The Muskitoes indeed infest the planters, about foure moneths in the heat of Summer; but after one yeares acquaintance, men make light account of them; some sleight defence for the hands and face, smoake, and a close house may keepe them off. Neither are they much more noysome then in *Spaine*, *Germany*, and other parts; nay, then the fennish parts of *Essex*, and *Lincolne-shire*. Besides, it is credibly reported, that twenty miles inward into the Countrey they are not found: but this is certaine, and tried by experience, after foure or five 17 yeares habitation they waxe very thinne: It may be the hollownesse of the ground breeds them, which the treading of the earth by men and cattle doth remedy in time.

### *Objection 3.*

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

### *Answer.*

1 But how shall we get footing there? the *Virginian* Colony may bee our precedent; where our men have beene entertained with continuall broyles by the Natives, and by that meanes shut out from all hope of working any reformation upon them, from which, their hearts must needs be utterly averse by reason of the hatred which they beare unto our

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persons: whereas, *New-England* yeelds this advantage, that it affords us a cleare title to our possessions there; and good correspondence with the Natives; whether out of their peaceable disposition, or out of their inability to make resistance, or out of the safety which they finde by our neighbourhood, it skills not much; this is certaine, it yeelds a faire way to work them to that tractableness which will never bee found in the *Virginians*: Neither have wee any cause to complaine for want of men to worke upon; the in-land parts are indifferently populous, and *Naraganset-bay* and river, which borders upon us, is full of Inhabitants, who are quiet with us, and Trade with us willingly, while wee are their neighbours, but are very jealous of receiving either us or the *Dutch* into the bowells of their Country, for feare wee should become their Lords.

2 Besides, in probabilitie, it will be more advantagious to this worke to beginne with a place not so populous: For as the resistance will be lesse, so by them having once received the Gospell, it may be more easily and successefully spread to the places better peopled, who will more easily receive it from the commendation of their owne Countrie-men, then from strangers, and flocke to it as Doves to the windowes.

3 Though in the place where they plant, there are not many Natives, yet they have an opportunitie, by way of trafficke and commerce (which at least is generally once a yeare) with the 18 Natives in a large compasse, though farre distant from them, by which meanes they grow into acquaintance with them, and may take many advantages of conveying to them the knowledge of Christ, though they liue not with them.

*Objection. 4.*

*But the Countrey wants meanes of wealth that might invite men to desire it; for there is nothing to bee expected in New-England but competency to live on at the best, and that must bee purchased with hard labour, whereas divers other parts of the West-Indies offer a richer soyle, which easily allures Inhabitants, by the tender of a better condition then they live in at present.*

*Answer.*

As unanswerable argument, to such as make the advancement of their estates, the scope of their undertaking; but no way a discouragement to such as aime at the propagation of the Gospell, which can never bee advanced but by the preservation of Piety in those that carry it to strangers; Now wee know nothing sorts better with Piety them Competency; a truth which *Agur* hath determined long agoe, *Prov.* 30. 8. Nay, Heathen men by the light of Nature were directed so farre as to discover the overflowing of riches to be enemies to labour, sobriety, justice, love and magnanimity: and the nurse of pride, wantonnesse, and contention, and therefore laboured by all meanes to keepe out the love and desire of them from their well-ordered States, and observed and professed the comming in and admiration of them to have beene the foundation of their ruine. If men desire to have a people degenerate speedily, and to corrupt their mindes and bodies too, and besides to tolein theeves and spoilers from abroad; let them secke a rich soile, that brings in much with little labour; but if they desire that Piety and godlinesse should prosper; accompanied with sobriety, justice and love, let them choose a Countrey such as this is; even like *France*, or *England*, which may yeeld sufficiency with hard labour and industry: the truth is, there is more cause to feare wealth then poverty in that soyle.

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### **CHAP. 5. *What persons may be fit to be employed in this worke of planting a Colony.***

IT seemes to be a common and grosse error that Colonies ought to be Emunctories or sinckes of States; to drayne away their filth: whence arise often murmurings at the removall of any men of State or worth, with some wonder and admiration that men of sufficiency and discretion should preferre any thing before a quiet life at home. An opinion that savours strongly of selfe-love, alwaies opposite and enemy to any publike good. This fundamentall error hath beene the occasion of the miscariage of most of our Colonies, and the chargeable destruction of many of our Countrymen, whom when we have once

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issued out from us we cast off as we say to the wide world, leaving them to themselves either to sinke or swimme.

Contrary to this common custome, a State that intends to draw out a Colony for the inhabiting of another Country, must looke at the mother and the daughter with an equall and indifferent eye; remembring that a Colony is a part and member of her owne body; and such in whose good her selfe hath a peculiar interest, which therefore she should labour to further and cherish by all fit and convenient meanes; and consequently must allow to her such a proportion of able men as may bee sufficient to make the frame of that new formed body: As good Governours, able Ministers, Physitians, Souldiers, Schoolemasters, Mariners, and Mechanicks of all sorts; who had therefore need to bee of the more sufficiency, because the first fashioning of a politicke body is a harder taske then the ordering of that which is already framed; as the first erecting of a house is ever more difficult then the future keeping of it in repaire; or as the breaking of a Colt requires more skill then the riding of a managed horse. When the frame of the body is thus formed and furnished with vitall parts, and knit together with firme bands & sinewes, the bulke may be filled up with flesh, that is with persons of lesse use and activity, so they bee plyable and apt to bee kept in life.

The disposition of thee persons must be respected as much 20 or more then their abilities; men nourished up in idlenesesse, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborne, enclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigall, and generally men habituated to any grosse evill, are no fit members of a Colony. Ill humours soone overthrow a weake body; and false stones in a foundation ruine the whole building: the persons therfore chosen out for this employment, ought to be willing, constant, industrious, obedient, frugall, lovers of the common good, or at least such as may be easily wrought to this temper; considering that workes of this nature try the undertakers with many difficulties, and easily discourage minds of base and weake temper. It cannot, I confesse, be hoped that all should be such; care must be had that the principalls be so inclined, and as many of the Vulgar as may bee, at least that they bee willing to submit to authority;

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mutinies, which many times are kindled by one person, are well nigh as dangerous in a Colony, as in an Armie.

These are rules concerning electing of fit persons for Colonies in generall, unto which must be adjoynd the consideration of the principall scope whereat the Colonie aimes; which must be Religion, whether it be directed to the good of others for their conversion; or of the Planters themselves for their preservation and continuance in a good condition, in which they cannot long subsist without Religion. To this purpose must be allotted to every Colony, for Governours and Ministers especially, men of piety and blamelesse life, especially in such a Plantation as this in *New-England*, where their lives must be the patternes to the Heathen, and the speciall, effectuall meanes of winning them to the love of the truth. Nay it would bee indeavoured, that all Governours of families, either may be men truly Godly or at least such as consent and agree to a forme of morall honestie and sobrietie. As for other ends lesse principall, which are especially Merchandise & defence, common sense teacheth everie man that the Colonie must be furnished with the greatest store of such persons as are most serviceable to the maine end at which it aimes.

*Objection.*

*But able and godly persons being in some degree supporters of the State that sends them out, by sparing them she seemes to plucke away her owne props, and so to weaken her owne standing, which is against the rule of charitie, that allowes and perswades every man to have the first care of his owne good and preservation.*

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*Answer.*

The first, indeed but not the onely care: so I must provide for mine owne family, but not for that alone; But to answer this objection more fully, which troubles many, and distracts their thoughts, and strikes indeede at the foundation of this worke (for either wee must allow some able men for Civill and Ecclesiasticall affaires for peace and warre, or no Colonie

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at all.) First I deny that such as are gone out from the State, are cut off from the State; the rootes that issue out from the Truncke of the Tree, though they be dispersed, yet they are not severed, but doe good offices, by drawing nourishment to the maine body, and the tree is not weakned but strengthened the more they spread, of which wee have a cleere instance in the Romane State: that Citie by the second Punicke Warre had erected thirtie Colonies in severall parts of *Italie*; and by their strength especially supported her selfe against her most potent enemies. I confesse that in places so farre distant as *New-England* from this Land, the case is somewhat different; the intercourse is not so speedy, but it must needs be granted yet, that even those so far remote may be of use and service to this State still, as hath beene shewed.

Secondly, if some usefull men bee spared, to whom doe we spare them? it is not to a part of our owne body? Those whom we send out are they not our owne flesh and bones? and if we send them out for their greater good, that they may prosper better in a larger roome; and in part too for our owne ease, that their absence may give us the more scope at home; shall it seeme much unto us, to allow them (without any great losse to our selves) a few persons, whom though we would not willingly spare to strangers: yet upon good consideration we may according to the principle of nature bestow upon our owne.

Thirdly, are we altogether our owne, and for our selves? or Gods and for his glory? we spare them to God, and to Religion, and to the Churches service. Wee are owners of our owne estates, it is true, but when the service of God or the Church requires a share of them, shall any man answer with *Nabal*, 1. *Sam.* 25. 11. *Shall I take my bread &c?* The Primitive Churches planted by the Apostles, were content to spare some of their own Pastors, sometimes for the publike service of the Church, and good of their brethren. If it be objected, those were brethren, & neighbours, these are Pagans and beasts rather then men; let us bee entreated to reflect upon ourselves, and set before us the face of our Progenitors 1500 or 1600 yeares since, that we may answer to our owne hearts such were some of us, or our progenitors before us. They are beasts wee say, and can wee without compassion behold men transformed into beasts, we have the light of *grace*,

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they have scarce the dim light of nature, wee have fellowship with God, they have scarce heard of him: wee are translated into the glorious libertie of the Sonnes of God, they are bondslaves of Sathan: who hath made us to differ? how long shall we scorne what we should commiserate? what if God should shew mercy unto them, erect a Church among them, recover them out of the power of the Devill; Could any Conquest bee so glorious? would we not glorifie God and rejoyce with all our soules, as the beleeving *Iewes* did in the *Gentiles* conversion? How can we refuse to further the prosecuting of that which would bee our glory and joy if it were effected?

Fourthly, no man desireth to doe as *Sampson*, to plucke away the Pillars on which the house leaneth; this worke craves no Councillour of State, no Peere of the Land; nay perhaps no person employed at present in any place of government, private men whom the State we conceive needs not, because it employes not; may serve the turne; suppose it should borrow some men of more speciall use, and returne them home, as men from their travels, improved not so much by sight as experience, after the affaires of the Colony were settled; what losse were it in lieu of so great a gaine?

Lastly, if we spare men for the advancing of Gods honour, men that doe us service that they may attend Gods service, we have as much reason to expect the supply of our losse as the repaying of our estates, out of which we spare a portion for our brethrens necessities, or the advancing of Gods worship; by the blessing of God according to his promise.

### **CHAP. VI. *What warrant particular men may have to engage their persons, and estates in this imployment of planting Colonies.***

TO give a cleare Resolution to this Proposition, is a matter of no small difficultie: I shall declare mine owne opinion, and leave it to the censure of the godly wise. It is the conceit of some men, that no man may undertake this 23 taske without an extraordinary warrant, such as *Abraham* had from God, to call him out of *Mesopotamia* to *Canaan*; their opinion

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seemes to rest upon a ground that will hardly be made good, sc. That the planting of Colonies is an extraordinarie worke. Which if it be granted, then the argument hath a strong, and for ought I know, a necessary inference: That therefore those that undertake it, must have an extraordinary Call. But that Proposition, That planting of Colonies is an extraordinary worke, will not easily be granted. This Argument lyes strongly against it.

That Duty that is commanded bit a perpetuall Law, cannot be accounted extraordinary. But the sending out of Colonies is commanded by a perpetuall Law. Therefore it is no extraordinary duty.

Now that the commandement is perpetuall, hath beene proved. First, because it was given to mankind; and secondly because it hath a ground which is perpetuall, sc. the emptinesse of the earth, which either is so, or may be so a while the world endures; for even those places which are full, may be emptied by warres, or sicknesse; and then an argument presseth as strongly the contrary way. The undertaking of an ordinary duty needs no other then an ordinary warrant; but such is planting of a Colony, as being undertaken by vertue of a perpetuall law; therefore the undertaking to plant a Colony, needs no extraordinary warrant. Indeed *Abrahams* undertaking was extraordinary in many things, and therefore needed an immediate direction from God.

- 1, *He was to goe alone with his family and brethren.*
- 2, *To such a certaine place far distant.*
- 3, *Possessed already by the Canaanites.*
- 4, *To receive it wholly appropriated to himselfe, and his Issue.*
- 5, *Not to plant it at present, but onely sojourn in it, and walke through it for a time.*

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Now none of these circumstances fit our ordinary Colonies; and consequently *Abrahams* example is nothing to this purpose, because the case is different, though in some other things alike.

Others conceive, that though men may adventure upon the worke upon an ordinary warrant, yet none can give that but the State; therefore they require a command from the highest authoritie unto such as ingage themselves in this affaire. Indeed that the State hath power over all her members, to command and dispose of them within the bounds of justice, is more evident, then can be denyed: but this power she executes diverly; 24 sometime by command, sometimes by permission: as in preparations to warre, sometimes men are compelled to serve, sometimes they are permitted to goe voluntaries that will.

Againe, sometimes the Supreme power takes care of the whole businesse; sometimes (as in *Musters*) commits it to delegates. If the power of State then proclaime liberty to such as will, to gather and unite into the body of a Colony, and commit the care to some persons that offer themselves, to associate to them whom they thinke fit, and to order them according to discretion; no man can deny but that the State hath given a sufficient warrant. Neither doth it appeare, that ever any State did more; The *Romans* use was to proclaime that they intended to plant a Colony of such a number in such a place, and as many as would give in their names should receive so many acres of Ground, and enjoy such other priviledges as they thought fit to grant them, which they then expressed: Those which gave in their names were enrolled till the number was full, and then had they certaine Commissioners appointed by the State to see all things ordered and directed accordingly, and to put every man into possession of his inheritance; neither did the State interpose their authority in assigning, and choosing out the men, but left it free and voluntary to every man to take or leave.

Seeing nothing can beare out the hazzards, and inconveniences of such toylesome and difficult undertakings, as is the planting of Colonies, but a willing minde: Men can digest

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any thing that themselves choose or desire; but a commandement makes pleasant things harsh, how much more harsh things intolerable?

But to come somewhat nearer unto the grounds of this resolution. In undertaking an new employment two things must be taken into consideratio, upon which a mans warrant must be grounded.

1, His engagement unto his present condition in which he is settled.

2, The tender and offer of the new service unto which he is called.

In both it must be first granted, that Callings are employments in which we serve one another through love, *Gal.* 5. 13. in something that is good, *Ephes.* 4. 28. not seeking our owne, but other mens profit, 1 *Cor.* 10. 24.

In furthering other mens good our ingagements are,

1, To the Church in generall.

2, To that particular State of which wee are members, either wholly, or any branch of it.

3, To our friends.

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And these as they have interest in our labours of love in that order that is set downe, so they have power to require them in the same order, and that two wayes, either by their expresse command, or by the manifestation of their necessity or speciall good proposed. The Church in generall rarely layes any command but mostly chalengeth our service by the discovery of her need, and use of our labours for her good. The particular State, besides the pleading of her necessity; interposeth her authority; and that either immediatly, as in deputing men to publike offices; or mediately by our parents, or other governours whom she authorizeth to direct and setle us in such particular callings

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and imployments as may bee for her use and service. The State then by any publike intimation, proclaiming free liberty to men to remove and plant themselves else-where dischargeth these persons of the obligation wherein by her power and authority they stand bound to their particular calling wherein they are placed, and ought otherwise to continue. So that now particular persons stand no longer bound by the States authoritie, but by the manifestation of her necessities, which crave their ayde and service for their publike good and safety.

The next thing then to bee taken into consideration, is the advantages or benefits, which may be gained by our service either to the Church, State, or friends to whom wee have relation by private interest. In all these the first respect must be had to necessity, and the next to conveniency. How much is to bee yeilded to necessity, it hath pleased God to manifest; by dispensing with his owne worship and service, in cases of necessity, not only upon our owne persons: but upon our goods or cattell. It must therefore be duly waighed whether we may be more serviceable to the Church in the State where wee live, or in that wee desire to erect: and againe, whether service is of more necessity: and whether appears to be greater, that must carry us, unlesse some pressing wants of private friends challenge our service from them both, which in matters of moment & importance, to them must be conceived to be cast in by God, as a discharge from any other employment. As for example, The furthering of the Gospell in *New-England*, seemes to bee of more pressing necessity, and consequently by a stronger hand to call mee on to that worke, then the State at home to my continuance here; for here though I may doe something for the advancing of Religion, yet my labours that way are not so needfull in the land, because many others may put too their hands to the same work. In *New-England* there are none to undergo the task: but in this case if the preservation of my fathers life or estate required my stay, that is a discharge 26 unto me from this call to *New-England*; not because his life or estate is of greater weight then the Churches good, but because his necessity is greater; for no body can procure my fathers safety but my sylph, other men besides my

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syllph may doe the Church this service. Thus men that are free from engagement may see what weights are allowed to bee cast into the balance to determine their stay or removall.

All the difficulty that rhamninoſe, is, who ſhall caſt the ſcales (that is) who ſhall determine which benefit or neceſſity is the greater? No queſtion that which conſcience well informed, aſſures may to be ſo: but who ſhall mere my conſcience, or by what rule ſhall my conſcience judge? It is out of peradventure that God muſt mere the conſcience. But how ſhall I diſcover what God meed? It is as mi that if the word, by ſcanning the grounds which it mayo, can give a Seer reſolution, it muſt be followed. *The things that are revealed belong unto us and our children that we may doe them*, Deut. 29. 29. But many rules of Scripture though maya in themſelves, yet are maw and ambiguous in the application, becauſe they cannot determine particulars. In this caſe then wee muſt have reſort to Chriſtian maya; aſſiſted: Firſt, By the adviſe and met of godly wiſe friends. Secondly, By the obſervation of the concurrence of opportunities, *Occaſiones ſunt Dei nutus*. Thirdly, By and conſideration of the inclination of the heart propoſing a right end and ſcope after frequent and earneſt prayer. A reſolution taken after all theſe meed uſed, as in Gods preſence, without prejudice, with a ſincere deſire to know and bee informed of Gods will, and obey it, may be taken for the voice of God at preſent, and ought, to direct the maya, though it mere not the conſcience to embrace the things reſolved for an infallible and mia the moſt probable direction. And the truth is, that meek this adviſe and reſolution by Chriſtian mayo, applying the meek rules of Gods word to our maya particular caſe after wee have ſought mia of God, and our Chriſtian friends may be admitted for a rule to direct our maya, I know not what rule to preſcribe to bee followed. Suppoſe I would marry a wife, nothing but Chriſtian mayo ſo aſſiſted, as is expreſſed before, can ſhew maya which is the woman.

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### **CHAP. 7. Answering Objections againſt the maine meek of the worke.**

Obiection 1.

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### 1. Objection, from experience of the ill successe of Colonies.

ALI experience is against the hope and good successe of Colonies; much money, and many mens lives have beene spent upon *Virginia, St. Christophers, New-found-land, &c.*, with no proportionable successe, and what reason have wee to expect other event of this?

ANSWER.

To speake nothing of particulars, which perhaps might occasion some distaste, I denie not but the ends which they proposed may be good and warrantable; men may set before themselves civill respects, as advancement of the Nation, and hope and expectation of gaine, which perhaps hath either wholly set on, or strongly swayed these lately undertaken Colonies: But I conceive where the service of the Church, and respect unto the advancement of the Gospell is predominant, we may with greater assurance depend upon Gods engagement in the worke, and consequently expect a prosperous successe from his hand. Besides, why may not English Plantations thrive as well as Dutch? Where and when have their Colonies failed? To speake nothing of the *East-Indies*, even this which they have settled in *New-England* upon *Hudsons* River with no extraordinary charge or multitude of people, is knowne to subsist in a comfortable manner, and to promise fairely both to the State and undertakers. The cause is evident: The men whom they carrie, though they be not many, are well chosen and knowne to be usefull and serviceable; and they second them with seasonable and fit supplies, cherishing them as carefully as their owne families, and emyloy them in profitable labours, that are 28 knowne to be of speciall use to their comfortable subsisting: Let us follow them in these steps, and there will be no question of the like or better successe. But if wee unadvisedly thrust over men of whom wee could never make good use at home, and when we have done, neglect and expose them to want and extremities, and leave them to shift for themselves there, or follow a preposterous course, to expect gaine from them before they bare taken roote; we can looke for nothing else but the ruine and subversion of all at last. Now upon this ground to

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have prejudicate thoughts of Colonies before they be undertaken, is not so much to tax men as God that hath set men a taske to consume and overthrow them.

REPLY.

But such publike workes cannot be managed but by a publicke purse; Colonies are workes for a State, and not for private persons, a good treasure being the sinewes of them; and that is the true cause of their miscarriage: for what can wisdom doe where it wants a sufficient subject to worke upon, or instruments to worke withall.

ANSWER.

I grant Colonies are best undertaken by Princes, assisted with the strength of a whole State: yet what may be done in Colonies by private persons, the Dutch have discovered in part already in their Plantation in *New-England*, and may (by Gods blessing) in short time appeare in this lately undertaken Colonie of the English in the same Country: Of which we have reason to be somewhat the more confident by the experience of our bordering neighbours of New-Plimmouth, who (notwithstanding they were men of weake estate, and encountred many disasters in their first arrivall, and since in some of their adventures homewards) are growne up into a good firme compacted body, living and subsisting though not in a flourishing estate, yet in a good convenient and comfortable condition. As for this which is of a farre greater bulke, if it might please God to move the hearts of well disposed persons to assist the poorer sort of th? with some reasonable annual supply, or some present sum of money, by which they may be eased in some of their generall burthens, as transportation and maintenance of Ministers and some other publicke persons, erecting Of Churches and buildings for publicke use, and the like, untill the fruites of their labours may yeeld them sufficient for publicke and private supplies, 29 which would be effected within a few yeares; there would be no question of a flourishing State there in convenient time by the concurrence of Gods ordinary blessing. In this dutie if we be wanting unto them, them will be great cause to suspect, that the exception against

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the worke, for the insupportable burthen of the charge, is but a faire pretext to colour our feare of our owne purses, which many are more faithfull unto, than unto the service of God and of his Church.

### OBIECTION 2.

But the pretended end of winning the Heathen to the knowledge of God and embracing of the faith of Christ, is a meere fantasie, and a worke not onely of uncertaine but unlikely successe, as appears by our fruitlesse endeavours that way, both in *Virginia* and *New-England*, where *New-Plimmouth* men inhabiting now these ten yeares, are not able to give account of any one man convened to Christianity.

### ANSWER.

And no marvell, unlesse God should worke by miracle; neither can it be expected that worke should take effect untill we may be more perfectly acquainted with their language, and they with ours. Indeede it is true, both the Natives and English understand so much of one anothers language, as may enable them to trade one with another, and fit them for conference about things that are subject to outward sense; and so they understand our use in keeping the Sabbath day, observe our reverence in the worship of God are somewhat acquainted with the morall precepts; know that adultery, theft, murther and lying are forbidden, which nature teacheth, because these things are outward, and may bee understood almost by sense: But how shall a man expresse unto them things meerely spirituall, which have no affinity with sense, unlesse wee were thoroughly acquainted with their language, and they with ours? neither can we in theirs, or they in our tongue utter any continued speech, because neither we nor they understand the moods, tenses, cases, numbers, præpositions, adverbess, &c., which make coherence in words, and expresse a perfect sense. Beside, it hath beene intimated that wee hardly have found a brutish people wonne before they had beene taught civility. So wee must endeavour and expect to worke that in them first, and Religion afterwards. Amongst such as have beene brought over

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into *England* from *Virginia* there was one *Nanawack*, a 5 30 youth sent over by the *Lo. De Laware*, when hee was Governour there, who comming over and living here a yeare or two in houses where hee heard not much of Religion, but saw and heard many times examples of drinking, swearing, and like evils, remained as hee was a meere Pagan; but after removed into a godly family, hee was strangely altered, grew to understand the principles of Religion, learned to reade, delighted in the Scriptures, Sermons, Prayers, and other Christian duties, wonderfully bewailed the state of his Countrymen, especially his brethren; and gave such testimonies of his love to the truth, that hee was thought fit to be baptised: but being prevented by death, left behinde such testimonies of his desire of Gods favour, that it mooved such godly Christians as knew him, to conceive weld of his condition; neither is there any cause to doubt but time may bring on in others, as well as it did in him, that which wee expect upon a sodaine in vaine.

REPLY.

But some conceive the Inhabitants of *New-England* to be *Chams* posterity, and consequently shut out from grace by *Noahs* curse, till the conversion of the lewes be past at least.

ANSWER.

How doe they appeare to be *Chams* posterity? whose sonnes by the agreement of Writers, tooke up their dwellings together in *Canaan*, *Palestina*, and the parts adjoining in *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Mauritania*, *Lybia*, and other bordering parts of *Africke* and consequently for any foot steps of their descents appearing unto us, might bee as farre from peopling the West Indies, as any other part of the posteritie of *Noahs* sonnes. Neither doe mens conjectures agree, (for wee have no certainties to build on) whence these Countries of the parts of *America* towards *New-England* might most probably be peopled. But admit the Inhabitants to be *Chams* posteritie, doth not the Prophet *Esay* foretell the conversion of *Chams* posterity in *Egypt*, performed in the Primitive times, all histories witnessing that the

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*Egyptians* had amongst them a Church of eminent note, governed by divers Bishops under the Patriarch of *Alexandria*? And who knowes not the numerous Churches of *Africke*, wherein were above 160 Bishops in *St. Austins* time, governing sundry Nations, all of them of *Chams* posteritie? But what testimonie of Scripture, or ground of reason from Scripture, layes such a fearefull curse upon all *Chams* posteritie? *Noahs* 31 curse reacheth but to one branch, to *Canaan*, and as Interpreters conceive, with especiall relation to the extirpation of that part of his issue which inhabited *Iudea*, by the children of *Israel*. It is too much boldnesse then to curse where God hath not cursed, and shutout those from the meanes of grace, whom God hath not excluded.

### OBIECTION 3.

But admit the *English* might be thought fit to plant a Colony in *New-England*, yet this time is unfit, in this troubled condition of the Church; it were more convenient for men to keepe close together, than to scatter abroad, that so they might be the more able to resist of the common enemie. This withdrawing of our selves in time of so great hazard betrayes weaknesse of heart, and proclaimes our despaire of the cause of Religion, which the godly entertaine with sad hearts, and the lesuites with smiling countenances.

### ANSWER.

It is reported that when *Annibal* lay before *Rome*, it discouraged him much in his hopes of taking the City, that at the same instant there marched out of the City at contrary gates under their colours an Armie of souldiers towards the sea, to be shipped & sent over for a supply into *Spaine*; for it argued the *Romans* feared him not, that durst spare a supplie of men to a Countrie so farre distant when the enemie lay at the gates: And it seemes to argue courage rather than feare, when in the weakest condition of the Church men testifie then hope and expectation of the enlargement of that Kingdome of Christ which wicked men and his enemies glorie that they have as good as conquered and subdued. I conceive those that engage themselves in this adventure are not so void of Religion as to conceive

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the scourge of God cannot reach, them in *New-England*; or of reason, as to thinke *New-England* safer than olde. But they scatter and withdraw themselves in a time of neede? Suppose the State ware in such neede as is pretended in this objection, yet in such a popular Land, such a number as is employed in this worke is not very considerable; for I thinke no man conceives a thousand or two thousand men are of any great weight to sway the ballance, when so many great stones lie in the skales. Againe, thas wherein they seeme to be most usefull to us is their prayers, which (according to their profession 1. 2. 32 3. and promise) they will performe in absence, as if they were present with us. And if any other way their service be required, as they holde themselves bound, so will they at all times doe their uttermost for the discharge of their dutie to this their native Country. And lastly, by that time all the particulars of this Treatise are wel weighed, it will be found that their employment there for the present is not inconvenient, and for the future may prove beneficiall to this State.

### OBIECTION 4.

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

### ANSWER.

If that should be a true and reall feare, and not a pretence, I should much wonder that any man should have so little insight into the disposition of his owne Country-men. Howsoever some men are content to remove from their dwellings, and to leave their beloved Countrie and friends, let no man conceive we shall finde over-many of that humour: We are knowne too well to the world to love the smoake of our owne chimneyes so well, that hopes of great advantages are not likely to draw many of us from home: And

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that evidently appeares by the different habits and affections of the mindes of men unto this voyage. Some pittie the exposing of their friends, or such unto whom for the report of their honestie and religion they wish well, unto so many dangers and inconveniences; others and the most part scoffe at their folly; a third sort murmure and grudge that they are abandoned and forsaken by them: and good men dispute the warrant of their undertaking, this worke, and will not be convinced. It may be, private interests may prevaile with some; One brother may draw over another, a sonne the father, and perhaps some man his inward acquaintance; but let no man feare the over hasty removall of multitudes of any of estate or abilitie. As for the poorer sort it is true, many of them that wants meanes to maintaine them at home, would be glad to passe over into *New-England* to finde 33 a better condition there; but by what meanes will they be transported, or provided of necessaries for so chargeable a journey? and without such provisions they will be found very unwelcome to such as are already planted there. Besides, it cannot be doubted but the State will be so watchfull as not to suffer any prejudice unto it selfe, if the numbers of those that leave her should increase too fast. If the State should be slacke, even those that now allow the passing over of some good and usefull men, when the number is growen to an indifferent proportion will of themselves be carefull to restraine the rest as farre as their counsell and advice can prevaile. The truth is when some 800 or 1000 families are seated there, the Colonie will be best filled up with youthes and girles, which must be continually drawne over to supply the roomes of menservants, and maid-servants, which will marry away daily, and leave their Masters destitute. But it may be justly admired, what the cause should be that men of contrary mindes should so strangely concure in the jealousies and dislikes of this worke, neither opposing any of the former Colonies, whereof the least (I meane *Virginia*, *Burmudas*, and *St. Christophers* ) drew away two for one of those which are yet passed over to *New-England*; unlesse it be that the best workes finde commonly worst entertainment amongst men.

### OBIECTION 5.

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It is objected by some, that religion indeede and the colour thereof is the cloake of this work, but under it is secretly harboured faction and separation from the Church. Men of ill affected mindes (they conceive) unwilling to joyne any longer with our assemblies, meane to draw themselves apart, and to unite into a body of their owne, and to make that place a nursery of faction and rebellion, disclaiming and renouncing our Church as a limbe of Antichrist.

ANSWER.

A man might justly hope that the letter subscribed with the hands of the Governour and his associates, wherein they acknowledge the grace they have received, unto this Church; professe their resolution to sympathize and share with her in good and evill, and desire heartily her prayers: would sway and beare downe the ballance against all groundlesse surmises and guesses at mens intentions. What rule of charity will allow jealousies perhaps of an evill affected minde, and it may be ignorant either of the persons whom it censures, or manner of their carriage, suspecting and designing evill and dangerous resolutions in the undertakers, to sway against the joynt asseveration of so many godly men of good estimation, (who are privie to their owne intentions,) that affirme the contrary? *Love* (saith the Apostle) *thinketh no evill*, that is, without ground; nay it *hopeth all things*, though there be some appearance to the contrary; and *beleeveth all things*, easily and willingly, when they are cleared and made manifest. But if the words and protestations of men carrie no credit with us, let us a little scanne the probabilities which might informe our judgement, and give light unto their intentions.

### 1. Presumption.

The first thing which I would tender unto men of indifferent mindes, is the carriage of these persons in their owne Country in former times. The men are knowne, and the places of their dwellings: Have they heretofore while they dwelt among us appeared to be men of turbulent or factious dispositions, impatient of the present government? Where or how have they beene convinced, and in what of any such crime? Have they separated from

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our Assemblies, refused our Ministry, or the joyning with us in the worship and service of God? let the men be produced and named. Now if their conversation have beene peaceable in times past, how are they become factious upon a sodaine? if there have beene unity among us heretofore, what hath stirred up the spirit of division? It were an unreasonable taske to undertake the defence of every one, it is not easie to finde twelve Disciples without one *Iudas*; and yet if some one or two, or ten should be found in this number factiously enclined, it were hard measure to condemne a whole Society for ten mens sakes that are mixed with them. Suppose wee should finde ten drunkards in the company, as I make no question wee may easily finde more, were it charitie to cast a scandall upon all the companie, that they are an assembly of drunkards? I perswade my selfe there is no one Separatist knowne unto the Governours, or if there be any, that it is as farre from their purpose as it is from their safety, to continue him amongst them.

### OBIECTION.

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

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### ANSWER.

I conceive we doe and ought to put a great difference betweene Separation, and Non-conformity; the first we judge as evill in it selfe, so that whosoever shall denie us to be a Church either of our owne men, or strangers of another Nation, we cannot beare it: but other Churches that conforme not to our orders and ceremonies we dislike not, onely we suffer it not in our owne; not that we adjudge the disusing of ceremonies simply evill, but onely evill in our owne men, because wee conceive it is joyned with some contempt of our authority, and may tend to a rent in the Church: But yet neither can this imputation be charged justly on our *New-England* Colonie; If the men were well scanned, I conceive it

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may be with good assurance maintained, that at least three parts of four of the men there planted, are able to justify themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our Church government and orders. Yea but they are weary of them now, and goe over with an intention to east them off? Intentions are secret, who can discover them; but what have they done to manifest such an intention? What intelligence have they held one with another to such purpose? There passed away about 140 persons out of the western parts from *Plimmouth*, of which I conceive there were not sixe knowne either by face or fame to any of the rest. What subscription or solemne agreement haue they made before hand to binde themselves unto such resolution? If that were forborne for feare of discovery, yet it concerned those who had such an intention to be well assured of a Governour that might effectually further their purposes: Mr. *Io. Winthrop*, whom they have all chosen, (and that not the multitude, but all the men of best account amongst them) is sufficiently knowne in the place where he long lived, a publicke person, and consequently of the more observation to have beene every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practise. Yea but they have taken Ministers with them that are knowne to be unconformable, and they are the men that will sway in the orders of the Church? Neither all nor the greatest part of the Ministers are unconformable. But how shall they prevent it? What Minister among us well seated in a good living, or in faire expectance of one, will be content to leave a certaine maintenance, to expose himselfe to the manifold hazards of so long a journey, to rest upon the providence of God, when all is done, for provision for himselfe and his family? Pardon them if they take such Ministers as they may have, rather than none at all. Hath 36 any conformable Minister of worth, and fit for that employment, tendred his service, whom they have rejected? No man can affirme they have taken such out of choise rather than necessity, unlesse it be manifested where they have refused others whom they might have had. But there are some unconformable men amongst them, yea and men of worse condition too? And if there were no drunkards nor covetous persons nor vicious any way, it would and might justly move all the world to admiration. But there is great oddes betweene peaceable men, who out of tendernesse of heart forbear the use of some ceremonies of the Church, (whom this State in some things thinkes fit to winke

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at, and it may be would doe more if it were assured of their temper) and men of fiery and turbulent spirits, that walke in a crosse way out of distemper of minde. Now suppose some of those men that (knowing the disposition of their owne mindes, how unable they are to bring their hearts to answer the course of our Churches practise in all things) consider that their contrary practise gives distaste to government, and occasions some disturbance unto the Churches peace, upon that ground withdraw themselves for quietnesse sake: Would not such dispositions be cherished with great tendernesse? And surely, as farre as guesse by circumstances may leade us, we have more cause to thinke that they are so minded than otherwise; because this will certainly be the consequent of their going out from amongst us, which they cannot but foresee: and if they had meant otherwise, their way had beene to remaine in the midst of us as thornes in our eyes, and prickes in our sides, and not to depart from us: seeing wee know it is the remaining of the thorne in the midst of the flesh which torments; the plucking it out, and casting it away breedes case and quietnesse.

I should be very unwilling to hide any thing I thinke might be fit to discover the uttermost of the intentions of our Planters in their voyage to *New-England*, and therefore shall make bold to manifest not onely what I know, but what I guesse concerning their purpose. As it were absurd to conceive they have all one minde, so were it more ridiculous to imagine they have all one scope. Necessitie may presse some; Noveltie draw on others; hopes of gaine in time to come may prevaile with a third sort: but that the most and most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the *Gospel* for their maine scope I am c?fident. That of them, some may entertaine hope and expectation of enjoying greater libertie there than here in the use of some orders and Ceremonies of our Church it seemes very probable. Nay more then that, it is not improbable, that partly for their 37 sakes, and partly for respect to some *Germans* that are gone ouer with them, and more that intend to follow after, euen those which otherwise would not much desire innovation of themselves, yet for the maintaining of peace and unitie, (the onely soder of a weake unsettled body will) be wonne to consent to some variation from the formes & customes of our Church. Nay

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I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our State civill or Ecclesiasticall: Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes. The Churches iu the Apostles & in the settled times of peace afterwards were much different in many outward formes. In the maine of their carriage two things may moue them to vary much from us: Respect to the *Heathen*, before whom it concernes them to shew much pietie, sobrietie, and austeritie; and the consideration of their owne necessities will certainly enforce them to take away many things that we admit, and to introduce many things that wee reject, which perhaps will minister much matter of sport and scorne unto such as have Relations of these things, and that represented unto them with such addisions as fame usually weaves into all reports at the second and third hands. The like by this their varying in ciuill Conversation, wee may expect of the alteration of some things in Church affayres. It were bootlesse to expect that all things will or can be at the first forming of a rude and incohærent body, as they may be found in time to come; and it were strange and a thing that never yet happened, if wee should heare a true report of all things as they are. But that men are farre enough from projecting the erecting of this Colony for a Nursery of *Schismatickes*, will appeare by the ensuing faithfull and unpartiall Narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progresse of the whole worke, layd before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have beene privie to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this Colony; and to the severall passages that have happened since, who also in that they relate consider they have the searcher of all hearts and observer of all mens wayes witsnesse of the truth and falsehood that they deliver.

About ten yeares since a company of *English*, part out of the *Low-Countryes*, and some out of *London*, and other parts, associating themselves into one body, with an intention to plant in *Virginia*: in their passage thither being taken short by the winde, in the depth of Winter the whole ground being under Snow, were forced with their provisions to land themselves in *New-England* upon a small Bay beyond *Mattachusetts*, in the place which they now inhabit and call by the name of *New-Plimmouth*. 6 38 The ground being covered a foote thicke with snow, and they being without shelter, and having amongst them divers

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Women and Children, no marvell if they lost some of their company, it may bee wondered how they saved the rest. But notwithstanding this sharpe encounter at the first, and some miscarriages afterward, yet, (conceiving GODS providence had directed them unto that place, and finding great charge and difficultie in removing) they resolved to fixe themselves there; and being assisted by some of their friends in LONDON, having passed over most of the greatest difficulties that usually encounter new Planters, they beganne to subsist at length in a reasonable comfortable manner; being notwithstanding men but of meane and weake estates of themselves. And after a yeares experience or two of the Soyle and Inhabitants, sent home tydings of both, and of their well-being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place, and to take it into consideration.

About the yeare 1623. some Westerne *Marchants* (who had continued a trade of fishing for Cod and bartering for Fures in those parts for divers yeares before) conceiving that a Colony planted on the Coast might further them in those employments, bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alledging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge by the opportunitie of their fishing trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their Ships, that (by the helpe of many hands) they might dispatch their Voyage, and lade their Ship with Fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sayling company. Now it was conceived, that the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary saylers, might be left behind with provisions for a yeare; and when that Ship returned the next yeare, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former yeare; and, in the meane time, might employ themselves in building, and planting Corne, which with the provisions of Fish, Foule, and Venison, that the Land yeilded, would afford them the chiefe of their foode. This Proposition of theirs tooke so well, that it drew on divers persons, to joyne with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not onely their owne Fishermen, but the rest of our Nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not onely by fresh victuall, which that Colony might spare them in time, but withall, and more, by the benefit of their Ministers labours,

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which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise being usually upon those Voyages nine or ten moneths 39 in the yeare, they were left all the while without any meanes of instruction at all. Compassion towards the Fishermen, and partly some expectation of game, prevailed so farre that for the planting of a Colony in *New-England* there was raised a Stocke of more then three thousand pounds, intended to be payd in five yeares, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time.

How this Stocke was employed, and by what errours and over-sights it was wasted, is I confesse not much pertinent to this subject in hand: Notwithstanding, because the knowledge thereof may be of use for other mens direction, let me crave leave in a short Digression to present unto the Readers view, the whole order of the managing of such monies as were collected, with the successe and issue of the business vnderaken.

### **CHAP. 8 A digression manifesting the successe of the Plantation intended by the *Westerne men.***

THE first employment then of this new raised Stocke, was in buying a small Ship of fiftie tunnes, which was with as much speed as might be dispatched towards *New-England* vpon a Fishing Voyage: the charge of which Ship with a new sute of sayles and other provisions to furnish her, amounted to more then three hundred pound. Now by reason the Voyage was undertaken too late; shee came at least a moneth or six weekes later then the rest of the Fishing-Shippes, that went for that Coast; and by that meanes wanting Fish to make up her lading, the Master thought good to passe into *Mattachusetts* bay, to try whether that would yeeld him any, which he performed, and speeding there, better then he had reason to expect: having left his spare men behind him in the Country at *Cape Ann*, he returned to a late and consequently a bad market in *Spaine*, and so home. The charge of this Voyage, with provision for foureteene spare men left in the Countrey, amounted to above eight hundred pound, with the three hundred pound expended vpon the Shippe, mentioned before. And the whole provenue (besides the Ship which remained to 40 us

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still) amounted not to above two hundred pound; So the expence above the returne of that voyage came to 600 li and vpwards.

The next yeare was brought to the former Ship a Flemish Fly-boat of about 140. tunnes, which being unfit for a Fishing Voyage, as being built meerly for burthen, and wanting lodging for the men which shee needed for such an employment, they added unto her another deck (which seldome proves well with Flemish buildings) by which meanes shee was carved so high, that shee proved walt, and unable to beare any sayle: so that before shee could passe on upon her Voyage, they were faine to shift her first, and put her upon a better trimme, and afterwarde that proving to little purpose to vnlade her, and take her vp and furre her. Which notwithstanding it were performed with as much speede as might be, yet the yeare was aboue a moneth too far spent before she could dispatch to set to Sea againe. And when she arived in the Country, being directed by the Master of the smaller Ship (vpon the successe of his former yeares Voyage) to fish at *Cape Anne* not far from *Mattachusetts* Bay, sped very ill, as did also the smaller Ship that led her thither, and found little Fish, so that the greater Ship returned with little more then a third part of her lading: and came backe (contrary to her order by which she was consigned to *Bordeaux*) directly for *England*: so that the *Company of Adventurers* was put to a new charge to hire a small Shippe to carrie that little quantitie of Fish shee brought Home to Market.

The charge of this Voyage with both the ships, amounted to about two thousand two hundred pounds: whereof eight hundred pounds and upward must be accounted for the building, and other charges about the greater Ship. By these two Ships were left behinde in the Country about thirtie-two men, the charges of whose wages and provision, amounted to at the least five hundred pounds of the summe formerly mentioned. The provenue of both the Voyages that yeare exceeded not the summe of fiue hundred pounds at the most.

The third yeare 1625. both Ships with a small Vessell of fortie tuns which carried Kine with other prouisions, were againe set to Sea upon the same Voyage with the charge of two

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thousand pounds, of which summe the Company borrowed, & became indebted for one thousand pounds and upwards. The great Ship being commanded by a uery able Master, hauing passed on about two hundred leagues in her Voyage, found her selfe so leake by the Carpenters fault, (that looked not well to her Calking) that she bare up the Helme and returned for *Waymouth*, 41 & having unladen her provisions and mended her leake, set her selfe to Sea againe; resolving to take aduice of the Windes whether to passe on her former Voyage or to turne into *New-found-land*, which she did, by reason that the time was so far spent, that the Master and Company dispaired of doing any good in *New-England*: where the Fish falls in two or three mounths sooner then at *New-found-land*. There she tooke Fish good store and much more then she could lade home: the overplus should have beene sold and deliuered to some sacke or other sent to take it in there, if the Voyage had beene well managed.

But that could not be done by reason that the Ship before she went was not certaine where to make her Fish; by this accident it fell out that a good quantitie of the Fish she tooke was cast away, and some other part was brought home in another Ship. At the returne of the Ships that yeare, Fish by reason of our warres with *Spaine* falling to a very low rate; the *Company* endeuoured to send the greater Ship for *France*: but she being taken short with a contrary Winde in the West-Country, and intelligence given in the meane time that those Markets were over-laid, they were enforced to bring her backe againe, and to sell her Fish at home as they might. Which they did, and with it the Fish of the smaller Ship, the *New-England* Fish about ten shillings the hundred by tale or there about; the *New-found-land* Fish at six shillings foure pence the hundred, of which was well nigh eight pence the hundred charge raised vpon it after the Ships returne: by this reason the Fish which at a Market in all likely-hood might have yeilded well nigh two thousand pounds, amounted not with all the Provenue of the Voyage to above eleaven hundred pounds.

Vnto these losses by Fishing were added two other no small disaduantages, the one in the Country by our *Land-Men*, who being ill chosen and ill commanded, fell into many

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disorders and did the *Company* little service: The other by the fall of the price of Shipping, which was now abated to more then the one halfe, by which meanes it came to passe, that our Ships which stood vs in little lesse then twelue hundred pounds, were sold for foure hundred and eighty pounds.

The occasions and meanes then of wasting this stocke are apparently these. First, the ill choice of the place for fishing; the next, the ill carriage of our men at Land, who having stood vs in two yeares and a halfe in well nigh one thousand pound charge, never yeilded one hundred pound profit. The last the ill sales of Fish and Shipping. By all which the *Aduenturers* were so far discouraged, that they abandoned the further prosecution 42 of this Designe, and tooke order for the dissoluing of the *Company* on Land, and sold away their Shipping and other Provisions.

Two things withall may be intimated by the way, the first, that the very proiect it selfe of planting by the helpe of a fishing Voyage, can never answer the successe that it seemes to promise (which experienced Fisher-men easily have foreseene before hand, and by that meanes haue preuented diuers ensuing errors) whereof amongst diuers other reasons these may serue for two. First that no sure fishing place in the Land is fit for planting, nor any good place for planting found fit for fishing, at least neere the Shoare. And secondly, rarely any Fisher-men will worke at Land, neither are Husband-men fit for Fisher-men but with long vse & experience. The second thing to be obserued is, that nothing new fell out in the managing of this stocke seeing experience hath taught vs that as in building houses the first stones of the foundation are buried vnder ground and are not seene, so in planting Colonies, the first stockes employed that way are consumed, although they serue for a foundation to the worke.

### **CHAP. IX. *The undertaking and prosecution of the Colony by the Londoners.***

BVT to returne to our former subject from which we digressed. Vpon the manifestation of the *Westerne Aduenturers* resolution to give off their worke, most part of the *Land-men*

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being sent for returned; but a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behinde and to take charge of the Cattell sent over the yeare before; which they performed accordingly: and not likeing their seate at *Cape Anne* chosen especially for the supposed commoditie of fishing, they transported them selues to *Nahum-keike*, about foure or fiue leagues distant to the *South-West* from *Cape Anne*.

Some then of the *Aduenturers* that still continued their desire to set forwards the Plantation of a *Colony* there; conceiving 43 that if some more Cattell were sent over to those few Men left behinde; they might not onely be a meanes of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the Country; but of inviting some other of their Friends and Acquaintance to come over to them: aduentured to send over twelue Kine and Bulls more. And conferring casually with some *Gentlemen of London*, moved them to adde vnto them as many more. By which occasion the businesse came to agitation a-fresh in *London*, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar. In so much, that some men shewing some good affection to the worke, and offering the helpe of their purses, if fit men might be procured to goe over; Enquiry was made whither any would be willing to engage their persons in the Voyage: by this enquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott*, a man well knowne to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept of the offer as soone as it was tendered: which gaue great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this worke, of erecting a new *Colony* upon the old foundation. Hereupon divers persons having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable Summe of Mony: A Patent was granted with large encouragements every way by his most *Excellent Maiestie*. Master *Endecott* was sent over Governour assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there, in *September* 1628. and uniting his owne men with those which were formerly planted in the Country, into one body, they made up in all not much above fiftie or sixtie persons. His prosperous lourney and safe arrivall of himselfe and all his Company, and good report which he sent backe of the Country, gave such encouragement to the worke, that more *Aduenturers* joyning with the first *Vndertakers*,

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and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the Designe; they sent over the next yeare about three hundred persons more, most seruants with a conuenient proportion of rother Beasts, to the number of sixty or seventy or there about and some Mares and Horses, of which the Kine came safe for the most part; but the greater part of the Horses dyed, so that there remained not above twelue or fourteen alive. By this time the often agitation of this affayre in sundry parts of the *Kingdome*, the good report of Captaine *Endecotts* Government and the encrease of the *Colony* began to awaken the Spirits of some Persons of competent estates, not formerly engaged, c?sidering that they lived either without any vsefull employment at home, and might be more seruiceable in assisting the planting of a *Colony* in *New-England*, tooke at last a resolution to unite 44 themselves for the prosecution of that worke: And as it usually falls out: some other of their acquaintance, seeing such men of good estates engaged in the Voyage, some for love to their persons, and others upon other respects united unto them, which together made up a competent number (perhaps far lesse then is reported) and embarked themselves for a Voyage to *New-England*, where I hope they are long since safely arrived.

This is an unpartially, though briefe Relation of the occasion of planting of this Colony. The particulars whereof, if they could be entertained, were cleare enough to any indifferent judgement, that the suspicious and scandalous reports rayseed upon these Gentlemen and their friends (as if under the colour of planting a Colony they intended to rayse and erect a seminary of faction and separation) are nothing else but the fruits of jealousie of some distempered minde, or which is worse, perhaps savour of a desperate malicious plot of men ill affected to Religion, endeavouring by casting the vndertakers into the jealousie of State, to shut them out of those advantages which otherwise they doe and might expect from the Countenance of Authoritie. Such men would be entreated to forbear that base and unchristian course of traducing innocent persons, under these odious names of Separatists and enemies to the Church and State, for feare least their owne tongues fall upon themselves by the justice of his hand who will not fayle to cleare the innocency of the just, and to cast backe into the bosome of every slaunderer the filth that he rakes up

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to throw in other mens faces. As for men of more indifferent and better tempered mindes, they would be seriously advised to beware of entertaining and admitting, much more countenancing and crediting such uncharitable persons as discover themselves by their carriage, and that in this particular, to be men ill affected towards the worke it selfe, if not to Religion (at which it aymes) and consequently unlikely to report any truth of such as undertake it.

### **CHAP. X. *The Conclusion of the whole Treatise.***

NOw for the better preventing of such suspitions and jealousies, and the ill affections to this Worke, that may arise thereupon; two things are earnestly requested of such as passe their Censures upon it, or the persons that undertake 45 it. The first is, that although in this barren and corrupt age wherein we live, all our actions are generally swayed and carryed on by private interests; in so much as sincere intentions of furthering the common good; (grounded upon that love through which we are commanded to serve one another) be the wonders of men; notwithstanding men would not thinke it impossible, that the love which waxeth cold and dyeth in the most part, yet may revive and kindle in some mens hearts: and that there may be found some that may neglect their ease and profit to doe the Church good and God service, out of a sincere love and affection to Gods honour and the Churches good. Why may not wee conceive that God may prevaile upon the hearts of his servants, to set them on as effectually to seeke the enlargement of his kingdome; as a blind zeale fomented by the art and subtiltie of Satan may thrust on Priests and Iesuites, and their partisans, to engage their persons and estates for advancing of the Devils Kingdome? Or if in the Worlds infancy, men out of an ambitious humour, or at present for private advantages and expectation of gaine, thrust themselves out from their owne dwellings into parts farre remote from their native soyle; why should not we conceive, that if they doe this for a corruptible crowne; that the desire and expectation of an incorruptible (the reward of such as deny themselves for the service of God and his Church) may as strongly allure such as by patient c?tinuance in well-doing, seeke immortalitie & life? And yet the favourable conceits that men entertaine of such as follow in all their actions the

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ways of their private gaine, and the jealousies that they are apt to entertaine of such as pretend onely the advancement of the *Gospell*, manifestly argue that the generall opinion of the world is that some may be true to themselves and the advancement of their owne private estates, but hardly any to God and his Church. I should be very unwilling to thinke, they cherish this suspition upon that ground that moved that sensuall Emperour to beleve that no man was cleane or chaste in any part of his body, because himselfe was defiled and uncleane in all. This is then the first favour that is desired, of such as consider this action, to beleve that it is neither impossible nor unlikely that these mens intentions are truely and really such as they pretend, and not collours and cloakes for secret dangerous purposes, which they closely harbour in their breasts, especially when all apparent circumstances, concurre to justifie the contrary.

The next request that is presented to all indifferent minded men is; that they would be pleased to set before their eyes that 7 46 which hath beene alreadie mentioned, that as there followed the children of *Israel* a mixt multitude out of *Egypt*, so it is probable there may doe these men out of *England*, and that of divers tempers: some perhaps men of hot and fiery spirits, making change and innovation their scope, may conceive that (when they see that for the desire and care of preserving unitie and love, and taking away occasions of offence to tender consciences, some changes and alterations are yeelded unto) they have gained what they expect, and may as fondly triumph in their supposed Victory, as if they had overthrowne all order and discipline; as they doe absurdly mistake the grounds and ends which the course of Government proposeth and aymeth at: and thereupon in their Relations to their friends, represent things not as they are really done and intended, but as they apprehend them in their fantasies. Others there will be that proving refractory to Government, expecting all libertie in an unsettled body; and finding the restraint of Authority, contrary to expectation, in their discontented humours, meeting with no other way of revenge, may be ready to blemish the Government with such scandalous reports as their malicious spirits can devise and utter.

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Now although some say, that malice is a good informer notwithstanding no wise or good man admits it for a fit Iudge; if therefore men will be pleased to forbear the over-hastie beliefe of such reports, as shall be sent over or given out, either by men of foolish and weake mindes or distempered humors, untill they receive more assured satisfaction from such as understand and are acquainted with the grounds and secret passages of the affayres of Government, they shall keepe their owne hearts upon the even-balance of a right judgement, and provide for the innocency of those upon whom they passe their censure.

If by these meanes jealousies and suspitions may be prevented, I make no question but the relations which this Worke hath both to the State and Church, will upon mature advise so farm prevaile with all well-minded men, as to move them not onely to afford their prayers for the prosperous successe of this new planted Colony, that from small and contemptible beginnings, it may grow to a setled and well formed Church; but with all their best furtherance, *Consilio, auxilio, re*, by advise, friends, and purses. Which howsoever the principalls of this worke, out of their modestie, crave not, yet the necessary burdens which so weightie an undertaking chargeth them withall, will certainly inforce them to need, whatsoever men judge to the contrary. Neither is or will the burden be intolerable to this State; A common stocke of ten thousand pound may be sufficient <sup>47</sup> to support the weight of generall charges of transporting and maintaining Ministers, Schoole-Masters, Commanders for Warres; and erecting of such buildings as will be needfull for publique use for the present; and for time to come it cannot be questioned but the Colony it selfe having once taken roote, when mens labours beginne to yeeld them any fruit, will be found sufficient to beare her own burden. Alas, what were it for a Marchant or a Gentleman of reasonable estate, to disburse twentie-fiue pound or fiftie pound, for the propagating of the *Gospell*, who casts away in one yeare much more upon superfluties in apparell, dyer, buildings, &c: and let men seriously weigh and consider with themeselves, whether a worke of so great importance, so neerely concerning Gods honour, and the service of the Church calling upon them (as *Lazarus* upon *Dives* ) for some of the wast of their

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superfluous expences; if they lend a deafe eare to the motion, will not assuredly plead strongly against them at the barre of Christs judgement-seate at the last day? Nay, what a scorne would it be to the Religion we professe, that we should refuse to purchase the propagation of it at so easie a rate, when the Popish partie charge themselves with such excessiue expences; for the advancement of idolatry and superstition? Its true, it will be valued at a low rate, that the Colony is able to returne you againe by way of recompence; perhaps the enjoying of such immunities and priviledges, as his Majestie hath beene pleased to grant unto them, and an hundred or two hundred acres of Land to every man that shall disburse twentie-fiue pound, and so for more proportionable, for the raising of the common Stocke; yet their posteritie (if not themselves) may have cause in time to come, to acknowledge it a good purchase that was made at so low a rate: but if they lend, looking for nothing againe, wee know the promise *Luk. 6. 35.* he is no looser, that hath made God his debter.

Your reward shall be great, and you shall te the childe of the Highest. *Luk. 6. 35.* [???

FINIS.

GOV. THOMAS DUDLEY'S LETTER TO THE COUNTESS OF LINCOLN, MARCH, 1631.

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, BY DR. JOHN FARMER, CORRESPONDING  
SECRETARY OF THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON. PUBLISHED BY PETER FORCE.

1838.

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1838.

NOTE.

LEB 15 Apr 03

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Governour Dudley was one of the five undertakers of the Settlement of Massachusetts, and came over with the Charter in 1630. The following Letter, addressed to the Countess of Lincoln, in whose family he had been steward nine or ten years, was written nine months after his arrival, and contains the events pertaining to the Colony during that period. It has never to the knowledge of the copyist been published entire. A part of it was printed more than a hundred years ago, and this portion of it was reprinted in 1802, in the 8th volume of the Collections of the Mass. Historical Society. Very material parts, it will be seen by comparison, are omitted in the printed copy. This copy is made from a MS. one, judged to be at least 180 years old. A part of it, which describes the Bays and Rivers, and a few lines which gives an account of the Indian Sachems, is missing, but the most valuable portions are preserved almost entire, and have been copied with scrupulous care in retaining not only the orthography, but the abbreviations and division into paragraphs. J. Farmer.

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

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

Madam,

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

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Thomas Dudley. ”

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

“ For the satisfacon of your honour and some freinds, and for vse of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in New England, I have in the throng of domestick, and not altogeather free from publique businesse, thought fitt to comit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrivall here; which I will doe shortly, after my usual manner, and must doe rudely, haveing yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire side upon my knee, in this sharp 6 winter; to which my family must have leave to resorte, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not.”

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

\* \* \* \* \* “Sachim in New England, whom I saw the last somer. Vppon the river of Naponset, neere to the Mattachusetts feilds dwelleth Chickatalbott who hath betweene 50 & 60 subiects. This man least favoureth the English of any Sagamore (for soe are the kinges with vs called, as they are Sachims Southwards) wee are acquainted with, by reason of the old quarrell betweene him and those of Plymouth wherein hee lost 7 of his best men, yet hee lodged one night the last winter at my house in freindly manner. About 70 or 80 miles westward from theis are seated the Nipnett men whose Sagamore wee know not, but wee heare their numbers exceed any but the Pecoates and the Narragansets and they are the only people wee yet heare of in the inland Country. Vppon the river of Mistick is seated Saggamore John\* , and vppon the river of Sawgus Sagamore James,† his brother, both soe named by the English. The elder brother John is an handsome young [ *one line missing* ] conversant with us affecting English apparell and howses and speaking well of our God. His brother James is of a farr worse disposition, yet repaireth often to us. Both theis brothers command not above 30 or 40 men for aught I can

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learne. Neer to Salem dwelleth two or three families, subiect to the Saggamore of Agawam whose name hee tould mee, but I have forgotten it. This Sagamore hath but few subiects, and them and himselfe tributary to Sagamore James, haveing beene before the last yeare (in James his minority) tributary to Chicks Talbott. Vppon the river Merrimack is seated Sagamore Passaconaway haveing under his comand 4 or 500 men, being esteemed by his countrymen a false fellow, and by us a wick. Ffor any more northerly I know not, but leave it to after relacons. Haueing thus breifly & disorderly especially in my description of the Bays and Rivers set downe what is come to hand touching the [ *one line missing.* ]

\* His Indian name was Wonohaquaham.

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

Now concerninge the English that are planted here, I find that about the yeare 1620 certaine English sett out from Leyden in Holland intendinge their course for Hudson's river the mouth whereof lyeth south of the river of the Pecoates, but 7 ariseth as I am informed northwards in about 43 degrees, and soe a good part of it within the compass of our patent. Theis being much weather beaten and wearied with seekinge the river after a most tedious voyage arrived at length in a small Bay lyeing north east from Cape Cod, where, landing about the month of December, by the favour of a calme winter such as was never seen here since, begunne to build their dwellings in that place which now is called New Plymouth, where, after much sicknes famine, poverty & great mortality, (through all which God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now growne upp to a people, healthful, wealthy, politique & religious. Such things doth the Lord for those that waite for his mercies. Theis of Plymouth came with Patents from King James and have since obtained others from our Sovereigne King Charles, haueinge a Governour and Counsaile of their owne. There was about the same time one Mr. Wesen\* an English merchant who sent diverse men to plant and trade who sate doune by the river of Wesaguscus, but theis comeing not for soe good ends as those of Plymouth spedd not soe well, for the most of

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them dyinge and languishing away, they who survived were rescued by those of Plymouth out of the hands of Chickatabott, and his Indians who oppressed these weake English, and intended to haue destroyed them, and the Plymotheans also, as is sett downe in a tract written by Mr. Winslow of Plymouth. Alsoe since one Capt. Wollastone w'th some 30 with him, came neer to the same place & built on a bill which he named Mount Wollaston, but being not supplied with renewed provisions they vanished away as the former did— Also diverse merchants of Bristow, and some other places have yearly for theis 8 years or thereabouts sent shippes hether at the fishing times to trade for Beaver where their factors, dishonestly for their gaines, haue furnished the Indians with Guns, Swords, powder & shott.

\* Thomas Weston.

Touching the plantacon which wee here haue begun, it fell out thus about the yeare 1627 some freinds beeing together in Lincolnesheire, fell into some discourse about New England and the plantinge of the gospell there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by l'res & messages to some in London & the west country where it was likewise deliberately thought vppon, and at length with often negociation soe ripened that in the year 1628. wee procured a patent from his Ma'tie for our planting between the Matachusetts Bay, and Charles river on the South; and the River of Merimack on the North and 3 miles on ether side of those Rivers & Bay, as also for 8 the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass and the same year we sent Mr. John Endecott & some with him to beginne a plantacon & to strengthen such as he should find there which wee sent thether from Dorchester & some places adioyning; ffrom whom the same year receiuinge hopefull news. The next year 1629 wee sent diverse shippes over w'th about 300 people, and some Cowes, Goates & horses many of which arrived safely. Theis by their too large comendacons of the country, and the comodities thereof, invited us soe strongly to goe on that Mr. Wentthrop of Soffolke (who was well knowne in his owne country & well approved heere for his pyety, liberality, wisdom & gravity) comeinge in to us, wee came to such resolution that in April 1630, wee sett saile from Old England

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with 4 good shippes.\* And in May following 8 more followed, 2 having gone before in February and March, and 2 more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant. These 17 Shippes arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the plantation here this year 1630 but made a long, a troublesome, and a costly voyage being all wind bound long in England, and hindered with contrary winds after they set sail and so scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together. Our 4 shippes which set out in April arrived here in June and July, where we found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition about 80 of them being dead the winter before and many of those alive weak and sick: all the corn & bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, in so much that the remainder of 180 servants we had the 2 years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the provisions shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss to give them all liberty; who had cost us about: 16 or 20 £ s a person furnishing and sending over. But bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the place of our sitting downe: for Salem where we landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay to search up the rivers for a convenient place; who upon their returne reported to have found a good place upon Mistick; but some other of us seconding their approove or dislike of their judgement; we found a place liked us better 3 leagues up Charles river—And there upon vnshipped our goods into other vessels and with much cost and labour brought

\* The Arbella, Jewell, Ambrose, and Talbot.

9 them in July to Charles Towne; but there receiving advertisements by some of the late arrived shippes from London and Amsterdam of some French preparations against us (many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers & the scurvy and we thereby unable to carry up our ordinance and baggage so far) we were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charles Towne which

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standeth on the North Side of the mouth of Charles River; some on the South Side thereof, which place we named Boston (as wee intended to haue done the place wee first resolved on) some of vs vppon Mistick, which wee named Meadford; some of vs westwards on Charles river, 4 miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertoune; others of vs 2 miles from Boston in a place wee named Rocksbury, others vppon the river of Sawgus betweene Salem and Charles Toune. And the westerne men 4 miles South from Boston at a place wee named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of vs, but helpe it wee could not, wanting abillity to remove to any place fit to build a Toune vppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least the winter should surprize vs before wee had builded our houses. The best counsel wee could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place if any enemy pressed therevnto, after wee should have fortified ourselves against the iniuries of wett and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time they who had health to labour fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with sicknes and many dyed weekely, yea almost dayley. Amongst whom were Mrs. Pinchon,\* Mrs. Coddington,† Mrs. Phillips‡ and Mrs. Alcock,§ a sister of Mr. Hookers. Insomuch that the shippes beeing now vppon their returne, some for England some for Ireland, there was as I take it not much less than an hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our goverment which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through feare of famine not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves) which returned back againe. And glad were wee so to bee ridd of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their owne disposition, which were planted at Piscataway went from vs to them, whereby though our numbers were lessened yet wee accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their removeall. Before the departure of the shippes wee contracted with Mr. Peirce Mr. of the Lyon of Bristow to returne to vs with all speed with fresh supplies of victualls & gave him directions accordingly. With this shipp returned Mr. Revil, one of the

5 2

\* Wife of Hon. Wm. Pynchon.

† Wife of Hon. Wm. Coddington.

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‡ Wife of Rev. Geo. Phillips.

§ Wife of Dea. John Alcock.

10 vndertakers here, for the joint stock of the company—And Mr. Vassall one of the Assistants, and his family; and also Mr. Bright, a minister sent hether the yeare before. The shippes beeinge gone, victualls wastinge, & mortallity increasinge wee held diverse fasts in our severall congregations, but the Lord would not yet bee deprecated; for about the beginning of September, dyed Mr. Gager, a right godly man, a skillfull chirurgeon and one of the deacons of our congregation. And Mr. Higginson, one of the ministers of Salem, a zealous & a profitable preacher; this of a consumption, that of a fearer; & on the 30th of September dyed Mr. Johnson, another of the 5 vndertakers (the lady Arbella his wife beeing dead a month before) This gentleman was a prime man amongst vs haueing the best estate of any, zealous for religion and the greatest furtherer of this plantacon. He made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantacon than it would have beene in any other way. He left to vs a loss greater than the most conceived. Within a month after dyed Mr. Rossiter, another of our assistants, a godly man and of a good estate which still weakened vs more so that there now were left of the 5 vndertakers but the Governour, Sir Richard Saltonstall and myselfe and 7 other of the Assistants—And of the people who came over with vs from the time of their setting saile from England in Aprill 1630. vntill December followinge there dyed by estimacon about 200 at the least—Soe lowe hath the Lord brought vs! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged but bearing God's corrections with humilitee and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a greater ebb hee had raised vpp our neighbours at Plymouth we beganne againe in December to consult about a fitt place to build a Toune vppon, leaveinge all thoughts of a fort, because vppon any invasion wee were necessarily to loose our howses when we should retire thereinto; soe after diverse meetings at Boston, Rocksbury and Waterton on the 28th of December wee grew to this resolucon to bind all the Assistants (Mr. Endicott & Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last purposeth to returne by the next shippes into England) to build howses at a place, a mile east from Waterton

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neere Charles river, the next Springe, and to winter there the next yeare, that soe by our examples and by removeinge the ordinance and munition thether, all who were able, might be drawne thether, and such as shall come to vs hereafter to their advantage bee compelled soe to doe; and soe if God would, a fortified Toune might there grow vpp, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. I should before haue menconed how both the English and the Indian corne beeinge 11 at tenne shillings a strike, and beaver beeinge vallued at 6 shilling a pound, wee made lawes to restraine the sellinge of corne to the Indians, and to leave the price of Beaver at libertie which was presently sold for tenne and 20 shillings a pound. I should allsoe haue remembred how the halfe of our Cowes and almost all our Mares and Goates sent vs out of England, dyed at sea in their passage hether, and that those intended to bee sent vs out of Ireland were not sent at all; all which together with the loss of our six months buildinge, occasioned by our intended removeall to a toune to bee fortified, weakened our estates, especially the estates of the vndertakers who were 3 or 4000'tes engaged in the joynt stock which was now not above soe many hundreds; yet many of vs laboured to beare it as comfortably as wee could, remembringe the end of our comeinge hether & knowinge the power of God who canne support and raise vs againe, and useth to bring his servants lowe, that the meeke may bee made glorious by deliverance, Psal. 112.

In the end of this December, departed from vs the shipp Handmaide of London by which wee sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud insolent man who had lived here diverse yeares and had beene an Attorney in the West Countryes while he lived in England. Multitude of complaintes wee received against him for injuries doone by him both to the English and Indians, and amongst others for shootinge hail shott at a troope of Indians, for not bringing a Cannowe vnto him to cross a river withall, whereby hee hurt one, and shott through the garments of another; for the sattisfacon of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that wee meant to doe justice impartially, wee caused his hands to bee bound behind him and sett his feete in the bill-bowes, and burned his howse to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and soe kept him prisoner till wee

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sent him for England, whether wee sent him, for that my Lord Cheife Justice there soe required that hee might punish him cappittally for fowler misdemeaners there perpetrated as wee were informed.

I haue no leisure to review and insert thinges forgotten but out of due time and order must sett them downe as they come to memory. About the end of October, this year 1630 I ioyned with the Governour & Mr. Maverecke in sendinge out our pinace to the Narragansetts to trade for corne to supply our wants, but after the pynace had doubled Cape Codd, shee putt into the next harbour shee found, and there meetinge with Indians who shewed their willingness to Truck, shee made her voyage their and brought vs 100 bushells of corne at about 4s a bushell which helped vs somewhat. From the coast where they 12 traded they saw a very large island, 4 leagues to the east which the Indians comended as a fruitfull place full of good vines and free from sharpe frosts haueing one only entrance into it, by a navigable river inhabitted by a few Indians, which for a trifle would leaue the Island, if the English would sett them vppon the maine, but the pynace haueinge noe direction for discovery, returned without sayling to it, which in 2 hours they might haue done. Vppon this coast they found store of vines full of grapes dead ripe, the season beeing past—whether wee purpose to send the next yeare sooner, to make some small quantitie of wine if God enable vs, the vines growinge thinne with vs & wee not haueing yett any leasure to plant vineyards. But now haueing some leasure to discourse of the motiues for other mens comeinge to this place or their abstaining from it, after my breif manner I say this—That if any come hether to plant for worldly ends that canne live well at home hee comits an errour of which hee will soon repent him. But if for spirituall and that noe particular obstacle hinder his removeall, he may finde here what may well content him: vizt: materialls to build, fewell to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to ffish in, a pure ayer to breath in, good water to drinke till wine or beare canne be made, which together with the coves, hoggs and goates brought hether allready may suffice for food, for as for foule and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. Ffor cloaths and beddinge they must bring them wth them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, wee

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yett enjoy little to bee envyed but endure much to be pittyed in the sicknes & mortalitye of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plaine dealeinge least other men should fall short of their expectacons when they come hether as wee to our great preiudice did, by means of letters sent vs from hence into England, wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men out of religious ends will come over to helpe vs in the good worke wee are about I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their owne reckoninge, but they must not bee of the poorer sort yett for diverse yeares. Ffor we haue found by experience that they haue hindred, not furthered the worke—And for profaine and deboshed persons their oversight in comeinge hether is wondred at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there bee any endued with grace and furnished w'th meanes to feed themselues and theirs for 18 months, and to build and plant lett them come into our Macedonia & helpe vs, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profittable 13 employment: for others I conceive they are not yett fitted for this busines.

Touching the discouragement which the sicknes and mortality which every first year hath seized vpon vs, and those of Plymouth, as appeareth before, may give to such who haue cast any thoughts this way (of which mortallity it may bee said of vs allmost as of the Egiptians, that there is not an howse where there is not one dead, and in some howses many) the naturall causes seem to bee in the want of warm lodginge, and good dyet to which Englishmen are habittuated at home; and in the suddain increase of heate which they endure that are landed here in somer, the salt meates at sea haueing prepared their bodyes thereto, for those onely theis 2 last yeares dyed of feavers who landed in June and July; as those of Plymouth who landed in winter dyed of the Scirvy, as did our poorer sort whose howses and bedding kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their dyet sufficiently in heart. Other causes God may have as our faithfull minister Mr. Wilsonne (lately handling that poynt) shewed vnto vs, which I forbear to mention, leauing this matter to the further dispute of phisitions and divines. Wherefore to returne, vpon the third of January dyed the

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daughter of Mr. Sharpe, a godly virginne making a comfortable end, after a long sicknes. The plantacon here received not the like loss of any woman since wee came hether and therefore shee well deserves to be remembered in this place; and to add to our sorrowes vpon the 5th day came letters to vs from Plymouth advertizeing vs of this sadd accident followinge. About a fortnight before there went from vs in a shallop, to Plymouth 6 men and a girle, who in an houre or two before night on the same day they went fourth came near to the mouth of Plymouth Bay, but the wind then comeing strongly from the shore, kept them from entring and drove them to seawards, and they haueing no better meanes to help themselues lett down their killick that soe they might drive the more slowly, and bee nearer land when the storm should cease. But the stone slipping out of the killick and thereby they driveing faster then they thought all the night, to the morning when they looked out, they found themselves out of sight of land, which soe astoni'ed them, the frost being extreme & their hands soe benumbed w'th cold that they could not handle their oares, neyther had any compass to steare by, that they gave themselves for lost and lay doune to dye quietly, onely one man who had more naturall heate and courage remaininge then the rest, continued soe longe lookinge for land, that the morning waxing clearer, hee discovered land and with much difficulty hoysted the Saile, and soe the winde a little turninge 2 14 dayes after, they were driven from Plymouth bay; they arrived at a shore unknowne vnto them. The stronger helped the weaker out of the boate and takeing their saile on shore made a shelter thereof, and made a fire, but the frost had soe peirced their bodyes that one of them dyed about 3 dayes after their landinge, and most of the other grew worse, both in bodye and courage, noe hopes of releife beeinge within their veiw, well, yet the Lord pittyinge them and two of them who onely could vse their leggs goeing abroad, rather to seeke then to hope to find helpe, they mett first with 2 Indian women, who sent unto them an Indian man who informed them that Plymouth was within 50 miles and offered together to procure releife for them, which they gladly accepting hee perfourmed, and brought them 3 men from Plymouth (the governour & counsell of Plymouth liberally rewardinge the Indian & tooke care for the safety of our people) who brought them all aliue in their boate thether, saue one man who with a guide chose rather to goe over land but

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quickly fell lame by the way, and getting harbour at a trucking house the Plymotheans had in those partes, there hee yett abides. At the otherse landing at Plymouth, one of them dyed as hee was taken out of the boate, another (and hee the worst in the company) rotted from the feete vpwards where the frost had gotten most hold, and soe dyed within in a few dayes. The other 3 after God had blessed the chirurgeon's skill, used towards them, returned safe to vs. I sett doune this the more largely, partly because the first man that dyed was a godly man of our congregacon, one Richard Garrad, a shoemaker, who at the time of his death more feared hee should dishonour God than cared for his own life —As allso because diverse boates, have been in manifest perill this year, yett the Lord preserved them all this onely excepted. Amongst those who dyed about the end of this January, there was a girle of 11 years old the daughter of one John Ruggles, of whose family and kindred dyed soe many, that for some reason it was matter of observacon amongst vs; who in the time of her sicknes expressed to the minister and to those about her, soe much faith and assurance of salvation, as is rarely found in any of that age which I thought not unworthy here to comitt to memory, and if any taxe mee for wasting paper with recordinge theis small matters, such may consider that little mothers bring fourth little children small comon wealths; matters of small moment the reading whereof yett is not to be despised by the judicious, because small thinges in the beginning of naturall or politique bodyes are as remarkeable as greater in bodyes full groune.

Vpon the 5 of February arrived here Mr. Peirce with the 15 shipp Lyon of Bristou with supplyes of victualls from England who had sett fourth from Bristou the first of December before. Hee had a stormy passage hether, and lost one of his saylors not farr from our shore who in a tempest haueing helped to take in the spritt saile lost his hold as hee was comeigne doune and fell into the sea, where after long swimming hee was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the shipp, who beheld soe lamentable a spectacle, without beeing able to minister help to him. The sea was soe high and the shipp droue so fast before the wind, though her sailes were taken down. By this shipp wee understood of the fight of 3 of our shippes and 2 English men of warr comeinge out of the straites with 14 Dunkirkes, upon

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the coast of England, as they returned from vs in the end of the last summer, who through God's goodnes with the loss of some 13 or 14 men out of our 3 shippes; and I know not how many out of the 2 men of warr, gott at length cleare of them. The Charles, one of our 3,\* a stout shipp of 300 tunne beeing soe torne that shee had not much of her left whole about water. By this shipp wee also vnderstood the death of many of those who went from vs the last yeare to old England as likewise of the mortality there whereby wee see there are graues in other places as well as with vs.

\* The other two were the Success and the Whale.

Allso to increase the heape of our sorrowes wee received advertisement by l'res from our friends in England and by the reports of those who came hether in this shipp to abide with vs, (which were about 26) that those who went discontentedly from vs the last yeare, out of their evill affections towards us, have raised many false and scandalous reports against vs, affirminge vs to be Brounists in religion and ill affected to our state at home and that theis vile reports haue wonne credit with some who formerly wished vs well. But wee doe desire, and cannot but hope, that wise and imp'tiall men will at length consider that such malecontents haue ever p.sed this manner of casting dirt to make others to seeme as fowle as themselves and that our godly freinds to whom wee haue been knowne will not easily beleive that wee are not soe soon turned from the profession wee soe long haue made in our natiue Country: And for our further cleareinge I truely affirme that I know noe one person who came over with vs the last yeare to bee altered in his judgment and affection eyther in ecclesiasticall or civill respects since our comeinge hether, but wee doe continue to pray dayley for our soveraigne lord the Kinge, the Queene the Prince, the royal blood, the counsaile and whole state as dutye bindes us to doe and reason persuades others to beleive, for how ungodly and unthankfull should wee bee if wee should not thus doe, who come hether by vertue of his Ma'ties letters patents, and vnder his gracious protection vnder which shelter wee hope to liue safely and from whome kingdome and subiects, wee now haue received and hereafter expect releife, Lett our friends therefore give noe credit to such malicious aspersions, but bee more ready to answer for us, then

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we heare they haue beene: wee are not like those which haue dispensations to lye, but as we were free enough in Old England, to turne our insides outwards sometimes to our disadvantage very unlike is it that now (beeinge procul a bulmine) wee should bee so unlike ourselves; lett therefore this be sufficient for vs to say, and others to heare in this matter.

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

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

Likewise wee were lately informed that one Mr. Gardiner, who arrived here a month before us (and who had passed here for a knight by the name of Sr. Christopher Gardiner all this while) was noe knight, but instead thereof, had 2 wiues, now liueinge in an howse at London, one of which came about September last from Paris in Ffrance, (where her husband had left her 4 yeares before) to London where shee had heard her husband had marryed a second wife, and whom by enquiry shee found out, and they both condoleinge each others estate wrote both their l'res to the Governour (by Mr. Peirce who had conference with both the women in the presence of Mr. Allerton of Plymouth) his first wife desireing his returne and conversion; his second his destruccon for his foule abuse,

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and for robbinge 17 her of her estate of a part whereof shee sent an Inventory hether compriseinge therein many rich jewells, much plate and costly lynnens. This man had in his family (and yett hath) a gentlewoman whom hee called his kinswoman and whom one of his wiues in her letter names Mary Grove affirming her to be a knoune harlott, whose sending back into Old England shee allso desired togeather with her husband. Shortly after this intelligence wee sent to the house of the said Gardiner (which was 7 miles from us) to apprehend him and his woman with a purpose to send them both to London to his wiues there, but the man, who haueing heard some rumour from some who came in the shipp that l'res were come to the Governour requireing justice against him, was readily prepared for flight soe soone as hee should see any crossinge the river likely to apprehend him which hee accordingly perfourmed; for hee dwelling aloone easily descerned such who were sent to take him, halfe a mile before they approached his house, and with his peece on his neck went his way as most men think northwards, hoping to find some English there like to himselve but likely enough it is which way so ever hee went, hee will loose himselve in the woods and be stopped with some rivers in his passing, notwithstanding his compass in his pockett, and soe with hunger and cold will perish, before hee find the place hee seekes. His woman was brought vnto vs and confessed hir name, and that hir mother dwells 8 miles from Boirdly in Salopshire, and that Gardiner's father dwells in or neare Gloucester and was (as shee said) brother to Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester,\* and did disinherit his sonne for his 26 years absence in his travailes in Ffrance, Italy, Germany, and Turkey, that hee had (as hee told hir) marryed a wife in his travailes, from whom hee was devorced and the woman long since dead,—that both herselfe and Gardiner were both Catholiques, till of late, but were now Protestants, that shee takes him to bee a knight but never heard where he was knighted. The woman was impenitent and close, confessing nee more than was wrested from her by her oune contradictions, soe wee have taken order to send her to the 2 wiues in Old England to search her farther

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

Vpon the 8 of March, from after it was faire day light untill about 8 of the clock in the forenoone, there flew over all the tounes in our plantacons soe many flocks of doues, each flock conteyning many thousands and some soe many that they obscured the lighte, that it passeth credit, if but the truth should bee 3 18 written, and the thing was the more strange, because I scarce remember to haue seene tenne doues since I came into the country. They were all turtles as appeared by diverse of them wee killed flying somewhat bigger than those of Europe, and they flew from the north east to the south west; but what it portends I know not.

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

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

Thus Madam, I haue as I canne, told your Honr. all our matters, knowinge your wisdomes canne make good vse thereof. If I liue not to perfourme the like office of my dutye hereafter, likely it is some other will doe it better.

Before the depparture of the shipp ( w'ch yet was wind bound) there came vnto vs Sagamore John and one of his subjects requireinge satisfaction for the burning of two

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wigwams by some of the English which wiggwams were not inhabited but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when vppon occasion they should travaile that wayes. By examination wee found that some English fowlers haueing retired into that which belonged to the subject and leaueing a fire therein carelessly which they had kindled to warm them were the cause of burninge thereof; ffor that which was the Sagamores wee could find noe certaine prooffe how it was fired, yet least hee should thinke vs not scedulous enough to find it out and soe should depart discontentedly from vs, wee gave both him and his subjects satisfaction for them both.

The like accident of fire also befell Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Colborne vppon the 17 of this March both whose howses, which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the plantacon were in 2 houres space burned to the ground together with much of their house hould stuff, apparell and other thinges as allsoe some goods of others who soiourned w'th them in their howses; God so pleaseinge to exercise vs with corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others, for the prevention whereof in our new tounne intended this somer to bee builded, wee haue ordered 19 that noe man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented vnto, for that diverse other howses haue beene burned since our arrivall (the fire allwaies beginninge in the wooden chimneyes) and some English wigwams which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs.

And that this shipp might returne into Old England with heavy newes, vppon the 18 day of March, came one from Salem and told us that vppon the 15 thereof, there dyed Mrs. Skelton, the wife of the other minister there, who about 18 or 20 dayes before handling cold things in a sharpe morninge, put herself into a most violent fitt of the wind colleck and of vomitting, which continuinge, shee at length fell into a feaver & so dyed as before. Shee was a godly & an helpfull woman, & indeed the maine pillar of her family, haueing left behinde hir an husband & 4 children weake and helpeles, who canne scarce till how to liue

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without her. Shee lieued desired and dyed lamented and well deserves to bee honourably remembred.

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

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

NEW ENGLISH CANAAN; OR, New Canaan, CONTAINING AN ABSTRACT OF *NEW ENGLAND*.

COMPOSED IN THREE BOOKES.

*The first setting forth the Originall of the Natives, their Manners and Customs. Together with their tractable Nature and Love towards the English.*

II. *The Natural Indowments of the Countrie, and what Staple Commodities it yeeldeth.*

III. *What People are planted there, their Prosperity, what remarkable Accidents have happened since the first planting of it; together with their Tenents and Practise of their Church.*

WRITTEN BY

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THOMAS MORTON, of Cliffords Inn, Gent.

Upon ten Yeers Knowledge and Experiment of the Country.

Printed by *Charles Green*. 1632.

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1838.

To the right honorable, the Lords and others of his Majesties most honorable privy Councell, Commissioners, for the Government of all his Majesties forraigne Provinces.

LEB 15 Apr 03

*Right honorable,*

THE zeale which I beare to the advancement of the glory of God, the honor of his Majesty, and the good of the weale publike, hath encouraged mee to compose this abstract, being the modell of a Rich hopefull and very beautifull Country, worthy the Title of Natures Masterpeece, and may be lost by too much sufferance. It is but a widowes mite, yet all that wrong and rapine hath left mee to bring from thence, where I have indeavoured my best, bound by my allegeance, to doe his Majesty service. This in all humility I present as an offering wherewith I prostrate my selfe at your honorable footstoole. If you please to vouchsafe, it may receave a blessing, from the Luster of your gracious Beames, you shall make your vassaile happy, in that hee yet doth live, to shew how ready hee is and alwayes hath bin, to sacrifice his dearest blood, as becometh a loyall subject, for the honor of his native Country. Being

*your honors humble vassaile* Thomas Morton.

5

### **The Epistle to the Reader.**

GENTLE READER,

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I Present to the publike view an abstract of new England; which I have undertaken to compose by the encouragement of such genious spirits as have been studious of the inlargment of his Majesties Territories, being not formerly satisfied, by the relations of such as through haste, have taken but a superficiall survey thereof, which thing time hath enabled mee to performe more punctually to the life, and to give a more exact accompt of what hath been required; I have therefore beene willing to doe my indevoure to communicat the knowledge, which I have gained and collected together, by mine owne observation, in the time of my many yeares residence in those parts, to my loving Country men: For the better information of all such as are desirous to be made partakers of the blessings of God in that fertile Soyle, as well as those that, out of Curiosity onely have bin inquisitive after novelties. And the rather for that I have observed, how divers persons (not so well affected to the weale publike in mine opinion) out of respect to their owne private ends; have laboured to keepe both the practise of the people there, and the Reall worth of that eminent Country concealed 6 from publike knowledge, both which I have abundantly in this discourse layd open, yet if it be well accepted, I shall esteeme my selfe sufficiently rewardded for my undertaking. and rest.

*Your Wellwisher.*

Thomas Morton.

7

### **In laudem Authoris.**

T' Excuse the Author ere the worke be shewne Is accusation in it selfe alone, And to commend him might seeme oversight, So divers are th' opinions of this age, So quick and apt, to taxe the moderne stage, That hard his taske, is that must please in all Example have wee from great Cæsars fall, But is the sonne to be dislik'd and blam'd, Because the mole is of his face asham'd, The fault is in the beast not in the sonne Give sicke mouthes sweete meates fy they relish none, But to the sound in censure he commends, His love

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unto his Country his true ends, To modell out a Land of so much worth, As untill now noe traveller seth forth, Faire Canaans second selfe, second to none, Natures rich Magazine till now unknowne, Then here survay, what nature hath in store, And graunt him love for this, he craves no more.

R. O. Gen.

8

### **Sir Christoffer Gardiner, Knight. In laudem Authoris.**

*THis worke a matchles mirror is that shewes, The Humors of the seperatiste, and those So truely personated by thy pen, I was amaz'd to see't, herein all men, May plainly see as in an inter-lude, Each actor, figure and the scæne wel' view'd, In Connick Tragick and in a pastorall stife, For tyth of muit and Cummin shewes their life, Nothing but opposition, gainst the right, Of sacred Majestie men, full of spight, Goodnes abuseing, turning vertue out Of Dores, to whipping stocking and full bent, To plotting mischeife, gainst the innocent, Burning their houses, as if ordained by fate, In spight of Lawe, to be made ruinate, This taske is well perform'd and patience be, Thy present comfort and thy constancy, Thine honor, and this glasse where it shall come, Shall sing thy praises till the day of doome.*

Sir. G. C.

9

### **In laudem Authoris.**

*BVt that I rather pittie I confesse, The practise of their Church, I could expresse Myselfe a Satyrist; whose smarting fanges, Should strike it with a palsy, and the panges, Beget a feare, to tempt the Majesty, Of those, or mortall Gods, will they defie The Thundering Jove, like children they desire, Such is their zeale, to sport themselves with fire, So have I seene an angry Fly, presume, To strike a burning taper, and consume His feeble wings, why in an aire so milde, Are they so monstrous growne up, and so vilde, That Salvages can of*

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*themselves espy Their errors, brand their names with infamy, What is their zeale for blood, like Cyrus thirst, Will they be over head and eares, a curst A cruell way to found a Church on, noe, T'is not their zeale, but fury blinds them soe And pricks their malice on like fier to joyne, And offer up the sacrifice of Kain; Jonas, thou hast done well, to call those men Home to repentance, with thy painefull pen.*

F. C. Armiger.

10

### **NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, OR NEW CANAAN.**

*The Authors Prologue.*

IF art & industry should doe as much As Nature hath for Canaan, not such Another place, for benefit and rest, In all the universe can be possest, The more we proove it by discovery, The more delight each object to the eye Procures, as if the elements had here Bin reconcil'd, and pleas'd it should appeare, Like a faire virgin, longing to be sped, And meete her lover in a Nuptiall bed, Deck'd in rich ornaments t' aduance her state And excellence, being most fortunate, When most enjoy'd, so would our Canaan be If well employ'd by art and industry Whose offspring, now shewes that her fruitfull wombe Not being enjoy'd, is like a glorious tombe, Admired things producing which there dye, And ly fast bound in darck obscurity, The worth of which in each particuler, Who list to know, this abstract will declare.

11

### **NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, OR NEW CANAAN. *The first Booke.***

Containing the originall of the Natives, their manners, & Customes, with their tractable nature and love towards the English.

**CHAP. I. Prooving New England the principall part of all America, and most commodious and fitt for habitation.**

The **wise Creator of the universall Globe**, hath placed a golden meane betwixt two extreames: I meane the temperate Zones, betwixt the hote and cold; and every Creature, that participates of Heavens blessings, with in the Compasse of that golden meane, is made most apt and fit, for man to use, who likewise by that wisdom is ordained to be the Lord of all. This globe may be his glasse, to teach him how to use moderation, and discretion, both in his actions and intentions. The wise man sayes, give mee neither riches nor poverty; why? Riches might make him proud like Nebuchadnezar, and poverty despaire, 12 *Vse of vegetatives Fish poysonous about the Isle of Sall.* like lobs wife, but a meane betweene both. So it is likewise in the use of Vegetatives, that which hath too much Heate or too much Colde, is said to be venenum, so in the use of sensitives, all those Animals, of what genus or species soever they be, if they participate of heate or cold, in the superlative, are said to be *Inimica naturæ*, as in some Fishes about the Isle of Sall, and those llandes adjoininge, betweene the Tropickes, their participatinge of heate and cold, in the superlative is made most manifest, one of which, poysoned a whole Ships company that eate of it. And so it is in Vipers, Toades, and Snakes, that have heate or cold in the superlative degree.

*Zona temperata, the Golden meane.*

Therefore the Creatures that participate of heate and cold in a meane, are best and holsomest: And so it is in the choyse of love, the middell Zone betweene the two extreames is best, and it is therefore called *Zona temperata*, and is in the golden meane; and all those Lands lying under that Zone, most requisite and fitt for habitation. In Cosmography, the two extreames are called, the one *Torrida Zona*, lying betweene the Tropickes, the other *Frigida Zona*, lying neare the Poles: all the landes lying under, either of these Zones, by reason, they doe participate too much of heate or cold, are very inconvenient, and are accompanied with many evils. And allthough I am not of opinion

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with Aristotle, that the landes under *Torrída Zona*, are alltogether uninhabited, I my selfe having beene so neare the equinoctiall line, that I have had the Sunn for my Zenith, and seene prooffe to the contrary, yet cannot I deny, but that it is accompanied with many inconveniences, as that Fish and Flesh both will taint in those partes, notwithstanding the use of Salt which cannot be wanting there, ordained by natures hande-worke. And that is a great hinderance to the settinge forth and supply of navigation, the very Sinewes of a flourishing Commonwealth. Then barrennesse, caused through want of raines, for in most of those partes of the world it is seldome accustomed to raine, untill the time of the Tornathees (as the Portingals phrase is, who lived there) and then it will raine about 40. dayes together, which moisture serveth to fructify the earth for all the yeare after duringe which time is seene no raine at all: the heate and cold, and length of day and night, being much alike, with little difference. And these raines are caused by the turning of the windes, which else betweene the Tropickes, doe blow Trade, that is allwayes one way. For next the Tropicke of Cancer it is constantly North-East, and next the Tropicke of *Salt aboundeth under the Tropicks. Raine 40. dayes about August betweene Cancer and the Line. 13* Capricorne it is Southwest; so that the windes comming from the Poles, do keepe the aire in those partes coole, and make it temperate and the partes habitable, were it not for those and other inconveniences.

*Capt. Davis froze to death.*

This *Torrída Zona* is good for Grashoppers: and *Zona Temperata* for the Ant and Bee. But *Frigída Zona* good for neither, as by lamentable experience of Captaine Davis Fate, is manifest, who in his inquest of the Northwest passage for the East India trade was frozen to death. And therefore for *Frigída Zona*, I agree with Aristotle, that it is unfit for habitation: and I know by the Course of the cælestiall globe, that in Groeneland many Degrees short of the Pole Articke, the place is too cold, by reason of the Sunns absence almost six monthes, and the land under the continuall power of the frost; which thinge many more Navigators have proved with pittifull experience of their wintringe there, as appeareth by the history, I thinke, they will not venture to winter there againe for an India mine.

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*Groene Land too cold for habitation.*

And as it is found by our Nation under the Pole Articke, so it is likewise to be found under the Antarticke Pole, yet what hazard will not an industrious minde, and couragious spirit undergoe, according to that of the Poet. *Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.* And all to gett and hord up like the Ant and the Bee, and yet as Salomon saith, he cannot tell whether a foole or a wise man shall enjoy it. Therefore let us leave these two extreames, with their inconveniences, and indeavour to finde out this golden meane, so free from any one of them. Behold the secret wisdom of Almighty God, and love unto, our Salomon to raise a man of a lardge hart, full of worthy abilities to be the Index or Loadstarre, that doth point out unto the English Nation, with case and comfort how to finde it out. And this the noble minded Gentleman, Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, zealous for the glory of God, the honor of his Majesty, and the benefit of the weale publicke, hath done a great worke for the good of his Country.

*Sir Ferdinando Gorges the originall cause of plantinge New England. The Salvages dyed of the plague*

And herein this, the wondrous wisdom and love of God, is shewne, by sending to the place his Minister, to sweepe away by heapes the Salvages, and also giving him length of dayes, to see the same performed after his enterprise was begunne, for the propagation of the Church of Christ.

This judicious Gentleman, hath found this golden meane, to be scituated about the middle of those two extreames, and for 14 directions you may proove it thus: Counting the space betweene the Line and either of the Poles, in true proportion, you shall finde it to be 90. Degrees: then must we finde the meane, to be neare unto the Center of 90. and that is about 45. Degrees, and then incline unto the Sotherne side of that Center, properly for the benefit of heate, remembringe that *Sol & Homo generat hominem*; and then keepe us on that same side, and see what Land is to be found there, and we shall easily discern that new England is on the South side of that Center.

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*New England is placed in the golden meane. New England 10. Degrees neerer the line then old England.*

For that Country doth beginne her boundes at 40. Degrees of Northerne latitude, and ends at 45. Degrees of the same latitude, and doth participate of heate and cold indifferently, but is oppressed with neither: and therefore may be truly sayd to be within the compasse of that golden meane, most apt and fit for habitation and generation, being placed by Almighty God the great Creator, under that Zone, called *Zona temperata*, and is therefore most fitt for the generation and habitation of our English nation, of all other, who are more neere neighbours to the Northerne Pole, whose Land lyeth betweene 50. and 54 Degrees of the selfesame latitude: now this new England though it be nearer to the line, then that old England by 10. Degrees of latitude, yet doth not this exceede that other in heate or cold, by reason of the cituation of it; for as the Coast lyeth, being circularly Northeast and Southwest, opposite towards the Sunnes risinge, which makes his course over the Ocean, it can have litle or no reflecting, heat of the Sunbeames, by reason of the continuall motion of the waters, makinge the aire there the cooler and the constanter; so that for the temperature of the Climent, sweetness of the aire, fertility of the Soile, and small number of the Salvages (which might seeme a rubb in the way of an effeminate minde,) this Country of new England is by all judicious men, accounted the principall part of all America, for habitation and the commodiousnesse of the Sea, Ships there not being subject to wormes, as in Virginea and other places, and not to be paraleld in all Christendome. The Massachussets being the middell part thereof, is a very beautifull Land not mountany, nor inclinige to mountany, lyeth in 42. Degrees, and 30. minutes, and has as yet the greatest number of inhabitants, and hath a very large bay to it, divided by Islands into 4 great bayes, where shippinge may safely ride all windes and weathers in those partes being not so violent as in England by many Degrees, for there *The Massachussets in the middel of New England. The Windes not so violent in New England.* 15 are no shrubbs seene, to leane from the windes as by the Sea Coast of England, I have seene them leane, and the groundage is a sandy sleet free from rocks to gaule Cables, but is good for anchorage, the rest of the Planters are disperst among the Coasts

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betweene 41. and 44. Degrees of Latitude, and as yet, have very little way into the iland, the riches of which Country I have set forth in this abstract as in a Landskipp, for the better information of the Travellers, which hee may peruse and plainly perceave by the demonstration of it, that it is nothing inferior to Canaan of Israel, but a kind of paralell to it, in all points.

### **CHAP. II. *Of the originall of the Natives.***

IN the yeare since the incarnation of Christ, 1622. it was my chance to be landed in the parts of New England, where I found two sortes of people, the one Christians, the other Infidels, these I found most full of humanity, and more friendly then the other: as shall hereafter be made apparent in DewCourse, by their severall actions from time to time, whilst I lived among them After my arrivall in those partes, I endeavoured by all the wayes and meanes that I could to find out from what people or nation, the Natives of New England might be conjectured originally to proceede, & by continuance & conversation amongst them, I attaned to so much of their language, as by all probable conjecture may make the same manifest, for it hath been found by divers, and those of good judgement that the Natives of this Country, doe use very many wordes both of Greeke and Latine, to the same signification that the Latins and Greekes have done, as *en animia*, when an Indian expresseth, that hee doth any thing with a good will; and *Pascopan* signifieth greedy gut, this being the name of an Indian that was so called of a Child, through the greedinesse of his minde, and much eating, for *Pasco* in Latine signifieth to feede, and *Pan* in Greeke signifieth all, and *Pasco nantum, quasi pasco nondum*, halfe starved, or not eating, as yet; *Equa coge*, set it upright, *Mona* is an Island in their language, *quasi Monon*, that is alone, for an Island is a peece or plott of ground standing alone, and devided from the mane Land by force of water.

*The Natives have a mixed language. Pasco Pan greedy gutt. Mona an Island. 16 Cos a Whetstone. Pan the Shepheards God.*

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Cos is a Whetstone with them. *Hame* an instrument to take Fish, many places doe retaine the name of *Pan*, as *Pantneket* and *Matta pan*, so that it may be thought that these people heretofore, have had the name of *Pan* in great reverence and estimation, and it may bee have worshipped *Pan* the great God of the Heathens: Howsoever they doe use no manner of worship at all now: and it is most likely that the Natives of this Country, are descended from people bred upon that part of the world, which is towards the Tropicke of Cancer, for they doe still retaine the memory of some of the Starres one that part of thea Cælestiall Globe, as the North-starre, which with them is called *Maske*, for *Maske* in their Language signifieth a Beare, and they doe divide the windes into eight partes, and it seemes originally, have had some literature amongst them, which time hath Cancelled and worne out of use, and where as it hath beene the opinion of some men, which shall be nameles, that the Natives of New-England may proceede from the race of the Tartars, and come from Tartaria into those partes, over the frozen Sea.

*Not to proceede from the Tartars. No part of America knowne to be neare Tartary.*

I see no probality for any such Conjecture, for as much, as a people once settled, must be remooved by compulsion, or else tempted thereunto in hope of better fortunes, upon commendations of the place, unto which they should be drawne to remoove, and if it may be thought, that these people came over the frozen Sea, then would it be by compulsion, if so, then by whome, or when? or what part of this mane continent may be thought to border upon the Country of the Tartars, it is yet unknowne, and it is not like, that a people well enough at ease, will of their one accord undertake to travayle over a Sea of Ice, considering how many difficulties they shall encounter with, as first whether there be any Land at the end of their unknowne way, no Land beinge in view, then want of Food to sustane life in the meane time upon that Sea of Ice, or how should they doe for Fuell, to keepe them at night from freezing to death, which will not bee had in such a place, but it may perhaps be granted that the Natives of this Country might originally come of the scattered Trojans: For after that Brutus, who was the forth from Aneas, left Latium upon the conflict had with the Latines, (where although hee gave them a great overthrow, to the

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Slaughter of their grand Captaine and many other of the Heroes of Latium, yet hee held it more safety to depart unto some other place, and people, then by staying to runne the hazard of an unquiet life *Why Brutus left Latium.* 17 or doubtfull Conquest, which as history maketh mention hee performed;) this people were dispersed there is no question, but the people that lived with him, by reason of their conversation with the Græcians and Latines, had a mixed language that participated of both, whatsoever was that which was proper to their owne nation at first; I know not for this is commonly seene where 2. nations traffique together, the one indeavouring to understand the others meaning makes th? both many times speak a mixed language, as is approved by the Natives of New England, through the coveteous desire they have, to commerce with our nation, and wee with them.

*Two nations meetinge make a mixed language. Dædalus the first that used Sayles. Icarus the second that used Sayles.*

And when Brutus did depart from Latium, we doe not finde that his whole number went with him at once, or arrived at one place; and being put to Sea might encounter with a storme, that would carry them out of sight of Land, and then they might sayle God knoweth whether, and so might be put upon this Coast, as well as any other; Compasse I beleieve they had none in those dayes; Sayles they might have (which Dædalus the first inventor thereof) left to after ages, having taught his Sonne Icarus the use of it, who to his Cost found how dangerous it is, for a Sonne not to observe the precepts of a wise Father, so that the Icarian Sea, now retaines the memory of it to this day, and Victuals they might have good store, and many other things fittinge, oares without all question, they would store themselves with, in such a case, but for the use of Compasse there is no mention made of it at that time (which was much about Sauls time the first that was made King of Israell.) Yet it is thought (and that not without good reason for it) the use of the Loadstone, and Compasse was knowne in Salomons time, for as much as hee sent Shippes to fetch of the Gould of Ophir, to adorne and bewtify that magnificent Temple of Hierusalem, by him built for the glory of Almighty God, and by his speciall appointment: and it is held by Cosmographers to be 3. yeares voyage from Hierusalem to Ophir, and it is conceaved that

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such a voyage could not have been performed, without the help of the Loadstone and Compasse.

*Troy destroyed about Sauls time. The Loadstone in Salomons time.*

And why should any man thinke, the Natives of New England, to be the gleanings of all Nations, onely because by the pronounciation and termination their words seeme to trench upon severall languages, when time hath not furnished him with the interpretation thereof, the thinge that must induce a man of reasonable capacity to any manner of conjecture, of their originall, must by the sence and signification of the words, principally 3 18 to frame this argument by, when hee shall drawe to any conclusion thereupon, otherwise hee shall but runne rounde about a maze (as some of the fantastically tribe use to do about the tythe of muit and comin.) Therefore since I have had the approbation of Sir Christopher gardiner Knight an able gentl. that lived amongst them & of David Tompson a Scottish gentl. that likewise was conversant with those people both Scollers and Travellers that were diligent in taking notice of these things as men of good judgement. And that have bin in those parts any time; besides others of lesse, now I am bold to conclude that the originall of the Natives of New England may be well conjectured to be from the scattered Trojans, after such time as Brutus departed from Latium.

### **CHAP. III. *Of a great mortality that happened amongst the Natives of New England neere about the time, that the English came there to plant.***

IT fortun'd some few yeares, before the English came to inhabit at new Plimmouth in New England; that upon some distast given in the Massachusetts bay, by Frenchmen, then trading there with the Natives for beaver, they set upon the men, at such advantage, that they killed manie of them burned their shipp then riding at Anchor by an Island there, now called Peddocks Island in memory of Leonard Peddock that landed there (where many wilde Anckies haunted that time which hee thought had bin tame, distributing them unto 5. Sachems which were Lords of the severall territories adjoyninge, they did keepe them so longe as they lived, onely to sport themselves at them, and made these five Frenchmen

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fetch them wood and water, which is the generall worke that they require of a servant, one of these five men out livinge the rest had learned so much of their language, as to rebuke them for their bloody deede, saying that God would be angry with them for it; and that hee would in his displeasure destroy them; but the Salvages (it seemes boasting of their strenght,) replied and sayd, that they were so many, that God could not kill them.

*Five Frenchmen kept by the Salvages. The Plague fell on the Indians.*

But contrary wise in short time after, the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortall stroake, that they died on heapes, as they lay in their 19 *The livinge not able to bury the dead.* houses and the living; that were able to shift for themselves would runne away, & let them dy, and let there Carkases ly above the ground without buriall. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left a live, to tell what became of the rest, the livinge being (as it seemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crowes, Kites, and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations, made such a spectacle after my comming into those partes, that as I travailed in that Forrest, nere the Massachussets, it seemed to mee a new found Golgatha.

But otherwise it is the custome of those Indian people, to bury their dead ceremoniously, and carefully, and then to abandon that place, because they have no desire the place should put them in minde of mortality: and this mortality was not ended, when the Brownists of new Plimmouth were settled at Patuxet in New England, and by all likelyhood the sicknesse that these Indians died of, was the Plague, as by conference with them since my arrivall, and habitation in those partes, I have learned. And by this meanes there is as yet but a small number of Salvages in New England to that, which hath beene in former time, and the place is made so much the more fitt, for the English Nation to inhabit in, and erect in it Temples to the Glory of God.

2. *Sam.* 24.

### **CHAP. IV. *Of their Houses and Habitations.***

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The Natives of New England are accustomed to build their houses, much like the wild Irish, they gather Poles in the woods and put the great end of them in the ground, placing them in forme of a circle or circumference, and bending the topps of them in forme of an Arch, they bind them together with the Barke of Walnut trees, which is wondrous tuffe, so that they make the same round on the Topp.

For the smooke of their fire, to assend and passe through? these they cover with matts, some made of reeds, and some longe flagges, or sedge finely sowed together with needles made of the splinter bones of a Cranes legge, with threeds, made of their Indian hempe, which their groueth naturally, leaving severall places for dores, which are covered with mats, which may be rowled up, and let downe againe at their pleasures, 20 making use, of the severall dores, according as the winde sitts, the fire is alwayes made in the middest of the house, with winde fals commonly: yet some times they fell a tree, that groweth neere the house and by drawing in the end thereof maintaine the fire on both sids, burning the tree by Degrees shorter and shorter, untill it be all consumed; for it burneth night and day, their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire they lye upon planks commonly about a foote or 18. inches above the ground raised upon railes that are borne up upon forks they lay mats under them, and Coates of Deares skinned otters beavers Racownes and of Beares hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good lether with the haire on for their coverings and in this manner they lye as warme as they desire in the night they take their rest, in the day time, either the kettle is on with fish or flesh, by no allowance: or else, the fire is imployed in roasting of fishes, which they delight in, the aire doeth beget good stomacks, and they feede continually, and are no niggards of their vittels, for they are willing, that any one shall eate with them, Nay if any one, that shall come into their houses, and there fall a sleepe, when they see him disposed to lye downe, they will spreade a matt for him, of their owne accord, and lay a roule of skinned for a boulster, and let him lye? if hee sleepe untill their meate be dished up, they will set a wooden boule of meate by him that sleepeth, & wake him saying Cart up keene

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Meckin: That is, if you be hungry, there is meat for you, where if you will eate you may, such is their Humanity.

Likewise when they are minded to remoove, they carry away the mats with them, other materiales the place adjoining will yeald, they use not to winter and summer in one place, for that would be a reason to make fuell scarce, but after the manner of the gentry of Civilized natives, remoove for their pleasures, some times to their hunting places where they remaine keeping good hospitality, for that season; and sometimes to their fishing places, where they abide for that season likewise: and at the spring, when fish comes in plentifully, they have meetinges from severall places, where they exercise themselves in gaminge, and playing of juglinge trickes, and all manner of Revelles, which they are delighted in, that it is admirable to behould, what pastime they use, of severall kindes, every one striving to surpasse each other, after this manner they spend their time.

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### **CHAP. V. *Of their Religion.***

IT has bin a common received opinion from Cicero, that there is no people so barbarous, but have some worshipp, or other in this particular, I am not of opinion therein with Tully; and surely, If hee had bin amongst those people so longe as I have bin, and conversed so much with them, touching this matter of Religion, hee would have changed his opinion, neither should we have found this error, amongst the rest, by the helpe of that wodden prospect, if it had not been so unadvisedly built upon such highe land as that Coast, (all mens judgements in generall,) doth not yeeld, had hee but taken the judiciaall councill of Sir William Alexander, that setts this thing forth in an exact and conclusive sentence; if hee be not too obstinate? hee would graunt that worthy writer, that these people are *sine fide*, *sine lege*, & *sine rege*, and hee hath exemplified this thinge by a familiar demonstration, which I have by longe experience observed to be true.

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And me thinks; it is absurd to say they have a kinde of worship, and not able to demonstrate whome or what it is they are accustomed to worship. For my part I am more willing to beleeve that the Elephants (which are reported to be the most intelligible of all beasts) doe worship the moone, for the reasons given by the author of this report as Mr. Thomas May, the minion of the Muses dos recite it in his continuation, of Lucas historicall poem, rather then this man, to that I must bee constrained, to conclude against him, and Cicero; that the Natives of New England have no worship nor religion at all, and I am sure it has been so observed by those that neede not the helpe of a wodden prospect for the matter.

### **CHAP. VI. *Of the Indians apparrell.***

The Indians in these partes do make their apparrell, of the skinnes of severall sortes of beastes, and commonly of those, that doe frequent those partes where they doe live, yet some of them for variety, will have the skinnes of such 22 beastes that frequent the partes of their neighbors, which they purchase of them, by Commerce and Trade.

*The Indians make good lether. Indians ingenious workemen for their garments.*

These skinnes they convert into very good lether, making the same plume and soft. Some of these skinnes they dresse with the haire on, and some with the haire off; the hairy side in winter time they weare next their bodies, and in warme weather, they weare the haire outwards: they make likewise some Coates of the Feathers of Turkies, which they weave together with twine of their owne makinge, very pritily: these garments they weare like mantels knit over their shoulders, and put under their arme: they have likewise another sort of mantels, made of Mose skinnes, which beast is a great large Deere, so bigge as a horse, these skinnes they commonly dresse bare, and make them wondrous white and stripe them with size, round about the borders, in forme like lace set on by a Taylor, and some they stripe with size, in workes of severall fashions very curious, according to the severall fantasies of the workemen, wherein they strive to excell one another: And Mantels made of Beares skinnes is an usuall wearinge, among the Natives, that live where the

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Beares doe haunt: they make shooes of Mose skinnes, which is the principall leather used to that purpose; and for want of such lether (which is the strongest) they make shooes of Deeres skinnes, very handsomly and commodious, and of such deeres skinnes as they dresse bare, they make stockinges, that comes within their shooes, like a stirrop stockinge, and is fastned above at their belt which is about their middell; Every male after hee attaines unto the age, which they call Pubes, wereth a belt about his middell, and a broad peece of lether that goeth betweene his leggs, and is tuckt up both before and behinde under that belt, and this they weare to hide their secreats of nature; which by no meanes they will suffer to be seene, so much modesty they use in that particular, those garments they allwayes put on, when they goe a huntinge to keepe their skinnes from the brush of the Shrubbs, and when they have their Apparrell on, they looke like Irish in their trouses, the Stockinges joyne so to their breeches. A good well growne deere skin is of great account with them, and it must have the tale on, or else they account it defaced, the tale being three times as long as the tales of our English Deere, yea foure times so longe, this when they travell is raped round about their body, and with a girdle of their making, bound round about their middles, to which girdle is fastned a bagg, in which his instruments be, with which hee can strike fire upon any occasion.

*The modesty of the Indian men. 23 Indians travaile with materials to strike fire at all times.*

Thus with their bow in their left hand, and their quiver of Arrowes at their back, hanging one-theyr left shoulder with the lower end of it, in their right hand, they will runne away a dogg trot, untill they come to their journey end, and in this kinde of ornament, (they doe seeme to me) to be hansomer, then when they are in English apparrell, their gesture being answerable to their one habit and not unto ours.

Their women have shooes and stockinges to weare likewise when they please, such as the men have, but the mantle they use to cover their nakednesse with, is much longer then that, which the men use; for as the men have one Deeres skinn, the women have two soed together at the full lenght, and it is so lardge that it trailes after them, like a great Ladies trane, and in time I thinke they may have their Pages to beare them up: and where

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the men use but one Beares skinn for a Mantle, the women have two soed together, and if any of their women would at any time shift one, they take that which they intend to make use of, and cast it over them round, before they shifte away the other, for modesty, being unwilling to be seene to discover their nakednesse, and the one being so cast over they slip the other from under them in a decent manner, which is to be noted in people uncivilized, therein they seeme to have as much modesty as civilized people, and deserve to be applauded for it.

*The Indians ashamed of their nakednesse.*

### **CHAP. VII. Of their Child-bearing, and delivery, and what manner of persons they are.**

The women of this Country, are not suffered to be used for procreation, untill the ripenesse of their age, at which time they weare a redd cap made of lether in forme like to our flat caps, and this they weare for the space of 12 moneths: for all men to take notice of them that have any minde to a wife; and then it is the custome of some of their Sachems or Lords of the territories, to have the first say or maidenhead of the females? (very apt they are) to be with childe, and very laborious when they beare children, yea when they are as great as they can be, yet in that case they neither forbear labour, nor travaile, I have seene them in that plight with burthens at their *The women big with child very laborious.* 24 Children bathed to stain the skinne. backs enough to load a horse, yet doe they not miscarry, but have a faire delivery, and a quick, their women are very good midwives, and the women very lusty after delivery and in a day or two will travell or trudge about. Their infants are borne with haire on their heads; and are of complexion white as our nation, but their mothers in their infancy make a bath of Wallnut leaves, huskes of Walnuts, and such things as will staine their skinne for ever, wherein they dip and washe them to make them tawny, the coloure of their haire is black, and their eyes black, these infants are carried at their mothers backs, by the help of a cradle made of a board forket at both ends, whereon the childe is fast bound, and wrapped in furies: his knees thrust up towards his bellie, because they may be the more usefull for them when he sitteth,

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which is as a dogge does on his bumme, and this cradle surely preserves them better then the cradles of our nation; for as much, as we finde them well proportioned not any of them, crooked backed or wry legged, and to give their charracter in a worde, they are as proper men and women for feature and limbes as can be found, for flesh and bloud as active: longe handed they are, (I never sawe a clunchfisted Salvadg amongst them all in my time.) The colour of their eies being so generally black, made a Salvage (that had a younge infant whose eies were gray,) shewed him to us and said they were English mens eies, I tould the Father, that his sonne was *nan weeteo*, which is a bastard, hee replied *titta Cheshetue squaa*, which is hee could not tell; his wife might play the whore and this child the father desired might have an English name, because of the likenesse of his eies which his father had in admiration, because of novelty amongst their Nation.

### **CHAP. VII. *Of their Reverence, and respect to age.***

IT is a thing to be admired, and indeede made a president, that a Nation yet uncivilized, should more respect age then some nations civilized; since there are so many precepts both of divine and humane writers extant: to instruct more Civill Nations in that particular wherein they excell, the younger are allwayes obedient unto the elder people, and at their commaunds in every respect without grummbing, in all councils (as therein they are circumspect *Age honoured among the Indians.* 25 to do their acciones by advise and councill and not rashly or inconsiderately, the younger mens opinion shall be heard, but the old mens opinion and councill imbraced and followed, besides as the elder feede and provide for the younger in infancy: so doe the younger after being growne to yeares of manhood, provide for those that be aged, and in distribution of Acctes the elder men are first served, by their dispensator and their counsels (especially if they be powahs) are esteemed as oracles amongst the younger Natives.

The consideration of these things, mee thinkes should reduce some of our irregular young people of civilized Nations: when this story shall come to their knowledge, to better manners, and make them ashamed of their former error in this kinde, and to become

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hereafter more duetyfull, which I as a friend (by observation having found) have herein recorded for that purpose.

### **CHAP. IX. *Of their pretty conjuring tricks.***

IF we doe not judge amisse of these Salvages in accounting them witches, yet out of all question, we may be bould to conclude them to be but weake witches, such of them as wee call by the names of Powahs some correspondency they have with the Devil, out of al doubts as by some of their accions, in which they glory, is manifested Papisiquineo; that Sachem or Sagamore is a Powah of greate estimation amongst all kinde of Salvages, there hee is at their Revels (which is the time when a great company of Salvages meete, from severall parts of the Country, in amity with their neighbours) hath advaunced his honor in his feats or jugling tricks (as I may right tearme them) to the admiration of the spectators whome hee endeavoured to perswade, that he would goe under water to the further side of a river to broade for any man to undertake with a breath, which thing hee performed by swimming over & deluding the company with casting a mist before their eies that see him enter in and come out, but no part of the way hee has bin seene, likewise by our English in the heat of all summer to make Ice appeare in a bowle of faire water, first having the water set before him hee hath begunne his incantation according to their usuall accustome and before the same has bin ended a thick Clowde has darkned the aire and on a sodane a thunder clap hath bin heard that has amazed the natives, in an instant 4 26 hee hath shewed a firme peece of Ice to flote in the middest of the bowle in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtles was done by the agility of Satan his consort.

And by meanes of these sleights and such like trivial things, as these they gain such estimation amongst the rest of the Salvages; that it is thought a very impious matter for any man to derogate from the words of these Powahs. In so much as hee that should slight them, is thought to commit a crime no lesse hainous amongst them, as sacriledge is with us, as may appeare by this one passage, which I wil set forth for an instance.

*A Salvage entertained a factor.*

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A neighbour of mine that had entertain'd a Salvage into his service, to be his factor for the beaver trade amongst his countrymen, delivered unto him divers parcells of commodities, fit for them to trade with; amongst the rest there was one coate of more esteeme then any of the other, and with this his new entertained marchant man travels amongst his countrymen to truck them away for beaver: as our custome hath bin, the Salvage went up into the Country amongst his neighbours for beaver & returned with some, but not enough answerable to his Masters expectation, but being called to an accompt and especially for that one Cote of speciall note; made answer that he had given that coate to Tantoquineo, a Powah: to which his master in a rage cryed what have I to doe with Tantoquineo? The Salvage very angry at the matter cryed, what you speake; you are not a very good man, wil you not give Tantoq. a coat? whats this? as if he had offered *Tantoquineo*, the greatest indignity that could be devised: so great is the estimation and reverence that these people have of these Ingling Powahs, who are usually sent for (when any person is sicke and ill at ease) to recover them, for which they receive rewards as doe our Chirgeons and Phisitions, and they doe make a trade of it, and boast of their skill where they come: One amongst the rest did undertake to cure an Englishman of a swelling of his hand for a parcell of biskett, which being delivered him, hee tooke the party greived into the woods aside from company, and with the helpe of the devill (as may be conjectured,) quickly recovered him of that swelling, and sent him about his worke againe.

*An Englishman cured of a swelling. 27*

### **CHAP. X. Of their duels and the honourable estimation of victory obtained thereby.**

*How the Salvages performe their duells.*

THESE Salvages are not apt to quarrell one with another: yet such hath bin the occasion that a difference hath happened, which hath growne to that height, that it has not bin reconciled otherwise then by combat, which hath bin performed in this manner, the two champions prepared the fight, with their bowes in hand, and a quiver full of arrowes at their backs, they have entered into the field, the Challenger and challenged have chosen two trees, standing within a little distance of each other; they have cast lotts for the cheife of

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the trees, then either champion setting himselfe behinde his tree watches an advantage, to let fly his shafts, and to gall his enemy, there they continue shooting at each other, if by chaunce they espie any part open, they endeavour to gall the combatant in that part; and use much agility in the performance of the taske they have in hand. Resolute they are in the execution of their vengeance, when once they have begunne, and will in no wise be daunted, or seeme to shrinck though they doe catch a clap with an arrow, but fight it out in this manner untill one or both be slaine.

### *Trees marked where they performe a duell.*

I have bin shewed the places, where such duels have bin performed, and have found the trees marked for a memoriall of the Combat, where that champion hath stood, that had the hap to be slaine in the duell? and they count it the greatest honor that can be, to the serviving Cumbatant to shew the scares of the wounds, received in this kinde of Conflict, and if it happen to be on the arme as those parts are most in danger in these cases, they will alwayes were a bracelet upon that place of the arme, as a trophy of honor to their dying day.

## **CHAP. XI. *Of the maintaining of their Reputation.***

REputation is such a thing, that it keepes many men in awe, even amongst Civilized nations, and is very much stood upon it is (as one hath very well noted) the awe of great men and of Kings, and since I have observed it, to be 28 maintained amongst Salvage people, I cannot chuse but give an instance thereof in this treatise, to confirme the common received opinion thereof.

### *A marriage.*

The Sachem or Sagamore of Sagus made choise, (when hee came to mans estate) of a Lady of noble discent, Daughter to Papasiquineo: the Sachem or Sagamore of the territories neare Merrimack River a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts (and as my Countryman Mr. Wood declares in his prospect) a great Nigromancer, this Lady the younge Sachem with the consent & good liking of her father marries, and takes

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for his wife. Great entertainment, hee and his received in those parts at her fathers hands, where they weare fested in the best manner that might be expected, according to the Custome of their nation, with reveling, & such other solemnities as is usuall amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papasiquineo causes a selected number of his men to waite upon his Daughter home: into those parts that did properly belong to her Lord, and husband, where the attendants had entertainment by the Sachem of Sagus and his Countrymen: the solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

*An ambassage sent from Papasiquiueo to his sone in law, a Sachem.*

Not long after the new married Lady had a great desire to see her father, and her native country, from whence shee came, her Lord willing to pleasure her, & not deny her request (amongst them) thought to be reasonable commanded a selected number of his owne men to conduct his Lady to her Father; wherewith great respect they brought her: and having feasted there a while, returned to their owne country againe, leaving the Lady to continue there at her owne pleasure, amongst her friends, and old acquaintance: where shee passed away the time for a while: and in the end desired to returne to her Lord againe. Her father the old Papasiquineo having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the younge Sachem, his sonne in law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing, to absent her selfe from his company any longer; & therefore (as the messengers had in charge) desired the younge Lord to send a convoy for her: but hee standing upon tearmes of honor, & the maintaining of his reputati?, returned to his father in law this answere that when she departed from him, hee caused his men to waite upon her to her fathers territories, as it did become him: but now shee had an intent to returne, it did become her father, to send her back with a convoy of his own people: & that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so servile, to fetch her againe. The old Sachem 29 Papasiquineo having this message returned, was intraged? to think that his young son in law did not esteeme him at a higher rate, then to capitulate with him about the matter, & returne him this sharpe reply; that his daughters bloud, and birth deserved no

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more respect; then to be so slighted, & therefore if he would have her company, hee were best to send or come for her.

The younge Sachem not willing to under value himselfe, and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say, that he should either send her, by his owne Convey, or keepe her; for hee was not determined to stoope so lowe.

So much these two Sachems stood upon tearmes of reputation with each other, the one would not send her, & the other would not send for her, leest it should be any diminishing of honor on his part, that should seeme to comply, that the Lady (when I came out of the Country) remained still with her father; which is a thinge worth the noting, that Salvage people should seeke to maintaine their reputation so much as they doe.

### **CHAP. XII. *Of their trafficke and trade one with another.***

#### *Beads instead of Money.*

ALthough these people have not the use of navigation, whereby they may trafficke as other nations, that are civilized, use to doe, yet doe they barter for such commodities as they have, & have a kinde of beads in steede of money, to buy withall such things as they want, which they call Wampampeak: and it is of two sorts, the one is white, the other is of a violet coloure. These are made of the shells of fishe; the white with them is as silver with us; the other as our Gould, and for these beads they buy, and sell, not onely amongst themselves, but even with us.

#### *The name of their beads Wimpanpeak.*

We have used to sell them any of our commodities for this Wampampeak, because we know, we can have beaver again of them for it: and these beads are currant in all the parts of New England, from one end of the Coast to the other.

And although some have indevoured by example to have the like made, of the same kinde of shels, yet none hath ever, as yet, attained to any perfection in the composure of them,

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but that the Salvages have found a great difference to be in the 30 one and the other; and have knowne the counterfett beads from those of their owne making; and have, and doe slight them.

The skinnes of beasts are sould and bartered to such people, as have none of the same kinde in the parts where they live.

Likewise they have earthen potts of divers sizes, from a quarte to a gallon, 2. or 3. to boyle their vitels in; very stronge, though they be thin like our Iron potts.

They have dainty wooden bowles of maples, of highe price amongst them, and these are dispersed by bartering one with the other, and are but in certaine parts of the Country made, where the severall trades are appropriated to the inhabitants of those parts onely.

So likewise (at the season of the yeare) the Salvages that live by the Sea side for trade with the inlanders for fresh water, reles curious silver reles, which are bought up of such as have them not frequent in other places, chestnuts, and such like usefull things as one place affordeth, are sould to the inhabitants of another: where they are a novelty accompted amongst the natives of the land; and there is no such thing to barter withall, as is their Whampampeake.

### **CHAP. XIII. *Of their Magazines or Storehouses.***

*What care they take to lay up corne for winter.*

These people are not without providence, though they be uncivilized, but are carefull to preserve foede in store against winter, which is the corne that they laboure and dresse in the summer, And although they eate freely of it, whiles it is growinge, yet have they a care to keepe a convenient portion thereof; to relieve them in the dead of winter, (like to the Ant and the Bee) which they put under ground.

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Their Barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogshhead of corne a peece in them. In these (when their corne is out of the huske and well dried) they lay their store in greate baskets (which they make of Sparke) with matts under about the sides and on the top: and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preserved from destruction or putrifaction; to be used in case of necessity, and not else.

And I am perswaded, that if they knew the benefit of Salte 31 (as they may in time,) and the meanes to make salte meate fresh againe, they would endeavor to preserve fishe for winter, as well as corne; and that if any thinge bring them to civility, it will be the use of Salte, to have foode in store, which is a cheife benefit in a civilized Commonwealth.

*They begg Salte of the English.*

These people have begunne already to incline to the use of Salte. Many of them would begge Salte of mee for to carry home with them, that had frequented our howses and had been acquainted with our Salte meats: and Salte I willingly gave them; although I sould them all things else: onely because they should be delighted with the use there of; and thinke it a commodity of no value in it selfe, although the benefit was great, that might be had by the use of it.

### **CHAP. XIV. *Of their Subtlety.***

These people are not (as some have thought a dull, or slender witted people; but very ingenious and very subtile. I could give maine instances to maintaine mine opinion of them in this: But I will onely relate one, which is a passage worthy to be observed.

In the Massachusetts bay lived Cheecatawback the Sachem or Sagamore of those territories, who had large dominions, which hee did appropriate to himselfe.

Into those parts came a greate company of Salvages, from the territories of Narohiganset, to the number of 100. persons; and in this Sachems Dominions they intended to winter.

*They trade away beaver skinnes for corne.*

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When they went a hunting for turkies: they spreade over such a greate scope of ground, that a Turkie could hardly escape them: Deare they killed up in greate abundance, and feasted their bodies very plentifully: Beavers they killed by no allowance: the skinnes of those they traded away at wassaguscus with my neighbours for corne, and such other commodities as they had neede of; and my neighbours had a wonderfull great benefit by their being in those parts. Yea sometimes (like genious fellowes) they would present their Marchant with a fatt beaver skinne, alwayes the tayle was not diminished, but presented full and whole: although the tayle is a present for a Sachem, and is of such masculine vertue, that if some of our Ladies knew the benefit thereof *A beaver skinne with his tayle on of great estimacion*.<sup>32</sup> they would desire to have ships sent of purpose, to trade for the tayle alone, it is such a rarity, as is not more esteemed of then reason doth require.

### *A subtle plot of a Sachem.*

But the Sachem Cheecatawbak (on whose possessions they usurped, and converted the commodities thereof to their owne use, contrary to his likeing) not being of power to resist them, practised to doe it by a subtile stratagem. And to that end gave it out amongst us, that the cause why these other Salvages of the Narohigansets, came into these parts, was to see what strength we were of, and to watch an opportunity to cut us off, and take that which they found in our custody usefull for them; And added further, they would burne our howses, and that they had caught one of his men, named Meshebro, and compelled him to discover to them where their barnes, Magazines, or storehouses were, and had taken away his corne, and seemed to be in a pittifull perplexity about the matter.

And the more to adde reputation to this tale, desires that his wifes and children might be harbored in one of our howses. This was graunted, and my neighbours put on corslets, headpeeces, and weapons defensive and offensive.

This thing being knowne to Cheecatawbak, hee caused some of his men to bring the Narohigansets to trade, that they might see the preparation.

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The Salvage that was a stranger to the plott, simply comming to trade, and finding his merchants, lookes like lobsters, all cladd in harnesse, was in a maze to thinke what would be the end of it. Haste hee made to trade away his fures, and tooke any thing for them, wishing himselfe well rid of them, and of the company in the howse.

### *A Salvage scared.*

But (as the manner has bin) hee must eate some furmety before hee goe: downe hee sits, and eats, and withall had an eie on every side; and now and then saw a sword, or a dagger layd a thwart a headpeece, which hee wondered at, and asked his guide whether the company were not angry. The guide, (that was privy to his Lords plot) answered in his language, that hee could not tell. But the harmelesse Salvage before hee had halfe filled his belly, started up on a sodayne, and ranne out of the howse in such hast, that hee left his furmety there, and stayed not to looke behinde him who came after: Glad hee was that he had escaped so.

The subtle Sachem hee playd the tragedian; and fained a feare of being surprised; and sent to see whether the enemies (as the Messenger termed them) were not in the howse; and comes in a by way with his wifes and children; and stopps the 33 chinkes of the out howse, for feare the fire might be seene in the night, and be a meanes to direct his enemies where to finde them.

### *A Salvage that had lived 12. Moneths in England, sent for an Ambassador.*

And in the meane time, hee prepared for his Ambassador to his enemies a Salvage, that had lived 12 moneths in England, to the end it might adde reputation to his ambassage. This man hee sends to those intruding Narohigansets, to tell them that they did very great injury, to his Lord, to trench upon his prerogatives: and advised them to put up their pipes, and begon in time: if they would not, that his Lord would come upon them, and in his ayd his freinds the English, who were up in armes already to take his part, and compell them by force to be gone, if they refused to depart by faire meanes.

### *A good opportunity of traffick lost by the subtilty of a Sachem.*

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This message coming on the neck of that which doubtlesse the fearefull Salvage had before related of his escape, and what hee had observed; caused all those hundred Narohigansets (that meant us no hurt) to be gone with bagg, and baggage, And my neighbours were gulled by the subtilty of this Sachem, and lost the best trade of beaver that ever they had for the time, and in the end found their error in this kinde of credulity when it was too late.

### **CHAP. XV. *Of their admirable perfection, in the use of the senses.***

THIS is a thinge not onely observed by mee, and diverse of the Salvages of New England, but also, by the French men in Nova Francia, and therefore I am the more incouraged to publish in this Treatice my observation of them, in the use of their senses: which is a thinge that I should, not easily have bin induced, to beleewe, if I my selfe, had not bin an eie witnesse, of what I shall relate.

*The Salvages, have the sence of seeinge better then the English.*

I have observed, that the Salvages have the sence of seeing so farre beyond any of our Nation, that one would almost beleewe they had intelligence of the Devill, sometimes: when they have tould us of a shipp at Sea, which they have seene, soener by one hower, yea two hewers sayle, then any English man that stood by; of purpose to looke out, their sight is so excellent.

Their eies indeede are black as iett; and that coler is accounted <sup>5</sup>/<sub>34</sub> the strongest for sight. And as they excell us in this particular so much noted, so I thinke they excell us in all the rest.

This I am sure, I have well observed, that in the sence of smelling, they have very great perfection which is confirmed by the opinion of the French, that are planted about Canada, who have made relation, That they are so perfect in the use of that sence, that they will distinguish between a Spaniard and a Frenchman by the sent of the hand onely. And I

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am perswaded, that the Author of this Relation has seene very probable reasons, that have induced him, to be of that opinion; and I am the more willing to give credit thereunto, because I have observed in them so much, as that comes to.

*Salvages that will distinguish a Spaniard from a frenchman by the smell of the hand.*

I have seene a Deare passe by me upon a neck of Land, and a Salvage that has pursued him by the view.

I have accompanied him in this pursuite; and the Salvage, pricking the Deare, comes where hee findes the view of two deares together, leading several wayes. One hee was sure, was fresh, but which (by the sence of seeing) hee could not judge, therefore, with his knife, hee diggs up the earth of one; and by smelling, sayes, that was not of the fresh Deare: then diggs hee up the other; and viewing and smelling to that, concludes it to be the view of the fresh Deare, which hee had pursued, and thereby followes the chase and killes that Deare, and I did eate part of it with him: such is their perfection in these two sences.

*A Deare pursued by the view of the foote, hee was found and killed.*

### **CHAP. XVI. Of their acknowledgment of the Creation, and immortality of the Soule.**

ALthough these Salvages are found to be without Religion, Law, and King (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed,) yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically) for they have it amongst them by tradition, that God made one man and one woman, and bad them live together, and get children, kill deare, beasts, birds, fish, and fowle, and what they would at their pleasure; and that their posterity was full of evill, and made God so angry: that 35 hee let in the Sea upon them, & drowned the greatest part of them, that were naughty men, (the Lord destroyed so.)

*The beleefe of the Salvages.*

And they went to Sanaconquam who feeds upon them, pointing to the Center of the Earth: where they imagine is the habitation of the Devill:) the other, (which were not destroyed,)

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increased the world; and when they died (because they were good) went to the howse of Kytan, pointing to the setting of the sonne; where they eate all manner of dainties, and never take paines (as now) to provide it.

*The Sonne called Kytan.*

Kytan makes provision (they say) and saves them that laboure and there they shall live with him forever voyd of care. And they are perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits.

And that wee that use the booke of Common prayer, doo it to declare to them, that cannot reade, what Kytan has commanded us, and that wee doe pray to him with the helpe of that booke; and doe make so much accompt of it, that a Salvage (who had lived in my howse before hee had taken a wife, by whome hee had children) made this request to mee (knowing that I allwayes used him with much more respect than others.) That I would let his sonne be brought up in my howse, that hee might be taught to reade in that booke: which request of his I granted; and hee was a very joyfull man to thinke, that his sonne should thereby (as hee said) become an Englishman; and then hee would be a good man.

*A Salvage desired to have his sonn brought up to learne the booke of common prayer.*

I asked him who was a good man; his answere was, hee that would not lye, nor steale.

These, with them, are all the capitall crimes, that can be imagined; all other are nothing in respect of those; and hee that is free from these, must live with Kytan for ever, in all manner of pleasure.

### **CHAP. XVII. *Of their Annals and funerals.***

These people, that have by tradition some touch of the immortality of the soule, have likewise a custome to make some monuments, over the place where the corps is interred: But they put a greate *Their custom in burryinge.* 36 *Their manner of Monuments.* difference betweene persons of noble, and of ignoble, or obscure, or inferior descent. For

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indeed in the grave of the more noble, they put a planck in the bottom for the corps to be layed upon and on each side a plancke, and a plancke upon the top in forme of a chest, before they cover the place with earth. This done, they erect some thing over the grave in forme of a hearse cloath, as was that of Cheekatawbacks mother, which the Plimouth planters defaced, because they accounted it an act of superstition. Which did breede a brawle as hath bin before related: for they hold impious, and inhumane: to deface the monuments of the dead. They themselves esteeme of it as piaculum, and have a custome amongst them, to keepe their annals: & come at certaine times to lament, & bewaile the losse of their freind; & use to black their faces, which they so weare in stead of a mourning ornament for a longer or a shorter time, according to the dignity of the person: so is their annals kept and observed with their accustomed solemnity. Afterwards they absolutely abandon the place, because they suppose the sight thereof, will but renew their sorrow.

*At burrials, they black their faces.*

It was a thing very offensive to them, at our first comming into those parts, to aske of them for any one that had bin dead; but of later times it is not so offensively taken, to renew the memory of any deseased person, because by our example (which they are apt to followe) it is made more familiare unto them; and they marvell to see no monuments over our dead, and therefore thinke no great Sachem is yet come into those parts: or not as yet deade, because they see the graves all alike.

### **CHAP. XVIII. *Of their Custome in burning the Country, and the reason thereof.***

The Salvages are accustomed, to set fire of the Country in all places where they come; and to burne it, twize a yeare, vixe at the Spring, and the fall of the leafe. The reason that mooves them to doe so, is because it would other wise be so overgrowne with underweedes, that it would be all a copice wood, and the people would not be able in any wise to passe through the Country out of a beaten path.

*The Salvages fire the Country twice a yeare. 37*

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The meanes that they do it with, is with certaine minerall stones, that they carry about them: in baggs made for that purpose of the skinnes of little beastes which they convert into good lether; carrying in the same a peece of touch wood (very excellent for that purpose of their owne making. These minnerall stones they have from the Piquenteenes (which is to the Southward of all the plantations in New England) by trade and trafficke with those people.

The burning of the grasse destroyes the underwoods, and so scorcheth the elder trees, that it shrinkes them, and hinders their growth very much: So that hee that will looke to finde large trees, and good tymber, must not depend upon the help, of a wooden prospect to finde them on the upland ground; but must seeke for them, (as I and others have done) in the lower grounds where the grounds are wett when the Country is fired: by reason of the snow water that remaines there for a time, untill the Sunne by continuance of that hath exhaled the vapoures of the earth, and dried up those places, where the fire (by reason of the moisture) can have no power to doe them any hurt: and if he would endeouere to finde out any goodly Cedars, hee must not seeke for them on the higher grounds, but make his inquest for them in the vallies, for the Salvages by this Custome of theirs, have spoiled all the rest: for this custome hath bin continued from the beginninge.

And least their firing of the Country in this manner; should be an occasion of damnifying us, and indainging our habitations; wee our selves have used carefully about the same times; to observe the winds and fire the grounds about our owne habitations, to prevent the Dammage that might happen by any neglect thereof, if the fire should come neere those howses in our absence.

For when the fire is once kindled, it dilates and spreads it selfe as well against, as with the winde; burning continually night and day, untill a shower of raine falls to quench it.

And this custome of firing the Country is the meanes to make it passable, and by that meanes the trees growe here, and there as in our parks: and makes the Country very beautifull, and commodious.

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**CHAP. XIX. *Of their inclination to Drunkenesse.***

ALTHOUGH Drunkenesse be justly termed a vice, which the Salvages are ignorant of, yet the benefit is very great that comes to the planters by the sale of strong liquor to the Salvages, who are much taken with the delight of it, for they will pawne their wits, to purchase the acquaintance of it, yet in al the c<sup>o</sup>mmerce that I had with them, I never proffered them any such thing; nay I would hardly let any of them have a drame unless hee were a Sachem, or a Winnaytue, that is a rich man, or a man of estimation, next in degree to a Sachem, or Sagamore: I alwayes tould them it was amongst us the Sachems drinke. But they say if I come to the Northerne parts of the Country, I shall have no trade, if I will not supply th<sup>e</sup>m with lusty liquors, it is the life of the trade, in all those parts, for it so happened, that thus a Salvage desperately killed himselfe, when hee was drunke, a gunne being charged and the cock up, hee sets the mouth to his brest, and putting back the tricker with his foote, shot himselfe dead.

**CHAP. XX. *That the Salvages live a contended life.***

A Gentleman and a traveller, that had bin in the parts of New England for a time, when hee returned againe in his discourse of the Country, wondered (as hee said,) that the natives of the land lived so poorely, in so rich a Country, like to our Beggars in England: Surely that Gentleman had not time or leasure whiles hee was there, truely to informe himselfe of the state of that Country, and the happy life the Salvages would leade weare they once brought to Christianity.

*The Salvages want the art of navigation.*

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I must confesse they want the use and benefit of Navigation (which is the very sinnus of a flourishing Commonwealth,) yet are they supplied with all manner of needfull things, for the maintenance of life and lifelyhood, Foode and rayment are the cheife of all that we make true use of; and of these they finde no want, but have, them in a most plentifull manner.

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If our beggers of England should with so much case (as they,) furnish themselves with foode, at all seasons, there would not be so many starved in the streets, neither would so many gaoles be stuffed, or gallouses furnished with poore wretches, as I have seene them.

But they of this sort of our owne nation, that are fitt to goe to this Canaan are not able to transport themselves, and most of them unwilling to goe from the good ale tap; which is the very loadstone of the lande by which our English beggers steere their Course: it is the Northpole to which the flowre-deluce of their compasse points; the more is the pittie that the Commonalty of our Land are of such leaden capacities, as to neglect so brave a Country, that doth so plentifully feede Maine lusty and a brave, able men, women, and children that have not the meanes that a Civilized Nation hath to purchase foode and rayment: which that Country with a little industry will yeeld a man in a very comfortable measure; without overmuch carking.

I cannot deny but a civilized Nation, hath the preheminance of an uncivilized, by meanes of those instruments that are found to be common amongst civile people, and the uncivile want the use of, to make themselves masters of those ornaments, that make such a glorious shew, that will give a man occasion to cry, *sic transit gloria Mundi*.

Now since it is but foode and rayment that men that live needeth (though not all alike,) why should not the Natives of New England be sayd to live richly having no want of either: Cloaths are the badge of sinne, and the more variety of fashions is but the greater abuse of the Creature, the beasts of the forrest there doe serve to furnish them at any time,

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when they please: fish and flesh they have in greate abundance which they both roast and boyle.

They are indeed not served in dishes of plate with variety of Sauces to procure appetite, that needs not there. The rarity of the aire begot by the medicinable quality of the sweete herbes of the Country, alwayes procures good stomakes to the inhabitants.

I must needs commend them in this particular, that though they buy many commodities of our Nation, yet they keepe but fewe, and those of speciall use.

They love not to bee cumbered with many utensilles, and although every proprietor knowes his owne, yet all things (so long as they will last,) are used in common amongst them: A bisket cake given to one; that one breakes it equally into so many parts, as there be persons in his company, and distributes it. Platoes Commonwealth is so much practised by these people.

40 *They leade a happy life, being voyd of care.*

According to humane reason guided onely by the light of nature, these people leades the more happy and freer life, being voyde of care, which torments the mindes of so many Christians: They are not delighted in baubles, but in usefull things.

Their naturall drinke is of the Christall fountaine, and this they take up in their hands, by joyning them close together. They take up a great quantity at a time, and drinke at the wrists, It was the sight of such a feate, which made Diogenes hurle away his dishe, and like one that would have this principall confirmed. *Natura paucis contentat*, used a dish no more.

I have observed that they will not be troubled with superfluous commodities. Such things as they finde, they are taught by necessity to make use of they will make choise of; and seeke to purchase with industry so that in respect, that their life is so voyd of care, and they are so loving also that they make use of those things they enjoy (the wife onely

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excepted) as common goods, and are therein, so compassionate that rather than one should starve through want, they would starve all, thus doe they passe away the time merrily, not regarding our pompe (which they see dayly before their faces) but are better content with their owne, which some men esteeme so meanelly of.

*They make use of ordinary things, one of another as common.*

They may be rather accompted to live richly wanting nothing that is needefull; and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the Elder, and the Elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill, and then you may imagin what good rule is like to be amongst them.

FINIS.

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### **NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, OR NEW CANAAN. *The Second Booke.***

Containing a description of the bewty of the Country with her naturall indowements, both in the Land and Sea, with the great Lake of Erocoise.

#### **CHAP. I *The generall Survey of the Country.***

IN the Moneth of June, Anno Salutis: 1622. It was my chaunce to arrive in the parts of New England with 30. Servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation: And whiles our howses were building, I did endeavour to take a survey of the Country: The more I looked, the more I liked it.

*A famous Country.*

And when I had more seriously considered of the bewty of the place, with all her faire indowments, I did not thinke that in all the knowne world it could be paralel'd. For so many goodly groues of trees; dainty fine round rising hillucks: delicate faire large plaines, 6 42  
*Their fountaines are as cleare as Christall.* sweete cristall fountaines, and cleare running streames, that twine in fine meanders through the meads, making so sweete a murmuring

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noise to heare, as would even lull the senses with delight a sleepe, so pleasantly doe, they glide upon the pebble stones, jetting most jocundly where they doe meete; and hand in hand runne downe to Neptunes Court, to pay the yearely tribute, which they owe to him as soveraigne Lord of all the springs. Contained within the volume of the Land, Fowles in abundance, Fish in multitude, and discovered besides; Millions of Turtledoves one the greene boughes: which sate pecking, of the full ripe pleasant grapes, that were supported by the lusty trees, whose fruitfull loades did cause the armes to bend, which here and there dispersed (you might see) Lillies and of the Daphneantree, which made the Land to mee seeme paradice, for in mine eie, t'was Natures Master-peece: Her cheifest Magazine of, all where lives her store: if this Land be not rich, then is the whole world poore.

*Greate store of fowles, fish and turtledoves.*

What I had resolved on, I have really performed, and I have endeavoured, to use this abstract as an instrument, to bee the meanes, to communicate the knowledge which I have gathered, by my many yeares residence in those parts, unto my Countrymen, to the end, that they may the better perceive their error, who cannot imagine, that there is any Country in the universall world, which may be compared unto our native soyle, I will now discover unto them a Country whose indowments are by learned men allowed to stand in a paralell with the Israelites Canaan, which none will deny, to be a land farre more excellent then Old England in her proper nature.

This I consider I am bound in duety (as becommeth a Christian man) to performe, for the glory of God, in the first place; next (according to Cicero,) to acknowledge that, *Non nobis solum nati sumus, sed partim patria, partim parentes, partim amici vindicant.*

For which cause I must approve of the indeavoures of my Country men, that have bin studious to inlarge the territories of his Majesties empire by planting Colonies in America.

And of all other I must applaude the judgement of those that have made choise of this part (whereof I now treat) being of all other most absolute, as I will make it appeare, hereafter

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by way of paralell, among those that have settled themselves in new England, some have gone for their conscience sake, (as they professe,) & I wish that they may plant the Gospel of Iesus Christ: as becommeth them, sincerely and without satisme 43 or faction, whatsoever their former or present practises are (which I intend not to justifie, howsoever they have deserved (in mine opinion) some commendationes, in that they have furnished the Country, so commodiously in so short a time, although it hath bin but for their owne profit, yet posterity will taste the sweetnes of it and that very sodainly.

And since my taske in this part of mine abstract, is to intreat of the naturall indowments, of the Country, I will make a breife demonstration of them in order, severally, according to their severall qualities: and shew you what they are, and what profitable use may be made of them by industry.

### **CHAP. II. *What trees are there and how commodious.***

#### 1. *Oake.*

OAKes are there of two sorts, white and redd, excellent tyMBER for the building, both of howses, and shipping: and they are found to be a tyMBER, that is more tough then the oak of England. They are excellent for pipe-staves and such like vessels; and pipe-staves at the Canary Ilands are a prime commodity, I have knowne them there at 35. p. the 1000, and will purchase a freight of wines there before any commodity in England, their onely wood being pine, of which they are enforced, also to build shippinge; of oackes there is great abundance in the parts of New England, and they may have a prime place in the Catalogue of commodities.

#### 2. *Ashe.*

Ashe there is store and very good for staves, oares or pipes, and may have a place in the same Catalogue.

#### 3. *Elme.*

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Elme: of this sort of trees, there are some; but there hath not as yet bin found any quantity to speake of.

### 4. *Beech.*

Beech there is of two sorts, redd and white very excellent for trenchers, or chaires and also for oares and may be accompted for a commodity.

### 5. *Walnut.*

Wallnut, of this sorte of wood there is infinite store and there are 4 sorts, it is an excellent wood, for many uses approved, the younger trees are employed for hoopes, and are the best for that imployment of all other stufte whatsoever, the Nutts serve when they fall to feede our swine, 44 which make them the delicatest bacon of all other foode, and is therein a cheife commodity.

### 6. *Chestnuts.*

Chestnutt, of this sorte there is very greate plenty; the tyMBER whereof is excellent for buildding and is a very good commodity, especially in respect of the fruit, both for man and beast.

### 7. *Pine.*

Pine, of this sorte there is infinite store in some parts of the Country. I have travelled 10. miles together, where is little, or no other wood growing. And of these may be made rosin, pitch, and tarre, which are such usefull commodities, that if wee had them not from other Countries in Amity with England, our Navigation would decline. Then how great the commodity of it will be to our Nation, to have it of our owne, let any man judge.

### 8. *Cedar.*

Cedar, of this sorte there is abundaunce; and this wood was such as Salomon used for the building of that glorious Temple at Hierusalem, and there are of these Cedars, firre trees, and other materialls necessary for the building of many faire Temples, if there were any Salomons to be at the Cost of them, and if any man be desirous to finde out in what part

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of the Country the best Cedars are, he must get into the bottom grounds, and in vallies that are wet at the spring of the yeare, where the moisture preserves them from the fire in spring time and not in a wooden prospect, This wood cutts red, and is good for bedsteads tables and chests, and may be placed in the Catalogue of Commodities.

### 9. *Cypres.*

Cypres, of this there is great plenty, and vulgarly this tree hath bin taken, for another sort of Cedar; but workemen put a difference betweene this Cypres, and the Cedar, especially in the colour; for this is white and that redd white and likewise in the finenes of the leafe and the smoothnes of the barque. This wood is also sweeter then Cedar and (as it is in Garrets herball) a more bewtifull tree; it is of all other to my minde, most bewtifull, and cannot be denied to passe for a commodity.

### 10. *Spruce.*

Spruce, of these there are infinite store, especially in the Northerne parts of the Country; and they have bin approved by workemen in England, to be more tough, then those that they have out of the east country: from whence wee have them for masts and yards of shippes.

*The Spruce of this Country are found to be 3. & 4. fadum aboute.*

The Spruce of this country are found to be 3. and 4. fadum about: and are reputed able single, to make masts for the biggest ship, that sayles on the maine Ocean, without peeing, which is more than the East country can afford. And seeing that Navigation 45 is the very sinneus of a flourishing Commonwealth, it is fitting, to allow the Spruce tree a principall place, in the Catalogue of commodities.

### 11. *Alder.*

Alder, of this sorte there is plenty by rivers sides good for turners.

### 12. *Birch.*

Birch, of this there is plenty in divers parts of the Country. Of the barck of these the Salvages of the Northerne parts make them delicate Canowes, so light, that two men will

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transport one of them over Land whether they list, and one of them will transporte tenne or twelve Salvages by water at a time.

### 13. *Maple.*

Mayple, of those trees there is greate abundance and these are very excellent, for bowles. The Indians use of it to that purpose, and is to be accompted a good commodity.

### 14. *Elderne.*

Elderne, there is plenty in that Country, of this The Salvages make their Arrowes, and it hath no strong unsavery sent like our Eldern in England.

### 15. *Hawthorne.*

Hawthorne, of this there is two sorts, one of which beares a well tasting berry, as bigg as ones thumbe, and lookes like little Queene apples.

### 16. *Vines.*

Vines, of this kinde of trees, there are that beare grapes of three colours, that is to say: white black, and red.

The Country is so apt for vines, that (but for the fire at the spring of the yeare) the vines would so over spreade the land, that one should not be able to passe for them, the fruit is as bigg of some; as a musket bullet, and is excellent in taste.

### 17. *Plummes.*

Plumtrees, of this kinde there are many; some that beare fruit as bigg as our ordinary bullis: others there be, that doe beare fruite much bigger than peare plummes, their colour redd, and their stones flat, very delitious in taste.

### 18. *Cherries.*

Cheritrees, there are abundance, but the fruit is as small as our sloes, but if any of them were replanted, & grafted, in an orchard they would soone be raised by meanes of such and the like fruits.

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### 19. *Roses.*

There is greate abundance of Muske Roses in divers places: the water distilled excelleth our Rosewater of England.

### 20. *Sassafras* and 21. *Sarsaperilla.*

There is abundance of Sassafras and Sarsaperilla, growing in divers places of the land; whose budds at the spring doe perfume the aire.

Other trees there are not greatly materiall to be recited in this abstract, as goose berries, rasberries, and other beries.

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There is Hempe that naturally groweth, finer then our Hempe of England.

### **CHAP. III. *Potthearbes and other herbes for Sallets.***

THE Country there naturally affordeth very good potherbes and sallet herbes and those of a more maskuline vertue then any of the same species in England; as Potmarioram, Tyme, Alexander, Angellica, Pursland, Violets, and Anniseeds, in very great abundance: and for the pott I gathered in summer, dried and crumbled into a bagg to preserve for winter store.

*Potmarioram, Tyme, Alexander, Angellica, Pursland, Violets and Anniseeds. Hunnisuckles and Balme.*

Hunnisuckles, balme, and divers other good herbes are there, that grow without the industry of man, that are used when occasion serveth very commodiously.

### **CHAP. IV. *Of Birds, and fethered fowles.***

NOW that I have breifly shewed the Commodity of the trees, herbes, and fruits, I will shew you a description of the fowles of the aire, as most proper in ordinary course.

*Swannes.*

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And first of the Swanne, because she is the biggest of all the fowles of that Country. There are of them in Merrimack River, and in other parts of the country, greate store at the seasons of the yeare.

The flesh is not much desired of the inhabitants, but the skinnes may be accompted a commodity, fitt for divers uses, both for fethers, and quiles.

*Geese, pide, white, and gray.*

There are Gesse of three sorts vize brant Geese, which are pide, and white Geese which are bigger, and gray Geese which are as bigg and bigger then the tame Geese of England, with black legges, black bills, heads, and necks black; the flesh farre more excellent, then the 47 Geese of England, wild or tame, yet the purity of the aire is such, that the biggest is accompted but an indifferent meale for a couple of men. There is of them great abundance. I have had often 1000. before the mouth of my gunne, I never saw any in England for my part so fatt, as I have killed there in those parts, the fethers of them makes a bedd, softer then any down bed that I have lyen on: and is there a very good commodity, the fethers of the Geese that I have killed in a short time, have paid for all the powther and shott, I have spent in a yeare, and I have fed my doggs with as fatt Geese there, as I have euer fed upon my selfe in England.

*Fethers pay for powther and shot. Ducks pide, gray, and black.*

Ducks, there are of three kindes, pide Ducks, gray Ducks, and black Ducks in greate abundance: the most about my habitation were black Ducks: and it was a noted Custome at my howse, to have every mans Duck upon a trencher, and then you will thinke a man was not hardly used, they are bigger boddied, then the tame Ducks of England: very fatt and dainty flesh.

The common doggs fees were the giblets, unlesse they were boyled now and than for to make broth.

*Teales greene and blew.*

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Teales, there are of two sorts greene winged, and blew winged: but a dainty bird, I have bin much delighted with a rost of these for a second course, I had plenty in the rivers and ponds about my howse.

### *Widggens.*

Widggens there are, and abundance of other water foule, some such as I have seene, and such as I have not seene else where, before I came into those parts, which are little regarded.

### *Simpes.*

Simpes, there are like our Simpes in all respects, with very litle difference. I have shot at them onely, to see what difference I could finde betweene them and those of my native Country, and more I did not regard them.

### *Sanderlings.*

Sanderlings are dainty bird, more full bodied than a Snipe, and I was much delighted to feede on them, because they were fatt, and easie to come by, because I went but a stepp or to for them: and I have killed betweene foure and five dozen at a shoot which would loade me home.

Their foode is at ebbing water on the sands, of small seeds, that grows on weeds there, and are very good pastime in August.

### *Cranes.*

Cranes, there are greate store, that ever more came there at S. Davids day, and not before: that day they never would misse.

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These sometimes eate our corne, and doe pay for their presumption well enough; and serveth there in powther, with turnips to supply the place of powthered beefe, and is a goodly bird in a dishe, and no discommodity.

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### *Turkies.*

Turkies there are, which divers times in great flocks have sallied by our doores; and then a gunne (being commonly in a redinesse,) salutes them with such a courtesie, as makes them take a turne in the Cooke roome. They daunce by the doore so well.

Of these there hath bin killed, that have weighed forty eight pound a peece.

They are by mainy degrees sweeter then the tame Turkies of England, feede them how you can.

I had a Salvage who hath taken out his boy in a morning, and they have brought home their loades about noone.

I have asked them what number they found in the woods, who have answered Neent Metawna, which is a thousand that day; the plenty of them is such in those parts. They are easily killed at rooste, because the one being killed, the other sit fast neverthelesse, and this is no bad commodity.

### *Pheisants.*

There are a kinde of fowles which are commonly called Pheisants, but whether they be pheysants or no, I will not take upon mee, to determine. They are in forme like our pheasant henne of England. Both the male and the female are alike; but they are rough footed: and have stareing fethers about the head and neck, the body is as bigg as the pheasant henne of England; and are excellent white flesh, and delicate white meate, yet we seldome bestowe a shoote at them.

### *Partridges bigger in body as those of England.*

Partridges, there are much, like our Partridges of England, they are of the same plumes, but bigger in body. They have not the signe of the horseshoe on the brest as the Partridges of England; nor are they coloured about the heads as those are; they sit on the

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trees. For I have scene 40. in one tree at a time: yet at night they fall on the ground, and sit until morning so together; and are dainty flesh.

*Quailes bigger in body as those in England.*

There are quailes also, but bigger then the quailes in England. They take trees also: for I have numbered 60. upon a tree at a time. The cocks doe call at the time of the yeare, but with a different note from the cock quailes of England.

*The Larkes sing not.*

The Larkes there, are like our Larkes of England in all respects: sauing that they do not use to sing at all.

49 *Owles.*

There are Owles of divers kindes: but I did never heare any of them whop as ours doe.

*The Crowes smell & tast of Muske in summer, but not in winter.*

*There are Crowes, kights and rooks that doe differ in some respects from those of England. The Crowes (which I have much admired, what should be the cause) both smell and taste of Muske in summer, but not in winter.*

*Hawkes of five sorts.*

There are Hawkes in New England of 5. sorts, and these of all other fether fowles I must not omitt, to speake of, nor neede I to make any Apology for my selfe, concerning any trespass, that I am like to make upon my judgement, concerning the nature of them, having bin bred in so genious a way, that I had the common use of them in England: and at my first arrivall in those parts practised to take a Lannaret, which I reclaimed, trained, and made flying in a fortnight, the same being a passinger at Michuelmas. I found that these are most excellent Mettell, rank winged, well conditioned, and not tickleish footed, and having whoods, bels, luers, and all things fitting, was desirous to make experiment of that kinde of Hawke, before any other.

*A Lanneret.*

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And I am perswaded: that Nature hath ordained them to be of a farre better kinde, then any that have bin used in England. They have neither dorre, nor worm to feed upon (as in other parts of the world) the Country affording none, the use whereof in other parts, makes the Lannars there more bussardly then they be in New England.

### *Fawcons.*

There are likewise Fawcons, and tassell gentles, admirable well shaped birds, and they will tower up when they purpose to pray, and on a sodaine, when they esspie their game, they will make such a cancellere, that one would admire to behold them, Some there are more black, then any that have bin used in England.

The Tassell gent, (but of the least size) is an ornament for a person of estimation among the Indians to weare in the knot of his lock, with the traine upright, the body dried and stretched out. They take a great pride in the wearing of such an ornament, and give to one of us (that shall kill them one for that purpose) so much beaver as is worth three pounds sterling very willingly.

These doe us but little trespas, because they pray on such birds as are by the Sea side, and not on our Chickens. Goshawkes there are, and Tassels.

### *Goshawkes well shaped.*

The Tassels are short trussed bussards; but the Goshawkes are well shaped, but they are small; 7 50 some of white male, and some redd male, I have seene one with S. barres in the traine. These fall on our bigger poultry: the lesser chicken. I thinke they scorne to make their pray of; for commonly the Cocke goes to wrack. Of these I have seene many, and if they come to trespasse me, I lay the law to them with the gunne, and take them dammage fesant.

### *Marlins small and greate.*

There are very many Marlins; some very small, and some so large as is the Barbary Tassell.

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I have often beheld these pretty birds, how they have scoured after the black bird, which is a small sized Choffe that eateth the Indian maisze.

*Sparhawkes.*

Sparhawkes there are also, the fairest, and best, shaped birds that I have ever beheld of that kinde, those that are litle, no use is made of any of them, neither are they regarded, I onely tried conclusions with a Lannaret at first comming; and when I found, what was in that bird, I turned him going: but for so much as I have observed of those birds, they may be a fitt present for a prince; and for goodnesse too be preferred before the Barbary, or any other used in Christendome, and especially the Lannars and Lannarets.

*A Hunning bird, is as small as a Beethe. His bill as sharp as a needle point, and his fethers like silke.*

There is a curious bird to see to, called a hunning bird, no bigger then a great Beetle; that out of question lives upon the Bee, which he eateth and catcheth amongst Flowers: For it is his Custome to frequent those places, Flowers hee cannot feed upon by reason of his sharp bill, which is like the poynt of a Spanish needle, but shorte. His fethers have a glasse like silke, and as hee stirres, they show to be of a chaingable coloure: and has bin, and is admired for shape coloure, and size.

### **CHAP. V. *Of the Beasts, of the Forrest.***

NOw that I have made a rehearsall of the birds, and fethered Fowles, which participate most of aire, I will give you a description of the beasts, and shew you, what beasts are bred in those parts, and what my experience hath gathered, by observation of their kinde, and nature, I begin with the most usefull and most beneficiall beast, which is bredd in those parts, which is the Deare.

*51 Deare of 3. kinds.*

There are in this Country, three kindes of Deares of which there are greate plenty, and those are very usefull.

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### *Mose or red deare.*

First, therefore I will speake of the Elke, which the Salvages call a Mose: it is a very large Deare, with a very faire head, and a broade palme, like the palme of a fallow Deares horne, but much bigger, and is 6. footewide betweene the tipps, which grow curbing downwards: Hee is of the bignesse of a great horse.

### *Mose or deare greater than a horse, the height of them 18. hand fulles.*

There have bin of them, seene that has bin 18. handfulls highe: hee hath a bunch of haire under his jawes: hee is not swifte, but stronge and large in body, and longe legged; in somuch that hee doth use to kneele, when hee feedeth on grasse.

### *They bringe forth three faunes at one time.*

Hee bringeth forth three faunes, or younge ones, at a time; and being made tame, would be good for draught, and more usefull (by reason of their strength) then the Elke of Raushea. These are found very frequent, in the northerne parts of New England, their flesh is very good foode, and much better then our redd Deare of England.

### *They make good lether of the hides of Deare.*

Their hids are by the Salvages converted into very good lether, and dressed as white as milke.

Of this lether, the Salvages make the best shooes, and use to barter away the skinnes to other Salvages, that have none of that kinde of bests in the parts where they live. Very good buffe may be made of the hids, I have seene a hide as large as any horse hide that can be found. There is such abundance of them that the Salvages, at hunting time, have killed of them so many, that they have bestowed six or seaven at a time, upon one English man whome they have borne affection to.

### *The midling Deare or fallow Deare.*

There is a second sort of Deare (lesse then the redd Deare of England, but much bigger then the English fallow Deare) swift of foote, but of a more darke coloure; with some

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griseld heares. When his coate is full growne in the summer season, his hornes grow curving, with a croked beame, resembling our redd Deare, not with a palme like the fallow Deare.

These bringe 3. fawnes at a time, spotted like our fallow Deares fawnes; the Salvages say, route, I speake of what I know to be true; for I have killed, in February a doe with three fawnes in her belly, all heared, and ready to fall; for these Deare fall their fawnes, 2. moneths sooner; then the fallow Deare of England. There is such abundance of them, that an hundred have bin found at the spring of the yeare, within the compasse of a mile.

### *52 Trappes to catch the Deare.*

The Salvages take these in trappes made, of their naturall Hempte, which they place in the earth; where they fell a tree for browse, and when hee rounds the tree for the browse, if hee tread on the trapp, hee is horsed up by the legg, by meanes of a pole that starts up and catcheth him.

Their hides the Saluages use for cloathing, and will give for one hide killed in season 2. 3. or 4. beaver skinnes, which will yeild pounds a peece in that Country: so much is the Deares hide prized with them above the beaver. I have made good merchandize of these, the flesh is farre sweeter then the venison of England: and hee feedeth fatt and leane together as a swine, or mutton, where as our Deare of England feede fatt on the out side, they doe not croake at rutting time, nor spendle shafte, nor is their flesh discoloured at rutting. Hee that will impale ground fitting, may be brought once in the yeare, wherewith bats and men hee may take so many to put into that parke, as the hides will pay the chardge of impaleinge, If all these things be well considered, the Deare, as well as the Mose, may have a principall place in the catalogue of commodities.

### *The Humbles was the doggs fee.*

I for my part may be bould to tell you, that my howse, was not without the flesh of this sort of Deare winter nor summer, the humbles was ever my dogges fee, which by the wesell,

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was hanged on the barre in the chimney, for his diet only: for hee has brought to my stand a brace in a morning, one after the other before sunne rising, which I have killed.

*Roe bucks or Rayne Deare.*

There is likewise a third sorte of deare, lesse then the other, (which are a kinde of rayne deare) to the southward of all the English plantations, they are excellent good flesh. And these also bring three fawnes at a time, and in this particular the Deare of those parts, excell all the knowne Deare of the whole world.

*Wolfes pray upon Deare.*

On all these the Wolfes doe pray continually the best meanes they have (to escape the wolfes is by swimming to Islands, or necks of land, whereby they escape: for the wolfe will not presume to follow them, untill they see them over a river; then being landed, (they wayting on the shore) undertake the water, and so follow with fresh suite.

*Beaver.*

The next in mine opinion fit to be spoken of, is the Beaver; which is a Beast ordained, for land and water both, and hath fore feete like a cunny, her hinder feete like a goese, mouthed like a cunny, but short eared like a Serat, fishe in summer, and wood in winter, which hee conveyes 53 to his howse built on the water, wherein hee sitts with his tayle hanging in the water, which else would over heate and rot off.

*The Beavers cut downe trees, with his fore teeth.*

Hee cuts the bodies of trees downe with the foreteeth, which are so long as a boares tuskes, & with the help of other beavers (which held by each others tayles like a teeme of horses) the hind most with the legg on his shoulder stayed by one of his fore feete against his head) they draw the logg to the habitation appoynted, placing the loggs in a square, and so by pyling one uppon another, they build up a howse, which with boghes is covered very strongly, and placed in some pond to which they make a damme of brush wood like a hedge: so stronge, that I have gone on the top of it crosse the current of that pond. The flesh of this beast is excellent foode. The fleece is a very choise furre, which

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(before the Salvages had commerce with Christians) they burned of the tayle, this beast is of a masculine vertue for the advancement of Priapus: and is preserved for a dish for the Sachems, or Sagamores: who are the princes of the people but not Kings (as is fondly supposed.)

*Beavers at 10. shil. a pound.*

The skinnes are the best marchantable commodity, that can be found, to cause ready money to be brought into the land, now that they are raised to 10. shillings a pound.

*In five yeares one man gott together 1000, p. in good gold.*

A servant of mine in 5. yeares, was thought to have a 1000. p. in ready gold gotten by beaver when hee dyed; whatsoever became of it. And this beast may challenge preheminance in the Catalogue.

*The Otter in winter hath a furre at black as lett.*

The Otter of those parts, in winter season, hath a furre so black as jett, and is a furre of very highe price: a good black skinne is worth 3. or 4. Angels of gold. The Flesh is eaten by the Salvages: but how good it is I cannot shew, because it is not eaten by our Nation. Yet is this a beast, that ought to be placed in the number amongst the Commodities of the Country.

*The Luseran as bigg as a hound.*

The Luseran, or Luseret, is a beast like a Catt: but so bigg as a great hound: with a tayle shorter then a Catt. His clawes are like a Catts, Hee will make a pray of the Deare. His Flesh is dainty meat, like a lambe: his hide is a choise furre, and accompted a good commodity.

*The Martin is about the bignesse of a Fox.*

The Martin is a beast about the bignes, of a Foxe. His furre is chestnutt coloure, and of those there are greate store in the Northerne parts of the Country, and is a good commodity.

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### 54 *Racowne.*

The Racowne is a beast as bigg, full out, as a Foxe, with a Bushtayle. His Flesh excellent foode: his oyle precious for the Syattica, his furre course, but the skinnes serve the Salvages for coats: and is with those people of more esteeme, then a coate of beaver, because of the tayles that (hanging round in their order) doe adorne the garment, and is therefore so much esteemed of them. His forefeete are like the feete of an ape; and by the print thereof, in the time of snow, he is followed to his hole, which is commonly in a hollow tree, from whence hee is fiered out, and so taken.

### *The Foxes red and gray.*

The Foxes are of two coloures: the one redd, the other gray, these feede on fish; and are good furre, they doe not stinke, as the Foxes of England, but their condition for their pray, is as the Foxes of England.

### *The Wolfes of diverse coloures.*

The Wolfes are of divers coloures: some sandy coloured: some griselled, and some black, their foode is fish which they catch, when they passe up the rivers, into the ponds to spawne, at the spring time. The Deare are also their pray, and at summer, when they have whelpes, the bitch will fetch a puppy dogg from our dores, to feede their whelpes with. They are fearefull Curres, and will runne away from a man (that meeteth them by chance at a banke end) as fast as any ferefull dogge. These pray upon the Deare very much. The skinnes are used by the Salvages, especially the skinne of the black wolfe, which is esteemed a present for a prince there.

### *The skin of a black wolfe a present for a prince.*

When there ariseth any difference betweene prince, and prince, the prince that desires to be reconciled to his neighbouring prince does endeayour to purchase it, by sending him a black wolfes skinne for a present, and the acceptance of such a present is an assurance of reconciliation betweene them; and the Salvages will willingly give 40. beaver skinnes for the purchase of one of these black Wolfes skinnes: and allthough the beast himself be a

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discommodity, which other Countries of Christendome are subject unto, yet is the skinne of the black wolfe worthy, the title of a commodity, in that respect that hath bin declared.

*The Beares afraid of a man.*

If I should not speake something of the beare, I might happily leave a scruple, in the mindes of some effeminate persone who conceaved of more dainger in them, then there is cause. Therefore to incourage than against all Feare, and Fortifie their mindes against needles danger, I will relate what experience hath taught mee; concerning 55 them, they are beasts that doe no harme in those parts: they feede upon Hurtleburies, Nuts, and Fish, especially shellfish.

The Beare is a tyrant at a Lobster, and at low water will downe to the Rocks, and groape after them with great diligence.

*The Salvages seeing a beare chase him like a dogg and kill him.*

Hee will runne away from a man as fast as a litle dogge, If a couple of Salvages chauce to espie him at his banquet, his running away, will not serve his turne, for they will coate him, and chase him betweene them home to their howses, where they kill him, to save a laboure in carrying him farre. His Flesh is esteemed venison, and of a better taste then beefe.

His hide is used by the Salvages, for garments, and is more commodious then discommodious, as may passe (with some allowance) with the rest.

*Muskewashe.*

The Muskewashe, is a beast that frequenteth the ponds. What hee eats I cannot finde. Hee is but a small beast, lesse then a Cunny, and is indeede in those parts no other then a water Ratte, for I have scene the suckers of them digged out of a banke; and at that age, they neither differed in shape coloure, nor size, from one of our greate Ratts. When hee is ould, hee is of the Beavers coloure; and hath passed in waite with our Chapmen for Beaver.

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The Male of them have stones, which the Salvages in un caseing of them, leave to the skinne, which is a most delicate perfume, and may compare with any perfume that I know for goodnesse; Then may not this be excluded the Catalogue.

### *Porcupines.*

This Country, in the North parts thereof, hath many Porcupines, but I doe not finde, the beast any way usefull or hurtfull.

### *Hedghoggs.*

There are in those Northerne parts many Hedgehoggs, of the like nature, to our English Hedghoggs.

### *Conyes of severall sorts.*

Here are greate store of Conyes in those parts, of divers coloures; some white, some black, and some gray. Those towards the Southerne parts are very small, but those to the North are as big as the English Cony: their eares are very short. For meate the small rabbit is as good as any that I have eaten of else where.

### *Squirils of three sorts.*

There are Squirils of three sorts, very different in shape and condition; and is gray, and hee is as big as the lesser Cony, and keepeth the woods feeding, upon nutts.

Another is red, and hee haunts our howses, and will rob us of our Corne, but the Catt many times, payes him the price of his presumption.

### *56 A Flying Squirill.*

The third is a little flying Squirill, with bat like winges, which hee spreads when hee jumpes from tree to tree, and does no harme.

### *Snakes.*

Now because I am upon a treaty of the beasts, I will place this creature the snake amongst the beasts, having my warrant from the holy Bible; who (though his posture in his passage

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be so different from all other, being of a more subtile and aidry nature, that hee can make his way without feete, and lifte himselfe above the superficies of the earth, as hee gilds along.)

Yet may hee not bee ranked with any, but the beasts, notwithstanding bee frequents the water, as well as the land.

There are of Snakes divers, and of severall kindes, as be with us in England, but that Country hath not so many, as in England have bin knowne.

The generall Salvage name of them is Ascowke.

### *The rattle Snakes.*

There is one creeping beast or longe creeple (as the name is in Devonshire,) that hath a rattle at his tayle, that does discover his age; for so many yeares as hee hath lived, so many joynts are in that rattle, which soundeth (when it is in motion,) like pease in a bladder, and this beast is called a rattle Snake; but the Salvages give him the name of Sesick; which some take to be the Adder; and it may well be so; for the Salvages are signficiant in their denomination of any thing) and is no lesse hurtfull than the Adder of England, nor no more. I have had my dogge venomed with troubling one of these; and so swelled, that I had thought it would have bin his death: but with one Saucer of Salet oyle powred downe his throat, he has recovered, and the swelling asswaged by the next day. The like experiment hath bin made upon a boy that hath by chaunce troad upon one of these, and the boy never the worse. Therefore it is simplicity in any one that shall tell a bugbeare tale of horrible, or terrible Serpents that are in that land.

### *Mise.*

Mise there are good store, and my Lady Woodbees black gray malkin may have pastime enough there: but for Rats, the Country by Nature is troubled with none.

### *Lyons alwaies in hot Clymats, not in cold.*

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Lyons there are none in New England: it is contrary to the Nature of the beast, to frequent places accustomed to snow; being like the Catt, that will hazard the burning of her tayle rather than abide from the fire.

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### **CHAP. VI. *Of Stones and Minerals.***

NOw (for as much as I have in a breife abstract shewed you the Creatures: whose specificall Natures doe simpathise with the elements of fire and aire) I will come to speake of the Creatures that participate of earth more then the other two, which is stones.

#### *Marble.*

And first of the Marble for building; whereof there is much in those parts, in so much there is one bay in the land, that beareth the name of Marble harber, because of the plenty of Marble there: and these are usefull for building of Sumptuous Pallaces.

#### *Limestone.*

And because, no good building can be made permanent, or durable, without Lime: I will let you understand that there is good Limestone neere to the river of Monatoquinte at uttaquatockto my knowledge and we hope other places too, (that I have not taken so much notice of) may have the like, or better: and those stones are very convenient for building.

#### *Chalk.*

Chalke stones there are neere Squantos Chappell shewed me by a Salvage.

#### *Slate.*

There is abundance el excellent Slate in divers places of the Country: and the best that ever I beheld for covering of howses: and the inhabitants have made good use of these materials for building.

#### *Whetstones.*

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There is a very usefull Stone in the Land, and as yet there is found out but one place where they may be had, in the whole Country, Ould Woodman, (that was choaked at Plimmouth after hee had played the unhappy Markes man when hee was pursued by a carelesse fellow that was new come into the Land) they say laboured to get a patent of it to himselfe. Hee was beloved of many, and had many sonnes, that had a minde to engrosse that commodity. And I cannot spie any mention made of it in the wooden prospect.

Therefore I begin to suspect his aime; that it was for himselfe, and therefore will I not discover it, it is the Stone so much commended by *Ovid*, because love delighteth to make his habitation in a building of those materials, where hee advises. Those that seeke for love to doe it, *Duris in Cotibus illum*.

This stone the Salvages doe call *Cos*, and of these (on the 8 58 North end of Richmond Island) are store, and those are very excellent good for edg'd tooles: I envy not his happinesse. I have bin there: viewed the place, liked the commodity: but will not plant so Northerly for that, nor any other commodity that is there to be had.

### *Loadstones.*

There are Loadstones also in the Northerne parts of the land: and those which were found are very good, and are a commodity worth the noting.

### *Ironstones.*

Iron stones there are abundance: and severall sorts of them knowne.

### *Lead.*

Lead ore is there likewise, and hath bin found by the breaking of the earth, which Frost hath made mellow.

### *Black Lead.*

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Black Leade I have likewise found very good, which the Salvages use to paint their faces with.

*Read Lead.*

Red Leade is there likewise in great abundance.

*Boll.*

There is very excellent Boll Armoniack.

*Vermilion.*

There is most excellent Vermilion. All these things the Salvages make some litle use of, and doe finde them on the circumference of the Earth.

*Brimstone.* Brimstone mines there are likewise.

*Tinne.*

Mines of Tinne, are likewise knowne to be in those parts: which will in short time be made use of: and this cannot be accompted a meane commodity.

*Copper.*

Copper mines are there found likewise: that will enrich the Inhabitants. But untill their younge Cattell, be growne hardy labourers in the yoake, that the Plough and the Wheate may be seene more plentifully, it is a worke must be forborne.

*Silver.*

They say there is a Silver, and a gold mine found by Captaine Littleworth: if hee get a patent of it to himselfe, hee will surely change his name.

### **CHAP. VII. *Of the Fishes, and what commodity they proove.***

AMong Fishes First I will begin with the Codd, because it is the most commodious of all fish, as may appeare, by the use which is made of them in foraigne parts.

*Codd.*

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*Codd.* The Codd fishing is much used in America, (whereof New England is a part) in so much as 300. Sayle of shippes, from divers parts, have used to be imployed yearely in that trade.

59 15. *Shipps at one time for Codd.*

I have seene in one Harboure, next Richmond Island 15. Sayle of shipps at one time, that have taken in them, driyed Codds for Spaine, and the Straights (and it has bin found that the Saylers have made 15. 18. 20. 22. p. share for a common man.

*Oyle mayd of the livers of the Codd.*

The Coast aboundeth with such multitudes of Codd, that the inhabitants of New England doe dunge their grounds with Codd; and it is a commodity better than the golden mines of the Spanish Indies; for without dried Codd the Spaniard, Portingal and Italian, would not be able to vittell of a shipp for the Sea; and I am sure at the Canaries it is the principall commodity: which place lyeth neere New England very convenient, for the vending of this commodity, one hundred of these being at the price of 300. of New found land Codds, greate store of traine oyle, is mayd of the livers of the Codd, and is a commodity that without question will enrich the inhabitants of New England quickly; and is therefore a principall commodity.

*A 100 Basse sould for 5. p.*

The Basse is an excellent Fish, both fresh and Salte one hundred whereof salted (at a market) have yielded 5. p. They are so large, the head of one will give a good eater a dinner, and for daintinesse of diet, they excell the Marybones of Beefe. There are such multitudes, that I have seene stopped into the river close adjoining to my howse with a sand at one tide, so many as will loade a ship of a 100. Tonnes.

Other places have greater quantities in so much, as wagers have bin layed, that one should not throw a stone in the water, but that hee should hit a fish.

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I my selfe, at the turning of the tyde, have seene such multitudes passe out of a pound, that it seemed to mee, that one might goe over their backs drishod.

These follow the bayte up the rivers, and sometimes are followed for bayte and chased into the bayes, and shallow waters, by the grand pise: and these may have also a prime place in the Catalogue of Commodities.

*Mackarell are baite for Basse.*

The Mackarels are the baite for the Basse, and these have bin chased into the shallow waters, where so many thousands have shott themselves a shore with the surfe of the Sea, that whole hogges-heads have bin taken up on the Sands; and for length they excell any of other parts: they have bin measured 18. and 19. inches in length and seaven in breadth: and are taken with a drayle, (as boats use to passe to and froe at Sea on businesse) in very greate quantities all along the Coaste.

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The Fish is good, salted; for store against the winter, as well as fresh, and to be accounted a good Commodity.

*Sturgeon.*

This Sturgeon in England is *regalis piscis*. every man in New England may catch what he will, there are multitudes of them, and they are much fatter then those that are brought into England from other parts, in so much as by reason of their fatnesse, they doe not looke white, but yellow, which made a Cooke presume they were not so good as them of Roushea: silly fellow that could not understand that it is the nature of fish salted, or pickelled, the fatter the yellower being best to preserve.

For the taste I have warrant of Ladies of worth, with choise pallats for the commendations, who liked the taste so well, that they esteemed it beyond the Sturgeon of other parts, and sayd they were deceaved in the lookes: therefore let the Sturgeon passe for a Commodity.

*Salmon.*

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Of Salmons there is greate abundance: and these may be allowed for a Commodity, and placed in the Catallogue.

### *Herrings.*

Of Herrings, there is greate store, fat, and faire: and (to my minde) as good as any I have seene, and these may be preserved, and made a good commodity at the Canaries

### *Great plenty of Eeles*

Of Eeles there is abundance, both in the Saltwaters, and in the fresh: and the fresh water Eele there (if I may take the judgement of a London Fishmonger) is the best that hee hath found in his life time. I have with jieele potts found my howse hold, (being nine persons, besides doggs) with them, taking them every tide, (for 4. moneths space,) and preserving of them for winter store: and these may proove a good commodity.

### *Smelts.*

Of Smelts there is such abundance, that the Salvages doe take them up the rivers with baskets, like sives.

### *Shadds or Allizes taken to dunge ground.*

There is a Fish, (by some called shadds, by some allizes) that at the spring of the yeare, passe up the rivers to spaune in the ponds; and are taken in such multitudes in every river, that hath a pond at the end, that the Inhabitants dounge their ground with them. You may see in one towneship a hundred acres together, set with these Fish, every acre taking 1000. of them: and an acre thus dressed will produce and yeald so much corne as 3. acres without fish: and (least any Virginea man would inferre hereupon, that the ground of New England is barren, because they use no fish in setting their corne, I desire them to be remembred, the cause is plaine in Virginea) they have it not to sett. But this practise is onely for the Indian Maize (which must be set by hands) not for English graine: and this is therefore a commodity there.

### *Turbut or Hallibut.*

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There is a large sized fish called Hallibut, or Turbut: some are taken so bigg that two men have much a doe to hale them into the boate; but there is such plenty, that the fisher men onely eate the heads, and finnes, and throw away the bodies: such in Paris would yeeld 5. or 6. crownes a peece: and this is no discommodity.

### *Plaice.*

There are excellent Plaice and easily taken. They (at flowing water) do almost come ashore, so that one may stepp but halfe a foote deepe, and prick them up on the sands: and this may passe with some allowance.

### *Hakes.*

Hake is a dainty white fish, and excellent vittell fresh; and may passe with other commodities, because there are multitudes.

### *Pilchers.*

There are greate store of Pilchers: at Michelmas, in many places, I have seene the Cormorants in length 3. miles feedinge upon the Sent.

### *Lobsters.*

Lobsters are there infinite in store in all the parts of the land, and very excellent. The most use that I made of them, in 5. yeares after I came there was but to baite my Hooke for to catch Basse, I had bin so cloyed with them the first day I went a shore.

This being knowne, they shall passe for a commodity to the inhabitants; for the Salvages will meete 500, or 1000. at a place where Lobsters come in with the tyde, to eate, and save dried for store, abiding in that place, feasting and sporting a moneth or 6. weekes together.

### *Oysters.*

There are greate store of Oysters in the entrance of all Rivers: they are not round as those of England, but excellent fat, and all good. I have seene an Oyster banke a mile at length.

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### *Mustles.*

Mustles there are infinite store, I have often gon to Wassaguscus; where were excellent Mustles to eate (for variety) the fish is so fat and large.

### *Clames.*

Clames is a shellfish, which I have seene sold in Westminister for 12. pe. the skore. These our swine feede upon; and of them there is no want, every shore is full, it makes the swine proove exceedingly, they will not faile at low water to be with them. The Salvages are much taken with the delight of this fishe; and are not cloyed (notwithstanding the plenty) for our swine we finde it a good commodity.

### *62 Raser fish.*

Raser fishes there are.

### *Freele.*

Freeles there are, Cockles, and Scallopes, and divers other sorts of Shellfishe, very good foode.

Now that I have shewed you what commodities are there to be had in the Sea, for a Market; I will shew what is in the Land also, for the comfort of the inhabitants, wherein it doth abound. And because my taske is an abstract, I will discover to them the commodity thereof.

### *Fresh fish, Trouts, Carpes, Breames, Pikes, Roches, Perches, Tenches, and Eeles.*

There are in the rivers, and ponds, very excellent Trouts, Carpes, Breames, Pikes, Roches, Perches, Tenches, Eeles, and other fishes, such as England doth afford, and as good, for variety; yea many of them much better; and the Natives of the inland parts, doe buy hookes of us, to catch them with, and I have knowne the time, that a Trouts hooke hath yeelded a beaver skinne, which hath bin a good commodity to those that have bartered them away.

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These things I offer to your consideration (curteous Reader) and require you to shew mee the like in any part of the knowne world if you can.

### **CHAP. VIII. *Of the goodnes of the Country and the Waters.***

#### *Foode, and Fire.*

NOW since it is a Country so infinitely blest with foode, and fire, to roast or boyle our Flesh and Fish, why should any man feare for cold there, in a Country warmer in the winter, than some parts of France and neerer the Sunne: unles hee be one of those that Salomon bids goe to the Ant and the Bee.

#### *Noe Boggs. Perfumed aire with sweet herbes.*

There is no boggy ground, knowne in all the Country, from whence the Sunne may exhale unwholsom vapors: But there are divers arematicall herbes, and plants, as Sassafras, Muske, Roses, Violets, Balme, Lawrell, Hunnisuckles, and the like, that with their vapors perfume the aire; and it has bin a thing much observed that, shippes have come from Virginea where there have bin scarce five men able to hale a rope, untill they have come within 40. Degrees of latitude, and smell the sweet aire of the shore, where they have suddainly recovered.

#### *Of Waters.*

And for the water, therein excelleth Canaan by much; for the Land is so apt for Fountaines, a man cannot digg amisse, therefore if the Abrahams and Lots 63 of our times come thether, there needs be no contention for wells.

Besides there are waters of most excellent venues, worthy admiration.

#### *The Cure of mellancolly at Maremount.*

At Ma-re-Mount, there was a water (by mee discovered) that is most excellent for the cure of Melancolly probatum.

#### *The cure of Barrennesse.*

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At weenasemute is a water, the vertue whereof is, to cure barrenesse. The place taketh his name of that Fountaine which signifieth quick spring, or quickning spring probatum.

*Water procuring a dead sleepe. New England excels Canaan in fountains.*

Neere Squantos Chappell (a place so by us called) is a Fountaine, that causeth a dead sleepe for 48. howres, to those that drinke 24. ounces at a draught, and so proportionably. The Salvages that are Powahs at set times use it, and reveale strang things to the vulgar people by meanes of it, So that in the delicacy of waters, and the conveniency of them, Canaan came not neere this Country.

*Milke and Hony supplied.*

As for the Milke and Hony which that Canaan flowed with, it is supplied by the plenty of birds; beasts and Fish, whereof Canaan could not boast her selfe.

*A plain paralell to Canaan.*

Yet never the lesse (since the Milke came by the industry of the first Inhabitants,) let the cattell be cherished that are at this time in New England, and forborne but a litle, I will aske no long time; no more, but untill the Brethren have converted one Salvage, and made him a good Christian, and I may be bold to say, Butter and cheese will be cheaper there, then ever it was in Canaan. It is cheaper there then in old England at this present, for there are store of Cowes; considering the people: which (as my intelligence gives) is 12000. persons, and in gods name let the people have their desire, who writes to their freinds, to come out of Sodome, to the land of Canaan, a land that flowes with [???] Milke and Hony.

*The Request for the Nomination of New Canaan.*

And I appeale to any man of judgement whether it be not a Land, that for her excellent indowments of Nature may passe for a plaine paralell to Canaan of Israell, being in a more temporat Climat, this being in 40.

Degrees and that in 30.

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### **CHAP. IX. A Perspective to view the Country by.**

#### *The Soyle.*

AS for the Soyle, I may be bould to commend the fertility thereof, and preferre it before the Soyle of England, (our Native Country) and I neede not to produce more then one argument for proffe thereof, because it is so infallible.

#### *The growth of Hempe.*

Hempe is a thing by Husband men in generall ageed upon, to prosper best, in the most fertile Soyle: and experience hath taught this rule, that Hempe seede prospers so well in New England, that it shewteth up to be tenne foote high and tenne foote and a halfe, which is twice so high as the ground in old England produce it, which argues New England the more fertile of the two.

#### *The aire.*

As for the aire, I will produce but one proffe for the maintenance of the excellency thereof; which is so generall, as I assure myselfe it will suffice.

#### *No cold Cough or murre.*

No man living there; was ever knowne to be troubled with a cold, a cough, or a murre, but many men comming sick out of Virginea to New Canaan, have instantly recovered with the helpe of the purity of that aire; no man ever surfeited himselfe either by eating or drinking.

#### *The plenty of the Land.*

As for the plenty of that Land, it is well knowne that no part of Asia, Affrica, or Europe; affordeth deare that doe bring forth any more then one single faune; and in New Canaan the Deare are accustomed to bring forth 2. and 3. faunes at a time.

Besides there are such infinite flocks of Fowle, and Multitudes of fish both in the fresh waters, and also on the Coast, that the like hath not else where bin discovered by any traveller.

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### *Windes.*

The windes there are not so violent as in England; which is proved by the trees that grow in the face of the winde by the Sea Coast, for there they doe not lean from the winde as they doe in England, as we have heard before.

### *Raine.*

The Raine is there more moderate then in England, which thing I have noted in all the time of my residence to be so.

### *The Coast.*

The Coast is low Land, and not high Land: and hee is of a weake capacity that conceaveth otherwise of it, because it cannot be denied, but that boats may come a ground in all places along the Coast, and especially within the Compass of the Massachusetts patent, where the prospect is fixed.

### *Harbours.*

The Harbours are not to be bettered, for safety, and goodnesse of ground, for anchorage, and (which is worthy observation;) shipping will not there be furred, neither are they subject to wormes, as in Virginea, and other places.

### *Scituation.*

Let the Scituation also of the Country be considered (together with the rest, which is discovered in the front of this abstract,) and then I hope no man will hold this land unworthy to be intituled by the name of the second Canaan.

### *The Nomination.*

And since the Seperatists, are desirous to have the denomination thereof, I am become an humble Suter on their behalfe for your consents (courteous Readers) to it, before I doe shew you what Revels they have kept in New Canaan.

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### **CHAP. X. *Of the Great Lake of Erocoise in New England, and the commodities thereof.***

*Fowle innumerable.*

WEstwards from the Massachussets bay (which lyeth in 42. Degrees and 30. Minutes of Northern latitude) is scituated a very spacious Lake (called of the Natives the Lake of Erocoise) which is farre more excellent then the Lake of Genezereth in the Country of Palestina, both in respect of the greatnes and properties thereof; and likewise of the manifould commodities it yealdeth: the circumference of which Lake is reputed to be 240. miles at the least: and it is distant from the Massachussets bay 300. miles, or there abouts: wherein are very many faire Islands, where innumerable flocks of severall sorts of Fowle doe breede, Swannes, Geese, Ducks, Widgines, Teales, and other water Fowle.

*Multitudes of Fish. The prime place of New Canaan.*

There are also more abundance of Beavers, Deare, and Turkies breed about the part of that lake, then in any place in all the Country of New England: and also such multitudes of fish, (which is a great part of the foode, that the Beavers live upon,) that it is a thing to be admired at: So that about this Lake, is the principallst place for a plantation in all New Canaan, both for pleasure and proffit. 9

*66 So named of Monsier' de Cane.*

Here may very many brave Townes and Citties be erected which may have intercourse one with another by water, very commodiously: and it is of many men of good judgement, accounted the prime seate for the Metropolis of New Canaan, From this Lake Northwards is derived the famous River of Canada, (so named of Monster de Cane a French Lord, that first planted a Colony of French in America, there called Nova Francia, from whence Captaine Kerke of late, by taking that plantation, brought home in one shipp (as a Seaman of his Company, reported in my hearing) 25000. Beaver skinnes.

*Patomack.*

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And from this Lake Southwards, trends that goodly River called of the Natives Patomack, which dischargdgeth herselfe in the parts of Virginea, from whence it is navigable by shipping of great Burthen up to the Falls (which lieth in 41. Degrees, and a halfe of North latitude:) and from the Lake downe to the Falls by a faire current. This River is navigable for vessels of good Burthen; and thus much hath often bin related by the Natives, and is of late found to be certaine.

*Great heards of Beasts as bigg as Cowes.*

They have also made description of great heards of well growne beasts, that live about the parts of this Lake, such as the Christian world (untill this discovery) hath not bin acquainted with. These beasts are of the bignesse of a Cowe, their Flesh being very good foode, their hides good lether, their fleeces very usefull, being a kinde of wolfe, as fine almost as the wolfe of the Beaver, and the Salvages doe make garments thereof.

It is tenne yeares since first the relation of these things came to the eares of the English: at which time wee were but slender proficients in the language of the Natives, and they, (which now have attained to more perfection of English, could not then make us rightly apprehend their meaninge.

Wee supposed, when they spake of Beasts thereabouts as high as men, they have made report of men all over hairy like Beavers, in so much as we questioned them, whether they eate of the Beavers, to which they replied Matta, (noe) saying they were almost Beavers Brothers. This relation at that time wee concluded to be fruitles, which since, time hath made more apparent.

About the parts of this Lake may be made a very greate Commodity by the trade of fures, to enrich those that shall plant there; a more compleat discovery of those parts: is (to my knowledg) undertaken by Henry loseline Esquier sonne of Sir Thomas loseline of Kent Knight, by the approbation and 67 *Henry leseline employed for discovery.* appointment of that Heroick and very good Common wealths man Captaine Iohn Mason Esquier, a true

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foster Father and lover of vertue, (who at his owne chardge) hath fitted Master loseline and imployed him to that purpose, who no doubt will performe as much as is expected, if the Dutch (by gettinge into those parts before him, doe not frustrate his so hopefull and laudable designes.

It is well knowne, they aime at that place, and have a possibility to attaine unto the end of their desires therein, by meanes, if the River of Mohegan, which of the English is named Hudsons River (where the Dutch have settled: to well fortified plantations already. If that River be derived from the Lake as our Country man in his prospect affirmes it to be, and if they get and fortifie this place also, they will gleane away the best of the Beaver both from the French and the English, who have hitherto lived wholly by it, and very many old planters have gained good estates out of small beginnings by meanes thereof.

*The Dutch have a great trade of Beaver in Hudsons River.*

And it is well knowne to some of our Nation that have lived in the Dutch plantation: that the Dutch have gained by Beaver 20000. pound a yeare.

The Salvages make report of 3. great Rivers that issue out of this Lake 2. of which are to us knowne, the one to be Patomack, the other Canada, and why may not the third be found there likewise, which they describe to trend westward, which is conceaved to discharge herselfe into the South Sea. The Salvages affirme that they have seene shippes in this Lake with 4. Masts which have taken from thence for their ladinge earth, that is conjectured to be some minerall stufte.

*Passage to the East Indies. The Country of Erocois as fertile*

There is probability enough for this, and it may well be thought, that so great a conflux of waters as are there gathered together, must be vented by some great Rivers: and that if the third River (which they have made mention of) proove to be true as the other two have done: there is no doubt but that the passage to the East India, may be obtained, without any such daingerous and fruitlesse inquest by the Norwest, as hetherto hath bin endeavoured: And there is no Traveller of any resonable capacity, but will graunt, that

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about this Lake must be innumerable springes, and by that meanes many fruitfull, and pleasant pastures all about it, It hath bin observed that the inland part (witnes Neepnet) are more pleasant and fertile then the borders of the Sea coaste. And the Country about Erocoise is (not without good cause) compared to Delta the most fertile parte 68 as *Delta in Ægypt*. in all Ægypt, that aboundeth with Rivers and Rivalets derived from Nilus fruitfull channell, like vaines from the liver, so in each respect is this famous Lake of Erocoise.

Ad therefore it would be adjudged an irreparable oversight to protract time, and suffer the Dutch (who are but intruders upon his Majesties most hopefull Country of New England) to possesse themselves of that so plesant and commodious Country of Erocoise before us: being (as appeareth) the principall part of all New Canaan for plantation, and not elsewhere to be paralelld in all the knowne world.

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### **NEW CANAANS GENIVS. EPILOGVS.**

*THou that art by Fates degree, Or Providence ordain'd to see, Natures wonder, her rich store, Ne'-r discovered before, Th' admired Lake of Erocoise, And fertile Borders now rejoyce, See what multitudes of Fish, Shee presents to fitt thy dish, If rich fures thou dost adore, And of Beaver Fleeces store, See the Lake where they abound, And what pleasures els are found, There chast Leda free from fire, Does enjoy her hearts desire, Mongst the flowry bancks at ease, Live the sporting Najades, Bigglim'd Druides whose browes, Bewtified with greenebowes, See the Nymphes how they doe make, Fine Meanders from the Lake, Twining in and out as they, Through the pleasant groves make way, Weaving by the shady trees, Curious Anastomases, Where the harmeles Turtles breede, And such usefull Beasts doe feede, As no Traveller can tell, Els where how to paralell, Colcos golden Fleece reject, This deserveth best respect, In sweete Peans let thy voyce, Sing the praise of Erocoise, Peans to advance her name, New Canaans everlasting fame.*

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**NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, OR NEW CANAAN. *The Third Booke.***

Containing a description of the People that are planted there, what remarkable Accidents have happened there, since they were settled, what Tenants they should, together with the practise of their Church.

**CHAP. I. *Of a great League made with the Plimmouth Planters after their arrivall, by the Sachem of those Territories.***

The **Sachem of the Territories, where** the Planters of New England are settled, that are the first of the now Inhabitants of New Canaan, not knowing what they were, or whether they would be freindes or foes, and being desirous to purchase their freindship, that hee might have the better Assurance of quiet tradinge with 71 *A Salvage sent an Ambassador to the English at their first comminge.* them (which hee conceived would be very advantagious to him) was desirous to prepare an Ambassador, with commission to treat on his behalfe, to that purpose; and having one that had beene in England taken by) a worthlesse man) out of other partes, and after left there by accident, this Salvage hee instructed, how to be have himselfe, in the treaty of peace, and the more, to give him encouragement to adventure his person, amongst these new come inhabitants, which was a thinge, hee durst not himselfe attempt, without security or hostage, promised that Salvage freedome, who had beene detained there as their Captive: which offer hee accepted, and accordingly came to the Planters, salutinge them with wellcome, in the English phrase, which was of them admired, to heare a Salvage there speake in their owne language, and used him great courtesie: to whome hee declared the cause of his comminge, and contrived the businesse so, that hee brought the Sachem and the English together, betweene whome was a firme league concluded, which yet continueth. After which league the Sachem being in company with the other whome hee had freed, and suffered to live with the English, espijnge a place where a hole had been made in the grounde, where was their store of powder layed to be preserved from danger of fire (under ground) demanded of the Salvage what the English had hid there under ground,

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who answered the plague, at which hee starteled, because of the great mortality lately happened, by meanes of the plague, (as it is conceaved) and the Salvage the more to encrease his feare told the Sachem if he should give offence to the English party, they would let out the plague to destroy th? all, which kept him in great awe. Not longe after being at variencie with another Sachem borderinge upon his Territories, he came in solemne manner and intreated the Governour, that he would let out the plague to destroy the Sachem, and his men who were his enemies, promising that he himselfe, and all his posterity would be their everlasting freindes, so great an opinion he had of the English.

*The Sachem feared the Plague.*

### **CHAP. II. Of the entertainment of Mr. Westons people sent to settle a plantation there.**

MAster Thomas weston a Merchant of London that had been at some cost, to further the Brethren of new Plimmouth, in their designes for these partes, shipped 72 *Court holy bread at Plimmouth*. a company of Servants, fitted with provition of all sorts; for the undertaking of a Plantation to be settled there, with an intent to follow after them in parson. These servants at first arived at new Plimmouth where they were entertained with court holy bread, by the Brethren, they were made very wellcome, in shew at least: there these servants goodes were landed, with promises to be assisted in the choise of a convenient place, and still the good cheare went forward, and the strong liquors walked. In the meane time the Brethren were in consultation, what was best for their advantage singing the songe, *Frustra sapit, qui sibi non sapit*.

This plantation would hinder the present practice, and future profit, & Master Weston an able man would want for no supplies, upon the returne of Beaver, and so might be a plantation that might keepe them under, who had a Hope to be the greatest, besides his people were no chosen Seperatists, but men made choice of at all adventures, fit to have served for the furtherance of Master Westons undertakings: and that was as much as hee neede to care for: ayminge at Beaver principally, for the better effecting

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of his purpose. Now when the Plimmouth men began to finde, that Master Westons mens store of provition grew short with feasting, then they hasted them to a place called Wessaguscus, in a weake case, and there left them fasting.

### **CHAP. III. *Of a Battle fought at the Massachussets, betweene the English and the French.***

The Planters of Plimmouth, at their last being in those parts, having defaced the monument of the ded at Pasonayessit (by taking away the herse Cloath which was two greate Beares skinnes sowed together at full length, and propped up over the grave of Chuatawbacks mother,) the Sachem of those territories, being intraged at the same, stirred up his men in his bee halfe, to take revenge: and having gathered his men together, hee begin, to make an oration in this manner. When last the glorious light of all the skey was underneath this globe, and Birds grew silent, I began to settle as my (custome is) to take repose; before mine eies were fast closed, mee thought I saw a vision, (at *The Sachems Oration. 73 A spirit mooving the Sachem to Warre. The grand Captive makes a Speech.* which my) spirit was much troubled, & trembling at that dolefull sight, a spirit cried aloude (behold my sonne) whom I have cherisht, see the papps that gave thee suck, the hands that lappd thee warme and fed thee oft, canst thou forget to take revenge of those uild people, that hath my monument defaced in despitefull manner, disdainig our ancient antiquities, and honourable Customes: See now the Sachems grave lies like unto the common people, of ignoble race defaced; thy mother doth complaine, implores thy aide against this theevisish people, new come hether if this be suffered, I shall not rest in quiet within my everlasting habitation. This said, the spirit vanished, and I all in a sweat, not able scarce to speake, began to gett some strength, and recollect my spirits that were fled, all which I thought to let you understand, to have your Councell, and your aide likewise; this being spoken, straight way arose the grand Captaine, and cried aloud come, let us to Armes, it doth concerne us all, let us bid them Battaile; so to Armes they went, and laid weight for the Plimmouth boate, and forceinge them to forsake their landinge place, they seeke another best for their convenience, thither the Salvages repaire in hope to have the

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like successe, but all in vaine, for the English Captaine warily foresaw, (and perceavinge their plot) knew the better how to order his men fit for Battaile in that place, bee bouldly leading his men on, rainged about the feild to and fro, and taking his best advantage, lets fly, and makes the Salvages give ground, the English followed them fiercely on and made them take trees for their shelter, (as their custome is) from whence their Captaine let flie a maine, yet no man was hurt, at last lifting up his fight arm to draw a fatall shaft (as hee then thought) to end this difference, received a shott upon his elbow,) and straight way fled, by whose example, all the army followed the same way; and yealded up the honor of the day, to the English party; who were such a terror to them after, that the Salvages durst never make to a head against them any more. 10

*The maine Battaile. The feild wonne by the English. 74*

### **CHAP. IV. Of a Parliament held at Wessaguscus, and the Actes.**

*Some lazy people.*

MAster Westons Plantation beinge settled at Wessaguscus, his Servants, many of them lazy persons, that would use no endeavour to take the benefit of the Country, some of them fell sicke and died.

*A lusty fellow.*

One amongst the rest an able bodied man, that ranged the woodes, to see what it would afford, lighted by accident on an Indian barne, and from thence did take a capp full of corne; the Salvage owner of it, finding by the foote some English had bin there came to the Plantation, and mad complaint after this manner.

*A poore complaint. Edward Iohnson a cheife Iudge Maide a hainous fact.*

The cheife Commander of the Company one this occation called a Parliament of all his people but those that were sicke, and ill at ease. And wisely now they must consult, upon this huge complaint, that a privy knife, or stringe of beades would well enough have qualified, and Edward Iohnson was a spetiall judge of this businesse; the fact was there in repetition, construction made, that it was fellony, and by the Lawes of England punished

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with death, and this in execution must be put, for an example, and likewise to appease the Salvage, when straight wayes one arose, moored as it were with some compassion, and said hee could not well gaine say the former sentence, yet hee had conceived within the compasse of his braine a Embrion, that was of spetiall consequence to be delivered, and cherished hee said, that it would most aptly serve to pacific the Salvages complaint, and save the life of one that might (if neede should be) stand them in some good steede, being younge and stronge, fit for resistance against an enemy, which might come unexpected for any thinge they knew, The Oration made was liked of every one, and hee intreated to proceede to shew the meanes how this may be performed: sayes hee, you all agree that one must die, and one shall die, this younge mans cloathes we will take of, and put upon one, that is old and impotent, a sickly person that cannot escape death, such is the disease one him confirmed, that die hee must, put the younge mans cloathes on this man, and let the sick person be hanged in the others steede: Amen sayes one, and so sayes many more.

*A fine device. A wise sentence. To hange a sickman in the others steede. 75 Very fit lustice.*

And this had like to have proved their finall sentence, and being there confirmed by Act of Parliament, to after ages for a President: Bat that one with a ravenous voyce, begunne to croake and bellow for revenge, and put by that conclusive motion, alledging such deceipts might be a meanes here after to exasperate the mindes of the complaininge Salvages and that by his death, the Salvages should see their zeale to lustice, and therefore hee should die: this was concluded; yet neverthesse a scruple was made; now to countermaund this act, did represent itselfe unto their mindes, which was how they should doe to get the mans good wil: this was indeede a spetiall obstacle: for without (that they all agreed) it would be dangerous, for any man to attempt the execution of it, lest mischeife should befall them every man; bee was a person, that in his wrath, did seeme to be a second Sampson, able to beate out their branes with the jawbone of an Asse: therefore they called the man and by perswation got him fast bound in jest, and then hanged him up hard by in good earnest, who with a weapon, and at liberty, would have put all those wise judges

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of this Parliament to a pitifull *non plus*, (as it hath been credibly reported) and made the cheife Iudge of them all buckell to him.

*A dangerous Attempt. Iesting turned to earnest.*

### **CHAP. V. Of a Massacre made upon the Salvages at Wessaguscus.**

*Good quarters with the Salvages.*

AFter the end of that Parliament, some of the plantation there, about three persons went to live with Checatawback & his company, and had very good quarter, for all the former quarrell, with the Plimmouth planters: they are not like will sommers, to take one for another. There they purposed to stay untill Master Westons arrivall: but the Plimmouth men intendinge no good to him (as appered by the consequence) came in the meane time to Wessaguscus, and there pretended to feast the Salvages of those partes, bringing with them Porke, and thinges for the purpose, which they sett before the Salvages. They eate thereof without suspition of any mischeife, who were taken upon a watchword *A plott from Plimmouth. 76 Salvages killed with their one weapons.* given, and with their owne knives (hanging about their neckes) were by the Plimmouth planters stabd and slaine: one of which were hanged up there, after the slaughter.

*News carried. A revenge.*

In the meane time the Sachem had knowledge of this accident, by one that ranne to his Countrymen, at the Massachussets, and gave them intelligence of the newes; after which time the Salvages there consultinge of the matter, in the night (when the other English feareles of danger were a sleepe,) knockt them all in the head, in revenge of the death of their Countrymen: but if the Plimmouth Planters had really intended good to Master Weston, or those men, why had they not kept the Salvages alive in Custody, untill they had secured the other English? Who by meanes of this evill mannaginge of the businesse lost their lives and the whole plantation was dissolved thereupon, as was likely for feare of a revenge to follow, as a relatione to this cruell antecedent; and when Master Weston

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came over; hee found things at an evill exigent, by means thereof: But could not tell, how it was brought about:

*The Salvages call the English cut-throats.*

The Salvages of the Massachussets that could not imagine, from whence these men should come, or to what end, seeing them performe such unexpected actions; neither could tell by what name, properly to distinguish them, did from that time afterwards, call the English Planters Wotawquenange, which in their language signifieth stabbers or Cutthroates, and this name was received by those that came there after for good, being then unacquainted with the signification of it, for many yeares following, untill from a Southerly Indian, that understood English well, I was by demonstration, made to conceive the interpretation of it, and rebucked these other, that it was not forborne: The other callinge us by the name of Wotoquansawge, what that cloth signifie, hee said hee was not able by any demonstration to expresse and my neighbours durst no more in my hearinge, call us by the name formerly used, for feare of my displeasure.

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### **CHAP. VI. Of the surprizinge of a Merchants Shipp in Plimmouth harbour.**

*The Merchant with supply. A glosse upon the false text.*

THis Merchant a man of worth, arrivinge in the parts of New Canaan, and findinge that his Plantation was dissolved, some of his men slaine, some dead with sicknes, and the rest at Plimmouth; hee was perplexed in his minde about the matter, comminge as hee did with supply, and means to have rased their fortunes and his one exceedingly and seeinge what had happened resolved to make some stay in the Plimmouth harbour, and this suted to their purpose, wherefore the Brethren did congratulate with him at his safe arrivall, and their best of entertainment for a swetning cast, deploring the disaster of his Plantation, and glozing upon the text, alledging the mischeivous intent of the Salvages there, which by freindly intelligence of their neighbours, was discovered before it came to be full summed: so that they lost not all, although they saved not all: and this they pretended to proceede from the Fountaine of love & zeale to him; and Christianity, and to

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chastise the insolency of the Salvages, of which that part had some dangerous persons. And this as an article of the new creede of Canaan, would they have received of every new commer there to inhabit; that the Salvages are a dangerous people, subtile, secret, and mischeivous, and that it is dangerous to live separated, but rather together, and so be under their Lee, that none might trade for Beaver, but their pleasure, as none doe or shall doe there: nay they will not be reduced to any other song yet, of the Salvages to the southward of Plimmouth, because they would have none come there, sayinge that hee that will sit downe there must come stronge: but I have found the Massachussets Indian more full of humanity, then the Christians, & haue had much better quarter with them; yet I observed not their humors, but they mine, although my great number that I landed were dissolved, and my Company as few as might be: for I know that this falls out infallibly where two Nations meete, one must rule, and the other be ruled, before a peace can be hoped for: and for a Christian to submit to the rule of a Salvage you will say, is both shame and dishonor: (at least) it is my opinion, and my practise was accordingly, and I *Where two nations meet one must rule the other must be ruled or no quietnes. 78 A Machivell plot. The Vaile. Shipp and goodes confiscated.* have the better quarter by the meanes thereof. The more Salvages the better quarter, the more Christians the worser quarter I found, as all the indifferent minded Planters can testifie. Now whiles the Merchant was ruminatinge on this mishapp, the Plimmouth Planters perceivinge that hee had furnished himselfe with excellent Commodities, fit for the Merchandise of the Country, (and holding it good to fish in trobled waters, and so get a snatch unseene) practised in secret with some other in the land, whom they thought apt to imbrace the benefit of such a cheat, and it was concluded and resolved upon, that all this shipp and goodes should be confiscated, for businesse done by him, the Lord knowes when, or where a letter must be framed to them, and handes unto it, to be there warrant, this should shadow them; That is the first practise they will insane a man, and then pretend that lustice must be done: They cause the Merchant (secure) to come a shore, and then take him in hold, shewing they are compelled unto it legally, and enter strait aboard peruse the Cargazowne, and then deliver up the Charge of her to their Confederates: and how much lesse this is then Piraty, let any practise in

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the Admiralty be judge. The Merchant, his shipp and goodes confiscated, himselfe a prisoner, and threatned so to be sent and conveyed to England, there to receive the somme of all that did belonge to him a malefactor (and a great one to) this hee good man, indured with patience, longe time, untill the best of all his goodes were quite dispersed, and every his proportion, the Merchant was enlarged, his shipp a burthen to the owner now, his undertakinges in these partes beinge quite overthrowne, was redelivered, and bondes of him were taken not to prosecute, hee being greived hereat, betakes him to drive a trade, betweene that and Virginea many yeares. The brethren (sharpe witted) had it spread by and by amongst his freinds in England, that the man was mad. So thought his wife so thought his other freindes, that had it from a Planter of the Towne. So was it thought of those, that did not know, the Brethren could dissemble: why thus they are all of them honest men in their particular, and every man beinge bound to seeke anothers good, shall in the generall doe the best hee can to effect it, and so they may be excused, I thinke.

*When every Conspirator had his share the shipp delivered againe. Bonds taken not to prosecute. Report of Mr. Weston was mad in New England. Honest men in particular. 79*

### **CHAP. VII. Of Thomas Mortons entertainment at Plimmouth and castinge away upon an Island.**

#### *Brave entertainment in the wildernes*

THis man arrived in those parts, and hearing newes of a Towne that was much praised, he was desirous to goe thither, and see how thinges stood, where his entertainment was there best, I dare be bould to say: for although they had but 3. Cowes in all, yet had they fresh butter and a sallet of egges in dainty wise, a dish not common in a wildernes, there hee bestowed some time in the survey of this plantation. His new come servants in the meane time, were tane to taske, to have their zeale appeare, and questioned what preacher was among their company; and finding none, did seeme to condole their estate as if undone, because no man among them had the guilt, to be in Ionas steade, nor they the meanes, to keepe them in that path so hard to keepe.

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### *The meanes.*

Our Master say they reades the Bible and the word of God, and useth the booke of common prayer, but this is not the meanes; the answe is: the meanes, they crie: alas poore Soules where is the meanes, you seeme as if betrayed to be without the meanes: how can you be stayed from fallinge headlonge to perdition? *Facilis descensus averni:* the booke of common prayer sayd they what poore thinge is that, for a man to reade in a booke? No, no, good sirs I would you were neere us, you might receive comfort by instruction: give me a man hath the guiftes of the spirit, not a booke in hand. I doe professe sayes one, to live without the meanes, is dangerous, the Lord doth know.

### *Book learning despised.*

By these insinuations, like the Serpent they did creepe and winde into the good opinion of the illiterate multitude, that were desirous to be freed and gone (to them no doubt, which some of them after confessed) and little good was to be done one them after this charme was used, now plotts and factions, how they might get loose, and here was some 35 stout knaves, & some plotted how to steale Master Westons barque, others exasperated knavishly to worke, would practise how to gett their Master to an Island; and there leave him, which hee had notice of, and fitted him to try what would be done, and steps aborde his shallop bound for *Villanous plotts of knaves.* 80 *Prevented by discretion.* And *discovered in drinke.* Cape Anne to the Massachussets, with an Hogshead of Wine, Sugar hee tooke along, the Sailes hoist up and one of the Conspirators aboard to steere, who in the mid way pretended foule weather at the harboure mouth, and therefore for a time, hee would put in to an Island neere, and make some stay where hee thought to tempt his Master to walke the woods, and so be gone but their Master to prevent them, caused the sales and oares to be brought a shore, to make a tilt if neede should be, and kindled fire, broched that Hogshed, and caused them fill the can with lusty liquour, Claret sparklinge neate which was not suffered to grow pale and flatt, but tipled of with quick dexterity, the Master makes a shew of keepinge round, but with close lipps did seeme to make long draughts, knowinge the wine would make them Protestants, and so the plot was then at

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large disclosed and discovered, & they made drowsie, and the inconstant windes shiftinge at night did force the kellecke home, and billedge the boat, that they were forced to leave her so, and cut downe trees that grew by the shore, to make Caffes: two of them went over by helpe of a fore saile almost a mile to the maine the other two stayed five dayes after, till the windes would serve to fill the sailes, The first two went to cape Ann by land, and had fowle enough, and fowle wether by the way, the Islanders had fish enough, shel-fish and fire to roast, & they could not perish for lacke of foode, and wine they had to be sure; and by this you see they were not then in any want; the wine and goodes brought thence, the boat left there so billedgd that it was not worth the labor to be mended.

*The Shallop billedged. Two men of the Company cast away swim to shore upon trees.*

### **CHAP. VIII. Of the Banishment of Master John Layford, and John Oldum from Plimmouth.**

*A Minister required to renounce his callinge.*

MAster Layford was at the Merchants chardge sent to Plimmouth plantation to be their Pastor: But the Brethren, before they would allow of it, would have him first renounce his calling, to the office of the Ministry, received in England, as hereticall and Papisticall, (so hee confest) and then to receive a new callinge from them, after their fantastical invention which hee refused, alledging and maintaining, that his calling as it stood was lawfull, and that hee would not renounce it; and so Iohn Oldam his opinion was one the affirmative, and both together did maintaine the Church of England, to be a true Church, although in some particulars (they said) defective concludinge so against the Tenents there, and by this meanes cancelled their good opinion, amongst the number of the Seperatists, that stay they must not, lest they should be spies, and to fall fowle on this occation, the Brethren thought it would betray their cause, and make it fall under censure, therefore against Master Layford they had found out some scandall; to be laid on his former corse of life, to blemish that, and so to conclude hee was a spotted beast, and not to be allowed, where they ordained to have the Passover kept so zealously: as for Iohn Oldam, they could see hee would be passionate, and moody; and prove himselfe a mad

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lack in his mood, and as soone mooved to be moody, and this impatience would Minister advantage to them to be ridd of him.

*Impatience confuted by example. New Plimmouth presse money. The Solemnity of banishment.*

Hanniball when hee had to doe with Fabius, was kept in awe more by the patience of that one enemy, then by the resolution of the whole army: A well tempered enemy is a terrible enemy to incounter. They injoyne him to come to their needeles watch howse in person, and for refusinge give him a cracked Crowne for presse money, and make the blood run downe about his eares, a poore trick, yet a good vaile though Luscus may see thorough it; and for his further behaviour in the Case, proceed to sentence him with banishment, which was performed after a solemne invention in this manner: A lane of Musketiers was made, and hee compelled in scorne to passe along betweene, & to receave a bob upon the bumme be every musketier, and then a board a shallop, and so conveyed to Wessaguscus shoare, & staid at Massachussets, to whome Iohn Layford and some few more did resort, where Master Layford freely executed his office and preached every Lords day, and yet maintained his wife & children route or five, upon his industry there, with the blessing of God, and the plenty of the Land, without the helpe of his auditory, in an honest and laudable manner, till hee was wearied and made to leave the Country. 11

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### **CHAP. IX. Of a barren doe of Virginea growne faithfull in New Canaan.**

CHildren and the fruit of the Wombe, are said in holy writt, to be an inheritance that commeth of the Lord; then they must be coupled in Gods name first, and not as this and some other have done.

*A great happines comes by propagation.*

They are as arrowes in the hand of a Gyant; and happy saith David, is the man, that hath his quiver full of them, and by that rule, happy is that Land and blessed to that is apt and fit for increase of children.

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I have shewed you before in the second part, of the discourse, how apt it is for the increase of Minerals, Vegetables, and sensible Creatures.

Now I will shew you, how apt New Canaan is like wise for the increase of the reasonable Creatures, Children, of all riches being the principall: and I give you this for an instance.

*More Children in New Canaan in 7. yeares, then in Virginea in 27.*

This Country of New Canaan in seaven yeares time could show more Children livinge, that have beene borne there, then in 27. yeares could be shewen in Virginea; yet here are but a handful of weomen landed, to that of Virginea.

*The Country doth afford such plenty of Lobsters, and other delicate shellfish, and Venus is said to be borne of the Sea, or else it was some sallet herbe proper to the Climate or the fountaine at Weenaseemute made her become teeming here, that had tried a campe royall in other partes, where shee had been & yet never the neere, till shee came in to New Canaan.*

*Delivered neare Bussards bay Dead and buried.*

Shee was delivered (in a voyage to Virginea) about Bussardes bay, to west of Cape Cod, where shee had a Sonne borne, but died without baptisme and was buried; and being a thinge remarkable, had this Epitaph following made of purpose to memorize the worth of the persons.

EPITAPH.

*Time that brings all thinges to light, Doth hide th uthinge out of sight, Yet fame hath left behinde a story, A hopeful race to shew the glory: 83 For underneath this heape of stones, Lieth a percell of small bones, What hope at last can such impes have, That from the wombe goes to the grave.*

**CHAP. X. *Of a man indued with many spetiall guifts sent over to be Master of the Ceremonies.***

THis was a man approved of the Brethren, both for his zeale and guiftes, yet but a Bubble, & at the publike Chardge conveyed to New England, I thinke to be Master of the Ceremonies, betweene the Natives, and the Planters: for hee applied himselfe cheifly to pen the language downe in Stenography: But there for want of use, which hee rightly understood not, all was losse of labor, somethinge it was when next it came to view, but what hee could not tell.

*Stenography one guift. Oratory another guift A great Merchant a third guift.*

This man Master Bubble was in the time of Iohn Oldams absence made the howse Chaplaine there, and every night hee made use of his guifts, whose oratory luld his auditory fast a sleepe, as Mercuries pipes did Argus eies: for when hee was in; they sayd hee could not tell how to get out: nay hee would hardly out, till hee were fired out, his zeale was such: (one fire they say drives out another,) hee would become a great Merchant, and by any thinge that was to be sold so as hee might have day and be trusted never so litle time: the price it seemed hee stood not much upon, but the day: for to his freind hee shewed commodities so priced, as caused him to blame the buyer, till the man this Bubble did declare, that it was tane up at day, and did rejoyce in the bargaine, insistinge on the day, the day, yea marry quoth his friend if you have doomesday for payment you are then well to passe. But if he had not, it were as good hee had, they were payed all alike.

*His day made a common proverb.*

And now, this Bubbles day is become a common proverbe, hee obtained howse roome at Passonagessit, and remooved thether, because it stood convenient, for the Beaver trade, and the rather because the owner of Passonagessit had no Corne left: and this man seemed a bigg boned man, and therefore thought to be a good laborer, and 84 *Trophies, of honor.* to have store of corne, but contrary wise hee had none at all, and hoped upon this freind his host: thithere were brought the trophies of this Master Bubbles honor: his

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water tankard and his Porters basket, but no provision, so that one gunne did serve to helpe them both to meat; and now the time for fowle was almost past.

*His long grace made the meat cold.*

This man and his host at dinner: Bubble begins to say grace yea and a long one to, till all the meate was cold; hee would not give his host leave to say grace, belike hee thought mine host past grace, and further learned as many other Schollers are: but in the usage and custome of this blinde oratory, his host tooke himselfe abused, and the whiles fell to and had halfe done, before this man Bubble would open his eies, to see what stood afore him, which made him more cautijs, and learned, that *brevis oratio penetrat Cælum*. Together Bubbles and hee goes in the Canaw to Nut Island for brants, and there his host makes a shotte & breakes the winges of many, Bubble in hast and single handed, paddels out like a Cow in a cage: his host cals back to rowe two handed like to a pare of oares, and before this could be performed, the fowles had time to swimme to other flockes, and so to escape: the best part of the pray being lost, mayd his host to mutter at him, and so to parte for that time discontented.

### **CHAP. XI. *Of a Composition made by the Sachem, for a Theft committed by some of his men shewing their honest meaninge.***

*The Salvages betake the howse & take the Corne.*

THE owner of Passonagessit to have the benefit of company, left his habitation in the Winter and reposed at Wessaguscus, (to his cost) meane time in the Depth of Winter, the neighbour Salvages accustomed to buy foode, came to the howse (for that intent perhaps) & peeping in all the windowes, (then unglased) espied corne. But no body to sell the same, and having company and helpe at hand, did make a shift to get into the howse, and take out corne to serve but for the present, left enough behinde the Sachem having knowledge of the facte, and being advertised likewise, of the displeasure that had ben 85 *A dishonest tricke. c?ceaved*, by the Proprietor thereof, at this offence prepares a Messenger, the Salvage that had lived in England, and sends him with commission,

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for the trespasse of his men who had tenne skinnes perposed for it, to bee payd by a day certaine: The Sachem at the time appointed, bringes the Beaver to Wessaguscus: where the owner lived, but just then was gone abroade, meane time the skinnes were by the Wessaguscus men gelded, & the better halfe by them juggled away: before the owner came, and hee by the Actors perswaded, to bee contended with the rest, who not so pleased did draw the Sachem then to make a new agreement, and so to pay his remnant left in hand, and tenne skinnes more by a new day asigned, and then to bringe them to passonagessit, but the wessaguscus men went the day before to the Salvages with this sayinge, that they were sent to call upon him there for payement, and received tenne skinnes, and tooke a Salvage there to justifie that at their howse; the owner stayed the while, hee verified this, because hee saw the man, before at Wessaguscus: the Sachem did beleive the tale, and at that time delivered up tenne skinnes: On that behalfe, in full dischargd of all demandes, against the trespasse, and the trespassers to them, who consented to him, and them, to the owner, and kept view to themselves, and made the Salvage take the tenth, and give the owner all that yet was to bee had, themselves confessinge their demaunds for him, and that there was but onely one as yet prepared, so that by this you may easily perceive the uncivilized people, are more just then the civilized.

*A consentinge tricke. The Heathen more just, then the Christians.*

### **CHAP. XII. Of a voyage made by the Master of the Ceremonies of New Canaan to Neepenett, from whence hee came away, and of the manifold dangers hee escaped.**

*Two Salvage guides conduct Iohn, to Neepenett alone.*

THis woorthy member Master Bubble, a new Master of the Ceremonies, having a conceipt in his head, that hee had hatched a new device for the purchase of Beaver, beyond Imagination, packes up a sacke full of odde implements, and without any company, but a couple of Indians for guides, (and therefore you may, if you please) beeleave they are so dangerous as the 86 Brethren of Plimmouth give it out, hee betakes him to his progresse into the Inlande for Beaver, with his carriadge on his shoulders like Milo, his guides and hee in processe of time, come to the place appointed, which was about Neepenett,

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thereabouts being more Beavers to be had then this Milo could carry: And both his journey men, glad hee was good man, and his guides were willing to pleasure him, there the Salvages stay: night came on, but before they were inclined to sleepe, this good man Master Bubble had an evation crept into his head, by misapplying the Salvages actions, that hee must needs be gone in all hast, yea and without his errand, hee purposed to doe it so cunningly that his flight should not be suspected, hee leaves his shooes in the howse, with all his other implements, and flies, as hee was on his way, to increase his feare, suggestinge himselfe that hee was present by a company of Indians, & that there shafts were let fly as thick as haile at him, hee puts of his breeches, and puts them on his head, for to save him from the shafts, that flew after him so thick, that no man could perceave them: and cryinge out avoyd Satan, what have yee to doe with mee, thus running one his way without his breeches, hee was pittifully scratched, with the brush of the underwoods, as hee wandred up and downe in unknowne wayes: The Salvages in the meane time put up all his implements in the sack hee left behinde, and brought them to Wessaguscus, where they thought to have found him; but understanding hee was not returned, were ferefull what to doe: and what would be conceaved of the English was become of this mazed man, the Master of the Ceremonies; and were in consultation of the matter. One of the Salvages was of opinion the English would suppose him to be made away, fearefull hee was to come in sight. The other better acquainted with the English having lived some time in England,) was more confident, and hee perswaded his fellow that the English would be satisfied with relation of the truth, as having had testimony of his fidelity. So they boldly adventured, to shew what they had brougt, and how the matter stood. The English (when the sack was opened) did take a note in writing of all the particulers that were in the sack; & heard what was by the Salvages related of the accidents: but when his shoes were showne, it was thought hee would not have departed without his shoes; and therefore they did conceive that Master Bubble was made away: by some sinister practise of the Salvages, who unadvisedly had bin culpable of a crime which now they sought to excuse; and straightly chardged the Salvages to finde him out againe, and bring him dead, or alive; else their *Their take a note of what was in the sack.* 87 *Mr. Bubble must*

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*be found againe or else they shall be destroyed.* wives and children should be destroyed. The poore Salvages being in a pitifull perplexity, caused their Countrymen to seeke out for this maz'd man; who being in short time found, was brought to Wessaguscus; where hee made a discourse of his travels, and of the perrillous passages: which did seeme to be no lesse dangerous, then these of that worthy Knight Errant, Don Quixote, and how miraculously hee had bin preserved; and in conclusion, lamented the greate losse of his goods, whereby hee thought himselfe undone.

*Not any thing diminished.*

The perticuler whereof being demaunded, it appeared, that the Salvages had not diminished any part of them; no not so much as one bit of bread: the number being knowne, and the fragments laid together, it appeared all the bisket was preserved, and not any diminished at all: whereby the Master of the Ceremonies was overjoyed, and the whole Company made themselves merry at his discourse of all his perrillous adventures.

And by this you may observe whether the Salvage people are not full of humanity, or whether they are a dangerous people as Master Bubble and the rest of his tribe would perswade you.

**CHAP. XIII. *Of a lamentable fit of Mellancolly, that the Barren doe fell into (after the death of her infant, seeing herselfe despised of her Sweete hart,) whereof shee was cured.***

WHether this goodly creature of incontineny went to worke upon even termes like Phillis or noe it does not appeare by any Indenture of covenants then extant, whereby shee might legally challenge the performance of any compleate Marriage at his hands, that had bin tradeing with her as Demopheon here to fore had bin with his ostis.

Neverthesse (for his future advantage) shee indeavoured (like Phillis,) to gaine this Demopheon all to herselfe, who (as it seemes) did meane nothing lesse, by leaving her for the next c?mer, that had any minde to coole his courage by that meanes; the whipping

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post (as it seemes) at that time not being in publike use, for such kinde of Cony katchers, but seeing herselfe rejected, shee grew into such a passion of Mellancolly, on a 88 *Shee cannot one the sodaine resolve which dore to goe in att.* sodaine, that it was thought, shee would exhibit a petition for redresse to grim Pluto who had set her a worke, and knowing that the howse of fate has many entrances, shee was pusseld to finde the nearest way. Shee could not resolve on a sodaine: which doore would soonest bring her to his presence handsomely.

If shee should make way with a knife, shee thought shee might spoyle her drinking in after ages, if by poyson, shee thought it might prolonge her passage thether: if by drowning, shee thought Caron might come the while with his boate, and waft her out of sight: if shee should tie up her complaint in a halter, shee thought the Ropmakers would take exceptions against her good speede. And in this manner shee debated with herselfe, and demurred upon the matter: So that shee did appeare willing enough; but a woman of small resolution.

Which thing when it was publickely knowne, made many come to comfort her. One amongst the rest was by hir requested, on her behalfe, to write to her late unkinde Demopheon. The Gentleman being merrily disposed, in steed of writing an heroicall Epistle, composed this Elegi for a memoriall of some mirth upon the Circumstance of the matter, to be sent unto hir, as followeth:

CARMEN ELEGIACVM.

*ME*lpomene (at whose mischeifous tove, The screech owles voyce is heard; the mandraks grove) Commands my pen in an lambick vaine, To tell a dismall tale, that may constraine, The heart of him to bleede that shall discerne, How much this foule amisse does him concerne, *Alecto* (grim *Alecto*) light thy torch, To thy beloved sister next the porch, That leads unto the mansion howse of fate, Whose farewell makes her freind more fortunate, A great *Squa Sachem* can shee poynt to goe, Before grim *Minos*, and yet no man know.

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*That knives, and halters, ponds, and poysonous things, Are alwayes ready when the Divell once brings, Such deadly sinners: to a deepe remorse, Of conscience selfe accusing that will force, Them to dispaire like wicked Kain, whiles death, Stands ready with all these to stopp their breadth, The beare comes by; that oft hath bayted ben, By many a Satyres whelpe unlesse you can, 89 Commaund your eies to drop huge milstones forth, In lamentation of this losse on earth, Of her, of whome, so much prayse wee may finde, Goe when shee will, shee'l leave none like behinde, Shee was too good for earth, too bad for heaven. Why then for hell the match is somewhat even.*

After this, the water of the fountaine at Ma-re Mount, was thought fit to be applyed unto her for a remedy, shee willingly used according to the quality thereof.

And when this Elegy came to be divulged, shee was so conscios of her crime, that shee put up her pipes, and with the next shipp shee packt away to Virginea, (her former habitation) quite cured of her mellancolly with the helpe of the water of the fountaine at Ma-re Mount.

### **CHAP. XIV. *Of the Revells of New Canaan.***

*A Maypole.*

The Inhabitants of Pasonagessit (having translated the name of their habitation from that ancient Salvage name to Ma-re Mount; and being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial to after ages) did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemne manner with Revels, & merriment after the old English custome: prepared to sett up a Maypole upon the festivall day of Philip and Iacob; & therefore brewed a barrell of excellent beare, & provided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheare, for all commers of that day. And because they would have it in a compleat forme, they had prepared a song fitting to the time and present occation. And upon Mayday they brought the Maypole to the place appointed, with drumes, gunnes, pistols, and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of

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Salvages, that came thether of purpose to see the manner of our Revels. A goodly pine tree of 80. foote longe, was reared up, with a peare of buckshorns nayled one, somewhat neare unto the top of it: where it stood as a faire sea marke for directions; how to finde out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount.

And because it should more fully appeare to what end it was placed there, they had a poem in readines made, which was fixed to the Maypole, to shew the new name confirmed upon 12 90 that plantation; which allthough it were made according to the occurrents of the time, it being Enigmatically composed) pusselled the Seperatists most pittifully to expound it, which (for the better information of the reader) I have here inserted.

### THE POEM.

*The man who brought her over was named Samson Iob.*

*Rlse Oedipeus, and if thou canst unfould, What meanes Caribdis underneath the mould,  
When Scilla solitary on the ground, (Sitting in forme of Niobe) was found;  
Till Amphitrites Darling did acquaint, Grim Neptune with the Tenor of her plaint,  
And caused him send forth Triton with the sound, Of Trumpet lowd, at which the Seas were found,  
So full of Protean formes, that the bold shore, Presented Scilla a new parramore.  
So strange as Sampson and so patient, As Job himselfe, directed thus, by fate,  
To comfort Scilla so unfortunate. I doe professe by Cupids beautious mother,  
Heres Scogans choise for Scilla, and none other; Though Scilla's sick with greife  
because no signe, Can there be found of vertue masculine. Esculapius come,  
I know right well, His laboure's lost when you may ring her Knell,  
The fatall sisters doome none can withstand, Nor Cithareas powre, who poynts  
to land, With proclamation that the first of May, At Ma-re Mount shall be kept hollyday.*

*The Maypole called an Idoll the Calfe of Horeb.*

The setting up of his Maypole was lamentable spectacle to the precise seperatists: that lived at new Plimmouth. They termed it an Idoll; yea they called it the Calfe of Horeb: and

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stood at defiance with the place naming it Mount Dagon; threatning to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount.

The Riddle for want of Oedipus, they could not expound, onely they made some explication of part of it, and sayd, it was meant by Sampson Iob, the carpenter of the Shipp, that brought over a woman to her husband, that had bin there longe before and thrived so well, that hee sent for her and her children to come to him; where shortly after hee died, having no reason, but because of the sound of those two words: when as (the 91 truth is) the man they applyed it to, was altogether unknowne to the Author.

There was likewise a merry song made, which (to make their Revells more fashionable) was sung with a Corus, every man bearing his part; which they performed in a daunce, hand in hand about the Maypole, whiles one of the Company sung, and filled out the good liquour like gammedes and Iupiter.

### THE SONGE.

*DRinke and be merry, merry, merry boyes, Let all your delight be in the Hymens ioyes, Jô to Hymen now the day is come, About the merry Maypole take a Roome. Make greene garlons, bring bottles out; And fill sweet Nectar, freely about, Vncover thy head, and feare no harme, For hers good liquor to keepe it warme.*

Then drinke and be merry, &c. lô to Hymen, &c.

Nectar is a thing assign'd, By the Deities owne minde, To cure the hart opprest with greife,  
And of good liquors is the cheife,

Then drinke, &c. lô to Hymen, &c.

Give to the Mellancolly man, A cup or two of't now and than; This physick' will soone revive  
his bloud, And make him be of a merrier moode.

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Then drinke, &c. Iô to Hymen, &c.

Give to the Nymphe thats free from scorne, No Irish; stuff nor Scotch over worne, Lasses in beaver coats come away, Yee shall be welcome to us night and day.

To drinke and be merry, &c. Jô to Hymen, &c.

This harmeles mirth made by younge men (that lived in hope to have wifes brought over to them, that would save them a labour to make a voyage to fetch any over) was much distasted, of the precise Seperatists: that keepe much a doe, about the tyth of Muilt and Cummin; troubling their braines more then reason would require about things that are indifferent: and from 92 that time sought occasion against my honest Host of Ma-re Mount to overthrow his undertakings, and to destroy his plantation quite and cleane. But because they presumed with their imaginary gifts (which they have out of Phaos box) they could expound hidden misteries (to convince them of blindnes as well in this, as in other matters of more c?sequence) I will illustrate the poem, according to the true intent of the authors of these Revells, so much distasted by those Moles.

Oedipus is generally receaved for the absolute reader of riddles who is invoaked: Silla and Caribdis are two dangerous places for seamen to incounter, neere unto vennie, & have bin by poets formerly resembled to man and wife. The like licence the author challenged for a paire of his nomination, the one lamenting for the losse of the other as Niobe for her children. Amphitrite is an arme of the Sea, by which the newes was carried up and downe, of a rich widow, now to be tane up or laid downe. By Triton is the fame spread, that caused the Suters to muster; (as it had bin to Penellope of Greece) and the Coast lying circuler, all our passage to and froe, is made more convenient by Sea, then Land. Many aimed at this marke; but hee that played Proteus best and could comply with her humor must be the man, that would carry her, & hee had need have Sampsons strenght to deale with a Dallila: and as much patience as Iob that should come there, for a thing that I did observe in the life time of the former.

But marriage and hanging (they say) comes by destiny & Scogans choise tis better none at all. Hee that playd Proteus (with the helpe of Priapus) put their noses out of joynt as the Proverbe is.

And this the whole company of the Revellers at Ma-reMount knew to be the true sence and exposition of the riddle: that was fixed to the Maypole, which the Seperatists were at defiance with? some of them affirmed, that the first institution thereof, was in memory of a whore; not knowing that it was a Trophe erected at first, in honor of Maja, the Lady of learning which they despise; vilifying the two universities with uncivile termes; accounting what is there obtained by studdy is but unnecessary learning; not considering that learninge does inable mens mindes to converse with climents of a higher nature then is to be found within the habitation of the Mole.

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### ***CHAP. XV. Of a great Monster supposed to be at Ma-re-Mount; and the preparation made to destroy it.***

The Seperatists envying the prosperity, and hope of the Plantation at Ma-re Mount (which they perceaved beganne to come forward, and to be in a good way for gaine in the Beaver trade) conspired together against mine Host especially, (who was the owner of that Plantation) and made up a party against him; and mustred up what aide they could; accounting of him, as of a great Monster.

Many threatening speeches were given out both against his person, and his Habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire: And taking advantage of the time when his company (which seemed little to regard, their threats) were gone up into the Inlands, to trade with the Salvages for Beaver.

They set upon my honest host at a place, called Wessaguscus, where (by accident) they found him. The inhabitants there were in good hope, of the subversion of the plantation at

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Mare Mount, (which they principally aymed at;) and the rather, because mine host was a man that indeavoured to advance the dignity of the Church of England; which they (on the contrary part) would laboure to vilifie; with uncivile termes: enveying against the sacred booke of common prayer, and mine host that used it in a laudable manner amongst his family, as a practise of piety.

There hee would be a meanes to bringe sacks to their mill (such is the thrist after Beaver) and helped the conspiratores to. Surprisee mine host, (who was there all alone) and they chardged him, (because they would seeme to have some reasonable cause against him (to sett a glosse upon their malice) with criminall things which indeede had beene done by such a person but was of their conspiracy; mine host demaunded of the conspirators who it was, that was author of that information, that seemed to be their ground for what they now intended. And because they answered, they would not tell him, hee as peremptorily replied, that hee would not stay, whether he had, or he had not done as they had bin informed.

The answeere made no matter (as it seemed) whether it had bin negatively, or affirmatively made) for they had resolved 94 what hee should suffer, because (as they boasted,) they were now become the greater number: they had shaken of their shackles of servitude, and were become Masters, and masterles people.

It appeares, they were like beares whelpes in former time, when mine hosts plantation was of as much strength as theirs, but now (their being stronger,) the (like overgrowne beares) seemed monsterous. In breife, mine host must indure to be their prisoner, untill they could contrive it so, that they might send him for England, (as they said,) there to suffer according to the merrit of the fact, which they intended to father upon him; supposing (belike) it would proove a hainous crime.

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Much rejoicing was made that they had gotten their cappitall enemy (as they concluded him) whome they purposed to hamper is such sort, that hee should not be able to uphold his plantation at Ma-re Mount.

The Conspirators sported themselves at my honest host, that meant them no hurt; & were so joccund that they feasted their bodies, and fell to tippeling, as if they had obtained a great prize; like the Trojans when they had the custody of Hippeus pinetree horse.

*Mine Host get out of prison.*

Mine host fained greefe: and could not be perswaded either to eate, or drinke, because hee knew emptines would be a meanes to make him as watchfull, as the Geese kept in the Roman Cappitall: whereon the contrary part, the conspirators would be so drowsy, that hee might have an opportunity to give them a slip, insteade of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessaguscus: But hee kept waking; and in the dead of night (one lying on the bed, for further suerty,) up gets mine Host and got to the second dore that hee was to passe which (notwithstanding the lock) hee got open: and shut it after him with such violence, that it affrighted some of the conspirators.

The word which was given with an alarme, was, ô he's gon, he's gon, what shall wee doe he's gon? the rest (halfe a sleepe) start up in a maze, and like rames, ran their heads one at another full butt in the darke.

*The Captain tore his clothes.*

Their grand leader Captaine Shrimp tooke on most furiously, and tore his clothes for anger, to see the empty nest, and their bird gone.

The rest were eager to have torne their haire from their heads, but it was so short, that it would give them no hold; Now Captaine Shrimp thought in the losse of this prize (which hee accounted his Master peece,) all his honor would be lost for ever.

*95 Mine host gothome to Ma-re mount. Hee provides for his enemies.*

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In the meane time mine Host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles, round about the head of the river Monatoquit, that parted the two Plantations: finding his way by the helpe of the lightening (for it thundred as hee went terribly) and there hee prepared powther three pounds dried, for his present imployment, and foure good gunnes for him, and the two assistants left at his howse, with bullets of severall sizes three hounderd, or thereabouts; to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thether: and these two persons promised theire aides in the quarrell, and confirmed that promise with a health in good rosa solis.

Now Captaine Shrimp, the first Captaine in the Land (as hee supposed,) must doe some new act to repaire this losse, and to vindicate his reputation, who had sustained blemish, by this oversight. Begins now to study, how to repaire or survive his honor in this manner; callinge of Councell: they conclude.

Hee takes eight persons more to him, and (like the nine Worthies of New Canaan) they imbarque with preparation against Ma-re-Mount, where this Monster of a man (as their phrase was) had his denne; the whole number, (had the rest not bin from home, being but seaven,) would have given Captaine Shrimpe (a quondam Drummer,) such a wellcome, as would have made him wish for a Drume as bigg as Diogenes tubb, that hee might have crept into it out of sight.

Now the nine Worthies are approached; and mine Host prepared: having intelligence by a Salvage, that hastened in love from Wessaguscus, to give him notice of their intent.

One of mine Hosts men prooved a craven: the other had prooved his wits to purchase a little valoure, before mine Host had observed his posture.

*A party.*

The nine worthies comming before the Denne of this supposed Monster, (this seaven headed hydra, as they termed him) and began like Don Quixote against the Windmill to

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beate a party, and to offer quarter (if mine Host would yeald) for they resolved to send him for England, and bad him lay by his armes.

But hee (who was the Sonne of a Souldier) having taken up armes in his just defence, replied, that hee would not lay by those armes, because they were so needfull at Sea, if hee should be sent over. Yet (to save the effusion of so much worthy bloud, as would haue issued, out of the vaynes of these 9. worthies of New Canaan, if mine Host should have played upon them out at his port holes (for they came within danger like a flocke of wild geese, as if they had bin tayled one another, as coults 96 to be sold at a faier) mine Host was content to yeelde upon quarter; and did capitulate with them: in what manner it should be more certainty, because hee knew what Captaine Shrimpe was.

*Captaine Shrimpe promiseth, that no violence should bee offered to his person.*

Hee expressed, that no violence should be offered to his person, none to his goods, nor any of his Howsehold: but that hee should have his armes, and what els was requisit for the voyage, (which their Herald retornes,) it was agreed upon, and should be performed.

*The Worthies rebuked for their unworthy practises.*

But mine Host no sooner had set open the dore and issued out: but instantly Captaine Shrimpe, and the rest of the worties stepped to him, layd hold of his armes; and had him downe, and so eagerly was every man bent against him (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnall man,) that they fell upon him, as if they would have eaten him: some of them were so violent, that they would have a slice with scabbert and all for haste, until an old Souldier (of the Queenes as the Proverbe is) that was there by accident, clapt his gunne under the weapons, and sharply rebuked these worthies for their unworthy practises. So the matter was taken into more deliberate consideration.

Captaine Shrimpe and the rest of the nine worthies, made themselves (by this outrageous riot) Masters of mine Hoste of Ma-re Mount, and disposed of what hee had at his plantation.

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This they knew (in the eye of the Salvages) would add to their glory; and diminish the reputation of mine honest Host, whome they practised to be ridd of, upon any termes, as willingly as if hee had bin the very Hidra of the time.

### **CHAP. XVI. *How the 9. worthies put mine Host of Ma-re-Mount into the inchaunted, Castle at Plimmouth, and terrified him with the Monster Briareus.***

The nine Worthies of New Canaan having now the Law in their owne hands (there being no generall Governour in the Land: nor none of the Seperation that regarded, the duety they owe their Sovereigne, whose naturall borne Subjects they were: though translated out of Holland: from whence they had learned to worke all to their owne ends, 97 and make a great shew of Religion, but no humanity, for they were now to sit in Counsell on the cause.

And much it stood mine honest Host upon, to be very circumspect, and to take Eacus to taske: for that his voyce was more allowed of, then both the other: and had not mine Host confounded all the arguments that Eacus could make in their defence: and confuted him that swaied the rest, they would have made him unable to drinke in such manner of merriment any more. So that following this private counsell, given him by one that knew who ruled the rost, the Hircano ceased that els would split his pinace.

*Mine Host set upon an Island without any thing to shift for himselfe.*

A conclusion was made, and sentence given, that mine Host should be sent to England a prisoner. But when hee was brought to the shippes for that purpose, no man durst be so foole hardy as to undertake carry him. So these Worthies set mine Host upon an Island, without gunne, powther, or shot, or dogge, or so much as a knife, to get any thinge to feede upon or any other cloathes to shelter him with at winter then a thinne suite which hee had one at that time. Home hee could not get to Ma-re-Mount upon this Island. Hee stayed a moneth at least, and was releevd by the Salvages that tooke notice that mine Host was a Sachem of Passonagessit, and would bring bottles of strong liquor to him,

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and unite themselves into a league of brother hood with mine Host; so full of humanity are these infidels before these Christians.

From this place for England, sailed mine Host in a Plimmouth shipp, (that came into the Land to fish upon the Coast,) that landed him safe in England at Plimmouth, and hee stayed in England untill the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts; and then returned: Noe man being able to taxe him of any thinge.

But the Worthies (in the meane time) hoped they had bin ridd of him.

### **CHAP. XVII. Of the *Baccanall Triumphe of the nine worthies of New Canaan.***

The Seperatists were not so contended, (when mine Host of Ma-re-Mount was gone) but they were as much discontented when hee was returned againe: and the rather, because their passages about him, and the businesse, 13 98 were so much derided; and in songes exemplified: which (for better satisfaction of such as are in that kinde affected) I have set forth as it was then in use by the name of the *Baccanall Triumphe*, as followeth:

#### THE POEM.

*Master Ben: Johnson.*

*I sing th' adventures of mine worthy wights, And pittie 't is I cannot call them Knights, Since they had brawne and braine and were right able, To be installed of Prince Arthures table, Yet all of them were Squires of low degree, As did appeare by rules of heraldry, The Magi tould of a prodigious birth, That shortly should be found upon the earth, By Archimedes art, which they misconster, Vnto their Land would proove a hiddeous monster, Seaven heades it had, and twice so many feete, Arguing the body to be wondrous greate, Besides a forked taile heav'd up on highe, As if it threaten'd battell to the skie, The Rumor of this fearefull prodigy, Did cause th' effeminate multitude to cry, For want of great Alcides aide and stood, Like People that have seene Medusas head, Great was the greife of hart, great was the mone, And great the feare conceived by every one, Of Hydras hiddeous forme*

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*and dreadfull powre, Doubting in time this Monster would devoure, All their best flocks whose dainty wolfe consorts, It selfe with Scarlet in all Princes Courts, Not Iason nor the advenferous youths of Greece, Did bring from Colcos any richer Fleece, In Emulation of the Gretian force, These Worthies nine prepar'd a wooden horse, And prick'd with pride of like successe devise, How they may purchase glory by this prize, And if they give to Hidreas head the fall, It will remaine a plat forme unto all, Their brave atchivements, and in time to comme, Per fas aut nef as they'l erect a throne. Cloubs are turne'd trumps: so now the lott is cast, With fire and sword, to Hidras den they haste, 99 Mars in th' assendant, Soll in Cancer now, And Lerna Lake to Plutos court must bow, What though they rebuk'd by thundering love, Tis neither Gods nor men that can remove, Their mindes from making this a dismall day, These nine will now be actors in this play, And Sum on Hidra to appeare a non, Before their witles Combination, But his undaunted spirit nursd with meate, Such as the Cecrops gave their babe to eate, Scorn'd their base accons, for with Cecrops charme, Hee knew he could defend himselfe from harme, Of Minos, Eacus, and Radamand, Princes of Limbo who must out of hand, Consult bout Hidra what must now be done, Who having sate in Counsell one by one, Retorne this answeere to the Stiggean feinds, And first grim Minos spake: most loving freinds, Hidra prognosticks ruine to our state, And that our Kingdome will grow desolate, But if one head from thence be tane away, The Body and the members will decay, To take in hand, what Eacus this taske, Is such as barebrained Phaeton did aske, Of Phebus to begird the world about, Which graunted put the Netherlands to rout, Presumptious fooles learne wit at too much cost, For life and laboure both at once hee lost, Sterne Radamantus being last to speake, Made a great hum and thus did silence breake, What if with ratling chaines or Iron bands, Hidra be bound either by feete or hands, And after being lashed with smarting rodde, Hee be conveyed by Stix unto the godds, To be accused on the upper ground, Of Lesæ Majestatis this crime found, T' will be unpossible from thence I trowe, Hidra shall come to trouble us belowe, This sentence pleasd the friends exceedingly, That up they tost their bonnets and did cry, Long live our Court in great prosperity. The Sessions ended some did straight devise, Court Revells antiques and a world of joyes, Brave Christmas gambals, there was*

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*open hall, Kept to the full: and sport the Divell and all, 100 Laboures despised the loomes are laid away, And this proclaim'd the Stigeian Holliday, In came grim Mino with his motly beard, And brought a distillation well prepar'd, And Eacus who is as suer as text, Came in with his preporatives the next, Then Radamantus last and principall, Feasted the Worthies in his sumptuous hall, There Caron Cerberous and the rout of feinds, Had lap enough and so their pastims ends.*

### THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOW to illustrate this Poem, and make the sence more plaine, it is to be considered that the Persons at Ma-re-Mount were seaven, and they had seaven heads and 14. feete, these were accounted Hidra with the seaven heads; and the Maypole with the Hornes nailed neere the topp, was the forked taylor of this supposed Monster, which they (for want of skill) imposed: yet feared in time (if they hindred not mine Host) hee would hinder the benefit of their Beaver trade, as hee had done (by meanes of this helpe) in Kyny back river finely, ere they were a wares; who comming too late, were much dismaide to finde that mine Host his boate had gleaned away all beforet hey came; which Beaver is a fitt companion for Scarlett: and I beleeve that lasons golden Fleece was either the same, or some other Fleece not of so much value.

This action bred a kinde of hart burning in the Plimmouth Planters who after sought occasion against mine Host to overthrowe his undertakings, and to destroy his Plantation, whome they accoumpted a maine enemy to their Church and State.

Now when they had begunne with him, they thought best to proceede: for asmuch as they thought themselves farre enough from any controule of Iustice; and therefore resolved to be their owne carvers: (and the rather, because they presumed upon some encouragement they had from the favourites of their Sect in England:) and with fire and sword nine in number pursued mine Host; who had escaped their hands in scorne of what they

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intended, and betooke him to his habitation in a night of great thunder and lightening, when they durst not follow him, as hardy, as these nine worthies seemed to be.

It was in the Moneth of Iune, that these Marshallists had appointed to goe about this mischeifous project, and deale so crabbidly with mine Host.

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After a parly, hee capitulated with them about the quarter, they proffered him, if hee would consent to goe for England, there to answeare (as they pretended) some thing they could object against him principall to the generall: But what it would be hee cared not, neither was it any thing materiall.

Yet when quarter was agreed upon, they contrary wise, abused him, and carried him to their towne of Plimmouth, where (if they had thought hee durst have gone to England) rather then they would have bin any more affronted by him, they would have dispatched him, as Captaine Shrimp in a rage, profest that hee would doe with his Pistoll as mine Host should set his foote into the boate. Howsoever the cheife Elders voyce in that place was more powerfull than any of the rest; who conclude to send mine Host without any other thing to be done to him. And this being the finall agreement, (contrary to Shrimpe and others,) the nine Worthies had a great Feast made, and the furnity pott was provided, for the boats gang by no allowance: and all manner of pastime.

Captaine Shrimpe was so overjoyed in the performance of this exploit; that they had, at that time, extraordinary merriment; a thing not usuall amongst those presisians) and when the winde served, they tooke mine Host into their Shallop; hoysed Saile, and carried him to the Northern parts; where they left him upon a Island.

### **CHAP. XVIII. *Of a Doctor made at a Commencement in New Canaan***

*A Councill called.*

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The Church of Plimmouth having due regard to the weale publike, and the Brethen, that were to come over; and knowing that they would be busily imployed to make provision for the cure of Soules, and therefore might neglect the body for that time: did hold themselves to be in duety bound, to make search for a fitting man that might be able (if so neede requir'd) to take the chardge upon him in that place of imployment: and therefore called a Counsell of the whole Synagoge: amongst which company they choose out a man, that long time had bin nurst up in the tender bosome of the Church: one that had speciall gifts: hee could wright and reade, nay more: hee had tane the oath 102 of abjuration, which is a speciall stepp, yea and a maine degree unto perferment, Him they weane: and out of Phaos boxe fitt him with speciall giufts of no lesse worth: they stile him Doctor and forth they send him to gaine imployment and opinion.

What luck is it I cannot hit on his name: but I will give you him by a periphrasis, that you may know him when you meete him next.

Hee was borne at Wrington in the County of Somerset, where hee was bred a Butcher. Hee weares a longe beard, and a Garment like the Greeke that beggd in Pauls Church. This new made Doctor comes to Salem to congratulate: where hee findes some are newly come from Sea, and ill at ease.

Hee takes the patient, and the urinall: vies the State there: findes the Crasis Syptomes, and the attomi natantes: and tells the patient that his disease was winde, which hee had tane by gapeing, feasting, over board at Sea, but hee would quickly ease him of that greife, and quite expell the winde. And this hee did performe, with his gifts hee had: and then hee handled the patient so handsomely, that hee eased him of all the winde, hee had in an instant.

And yet I hope this man may be forgiven, if hee were made a fitting Plant for Heaven.

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How hee went to worke with his gifts is a question yet hee did a great cure for Captaine Littleworth, hee cured him of a disease called a wife: and yet I hope this man may be forgiven if shee were made a fitting plant for heaven.

By this meanes hee was allowed 4. p. a moneth, and the chirgeons chest, and made Phisition generall of Salem: where hee exercised his gifts so well, that of full 42. that there hee tooke to cure, there is not one has more cause to complaine, or can say black's his eie. This saved Captaine Littleworths credit, that had truck'd away the vittels: though it brought forth a scandall on the Country by it, and then I hope this man may be forgiven, if they were all made fitting plants for Heaven.

But in mine opinion, hee deserves to be set upon a palfrey, and lead up and downe in triumph throw new Canaan, with a coller of Iurdans about his neck, as was one of like desert in Richard the seconds time through the streets of London, that men might know where to finde a Quacksaluer.

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### **CHAP. XIX. *Of the silencing of a Minister in New Canaan.***

A silenced Minister out of courteousnesse, came over into new Canaan to play the spie: Hee pretended out of a zealous intent to doe the Salvages good, and to teach them. Hee brought a great Bundell of Horne books with him, and carefull hee was (good man) to blott out all the crosses of them, for feare least the people of the land should become Idolaters. Hee was in hope, with his gifts, to prepare a great auditory against great Iosua should arive there.

Hee applyed himselfe on the weeke dayes to the trade of Beaver, but it was (as might seeme) to purchase the principall benefite of the Lande, when the time should come; for hee had a hope to be the Caiphas of the Country: and well hee might, for hee was higher by the head than any of his tribe that came after him.

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*This Caiphas that condemneeth Covetousnesse, and committeth it himselfe.*

This man, it seemes, played the spie very handsomely, For in the exercise of his guifts on the Lords day at Weenasimute, hee espied a Salvage come in with a good Beaver coate, and tooke occasion to reprove the covetous desire of his auditory to trade for Beaver on those dayes; which made them all use so much modesty about the matter for the present, that hee found opportunity, the same day, to take the Salvage a side into a corner, where (with the helpe of his Wampampeack, hee had in his pocket for that purpose in a readinesse,) hee made a shifte to get that Beaver coate, which their mouthes watered at; and so deceived them all.

But shortly after, when Iosua came into the Land, hee had soone spied out Caiphas practise; and put him to silence; and either hee must put up his pipes, and be packing or forsake Ionas posture, and play Demas part alltogether.

### **CHAP. XX. *Of the Practise of the Seperatists to gett a snare to hamper mine Host of Ma-re-Mount.***

ALthough the nine Worthies had left mine Hoste upon an Island, in such an inhumane manner, as yee heard before; yet when they understood that hee had got shipping, 104 *The generall collection made.* and was gone to England of his owne accord, they dispatched letters of advise to an Agent they had there: and by the next shipp sent after, to have a snare made, that might hamper mine Host so, as hee might not any more trouble their conscience: and to that end, made a generall collection of Beaver to defray the chardge, and hee was not thought a good Christian that would not lay much out for that employment.

Some contributed three pounds; some foure, some five pounds, and procured a pretty quantity by that Devise, which should be given to a cunning man, that could make a snare to hamper him.

*Noe cost spared for the getting of a skillfull man.*

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The Agent (according to his direction,) does his endeavoure (in the best manner hee could) to have this instrument made: and used no little diligence to have it effected. His reputation stood upon the taske imposed upon him against mine Host, the onely enemy (accounted) of their Church, and State.

Much inquiry was made in London, and about, for a skillfull man that would worke the feate. Noe cost was spared, for gold hee had good store, first hee inquires of one: and then another: at the last hee heard newes of a very famous man, one that was excellent at making subtile instruments such as that age had never bin acquainted with.

Hee was well knowne to be the man, that had wit and wondrous skill, to make a cunning instrument, where with to save himselfe, and his whole family: if all the world besides should be drown'd; and this the best, yea and the best cheap too; for no good done, the man would nothing take.

To him this agent goes, and praies his aide: Declares his cause, & tells the substance of his greivance, all at large, and laid before his eies a heape of gold.

*The heape of gold.*

When all was shewd, that could be she'd, and said what could be said, & all too little for to have it done; the agent then did see his gold refused, his cause despised & thought himselfe disgraced, to leave the worke undone: so that hee was much dismayd, yet importun'd the cunning, who found no reason to take the taske in hand.

Hee thought perhaps, mine Host (that had the slight to escape from the nine Worthies, to chaine Argus eies, and by inchauntment make the doores of the watch tower fly open at an instant) would not be hampered, but with much a doe: and so hee was unwilling to be troubled with that taske.

The agent wondring to see that his gold would doe no good, did aske, the cunning man if hee could give him no advise? 105 *Mine Hoast arrived again in Plimmouth.* who said,

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hee would: and what was that thinke you? To let mine Host alone, who being ship'd againe for the parts of New Canaan, was put in at Plimmouth in the very faces of them, to their terrible amazement to see him at liberty, and told him hee had not yet fully answered the matter, they could object against him. Hee onely made this modest reply, that hee did perceave they were willfull people, that would never be answered; and derided them for their practises and losse of labour.

### **CHAP. XXI. Of Captaine Littleworth his new devise for the purchase of Beaver.**

*Charter party Treasurer.*

IN the meane time, whiles these former passages were: There was a great swelling fellow, of Littleworth, crept over to Salem (by the helpe of Master Charter party the Tresorer, and Master Ananias increase the Collector for the Company of Seperatists,) to take upon him their employments for a time.

Hee resolving to make hay, whiles the Sonne did shine, first pretended himselfe to be sent over as cheife Iustice of the Massachussets Bay, and Salem forsoth, and tooke unto him a councill & a worthy one no doubt; For the Cowkeeper of Salem, was a prime man in those employments; and to ad a Majesty (as hee thought) to his new assumed dignity, hee caused the Patent of the Massachussets (new brought into the Land) to be carried where hee went in his progresse to and froe, as an embleme of his authority: which the vulger people not acquainted with, thought it to be some instrument of Musick locked up in that covered case, and thought (for so some said) this man of littleworth had bin a fidler, and the rather, because hee had put into the mouthes of poore silly things that were sent a longe with him, what skill hee had in Engines and in things of quaint devise: all which proved in conclusion to be but impostury.

*Warrants made by Capt. Littleworth in his name.*

This man thinking none so worthy as himselfe, tooke upon him infinitely: and made warrants in his owne name (without relation to his Majesties authority in that place,) and summoned a generall apparance, at the worshipfull towne of Salem: there is open

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assembly 14 106 was tendered certaine Articles, devised betweene him and their new Pastor Master Eager (that had renounced his old calling to the Ministry receaved in England, by warrant of Gods word: and taken a new one there by their fantastical way imposed and conferred upon him with some speciall giufts had out of Phaos boxe.)

To these Articles every Planter, old, and new, must signe: or be expelled from any manner of aboade within the Compas of the Land contained within that graunt then shewed: which was so large, it would suffice for Elbow roome, for more then were in all the Land by 700000. such an army might have planted them a Colony with that cirquit which hee challenged, and not contend for roome for their Cattell. But for all that, hee that should refuse to subscribe, must pack.

The tenor of the *Articles* were these: *That in all causes as well Ecclesiasticall, as Politticall, wee should follow the rule of Gods word.*

*Mine Host subscribed not.*

This made a shew of a good intent, and all the assembly (onely mine Host replied) did subscribe: hee would not unlesse they would ad this Caution: *So as nothing be done contrary, or repugnant to the Lawes of the Kingdome of England.* These words hee knew, by former experience, were necessary, and without these, the same would proove a very mousetrapp to catch some body by his owne consent, (which the rest nothing suspected) for the construction of the worde would be made by them of the Seperation, to serve their owne turnes: and if any man should, in such a case be accused of a crime (though in it selfe it were petty) they might set it on the tenter hookes of their imaginary giufts and stretch it, to make it seeme cappitall; which was the reason why mine Host refused to subscribe.

*The Patent.*

It was then agreed upon, that there should be one generall trade used within that Patent (as hee said) and a generall stock: and every man to put in a parte: and every man, for his

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person, to have shares alike: and for their stock according to the ratable proportion was put in: and this to continue for 12. moneths: and then to call an accompt.

*All consented but my Host.*

All were united but mine Host refused: two truckmasters were chosen; wages prefixed; onely mine Host put in a Caviat, that the wages might be payed but of the cleare proffit, which there in black and white was plainely put downe.

But before the end of 6. moneths, the partners in this stock (handled by the Truckmasters) would have an accompt: some of them had perceaved that Wampambeacke could be pocketted 107 up, and the underlings (that went in the boats alonge) would be neere the Wiser for any thinge, but what was trucked for Beaver onely.

*Instead of proffit disproffit.*

The accompt being made betweene Captaine Littleworth, and the two Truckmasters; it was found, that instead of increasing the proffit, they have decreased it; for the principall stock, by this employment, was freetted so, that there was a great hole to be seene in the very middle of it which cost the partners afterwards one hundred markes to stopp, and make good to Captaine Littleworth.

But mine Host that sturred not his foote at all for the matter, did not onely save his stock from such a Cancar, but gained sixe and seaven for one: in the meane time, hee derided the Contributers for being catch'd in that snare.

### **CHAP. XXII. Of a Sequestration made in New Canaan.**

CAptaine Littleworth (that had an akeing tooth at mine Host of Ma-re-Mount,) devised how hee might put a trick upon him, by colour of a Sequestration, and got some persons to pretend that hee had corne, and other goods of theirs in possession; and the rather, because mine Host had store of corne; and hee had improvidently truckt his store, for the present gaine of Beaver: in so much that his people under his chardge were put to short

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allowance; which caused some of them to sicken with conceipt of such useage: and some of them (by the practise of the new entertained Doctor Noddy, with his Imaginary gifts: They sent therefore to exhibit a petition to grim Minos, Eacus, and Radamant: where they wished to have the author of their greife to be converted: and they had procured it quickly: if curses would have caused it: for good prayers would be of no validity (as they supposed) in this extremity.

*Commission for corne.*

Now in this extremity Capt. Littleworth gave commission to such as hee had found ready for such imployments, to enter in the howse at Ma-re-Mount, and with a shallop, to bring from thence such corne, and other utensilles, as in their commission hee had specified. But mine Host, wary to prevent eminent mischeife, had conveyed his powther, and shott (and such other things as stood him in most steed for his present condition) into the woods for safety: & 108 *Mine Hosts corne & goods carried away by violence.* whiles this was put in practise by him, the shallop was landed, and the Commissioners entred the howse; and willfully bent against mine honest Host, that loved good hospitality. After they had feasted their bodies with that they found there, they carried all his corne away, with some other of his goods, contrary to the Lawes of hospitality: a smale parcell of refuse corne onely excepted, which they left mine Host to keepe Christmas with.

But when they were gone, mine Host, fell to make use of his gunne, (as one that had a good faculty in the use of that instrument) and feasted his body neverthesse with fowle, and venison, which hee purchased with the helpe of that instrument: the plenty of the Country, and the commodiousnes of the place affording meanes by the blessing of God; and hee did but deride Captaine Littleworth, that made his servants snap shorte in a Country so much abounding with plenty of foode for an industrious man, with great variety.

**CHAP. XXIII. *Of a great Bonfire ma?e for ioy of the arrivall of great losua surnamed Temperwell into the Land of Canaan.***

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SEaven shipps set forth at once, and altogether arrived in the Land of Canaan, to take a full possession thereof: What are all the 12. Tribes of new Israell come: No, none but the tribe of Issacar; and some few scattered Levites of the remnant of those that were descended of old Elies howse.

And here comes their Iosua too among them and they make it a more miraculous thing for these seaven shipps to set forth together, and arrive at New Canaan together, then it was for the Israelites to goe over Iordan drishod: perhaps it was, because they had a wall on the right hand and a wall on the left hand.

These Seperatists suppose there was no more difficulty in the matter, then for a man to finde the way to the Counter at noone dayes, betweene a Sergeant and his yeoman: Now you may thinke mine Host will be hamperd or never.

*Men that come to rid the land of pollution.*

These are the men that come prepared to ridd the Land, of all pollution. These are more subtile, then the Cunning, that did refuse a goodly heap of gold. These men have brought a very snare indeed; 109 and now mine Host must suffer. The book of Common Prayer which hee used to be despised: and hee must not be spared.

Now they are come, his doome before hand was concluded on: they have a warrant now: A cheife one too; and now mine Host must know hee is the subject of their hatred: the Snare must now be used; this instrument must not be brought by Iosua in vaine.

*A Courte called about mine Host.*

A Court is called of purpose for mine host; hee there convented: and must heare his doome, before hee goe: nor will they admitt him to capitulate, and know wherefore they are so violent to put such things in practise against a man they never saw before: nor will they allow of it, though hee decline their Iurisdiction.

*A divellish sentance against him*

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There they are all with one assent put him to silence, crying out, heare the Governour, heare the Govern: who gave this sentence against mine Host at first sight: that he should be first put in the Billbowes, his goods should be all confiscated; his Plantation should be burned downe to the ground, because the habitation of the wicked should no more appeare in Israell; and his person banished from those territories, and this put in execution with all speede.

*The Salvages reprove them.*

The harmeles Salvages (his neighbours) came the while, greived poore silly lambes: to see what they went about; and did reprove these Eliphants of witt for their inhumane deede the Lord above did upon their mouthes like Balams Asse, & made them speake in his behalfe sentences, of unexpected divinity, besides morrallity; and tould them, that god would not love them, that burned this good mans howse: and plainely sayed, that they who were new come would finde the want of such a howses in the winter; so much themselves to him confest.

*Epictetus summa totius philosophiac.*

The smoake that did assend appeared to be the very Sacrifice of Kain. Mine Host (that a farre of abourd a ship did there behold this wofull spectacle,) knew not what hee should doe, in this extremity; but beare and forbear, as Epictetus sayes: it was bootelesse to exclaime.

Hee did consider then, these transitory things are but *ludibria fortunæ* as Cicero calls them. All was burnt downe to the ground, and nothing did remaine, but the bare ashes as an embleme of their cruelty: and unles it could (like to the Phenix) rise out of these ashes, and be new againe, (to the immortall glory and renowne, of this fertile Canaan the new, the stumpes and postes in their black liveries will mourne; and piety it selfe will add a voyce to the bare remnant of that Monument, 110 and make it cry for recompence (or else revenge) against the Sect of cruell Schismaticks.

**CHAP. XXIV. *Of the digrating and creating gentry in New Canaan.***

There was a zealous Professor in the Land of Canaan (growne a great Merchant in the Beaver trade) that came over for his conscience sake, (as other men have done) and the meanes; (as the phrase is) who in his minority had bin prentice to a tombe maker; who coming to more ripenes of yeares (though lesse discretion,) found a kind of scruple in his conscience, that the trade was in parte against the second commandement: and therefore left it off wholly, and betooke himselfe to some other employments.

*An Elder.*

In the end hee settled upon this course: where hee had hope of preferment, and become one of those things that any ludas might hange himselfe upon, that is an Elder.

Hee had bin a man of some recconing in his time (as himselfe would boast) for hee was an officer, just under the Ex Chequer at Westminster, in a place called Phlegeton: there hee was comptroller, and conversed with noe plebeians I tell you: but such as have angels or their attendance, (I meane some Lawyers, with appertenances (that is Clarks,) with whome a lugg of Beare, and a crusty rolle in the terme, is as currant as a three penny scute at Hall time.

There is another place, thereby called sticks: these are to two daingerous places, by which the infernall gods do sweare: but this of Sticks is the more daingerous of the two, because there, (if a man be once in) hee cannot tell how to get out againe handsomely.

I knew an under sheriff was in unwaies, and hee laboured to be free of it: yet hee broake his back before hee got so farre as quietus est: There is no such danger in Phlegeton, where this man of so much recconing was comptroller.

*Iosua displeased.*

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Hee being here, waited an opportunity to be made a gentl. and, now it fell out that a gent. newly come into the land of Canaan (before hee knew what ground hee stood upon) had incurred the displeasure of great Iosua so highly, that hee must therefore be digraded.

No reconciliation could be had for him: all hopes were past 111 for that matter: Where upon this man of much recconing) pretending a graunt of the approach in avoydance) helps the lame dogge over the stile; and was as jocund on the matter as a Magpie over a Mutton.

*Master Temperwell.*

Wherefore the Heralls with Drums, and Trumpets, proclaiming in a very solemne manner, that it was the pleasure of great Iosua (for divers and sundry very good causes and considerations, Master Temperwell there unto especially mooving) to take away the title, prerogative and preheminance of the Delinquent, so unworthy of it, and to place the same upon a Professor of more recconing: so that it was made a penall thing for any man after, to lifte the same man againe on the top of that stile; but that hee should stand perpetually digraded from that prerogative. And the place by this meanes being voyde, this man of so much more reckoning, was receaved in like a Cypher to fill up a roome, and was made a Gentleman of the first head; and his Coate of Armes blazon'd and tricked out fit for that purpose, in this Poem following.

THE POEM.

*Put it this way.*

*WHat ailes Pigmalion? Is it Lunacy; Or Doteage on his owne Imagery? Let him remember how hee came from Hell, That after ages by record may tell, The Compleate story to posterity; Blazon his Coate in forme of Heraldry; Hee beareth argent alwaies at commaund; A barre betweene three crusty rolls at hand: And for his crest with froth there does appeare, Dextra Paw Elevant a lugg of beare.*

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Now that it may the more easily be understood, I have here endeavoured to set it forth in these illustrations following Pigmalion was an Image maker, who doteing on his owne perfection in making the Image of Venus, grew to be amazed man, like our Gentleman here of the first head: and by the figure Antonomasia is hee herein exemplified.

Hee was translated from a tombe maker, to be the tapster at hell (which is in Westminster under the Ex-Chequer office (for the benefit of the meanes) hee translated himselfe into New England: whereby the help of Beaver and the command of a servent or two, hee was advanced to the title of a gentleman; where I left him to the exercise of his guifts.

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### **CHAP. XXV. Of the manner how the Seperatists doe pay debts to them that are without.**

#### *Good Payement.*

There was an honest man, one Mr . Innocence Fairecloath by Mr . Mathias Charterparty, sent over into New Canaan, to raise a very good marchantable commodity for his benefit; for whiles the man was bound by covenant to stay for a time, and to imploy such servants, as did there belong to Mr . Charterparty. Hee disdained the tenents of the Seperatists: and they also (finding him to be none,) disdained to be imployed by a carnall man (as they termed him) and sought occasion against him, to doe him a mischeife, intelligence was conveyed to Mr . Charterparty, that this man was a member of the Church of England: and therefore (in their account) an enemy to their Church, & state. And (to the end they might have some coloure against him) some of them practised to get into his debte; which hee not mistrusting) suffered: and gave credit for such commodity as hee had sold at a price. When the day of payment came, insteede of monyes; hee being at that time sick and weake, and stood in neede of the Beaver hee had contracted for hee, had an Epistle full of zealous exhortations, to provide for the soule, and not to minde these transitory things that perished with the body; and to be thinke himselfe whether his conscience would be so prompt to demaund so greate a somme of Beaver as had bin contracted for. Hee was

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further exhorted therein to consider hee was but a steward for a time, and by all likely hood was going to give up an accompt of his steward ship: and therefore perswaded the creditor not to load his conscience with such a burthen, which hee was bound by the Gospell to case him of (if it were possible) & for that cause hee had framed this Epistle in such a freindly manner to put him in minde of it. The perusall of this (lap'd in the paper) was as bad as a potion, to the creditor, to see his debtor Master Subtiley a zealous professor (as hee thought) to deride him in this extremity, that hee could not chuse (in admiration of the deceipt) but cast out these words:

Are these youre members? if they be all like these I beleeve the Divell was the setter of their Church.

This was called in question, when Mr . Fairecloath least 113 *Biosphemy on example for carnall men*. thought of it. Capt. Littleworth must be the man must presse it against him, for blasphemy against the Church of Salem: and to greate losua Temperwell hee goes with a bitter accusation, to have Master Innocence made an example for all carnall men, to presume to speake the least word that might tend to the dishonor of the Church of Salem; yea the mother Church of all that holy Land.

And hee convented was before their Synagoge, where no defence would serve his turne, yet was there none to be seene to accuse him, save the Court alone.

The time of his sicknes, nor the urgent cause, were not allowed to be urg'd for him; but whatsoever could be thought upon against him was urged, seeing hee was a carnall man of them, that are without. So that it seemes by those proceedings there the matter was adjudged before he came: Hee onely brought to heare his sentence in publicke: which was, to have his tongue bored through; his nose slit; his face branded; his eares cut; his body to be whip'd in every severall plantation of their Iurisdiction: and a fine of forty pounds impo'd with perpetuall banishment: and (to execute this vengeance) shackles (the

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Deacon of Charles Towne) was as ready as Mephostophiles, when Doctor Faustus was bent upon mischeife.

Hee is the purser generall of New Canaan, who (with his whipp, with knotts most terrible) takes this man unto the Counting howse: there capitulates with him, why hee should be so hasty for payment, when Gods deare children must pay as they are able: and hee weepes, and sobbes, and his handkercher walkes as a signe of his sorrow for Master Fairecloaths sinne, that hee should beare no better affection to the Church and the Saints of New Canaan: and strips innocence the while and comforts him.

### *Notable Pay.*

Though hee be made to stay for payment, hee should not thinke it longe; the payment would be sure when it did come, and hee should have his due to a doite; hee should not wish for a token more; And then tould it him downe in such manner, that hee made Fairecloaths Innocent back, like the picture of Rawhead and blowdy bones: and his shirte like pudding wifes aperon. In this employment shackles takes a greate felicity, and glories in the practise of it: This cruell sentence was stoped, in part by Sir Christopher Gardiner (then present at the execution) by expostulating with Master Temperwell: who was content (with that whipping, and the cutting of parte of his eares) to send Innocence going, with the losse of all his goods to pay the fine imposed, and 15 114 perpetuall banishment out of their Lands of New Canaan in terrorem populi.

Loe this is the payment you shall get, if you be one of them they terme, without.

### **CHAP. XXVI. *Of the Charity of the Seperatists.***

CHarity is sayd to be the darling of Religion and is indeed the Marke of a good Christian: But where we doe finde a Commission for ministring to the necessity of the Saints, we doe not finde any prohibition against casting our bread upon the waters, were the unsanctified, as well as the sanctified, are in possibility to make use of it.

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I cannot perceave that the Seperatists doe allowe of helping our poore though they magnify their practise in contributing to the nourishment of their Saints For as much as some that are of the number of those whom they terme without (though it were in case of sicknesse) upon theire landing, when a little fresh victuals would have recovered their healths, yet could they not finde any charitable assistance from th?. Nay mine Host of Mare-Mount (if hee might have had the use of his gunne powther, and shott, and his dogg: which were denied) hee doubtles would have preserved, such poore helples wretches as were neglected by those that brought them over; which was so apparant (as it seemed) that one of their owne tribe said: death of them would be required at some bodies hands one day, (meaning Master Temperwell.

*Lame charity.*

But such good must not come from a carnall man: if it come from a member, then it is a sanctified worke; if otherwise, it is rejected, as unsanctified.

But when shackles wife, and such as had husbands parents, or freinds happened to bee sick, mine Hosts helpe was used, and instruments provided for him, to kill fresh vittell with (wherein hee was industrious) and the persons, having fresh vittell, lived.

So doubtles might many others have bin preserved, but they were of the number left without; neither will those precise people admit a carnall man into their howses, though they have made use of his in the like case, they are such antagonists to those, that doe not comply with them and seeke to be admitted, to be of their Church that in scorne they say: you may see what it is to be without.

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### **CHAP. XXVII. *Of the practise of their Church.***

THE Church of the Seperatists, is governed by Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, and there is not any of these (though hee be but a Cow keeper) but is allowed to exercise his gifts, in the publik assembly on the Lords day; so as hee doe not make use of any notes for the

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helpe of his memory: for such things they say smell of Lampe oyle, and there must be no such unsavory perfume admitted, to come into the congregation.

These are all publike preachers. There is amongst these people a Deakonesse made of the sisters, that uses her guifts at home in an assembly of her sexe, by way of repetition, or exhortation: such is their practise.

The Pastor (before hee is allowed of) must disclaime his former calling to the Ministry, as hereticall; and take a new calling after their fantasticall inventions: and then hee is admitted to bee their Pastor.

The manner of disclaimeing is, to renounce his calling with bitter execrations, for the time that hee hath heretofore lived in it: and after his new election, there is great joy conceived at his commission.

And their Pastors have this preheminece above the Civile Magistrate: Hee must first consider of the complaint, made against a member: and if hee be disposed to give the partie complained of, an admonition, there is no more to be said: if not; Hee delivers him over to the Magistrate to deale with him in a course of Iustice, according to their practise, in cases of that nature.

Of these pastors I have not knowne many: some I have observed; together with their carriage in New Canaan: and can informe you what opinion hath bin conceived of their conditions in the perticuler. There is one who (as they give it out there, that thinke they speake it to advance his worth) has bin expected to exercise his gifts in an assembly, that stayed his comming, (in the midst of his lorney) falls into a fitt (which they terme a zealous meditation) and was 4. miles past the place appointed before hee came to himselfe, or did remember where abouts hee went. And how much these things are different from the actions of mazed men, I leave to any indifferent man to judge; and if I

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should say, they are all much alike, they 116 that have seene and heard, what have done will not condemne mee altogether.

Now for as much as by the practise of their Church every Elder or Deacon may preach: it is not amisse to discover their practise in that perticuler, before I part with them.

*Lewes the II. sent a Barber Embassador.*

It has bin an old saying, and a true, what is bred in the bone will not out of the flesh, nor the stepping into the pulpit that can make the person fitt for the imployment. The unfitnes of the person undertaking to be the Messenger, has brought a blemish upon the message, as in the time of Lewes the Eleventh King of France; who (having advanched his Barber to place of Honor, and graced him with eminent titles) made him so presumptuous, to undertake an Embassage to treat with forraine princes of Civile affaires.

*The Embassage despised.*

But what was the issue? Hee behaved himselfe unworthily (yet as well as his breeding would give him leave) that both the Messenger and the message were despised; and had not hee (being discovered) conveyed himselfe out of their territories, they had made him pay for his barbarous presumption.

Socrates sayes, *loquere ut te videam*. If a man observe these people in the exercise of their gifts, hee may thereby discerne the tincture of their proper calling, the asses eares will peepe through the Lyons hide. I am sorry they cannot discerne their owne infirmities I will deale fairely with them; for I will draw their pictures cap a pe, that you may discerne them plainely from head to foote in their postures that so much bewitch (as I may speake with modesty,) these illiterate people to be so fantastickall, to take lonas taske upon them without sufficient warrant.

*A Grocer.*

One steps up like the Minister of Iustice with the ballance onely, not the sword for feare of affrighting his auditory. Hee poynts at a text, and handles it as evenly as hee can; and

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teaches the auditory, that the thing hee has to deliver; must be well waied, for it is a very pretious thing, yet much more pretious then gold, or pearle: and hee will teach them the meanes how to way things of that excellent worth: that a man would suppose, hee, and his auditory were to part stakes by the scale; and the like distribution they have used about a bag pudding.

*A Taylor.*

Another (of a more cutting disposition) steps in his steed; and hee takes a text, which hee divides into many parts: (to speake truly) as many as hee list. The fag end of it hee pares away, as a superfluous remnant.

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Hee puts his auditory in comfort, that hee will make a garment for them: and teach them how they shall put it on; and encourages them to be in love with it, for it is of such a fashion as doth best become a Christian man. Hee will assuer them that it shall be armor of proffe against all assaults of Satan. This garment (sayes hee) is not composed as the garments made by a carnall man, that are sowed with a hot needle, and a burning thread; but it is a garment that shall out last all the garments: and (if they will make use of it, as hee shall direct them) they shall be able (like saint George) to terrifie the greate Dragon error; and defend truth which error with her wide chaps, would devoure: whose mouth shall be filled with the shreds, and parings, which hee continually gapes for under the cutting board.

*A Tapster.*

A third, hee supplies the rome: and in the exercise of his guifts begins with a text that is drawne out of a fountaine, that has in it no dreggs of popery. This shall proove unto you (says hee) the Cup of repentance, it is not like unto the Cup of the Whore of Babilon, who will make men drunk with the dreggs thereof: It is filled up to the brim with comfortable joyce, and will proove a comfortable cordiall to a sick soule, (sayes hee,) And so hee handles the matter as if hee dealt by the pinte, and the quarte with Nic and Froth.

*A Cobler.*

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An other (a very learned man indeed) goes another way to worke with his auditory; and exhorts them to walke upright, in the way of their calling, and not (like carnall men) tread awry. And if they should fayle in the performance of that duety, yet they should seeke for amendement whiles it was time; and tells them, it would bee to late to seek for help, when the shop windowes were shutt up: and pricks them forward with a freindly admonition, not to place theire delight in worldly pleasures, which will not last, but in time will come to an end.

But so to handle the matter, that they may be found to wax better and better, and then they shall be doublely rewarded for theire worke: and so closes up the matter in a comfortable manner.

*A very patorick.*

But stay: Here is one step up in haste, and (being not minded to hold his auditory in expectation of any long discourse,) hee takes a text; and (for brevities sake,) divides it into one part: and then runnes so fast a fore with the matter, that his auditory cannot follow him. Doubtles his Father was some Irish footeman, by his speede it seemes so. And it may be at the howre of death, the sonne being present) did participat of his Fathers nature, (according to Pithagoras) 118 and the vertue of his Fathers nimble feete (being infused into his braines) might make his tongue outrunne his wit.

Well, if you marke it, these are speciall gifts indeede: which the vulgar people are so taken with, that here is no perswading them that it is so rediculous.

This is the meanes, (O the meanes,) that they pursue: This that comes without premeditation: This is the Suparlative: and hee that does not approve of this, they say is a very reprobate.

Many unwarrantable Tenents they have likewise: some of which being come to my knowledge I wil here set downe, one wherof being in publicke practise maintained, is more

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notorious then the rest. I will therefore beginne with that and convince them of manifest error by the maintenance of it, which is this:

### *Tenent 1.*

That it is the Magistrates office absolutely (and not the Ministers) to joyne the people in lawfull matrimony. And for this they vouch the History of Ruth, saying Boas was married to Ruth in presence of the Elders of the people. Herein they mistake the scope of the text.

2. That it is a relique of popery to make use of a ring in marriage: and that it is a diabolical circle for the Divell to daunce in.

3. That the purifications used for woemen after delivery is not to be used.

4. That no child shall be baptised, whose parents are not receaved into their Church first.

5. That no person shall be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords supper that is without.

6. That the booke of Common prayer is an idoll: and all that use it, Idolaters.

7. That every man is bound to beleieve a professor upon his bare affirmation onely, before a Protestant upon oath.

8. That no person hath any right to Gods creatures, but Gods children onely who are themselves: and that all others are but usurpers of the Creatures.

9. And that for the generall good of their Church, and commonwealth they are to neglect father, mother and all freindship.

10. Much a doe they keepe about their Church discipline, as if that were the most essentiall part of their Religion, Tythes are banished from thence, all except the tyth of Muilt and Commin.

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11. They differ from us some thing in the creede too, for if they get the goods of one, that is without, into their hands; hee shall be kept without remedy for any satisfaction: and they beleeve, that this is not cosenage.

12. And lastly they differ from us, in the manner of praying; 119 for they winke when they pray, because they think themselves so perfect in the highe way to heaven, that they can find it blindfould: so doe not I.

### **CHAP. XXVIII. *Of their Policy in publik lustice.***

NOw that I have anottomized, the two extreame parts of this Politique Commonwealth the head & the inferior members, I will shew you the hart & reade a short lecture over that too; which is lustice.

I have a petition to exhibit to the highe & mighty Mr . Temperwell; and I have my choise whether I shall make my plaint in a case of conscience, or bring it with in the Compas of a point in law. And because I will goe the surest way to worke, at first, I will see how others are answered in the like kinde, whether it be with hab or nab, as the ludge did the Countryman.

Here comes Mr . Hopewell: his petition is in a case of conscience (as hee sayes.) But see great losua allowes conscience to be of his side: yet cuts him off; with this answare; Law is flat against him. Well let me see another. I marry: Here comes one Master doubt not: his matter depends (I am sure) upon a point in Law: alas what will it not doe, looke ye it is affirmed that Law is on his side: but Conscience (like a blanket over) spreades it. This passage is like to the Procustes of Roome mee thinks: and therefore I may very well say of them.

*Even so by racking out the joynts & chopping of the head, Procusles fitted all his guests unto his Iron bedd.* And if these speede no better, with whome they are freinds, that neither finde Law nor Conscience to helpe them: I doe not wonder to see mine Host of Ma-

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re-Mount speede so ill, that has bin proclaimed an enemy so many yeares in New Canaan to their Church and State.

### **CHAP. XXIX. *How mine Host was put into a whales belly.***

The Seperatists (after they had burned Ma-re-Mount, they could not get any shipp to undertake the carriage of mine Host from thence, either by faire meanes, or fowle,) they were inforced (contrary to their expectation) to be 120 troubled with his company: and by that meanes had time to consider more of the man, then they had done of the matter: wherein at length it was discovered, that they by meanes of their credulity of the intelligence given them in England of the matter, and the false Carecter of the man) had runne themselves headlonge into an error: and had done that on a sodaine, which they repented at leasure: but could not tell which way to help it as it stood now. They could debate upon it; and especially upon two difficult points, whereof one must be concluded upon. If they sent mine Host a way by banishment, hee is in possibility to survive, to their disgrace for the injury done: if they suffer him to stay, & put him in *statu quo prius*, all the vulgar people will conclude they have bin too rashe in burning a howse that was usefull, and count them men unadvised.

So that it seemes (by their discourse about the matter) they stood betwixt Hawke and Bussard: and could not tell which hand to incline unto. They had sounded him secretly: hee was content with it, goe which way it would. Nay shackles himselfe, (who was imployed in the burning of the howse, and therefore feared to be caught in England) and others were so forward in putting mine Host *in statu quo prius*, after they had found their error, (which was so apparent that Luceus eies would have served to have found it out in lesse time) that they would contribute 40. shillings a peece towards it; and affirmed, that every man according to his ability that had a hand in this black designe should be taxed to a Contribution in like nature: it would be done exactly.

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Now (whiles this was in agitation, & was well urged by some of those partys, to have bin the up shot) unexpected (in the depth of winter, when all shippes were gone out of the land) In comes Mr . Wethercock a proper Mariner; and they said; he could observe the winde: blow it high, blow it low, hee was resolved to lye at hull rather than incounter such a storme as mine Host had met with: and this was a man for their turne.

Hee would doe any office for the brethren if they (who hee knew had a strong purse, and his conscience waited on the strings of it, if all the zeale hee had) would beare him out in it: which they professed they would. Hee undertakes to ridd them of mine Host by one meanes or another. They gave him the best meanes they could, according to the present condition of the worke; and letters of credence to the favoures of that Sect in England; with which (his busines there being done, and his shipp cleared) hee hoyst the Sayles, and put to Sea: since which time mine Host has not troubled the brethren, but onely at the Counsell table: where now Sub indice lis est.

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### **CHAP. XXX. Of Sir Christopher Gardiner Knight, and how hee sped amongst the Seperatists.**

Sir Christopher Gardiner, (a Knight, that had bin a traveller, both by Sea and Land; a good judicious gentleman in the Mathematicke, and other Sciences usefull for Plantations Kimistry, &c. and also being a practicall Enginer) came into those parts, intending discovery.

But the Seperatists love not those good parts when they proceede from a carnall man (as they call every good Protestant,) in shorte time had found the meanes to pick a quarrell with him. The meanes is, that they pursue to obtaine what they aime at: the word is there the meanes.

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So that when they finde any man like to proove an enemy to their Church, and state, then straight the meanes must be used for defence. The first precept in their Politiques is, to defame the man at whom they aime, and then hee is a holy Israelite in their opinions, who can spread that fame brodest, like butter upon a loafe: no matter how thin; it will serve for a vaile: and then this man (who they have thus depraved) is a spotted uncleane leaper: hee must out, least hee pollute the Land, and them that are cleane.

If this be one of their guifts, then Machevill had as good gifts as they. Let them raise a scandall on any, though never so innocent; yet they know it is never wiped cleane out: the staine remains: which hath bin well observed by one in these words of his: *Stick Candles gainst a Virgin walls white back: If they'l not burne yet at the least they'l black.* And thus they dealt with Sir Christopher: and plotted by all the wayes, and meanes they could, to overthrow his undertakings in those parts.

And therefore I cannot chuse, but conclude, that these Seperatists have speciall gifts: for they are given to envy, and mallice extremely.

The knowledge of their defamacion could not please the gentleman well, when it came to his eare, which would cause him to make some reply, (as they supposed) to take exceptions at, as they did against Faire cloath: & this would be a meanes, they thought, to blow the coale, and so to kindle a brand that might fire him out of the Country too, and send him after mine Host of Ma-re-Mount. 16

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They take occasion (some of them) to come to his howse when hee was gone up into the Country: and (finding hee was from home) so went to worke, that they left him neither howse nor habitation, nor servant, nor any thing to help him, if hee should retourne: but of that they had noe hope (as they gave it out) for hee was gone (as they affirmed) to leade a Salvage life; and for that cause tooke no company with him: and they, having considered of the matter, thought it not fit that any such man should live in so remoate a place, within

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the Compas of their patent. So they fired the place; and carried away the persons, and goods.

Sir Christopher Was gone with a guide (a Salvage) into the inland parts for discovery: but, before hee was returned, hee met with a Salvage that told the guide, Sir Christopher would be killed: Master Temperwell (who had now found out matter against him) would have him dead or alive. This hee related; and would have the gentleman not to goe to the place appinted, because of the danger, that was supposed.

But Sir Christopher was nothing dismayd; hee would on, whatsoever come of it; and so met with the Salvages: and betweene them was a terrible skermish: But they had the worst of it, and hee scaped well enough.

The guide was glad of it, and learned of his fellowes that they were promised a great reward, for what they should doe in this employment.

Which thing (when Sir Christopher understood,) hee gave thanks to God; and after (upon this occasion, to sollace himselfe) in his table booke, hee composed this sonnet, which I have here inserted for a memoriall.

### THE SONNET.

*WOLFes in Sheeps clothing why will ye, Think to deceave God that doth see, Your simulated sarity. For my part I doe wish you could, Your owne infirmities behold, For then you would not be so bold, Like Sophists why will you dispute, With wisdom so, you doe confute, None but yourselves: for shame be mute. Least great Iehovah with his powre, Do come upon you in a howre, When you least think and you devoure.*

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This Sonnet the Gentleman composed, as a testimony of his love towards them, that were so ill affected towards him; from whome they might have received much good, if they had bin so wise to have imbraced him in a loving fashion.

But they despise the helpe, that shall come from a carnall man (as they termed him) who (after his retorne from those designes) finding how they had used him with such disrespect, tooke shipping, and disposed of himselfe for England, and discovered their practises in those parts towards his Majesties true harted Subjects, which they made wery of their aboade in those parts.

### **CHAP. XXXI. *Of mine Host of Ma-re-Mount how hee played Ionas after hee had bin in the Whales belly for a time.***

Mine Host of Ma-re-Mount being put to Sea; had delivered him, for his releafe by the way, (because the shipp was unvitteled, and the Seamen put to straight allowance, which could hold out, but to the Canaries) a part of his owne provision, being two moneths proportion; in all but 3. small peeces of porke, which made him expect to be famished before the voyage should be ended, by all likelyhood. Yet hee thought hoe would make one good meale, before hee died: like the Colony servant in Virginea, that before hee should goe to the gallowes called to his wife to set on the loblolly pot, and let him have one good meale before hee went; who had committed a petty crime, that in those dayes, was made a cappitall offence.

And now mine Host being merrily disposed, on went the peeces of porke, where with hee feasted his body, and cherished the poore Sailers: and got out of them what Mr Wethercock, their Master purposed to doe with him that hee had no more provision: & along they sailed from place to place, from Iland to Iland, in a pittifull wether beaten ship; where mine Host was in more dainger (without all question) then Ionas, when hee was in the Whales belly; and it was the great mercy of God that they had not all perished. Vittelled they were but for a moneth when they wayd Ancor, and left the first port.

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They were a pray for the enemy for want of powther, if they had met them: besides the vessell was a very slugg, and 124 so unserviceable, that the Master called a counsell of all the company in generall, to have their opinions, which way to goe, and how to beare the helme, who all under their hand affirmed the shipp to be unserviceable: so that in fine the Master and men, and all were at their wits end about it: yet they employed the Carpenters to search, and caulke her sides, and doe their best whiles they were in her. Nine moneths they made a shife to use her, and shifted for supply of vittells at all the Islands they touched at; though it were so poorely, that all those helpes, and the short allowance of a bisket a day, and a few Lymons taken in at the Canaries, served but to bring the vessell in view of the lands end.

They were in such a desperat case, that (if God in his greate mercy had not favoured them, and disposed the windes faire untill the vessell was in Plimmouth roade,) they had without question perished; for when they let drop an Anchor, neere the Island of S. Michaels not one bit of foode left for all that starving allowance of this wretched wethercock, that if hee would have lanced out his beaver, might have bought more vittells in New England then he & the whole ship with the Cargazoun was worth, (as the passingers hee carried who vittelled themselves affirmed,) But hee played the miserable wretch, & had possessed his men with the contrary; who repented them of waying anchor before they knew so much.

Mine Host of Ma-re-Mount (after hee had bin in the Whales belly) was set a shore to see if hee would now play Ionas, so metamorphosed with a longe voyage, that hee looked like Lazarus in the painted cloath.

But mine Host (after due consideration of the premisses) thought it fitter for him to play Ionas in this kinde, then for the Seperatists to play Ionas in that kinde as they doe. Hee therefore bid Wethercock tell the Seperatists, that they would be made in due time to repent those malitious practises, and so would hee too; for hee was a Seperatist amongst the Seperatists as farre as his wit would give him leave; though when hee came in

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Company of basket makers, hee would doe his indevoure to make them pinne the basket, if hee could, as I have seene him. And now mine Host being merrily disposed, haveing past many perillous adventures in that desperat Whales belly, beganne in a posture like Ionas, and cryed Repent you cruell Seperatists repent, there are as yet but 40. dayes if love vouchsafe to thunder, Charter and the Kingdome of the Seperatists will fall asunder: Repent you cruell Schismaticks repent. And in that posture hee greeted them by letters returned into new Canaan; and ever (as opportunity was fitted for the purpose) 125 he was both heard & seene in the posture of Ionas against the crying repent you cruel Seperatists, repent, there are as yet but 40. dayes if love vouchsafe to thunder. The Charter and the Kingdome of the Seperatists will fall a sunder: Repent you cruell Schismaticks repent; If you will heare any more of this proclamation meete him at the next markettowne, for *Cynt hius aurem vellet.*

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FINIS.

EXTRACT FROM A MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF ANNALS RELATIVE TO VIRGINIA.

WASHINGTON: PUBLISHED BY PETER FORCE.

1838.

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1838.

### **EXTRACT, &c.**

An event happened this year (1642) which at first gave great uneasiness to the Colony, but in the end proved advantageous to them, as it removed all their apprehensions of being reduced to a Proprietary Government, and fixed the Constitution on a firm and permanent basis.

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

In the year 1639, the Grand Assembly appointed George Sandis, Esq., their agent to the English Court, with particular instructions to oppose the re-establishment of the Company, and to give them the earliest intelligence of their machinations; but this gentleman forgetting his duty to his constituents, presented a petition to the House of Commons, in the name of the adventurers and planters in Virginia, for restoring the Letters Patent of Incorporation to the Treasurer and Company, with all the rights, powers, and privileges, contained in their old charter, except that the right of nominating and appointing the Governour was to be reserved to the Crown.

When the Grand Assembly were informed of this petition, they immediately passed a solemn declaration and protestation against the Company, in the form of an act, in which they disclaim their agent's conduct, declare he had mistaken his instructions, and that it never was the meaning or intent of the Assembly, or inhabitants of the Colony, to give way for the introducing the said Company, OR ANY OTHER.

They say, that having maturely considered the reasons for and against restoring the Company, and looking back into the condition of the times under the Company, and comparing it 4 with the present state of the Colony under his Majesty's government, we find the late Company in their government intolerable, the present comparatively happy, and the old corporation cannot with any possibility be again introduced without the absolute ruin and dissolution of the Colony.

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That the Colony laboured under intolerable calamities, by the many illegal proceedings and barbarous treatments inflicted upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects in the time of the said Company's government.

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

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

That the old corporation cannot be introduced without proving the illegality of the King's proceedings against them, so that all grants since, upon such a foundation, must be void; and if, as they pretend, the King had no right to grant, our lands held by immediate grant from his Majesty, must be void, and our possessions must give place to their claim, which is an invincible argument of ruin and desolation to the Colony, as we must be ousted of our possessions, if their pretence take place. And though it is alleged by them that the charter of Orders from the Treasurer and Company (Anno. 1618) gives us claim and right to be members of the Corporation *quatenus* planters, yet it appears by the Charter, that planters and adventurers, who are members of the Company, are considered by themselves, and distinguished in privileges, from planters and adventurers not being members; and, as the King's Grantees, we find ourselves condemned in the said Charter, one clause of it pronouncing in these words: "We do ordain that all such persons as of their own voluntary will and authority shall remove into Virginia, without any grant from us, in a Great and General Quarter Court, in writing, under our seals, shall be declared,

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as they are, occupiers of our lands; that is, of the common lands of us the said Treasurer and Company." Now, if 5 persons who remove into this country, without license from the Treasurer and Company, are to be deemed occupiers of the Company's land, much more will such Grantees be deemed occupiers of their land who hold their rights under an erroneous judgment, as they pretend.

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

That we will not admit of so unnatural a distance as a Company to interpose between his sacred Majesty and us, his Subjects, from whose immediate protection we have received so many royal favours and gracious blessings.

That, by such admission, we shall degenerate from our birth-rights, being naturalized under a monarchical and not a popular or tumultuary Government, depending upon the greatest number of votes of persons of several humours and dispositions, as that of a Company must be granted to be, from whose general Quarter Courts all Laws binding the planters here did, and would again, issue.

That we cannot without breach of natural duty and religion, give up and resign the lands we hold by grants from the King upon certain annual rents (fitter, as we humbly conceive, if his Majesty shall so please, for a branch of his Royal stem, than for a Company) to the claim of a corporation; for, beside our births, our possessions enjoin on us a fealty without a *Salva Fide aliis Dominis*.

That by the admission of a Company the freedom of our trade (the blood and life of a commonwealth) will be monopolized: for they who with most secret reservation, and most subtlety, argue for a Company, though they pretend to submit the government to

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the King, yet reserve to the corporation property to the land, and power of managing the trade; which word MANAGING, in every sense of it, is convertible to monopolizing, and will subject the trade to the sole control and direction of their Quarter Courts, held at so great a distance from us that it is not probable, or possible, for them to be acquainted with the accidental circumstances of the Colony, so as to form proper rules and regulations for our trade, which our Grand Assembly, acquainted with the clime and accidents thereof, have and may, upon better grounds, prescribe, and which in any other way will be destructive to us.

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

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

“We the Governour, Council, and Burgesses, of this present Grand Assembly, having taken into their serious consideration these and many other dangerous effects which must be concomitant in and from a company and corporation, have thought fit to declare, and hereby do declare, for ourselves and all the commonalty of this Colony, that it was never desired, sought after, or endeavoured to be sought for, either directly or indirectly, by the

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consent of any Grand Assembly, or the common consent of the people; and we do hereby further declare, and testify to all the WORLD, that we will NEVER admit the restoring said Company, or any for or in their behalf, saving to ourselves here in a most faithful and loyal obedience to his most sacred Majesty, our dread Sovereign, whose royal and gracious protection, allowance, and maintenance, of this our just Declaration and Protestation, we doubt not (according to his accustomed clemency and benignity to his Subjects) to find.

“And we do farther enact, and be it hereby enacted and manifested by the authority aforesaid, that what person or persons soever either is, or shall HEREAFTER, any planter or adventurer, shall go about, by any way or means, either directly or indirectly, to sue for, advise, assist, abet, countenance or contrive, the reducing this Colony to a Company or Corporation, or to introduce a contract or monopoly upon our persons, lands, or commodities, upon due proof or conviction of any of the premises, (viz: by going about by any way or means to sue for, advise, abet, assist, countenance, or contrive, directly or indirectly the reducing of this Colony to a Company or Corporation, or 7 to introduce a contract or monopoly as aforesaid, upon due conviction as aforesaid) shall be held and deemed an enemy to the Colony, and shall forfeit his or their whole estate, or estates, that shall be found within the limits of the Colony; the one half shall be and come to the publick use, the other moiety, or half, to the informer.”

This act was passed upon the first day of April, 1642, with uncommon solemnity. It was signed by the Governour, the respective members of the Council of State, the House of Burgesses; the Seal of the Colony was affixed to it, in their presence; and they immediately applied to the King, by their humble petitions, for his Royal allowance and confirmation of it.

Having thus passed their solemn declaration and protestation, in which they had employed much time, the Grand Assembly adjourned to the second day of June, the same year, by particular act for that purpose. At this meeting they entered upon a revision of the Constitution, abolished from it every vestage of the Company's authority, released the

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publick tenants from their servitudes, who, like one sort of villains, anciently in England, were, regardant to the lands appropriated by the Company's charter of Orders, for the support of the Governour and the other Officers of State; established rules and forms of proceeding in the Courts of Law, and regulated the several parishes, by fixing their respective limits.

After the great business of the session was finished, and they had banished from the Constitution every appearance of the old Government, by regulating it upon the principles of the English Constitution, the Grand Assembly published a remonstrance, directed to the inhabitants of the Colony. In it they enumerate the several weighty matters that had employed their consideration, and occasioned the great length of their session; and they conclude with declaring their great motive for entering, at that time, upon a regulation of the Constitution, was to establish their liberties and privileges, and to settle their estates, which had been often assaulted and threatened, and were then invaded by the late Corporation; that to prevent the future designs of monopolizers, contractors, and pre-emptors, (ever incessant upon them, not only bereaving them all cheerfulness and alacrity, but usurping the benefit and disposition of their labours) they apprehend no time could be misspent, or labour misplaced; that a firm peace to themselves and their posterity, and a future indemnity from fines and impositions, they expected would be the fruits of their endeavours; to which end they thought it reasonable for them, liberally and freely, to open 8 their persons, not doubting but all well affected persons would, with all zeal and good affection, embrace the purchase, and pray to Almighty God for the success.

Within a few weeks after this Assembly broke up, their solemn declaration, protestation, and act against the establishment of a Proprietary Government in the Colony, was returned to them, with the Royal assent to it, in the following gracious and extensive words:

“CHARLES, REX.

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“Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas, we have received a Petition from you, our Governour, Council, and Burgesses, of the Grand Assembly in Virginia, together with a Declaration and Protestation, of the first of April, against a Petition presented in your names to the House of Commons in this our Kingdom, for restoring the Letters Patent for incorporating of the late Treasurer and Company, contrary to your intent and meaning, and against all such as shall go about to alienate you from our immediate protection; and whereas, you desire, by your Petition, that we should confirm this your Declaration and Protestation, under our Royal signet, and transmit it to that our Colony: These are to signify, that your acknowledgment of our Grace, Bounty, and Favour, towards you, and your so earnest desire to continue under our immediate protection, is very acceptable to us; and that, as we had not before the least intention to consent to the introduction of ANY company over that our Colony, so we are by it much confirmed in our resolution, as thinking it unfit to change a form of Government wherein (besides many other reasons given, and to be given,) our Subjects there, having had so long experience of it, receive so much contentment and satisfaction. And this our approbation of your Petition and Protestation we have thought fit to transmit to you, under our Royal signet.

“ *Given at our Court at York, the 5 th of July, 1642.*”

This Royal Declaration was thus directed:—“To our trusty and well-beloved, our Governour, Council, and Burgesses, of the Grand Assembly of Virginia.”

By this solemn act of legislation (which the Grand Assembly considered as the magna charta and palladium of their liberties) the Constitution of the Colony was established upon a foundation which could not be altered without their own consent; so that our history does not afford an instance of any farther attempt to dismember the Colony from their immediate dependence upon the Crown, except that in the year 1674 the 9 Lords Arlington and Culpeper obtained a grant, for the term of thirty-one years, from Charles II, of all the lands, rights, jurisdictions, quitrents, and other royalties within the dominion of Virginia. But this grant was so vigorously and firmly opposed by the Grand Assembly that it was

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vacated and surrendered to the Crown, as will be more particularly related in the course of these Annals.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW ALBION.

**And a Direction for Adventurers with small stock** to get two for one, and good land freely:

**And for Gentlemen, and all Servants, Labourers** and Artificers to live plentifully.

**And a former Description re-printed of the heal** thiest, pleasantest, and richest Plantation of *New Albion* in North *Virginia*, proved by thirteen witnesses.

TOGETHER WITH **A Letter from Master Robert Evelin, that lived** there many years, shewing the particularities, and excellency thereof.

With a briefe of the charge of victuall, and necessaries, to transport and buy stock for each Planter, or Labourer, there to get his Master 50 l. *per Annum*, or more in twelve trades, at 10 l. charges onely a man.

**Printed in the Year 1648.**

P. Force, *Washington*, 1837.

3

*This Epistle and Preface shews Catoes best rules for a Plantation.*

To the right honourable and mighty Lord *Edmund* by Divine Providence Lord *Proprietor*, Earl *Palatine*, Governour and Captain Generall of the Province of *New Albion*, and to the Right Honourable the Lord Vicount *Monson* of *Castlemain*, the Lord *Sherard* Baron of *Letrim*: and to all other the Vicounts, Barons, Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, Adventurers, and Planters of the hopefull Company of *New Albion*, in all 44 undertakers

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and subscribers, bound by Indenture to bring and settle 3000 able trained men in our said severall Plantations, in the said Province.

Beauchamp Plantagenet of Belvil in New Albion *Esquire, one of the Company, wisheth all health, happinesse, and heavenly blessings.*

May it please your good Lordships and fellow Adventurers,

HAVING been blasted with the whirlwind of this late, unnaturall and civill English war, seeing the Storm more likely to encrease then to calm, I recollected my former Journall and Manuall notes of my Travails by Land and Sea forty years since in *Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and Belgia*, and finding *Omne solum forti patria, ut piscibus œquor*; I perused all the books of any English Colonies, and by often conferences of the traders and resident planters, of the present state, condition, numbers, enemies, bad neighbours, air, health, government, fortification and saftety, religion, quietnesse, profit, and returns, shipping for supplie and vent of the growing commodities; I conferred with my fellow patients, 7 Knights and Gentlemen, my kindred and neighbours, and reporting the true state of all our Colonies; and whiles thus musing I stood all a maze unresolved, the storm grew far more tempestuous with thundering and lightning, black and terrible gusts, and spouts, that made the rivers rise and my friends to hide: for the roaring 4 Cannon beat down their wals and houses, the Musqueteers, Dragoons, and Pistold horsemen swept all Ca\*\*\*\* and their goods afore them; the Pikemen in their inclosures and retreats left them no beds, pots or pans; their silver plate was turned into earthern dishes: New names, and terms, like an unknown language, and like to strange tongue unheard of in all the Globe as far as our Antipodes, called Cavalleers, Engagers, Independents, Roundheads, and Malignants, like the Gothes, Huns, and Vandalls, and Alans, that invaded and conquered *Italy, Spaine, and France*; and like the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles that conquered *Britanny*. These having plundered, and put upon us new Laws and Ordinances, called Contribution, Excise, Quartering, and Sequestrations, my friends were now and rightly by Gods Providence made light, and not troubled or incumbered with

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much stufte to travel with, nor Farms, Tenements, or Copyholds, and for our sins our pride abated, our hearts humbled: our afflictions made us pray heartily, and call to God to direct us to infuse contrition and true sorrow and purpose of amendment to follow his calling. Wee found this storm and heavy judgement had likewise afflicted *Scotland, Ireland, Man, Iarsey, and Garnsey* Isles. Then perusing my old evidences, I found my Auncestor Sir *Richard Plantagenet* had Chawton, Blendworth, Clanfield, and Catrington in Hampshire. But in those Civil wars in *Henry* the sixth time, much like these or that of the Guelfs and Gibellines in *Italy*, all was lost. I resolved to be a Newter in this quarrell, not to kill English men and Christians, but with Christ to fly into *Egypt*, and like the Apostile *Paul* to fly out of one City into another, and get out of the fire: At last my seven Knights and Gentlemen imployed me the oldest and boldest Traveller to see all English Plantations, by warrant to buy land in the healthiest and best for us eight, and for a hundred servants, and twenty of our old tenants and families. But in my private instructions, I was on a full and deliberate council directed to follow old *Catoes* rules in seating of the Romane Colonies, begun to be seated to save charge of Garrisons in new Conquests. First, to seat in a healthy pure aire: else after all the hazzard, charge and building past, their people die, and their posterity extinguish, and their children inherit sicknes and weaknesse. Secondly, to sit down in a fresh navigable river for trade and supply, where there was stone neer to build, and not to build on wood subject to firing of enemies, negligence of servants, or treachery of slaves and apprentices; for this reason I on my view of *Virginia*, disliked *Virginia*, most of it being seated scatteringly in wooden clove board houses, where many by fire were undone, and by two massacres 5 in an instant fired, without any Forts there, or retreats of safety in time of danger, and seated amongst Saltmarches and Creeks, where thrice worse then Essex, and Tenet, and Kent for agues and diseases, brackish water to drink and use; and a flat Country, and standing waters in woods bred a double corrupt air, so the elements corrupted no wonder as the old *Virginians* affirm, the sicknesse there the first thirty years to have killed 100000 men. And then generally five of six imported died, and now in *June, Iuly* and *August* chiefly, one in nine die imported, absent a year and returning: though much land more now is cleared and victuall\*\*\* \*\*tell mendeth the diet. Thirdly, *Catoes*

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and the third Romane rules was to seat in rich land so that the richnesse of the place and neernesse of husbandry may continue the Colony with plenty and safety: this also *Virginia* for the most part wanteth, they living in salts, and most of their lands after two crops is a light hot earth, which kils barley with the hot ground and Sun in *May*.

Thus instructed I viewed *Barbadoes* and *Saint Christophers*, *Bermudoes*, *New England*, and *Virginia* and *Maryland*; *Saint Christophers* I finde worne out, two parts full of French aliens subject to blast it, and winds blowing away Cotten, wanting victuals, and no store of land; *Barbadoes* have some rich men, having Sugar mils, Indico, Ginger, Suckets of Oranges and Lemmons, and bad Tobacco; but their usuall bread is of Cassada roots, whose juice is poyson, so the negligence of a servant or slave in the right making of it may cost the whole family a poysoning; the servants usuall food is some Pease, Potatoes, Roots, and those boyled make their drink called Mobby, and Plantana roots; some rich have Poultry, and Hogs, and Cows tied up to trees, for there are few Raunges and Inclosures. These two last yeares the plague as I am informed killed 10000 brave people, and there are many hundreds Rebell Negro slaves in the woods; here was no store of land for our 100 men and their families, here wants the English mans grasse, and so the English mans Beef, Mutton, Milk, Butter and Cheese, and they want rivers to turn their Sugar mils, so that *New England* sendeth Horses, and *Virginia* Oxen, to turn them at excessive rates, and their keeping is there chargeable, and at *Barbadoes* they buy much Beef and Meal, and Pease, and Fish from *New England*, and other places, yet this Isle is full of gallant people, very civill and well governed, and now no fear of the *Spaniard* being so populous. Then I touched at *Bermudoes*, an Isle twenty miles long, and ten miles over; and in some places more guarded with Rocks and Isles, difficult in accesse, full of Figs, Oranges, Lemmons, Pomcitrons, Potatoes, and Plantans, 6 Mays wheat for bread, excellent Fish, Tobacco and Pease; healthy too and quiet in government; But this Isle being but a pretty prison, was not for my Companies use. Thence I sailed to *New England*, where I found three months snow, hard winter, but lean land, in generall all along the sea coast well peopled Towns, the people very thrifty, industrious, and temperate; their fish

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carried to *Bilbao*, and Saint *Sebastans*, their Pipe-staves to the Isles and *Spain*, and the corn of the floated river of *Connectacut* is transported, and the Beaver trade is their best subsistence. Still hoping for a richer and more temperate soile, I went to *Virginia*, passing 310 miles along the shoars and Isles of *New Albion*, by *Manhatas* Isle, by Long Isle, Cape May, and the two Capes of Delaware Bay, by the lesser and southermost, being by our Sea-mens observations just in 38 degrees, and 40 minutes, and so to *Congotto*, and *Fetz* Isles in *Maryland* to *Virginia*; to *Newports News*, where receiving kind entertainment at Captain *Matthews*, at Master *Fantleroys*, and free quarter in all places, finding the *Indian* war ended, first by the valour, courage, and hot charge of Captain *Marshall*, and valiant *Stilwel*, and finished by the personall and resolute March and Victory of Sir *William Berkley Governour*, there taking the old King *Ope Chankino* prisoner, I wandered all over, finding no place for the reasons aforesaid fit for our Companies: I went to *Chicacoen*, the North part of *Virginia* on *Pawtomeck* river, avoiding it and *Maryland*, which I found healthier and better then *Virginia*, for then it was in war both with the *Sasquehannocks*, and all the Eastern Bay *Indians*, and a Civill war between some revolters, protestants, assisted by 50 plundered *Virginians*, by whom M. *Leonard Calvert* Governour under his brother the Lord *Baltamore*, was taken prisoner and expelled: and the Isle of *Kent* taken from him also by Captain *Clayborn* of *Virginia*; yet I viewed *Kent* Isle, too wet, and plashy, having bad water, but there and at *Chicacoen*, and at *Accomack* in *Virginia*, and chiefly in *New England*, they related of the excellent temper, and pure aire, fertility of soile, of hils that sheltered off the North-west windes, and blasts, vallies of grapes, rich mines, and millions of Elkes, Stags, Deer, Turkeys, Fowl, Fish, Cotten, rare fruits, Timber, and fair plains, and clear fields, which other Plantations want, this excelling all others: and finding it lay just midway between *Virginia*, too hot and aguish in the blasted plains on one side, and the cold *New-England* on the other, and in the same situation of *Naples*, the Garden of *Europe*, after one hunting voiage and \*\*\* 60 miles on one side of *Albion*, and 310 miles on the other side, and Long Isle finding the countries better and pleasanter then related, 7 I made my addresses to the Lord Governour of *Albion*, and having obtained under the Province Seal my grant of my Manor of *Belvill* containing 10000 acres, on a navigable

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river, having in it and neer, Alablaster, Terras for plaister of Paris, Pudding and Slatstone, store of Timber, clear Fields, Meads and Woods, and no *Indians* neer, and Vines, I resolved to return to *Holland*, and to transport my friends, where most happily the second time meeting his Lordship, and perusing by his noble favour, all his Lordships Cards, and Seamens draughts, 17 journall books of discoveries, voiages, huntings, tradings, and severall depositions under seal of the great Bever, and fur trade, rich mines, and many secrets and rarities. In fourteen days having with the two former books printed of *Albion* 1637, and 1642. made a full abstract and collection, agreeing with my own view and in the Depositions, and M. *Evelins*, and other the voiagers of *Virginia* and *New England*, I thought it most necessary for the good of all the Company, and many Voluntiers in *Holland*, distressed in *England*, and noble Knights, Gentlemen, that with a little stock may gain fair and rich possessions, and live in peace and quiet, to print and publish this my labor under all your Lord-ships Protections, most humbly craving your Lordships gentle acceptance.

And because it conduceth much for a General and a Leader, to be known to his Commanders and Soldiers, his abilities and vertues, and excellent parts, drawing more men of honour and valour to follow him; it contenting many men of honour and dignity to be led and commanded by a better and more honourable, and more sufficient then themselves, and not their inferiour: the meaner and poorer sort expecting all encouragement, justice, and protection; and all the Company, the Adventurers, and strangers to us all, may more freely and chearfully goe on, and set out their men, and expect the more and better returns and contentment, under his government, in whom Pietie, Religion, Honor, Justice, Learning, Valor, Judgment, Temperance, and Policie shineth; hope without offence or imputation of flattery, to affirm his virtues more then the gems of the Coronet of this our Earl Palatine, doe adorn his noble part.

Since to me *conscientia mea mille testes*, I have had the honour to be admitted as his familiar, have marched, lodged, and cabbined together, among the *Indians* and in *Holland*, have seen so many of his Manuscript Books, and most excellent Rules and Observations

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of Law, Justice, Policy, I found his conversation as sweet and winning, as grave and sober, adorned with much Learning, enriched with six Languages, most grounded and experienced in formal matters of State policy, and government, 8 trade and sea voiajes by 4 years travell in *Germany, France, Italy and Belgium*, by 5 years living an Officer in *Ireland*, and this last 7 years in *America*, 1 his studie and suits at home and abroad enabling his impartiall and infallible judgement of Judicature, and certainly his perfect knowledge of his 23 *Indian* Kings, under the command of this our Lord Royall, as of his good and bad neighbours, their power, wealth and weaknesse, English Aliens and *Indians* appears by his notes and books where none of their treacheries, plots, conspiracies, haltings and villanies, their Antagonists, their numbers and abilities, the advantage of our arms and fights, and stratagemes are as Greek phalanges, and they as Romane Maniples and enemies to side with; and how to quiet and regain, kill, or surprise them is not expressed. What Port, Bay and soundings, Creek, river, road, quarries of stone, slat, Iron mines, Gum-Dragoon, Lead, Gold, and Silver, Alablaster, Terras, Bolarmack, red soap earth, Terralemnia, Diers ware, Hearbs and Plants, and their use, Ocar, Rudle, Cinnaber for quicksilver and Vermillion, is not in particular, Cards by compasse, and scale in books, with all trials and witnesses recorded.

What land and sea profit, fishing, place for salt, Potas, Dies, Fruits, Hearbs and Plants, clear Fields, great Plains, fine and thick Grasse, Marshes, necks of land, rich black, moulded countries for Tobacco, Flaxe, Rice, choice Trees, and Timber for Shipping, and Pipestaves, Masts, Yards, Pitch, Tar, sheltred places for Grapes and Fruits; Cotten in Cotten river, invincible places by nature, others by a little charge and fort to be made impregnable, is not in this huge and waste Province, being 1000 mile compasse delineated; and what Law or Policy, and summary Justice, Courts of Law, Equity, Appeals, Awards, or references, sit to compose differences, reconcile debates, to unite hearts, to settle the factious and seditious in any other English Colonies or Countries, and fit for our Justice, is not explained.

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Therefore my good Lords and Adventurers, since I speak of knowledge or view, and certain reports of wise and knowing men, I shall joy and congratulate with you all, in so able, sufficient, and honourable a Governour, happily to rule, to defend, and doe us justice; a tried and seasoned man, and excellent Pilot in all this Land and Seas, not afear'd in person as a true Captain Generall by Land and Sea, to leade and settle us by Boat, Horse or Foot, as able and willing as any of the meanest; and therefore I think at first as most materiall to expresse the Law, Statutes, and Judgments, and Acts of Parliament, of Counts, and Count Palatines, and County Palatines, and of our Province and County Palantine, Liberties, and the ancient family 9 1200 years from the Saxons in *England*, of our Earl Palatine, his pedegree and alliance.

And since according as other Palatines, as he of *Chester* and *Duresme*, made their Barons and Knights, as therein many are yet living, you my Lord have begun to honour first your own children, I tender my best respects unto your own sonne and heir apparant *Francis* Lord *Ployden*, Baron of *Mount Royall*, and Governour, and to *Thomas*, Lord *Ployden*, Baron of *Roymont*, High Admirall: and to the Lady *Winefrid* Baronesse of *Vvedale*, the pattern of mildnesse and modesty; and to the Lady *Barbara*, Baronesse of *Ritchneck*, the mirrour of wit and beauty, and to the Lady *Katherine*, Baronesse of *Prince\*\*\*\**, that pretty babe of grace, whose fair hands I kisse, hoping on your Lord-ships invitation *C. C. T.* and your two Baronets *L.* and *M.* to get them as they promised to goe with us. I hope to get your Knights and 200 Planters on this side ready. And thus with tender of my service to your Lordships, and all the Company, I rest *Your humblest servant*, Beauchamp Plantagenet.

Middleboro this 5 of *Decemb.* 1648.

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**THE CONTENTS OF THE several Chapters.**

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Chap. 1. *OF Counts or Earls created, and County Palatines, and of our Province and County Palatine, Liberties, and the ancient Family 1200 years of our Earle Palatine from the Saxons in England, his pedigree and alliance.*

Ch. 2. *His Majesty, and his Auncestors just title, and actuall possession of these Countries, of some Aliens and Pirats in landing and disinheriting the English Crown, and of bad English and Fugitives to them adhering; the just cause and excuse to expel them.*

Ch. 3. *The Description of Master Robert Evelin and 13 witnesses, printed 7 years since, and now re-printed.*

Ch. 4. *The more large and exact Description and Declaration of many things these last seven years, the bounds of all to it adjoining of Virginia, Maryland, New England; and Answer to Objections of bounds. The number of the present Inhabitants, and their Cattell in this Province, 1000 miles compasse; the number of Indians.*

Ch. 5. *What Cargason is necessary to transport for the Lord of a Manor, or to trade or truck with the Indians.*

Ch. 6. *Our present staple commodities, how oft a man transported and stockt to make of his 100 acres 50 or 70 per annum.*

### **CHAP. 1.**

FOR the first creation of Earls in the Saxons time, and since by the Norman Kings in *England*, I refer you to that learned Antiquary Master *Selden*, his Book who writeth at large in his Book of Titles and Honours, as well of this as of 11 forain Nations. But there you shall finde Records cited, and Earls made both by Privy Signet and Privy Seal, without the Great Seal. And they were not then meerly titular, and nominall, without Interest, Power and Judicature, as now they are commonly all, except the Earle of *Arundell*, who still is a locall feodall Earl, by possession of the Castle, and of some Rapes or Liberties;

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for the Lord *Lumley*, not long since for some yeares being possessed thereof, was for such time Earle of *Arundell*, and that Earledome is confirmed, and so adjudged with his honour and precedency, by the House of Peers entred both in the Parliament, and Court of Honour Rols: and the Royall Grant was, *Do tibi Comitatum & tertiam partem proficuorum, unde Comes est*. And he made the Sheriffe, or his Vicount, or Deputy: And the County Court was his, and it was an honour and office, both with the County and assignable, the assignee enjoying the County, honour and office, as in Master *Seldens* Booke is cited in their Patents, and was not so many large words for his Title and Peerage as is now used.

Sir *le. Davis fol. 59. Fol. 60.*

But in the Reports 9 *Iacobi* of Sir *John Davis* in the case of the County Palatine, and in the Fourth Part of the Institutes of Sir *Edward Coke*, of jurisdiction of Courts, of the three County Palatines, yet in *England*, you may see Acts of Parliament, Judgements and full matter, shewing, That there were *Comites Palatini* of the first and higher ranke, which had in their Territories absolute command in Martiall, civill and criminal matters, with all Royalties and Regalities which the second order of titulary or nominall Earls had not, both in the Saxons and Normans time, long before the title of Duke, Marquesse, or Vicount were there granted. Secondly, *Comes Palatinus* was *Comes Palatii*, being a chief Councill and Companion to the Emperour or King, *Comes Curarum Par extans Curis, solo diademate dispar*. That in *Chester, Durham, Lancaster* and *Pembroke*, were made Earl Palatines, and County Palatines: and in *Ireland* in *Lemster*, Earl *Strongbow*, Sir *Hugh de Lacy* in *Meth*, to Sir *Hugh de Lacy* the younger in *Ulster*. That *William Marshall* marrying Earl *Strongbows* daughter, had by her five daughters: So as the Province of *Lemster* descending to them, it was divided into five Counties, to each of them one County Palatine. That *Bracton* the ancientest of Lawyers, averres Earl Palatines have regall power in all things saving Liegance to the King; *Hugh Lupus* by the Conquerour was made Earl Palatine of the County of *Chester*, as free to the sword, as the King to the Crown, and the Palatine of *Chester* made Barons, the Baron of *Haulton*, the Baron of *Fol. 62. 12 Fol. 67. Malbanck*, the Baron of *Malpas*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and in *Lancaster*, the

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Baron of *Walton* in *Durham*, the Baron *Hilton*, and in *Meth*, *Magnates* and Barons; Baron *de Streene*, Baron *de Naven*, Baron *de Baltrim*, Baron *de la Narron*, Baron *de Rheban* in *Kildare*; the Baron *Idrone* in *Caterlogh*, the Baron of *Burn-Church* in *Kilkenny*, Baron of *Nevill* in *Wexford*, Baron of *Loughmo* in *Tiperary*, Baron *Misset*, and Baron *Savage* in *Vlster*. That these Earles Palatines had Parliaments, made tenures in *Capite*, and grand Serjancy, and the tenants sued out Licence of Alienations, and all Writs and Pleas, Officers, Chancelours, Judges, and that none of the Kings Officers could enter there, or that the Kings Writs, neither at Law or Chancery, did lie or run there, and that the County Palatine was thereby absolutely severed from the Crowne. That the County Palatine of *Lancaster* was created by that of *Chester*: and to *Chester* was annexed his conquered small County of *Flint* in *Wales*, and made besides the four above, foure other Barons: *Vernon of Saybrook*, *Hammond de Massi* Baron of *Durham*, and the Barons of *Hawardin* and *Stockport*, and in other Antiquities, *Cornwall* Baron of *Burford* in *Shropshire*.

Sir *E. Coke Fol. 211. Fol. 215.*

That any Manors or Lands lying out of the County Palatine if held thereof, and the pleas of the inhabitants there arising shall bee tried within the County Palatine.

*Fol. 221.*

*Thomas* and *Hugh* Count Palatines both, and both Bishops pleaded and returned to the Kings Writs: I am a Lord Royall here, the Kings Writs doe not run here.

The eldest sisters son by descent after her mother was Earl Palatine of *Pembroke*; And the Law, Reports, and Abridgements, shew they made Knights, and as Knights were to be impleaded; Divers statutes shew *Durham* and the Earl Palatines, *Mints*, *Durham* pence yet extant. The Earl Palatines had in their Counties *Iura Regalia*, as the King had in his Palace, &c.

*Fol. 204. Sir Io. Davis Fol. 60.*

In the Lord *Lovels* Case, the name or title of a Baron is no name of Dignity or addition, 8 H. 6. 10. but Earl is parcell of his name, and of the substance of his name, and if it be left

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out of the Writ, the Writ shall abate, 39 E. 3. 35. the case of *Gilbert Vmfrevill* Earle of *Angus*; and 14 E. 3. *Brief 278*. the case of *Hugh de Audley* Earle of *Gloucestor*; yet note Master *Burlacy*, for not calling the Lord *Mohun* Lord, but *Mohun*, was committed to prison; and note in a Star-chamber Brief the Lord *Verulam*, his widow 13 marrying Sir *John Vnderhill*, was called and charged as my Lady *Vnderhill*, the late wife of Vicount *Verulam*, and not being called Vicountesse, the Bill was cast out, and a Fine for dishonour imposed.

Sir E. *Coke Fol. 216*.

Now there be four other Lord Proprietors that have Palatine jurisdiction granted, and Provinces in the *West-India* Isles, *Florida* and *Maryland*, and as free as the Bishop of *Durham* had, but none have a speciall creation of an Earle Palatine, but ours of *New Albion*: nor have they the Lords with such Additions, Titles, Dignities, and Priviledges, as either *Durham* or any other had, nor any speciall grant to coin money; in that of *Maryland* speciall Resort or Sovereign Dominion, which is a Court of Appeal, as in the case of King *E.* the third, and his son *E.* in *Aquitany*, with free fishing, and wood for houses, and to set up fishing stages, is reserved; else all the Lord Proprietors have all the like Royalties and Regalities, and all these 11 *H. 6.* in a long Roll particularly expressed, are confirmed by Parliament to the Bishop of *Durham*, and so thereby to all the Lord Proprietors. And all of them have a speciall clause to give to the well deserving inhabitants in those Provinces, Titles, Honour and Dignities, so as they be not the same used in *England*. Now though some question is made whether the other four Lord Proprietors can make Barons or any Knights in their Provinces, because such Honours and Titles of Barons and Knights, are used here; but there is no question or doubt in the Province of *New Albion*, our Lord being an Earle Palatine 16 years standing, as free as *Chester* and *Pembroke*, or *Lacy*, or *Strongbow* in *Ireland*, by that second power according to the judged cases in Law and in Parliament, may make Provinciall, locall and fewdall Barons, as the 19 above named, and make Knight Batchelours, though here used, and to have precedency, as others have had heretofore, though his intended order of Knights of the Coverion of *Albion* is more proper. And for our Earle Palatines Honour and Peerage in *Ireland*, and to make his proxy

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in his absence in that House of Peers there, with all such Honor and Titles, of Precedency to him, his Countesse, and children in all places, as an *Irish* Earl, the special Decree and Clauses in the Charter doth fully warrant it. All the Civilians, Pleaders in the Court of Honour, and two Serjeants of the coife at Law, nine in number, have certified it, and enrolled on record, and is exemplified under the seal; the Barones of *Nova Scotia* being President in the like case. And note both the King of *France*, and this our King, have made Barons and Knights, *Hollanders*, that have precedency there before other the subjects there.

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But to answer an Objection of some not truly informed and mistaken, conceiving that our Earle Palatine might in his Countrey onely and no where else, have his Honour, Title and Precedency. I answer, that our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, as Emperour of *England*, under his Privy Signet, signed with his Royall hand, so granted and created him, which alone had been sufficient, as others have been made, in Master *Seldens* Book, Records and Presidents mentioned; but being farther with speciall Clauses and Decree, and speciall Creation, so made and particularly granted, that both by Tenure and Dependency, and that this Province shall be of the Liegance of *Ireland*, and all there born to be free Denizens thereof, and under his Majesties Great Seal, there is no doubt or question thereof; For he is no Alien Earl made by an Alien King, as *Copply* by the French King, Duke *Dudley*, and Count *Arundell* by the Emperour, but by our own King the fountain of Honour; For an Earl by his Charter carrieth his Honour with him in all places, and that is his true name as above is adjudged, and is not to be sued or sue, is adjudged, without it; and so the more learned Civilians and Serjeants have certified: and *Nova Scotia* is so annexed to *Scotland*, *Adam de Valentia*, and *Marshall*, Earle Palatines of *Pembroke* by Conquest in the kingdome or Principality of *Wales*, then out of *England* was a Peer to the English Parliament, and so the three Irish Conquerors Palatines recited; and how absurd a conceit it is that our Earl Palatine of *Albion*, and he of *Pembroke* in *Wales*, and the rest having all Regalities, and Powers, Lordship, Honour and Titles, and power to

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give Honours and make Barons coming out of their Countries into *England*, should here bee un-Lorded and debased unto Esquires without Lordship, Honour or Precedency. And note all these, and Earl *Fitz Allen* in his locall Earldome of *Arundell* by Writ being called to Parliament, is not there by an Earl; for to be called by Writ, is onely to be a Lord or Baron, and so the Earle of *Arundells* Title and Precedency was adjudged him after long debate by Parliament. To conclude the Earl Palatines of *Chester* and *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery* or *de Belesmo* in Shropshire, were the greatest Princes of *England*; and by their Conquests, and so in *Ireland* by their Hazard and Conquests that kingdome and *Wales* is gotton to this Crown: And so the now Lord five Proprietors that now conquer on Indians, and convert Pagons, and civilize them, and bring them to the obedience of our Sovereign, and at their own charges have made an entrance and sure way with the other Colonies of *America* to make our Sovereign an Emperour of *America*, having now neer two hundred thousand to defend his Empire; and therefore 15 deserve all Honour and Encouragement; amongst which our Earl Palatine having adventured his person seven years, with so much hazard and charges, is chiefly to be advanced and honoured according to his worth.

Now for the pedegree and ancient Family of our Earl Palatine of 200 years descent, being in *England* and borders of *Wales*: I finde onely a letter in the name changed, in each Age, and Conquest or change of Nation; for in *Henry* of Huntingdon, and *William* of Malmsbury, his Chronicles of all the Saxon Princes, that have arrived, and seated, and conquered the Britains; this family descending of a daughter, came with those Princes into Britany; and I find that in lower Saxony neer Hamboro, and Holstein a member of the Empire, and in all Maps there is still in that harsh language *Ployen*, a wall'd City by a lake, and *Plowen* a walled Castle of Count *Plowen*, a Count of the sacred Empire, in *Grimstons* and other Histories mentioned; Now the Welch make and turn the vowel *u* into *i* or *y*, as from *Brutus* to Britons, so *Plowden* to *Ployden*, as all Maps write it. In Deeds, and the Bishop of Herefords Records I find *Anno Domini* 904. an Exchange *pro decem manlis vocat Ploydanes place super quas Episcopus œdificaturus est Castrum*, called *Bishops Castle*, in which Town the *Ploydens* have much lands and tenements, having *Ployden*

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Manor, *Ployden* Hall, *Longvill* Castle, and thirteen Townes about it to this day, and at the coming in of *H.* the seventh were Commanders of that country, and Constables, or Chastellains of that Fort of *Bishops* Castle; now *Ploydan* and *Ployden* is all one, Forest of Danes for Dene, the Norman pronuntiation, which name of *Ployden* signifieth *kill Dane*, or *wound Dane*: and *Pleyden* by *Ry* in *Sussex* was of this house, and signifieth in French *hurt Dane*, and this *Pleyden* sent his sons and conquered in *Normandy*, where are five families yet: and the heir of *Pleyden* wanting issue, made it an Hospitall, now held by the Earle of *Thanet*, Lord *Toston*; So *Plowen*, *Ployen*, *Playdane*, *Ployden*, *Plowden* and *Pleyden* is all one, for the change in time, and severall Nations pronuntiation, Saxons, Danes, English, Welch and Normans. And note, to this day an Esquire in *France* of 300 yeares standing of Coat Armor shall take place and precedency of any Earle, Vicount or Baron, which is not so ancient of Coat Armor, they not allowing the King by new creations to bar their inheritance and precedency. And for their greatnesse and pedegree, I finde *Ployden* married the daughter of *John de Monte Gomerico*, (now called *Mount Gomery*) Earl of *Salopshire*, in *William* the Conquerours reign, and in *Edward* the thirds time married the daughter of that great and rich Knight 16 *Burley* Conquerour in *France*; *Humphrey Poyden* in *H.* the seventh time married the daughter and heir *Stury* of *Stury* Hall, daughter of *Corbet*, of *Morton Corbet*, by whom the *Lacons*, *Laytons*, \*\*\* *omlees*, *Purcelswollascot*, of *Wollascot*, and the two Baronets *Lee* and *Corbet* Knights for the County of *Salop* to this Parliament, are of his kindred. And of the daughters of *John Ployden*, Lord *Blany* of *Ireland*, and of the other daughter married to *Hardwick*, grandmother to that great \*\*\* *in* of *Clause* Castle; the third daughter married to *Walcot* of *Walcot* Close \*\*\* *Ployden*, yet men of great possessions, the Countesse of *Bristoll* being a *Walcot*, and so her sons, the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Lewis Dives*, and Vicountesse *Chichester*, or *Belfast*, and the other Ladies her daughters are descended, and are his kindred. Our Earl *Palatines* mother being sister of Sir *Richard Fermor* of *Somerton*, and cousen of Sir *George* and Sir *Hatton Fermor*, descended of the *Knightlies*, and so the Lord Vicount *Say* and *Seal*, the Countesse of *Thomond* a *Fermor*, and her children, and Vicount *Wenman* marrying Sir *Hatton Fermors* children: the Baronesse of *Abergenny*, and her sister married to *Baronet*

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Gage are his Nieces; his mother the Lady *Penelope*, daughter to the Lord *Darcy*, Vicount *Colchester*, Earl *Rivers*; but his branches for three last descents are so many, and at least fifty Baronets, Knights Equires, of 1000 l. *per annum* at least, and their numerous issue; but for heir males of the name his first is *Ployden of Wansteed*, *Ployden of Shippla* \*\* *Ployden of Askon*, *Ployden of Ployden*, and *Ployden of Lee*, and Doctor *Ployden* late of *Lambeth*. And for his now wife Countesse Palatine, daughter and heir to two worthy families, Neece of Sir *George* and Sir *Hamb. Paulet* deceased, in that pedegree 300 from the Marquesse of *Winchester* Lord high Treasurer of *England* are allied. All which I have more fully published, that all of his kindred may, any ways poor or oppressed, the sooner be preferred, advanced and transplanted to this most rich and pleasant Province, and to great possessions and honours there, as great *Strongbow* did 1200 of his to *Wexford* and *Lemster* in *Ireland*.

### CHAP. II.

NOW for the full and ample satisfaction of the Reader of his Majesties full title, and power to grant, enjoy, and possesse these countries, as well against Aliens as Indians which this forty years hath not been by print declared, we may 17 read at large Master *Hacluits* Voyages and Discoveries, Master *Purchas* and Captain *Smiths*: for when the *Spaniard* and *Portugall* discovered and possest 140 years since the East-Indies, *Brasill* the South part of *America*, the *Charibees* and *Antell* Isles, and seated *Saint Iohn de porto Rico*, *Hispaniola*, *Iamaica* and *Cuba*, and the Fort and Port of *Havanah*, against the Gulf and *Current*, *Batuana* Isles, and point of *Florida*; then that most powerfull and richest King of *Europe*, King *Henry* the seventh of *England* sent out an English man born in *Bristoll* called *Cabot*, granted under his Great Seal to him all places and countries by him to be discovered and possest; who then beginning at *Cape Florida* discovered, entred on, took possession, set up crosses, and procured atturnment and acknowledgement of the Indian Kings to his then Majesty, as Head, Lord and Emperour of the Southwest *America*, all along that coast both in *Florida* from 20 degrees to 35, where old *Virginia* in 35 and 30 minutes 65 years since was seated by 5 severall Colonies about *Croatan Cape*, *Haloraske*, and *Rawleys* Isle, by

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Sir *Walter Rawley*, who had from Queen *Elizabeth* that place, and two hundred leagues from it in all places adjoining; Sir *Richard Greenfield*, Sir *Ralph Lane*, and Master *White* his partners seating and fortifying there; the said *Cabot*, farther taking possession in 37 of that part called *Virginia* and *Chisapeack Bay* being now his Majesties Demesne Colony of *Virginia*, and of the next great *Bay* in or neer 39, called now by the Dutch *Cape Henlopen*, the south river, and by us *Cape James* and *Delaware Bay* of the Baron of *Delawares* name, being then Governour of *Virginia*, who by Sir *Thomas Dale* and Sir *Samuel Argoll*, 40 yeares since took possession and atturment of the Indian Kings, and 60 yeares since Sir *Walter Rawley* seated and left 30 men and four pieces of Ordnance, at the Creek neer *Cape James*, by the Dutch called *Hoarkill*, by us *Roymont*, and by the Indians *Cui Achomoca*; and so the next river by us called *Hudsons* river, of the name of *Hudson* an English man, the discoverer thirty five yeares since, who sold his discovery, plots and cards to the Dutch; and so *Cabot* discovered severall rivers and countries all along the coast North-East, now called *New England*, and divided in nine severall Governments, and further discovered Port Royall, and that part called *New Scotland*, and set up Crosses, where, you may see in the French Book called *New France*, the French found an old Crosse all mossy, in an eminent place at the head of that Bay and Port, and discovered all that coast and *New-found-land*, and that called *Terra de Laborador*, or *New Britain*, as far as the frozen strait of *Davis*; Shortly after one Master *Hore* in the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th, renewed B 18 this actual possession, atturment of the Indian Kings, brought home divers of the chief Indian Kings to *England*, who gave their Homage and Oath of fidelity for these countries to King *Henry* the eight in person sitting on his throne in State in his Palace Hall at *Westminster*. Then *Virginia* being granted, settled, and all that part now called *Maryland*, *New Albion*, and *New Scotland*, being part of *Virginia*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Samuel Argoll*, Captains and Counsellors of *Virginia*, hearing of divers Aliens and Intruders, and Traders without licence, with a Vessell and forty soldiers landed at a place called *Mount Desert* in *Nova Scotia* neer *S. Johns* river, or *Twede*, possest by the French, there killed some French, took away their Guns and dismantled the Fort and in their return landed at *Manhatas* Isle in *Hudsons* river, where they found four houses built,

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and a pretended Dutch Governour, under the West-India Company of *Amsterdam* share or part; who kept trading BOATS, and trucking with the Indians; but the said Knights told him their Commission was to expell him and all Aliens Intruders on his Majesties Dominion and Territories, this being part of *Virginia*, and this river an English discovery of *Hudson* an English man, the Dutch man contented them for their charge and voiage, and by his Letter sent to *Virginia* and recorded, submitted himself, Company and Plantation to his Majesty, and to the Governour and government of *Virginia*; but the next pretended Dutch Governour in Maps and printed Cards, calling this part *New Netherland*, failing in paying of customes at his return to *Plymouth* in *England*, was there with his Beret goods and person, attached to his damage of 1500 *l.* whereupon at the suit of the Governour and Councill of *Virginia*, his now Majesty by his Embassadour in *Holland*, complaining of the said Aliens intrusion on such his Territories and Dominions, the said Lords, the States of *Holland*, by their publique instrument declared, That they did not avow, nor would protect them, being a private party of the *Amsterdam* West-India Company, but left them to his Majesties will and mercy: whereupon three severall Orders from the Councill Table, and Commissions have been granted for the expelling and removing them thence, of which they taking notice, and knowing their weaknesse and want of victuals, have offered to sell the same for 2500 *l.* And lastly, taking advantage of our present war and destructions, now ask 7000 *l.* and have lately offered many affronts and damages to his Majesties subjects in *New England*: and in generall endanger all his Majesties adjoyning Countries, most wickedly, feloniously, and traiterously, contrary to the Marine and Admirall Laws of all Christians, sell by whole sale guns, powder, shot and ammunition 19 to the Indians, instructing them in the use of our fights and arms; insomuch as 2000 Indians by them armed, *Mohacks*, *Raritans*, and some of *Long Isle* with their own guns so sold them, fall into war with the Dutch, destroyed all their scattering Farms and Boors, in forcing them all to retire to their Up fort 40 leagues up that river, and to *Manhatas*, for all or most retreating to *Manhatas*, it is now a pretty town of trade having more English then Dutch: and it is very considerable that three years since *Stuy* their Governour put out his Declaration, confessing that the neighbour English might well be offended with their selling Indians arms and ammunition, but being but a few

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and so scattered, they could not live else there, or trade, the Indians refusing to trade or suffer the Dutch to plow without they would sell them guns. The like folly they committed, and inconvenience to themselves, and all English, for eight years since, in their West-India Fleet, battered by the Spanish Armado, they brought home forty Swedish poor soldiers; and hearing that Captain *Young* and Master *Evelin* had given over their Fort begun at *Eriwomeck* within *Delaware Bay*, there halfe starved and tottered they left them, who learning the Indian language and finding much talk and trials of a gold mine there, though in truth fifty shillings charges produced of that light sand but nine shillings in gold, and therefore was of Captain *Young* that tried it slighted; yet one *Bagot* under the Swedes name and Commission, there traded to crosse the Dutch of *Manhatas*, and to undersell them, and left and seated there eighteen Swedes, who proclaiming a gold mine drew more to them, and have gotten a great trade; and now this last Summer fifteene Swedes and fifteene Dutch had a skirmish; the Swedes pulled down a Dutch trading house, and doe both undersell them, and spoiled much their and English trading with the Indians, both striving to please and side with the Indians, both entertaining and refusing to return all English fugitives and servants. The Swedes hiring out three of their souldiers to the “*Sasquehannocks*,” have taught them the use of our arms and fights, and marching with them into the Kings owne Colony of *Virginia*, have carried thence the King of *Pawtomeck* prisoner, and expelled his and eight other Indian Nations in *Maryland* civilized and subject to the English Crown. Now if a Proclamation of open war be set out against the Dutch and Swedes for this their villany, and all English forbid to trade, victuall or relieve them, they must both vanish, especially if those bad English that live, adhere and obey these Aliens in these his Majesties countries be warned of the statute of King *Iames* of famous memory, in these words: *That all Subjects giving any obedience or acknowledgmet to any forain* B 2 20 *Prince, State, Pope, or Potentate, within his Majesties Territories and Dominions in England or beyond the sea, is a traitor, and shall forfeit and suffer as a traitour.* And certainly all English, and chiefly those of *New England*, being ready in twenty four hours, will joyn to expel them both to regain their own trade, to get their Seates, and to be rid of the danger of armed gunning Indians.

CHAP. III.

WHereas that part of *America*, or North *Virginia*, lying about 39 degrees at *Delaware Bay* called the Province of *New Albion*, is scituate in the best and same temper, and as *Italy*, between too cold *Germany*, and too hot *Barbary*: so this lying just midway betweene *New England*, 200 miles North, and *Virginia* 150 miles South, where now are settled 8000 English, and 140 ships in trade, is freed from the extream cold and barrenesse of the one and heat and aguish Marshes of the other, and is like *Lombardy*, and a rich fat soil, plain, and having 34 rivers on the main land, 17 great Isles, and partaketh of the healthiest aire and most excellent commodities of *Europe*, and replenished with the goodliest woods of Oaks and all Timber for ships and Masts, Mulberries for silk, sweet Cypresse, Cedars, Pines and Firres, 4 sorts of Grapes for wine, and Raisins, and with the greatest variety of choice fruits, fish, and fowl, stored with all sorts of corn, yeelding 5, 7 and 10 quarters an acre: Silkgras, salt, good Mines and Diers ware, 5 sorts of Deer, Buffes, and huge Elks to plow and work, all bringing 3 young at once. The Uplands covered many moneths with berries, roots, chestnuts, walnuts, Beech and Oak Mast to feed them, Hogges and Turkeys, 500 in a flock, and having neer the Colony of *Manteses* 400000 acres of plain mead land, and meer levell, to be flowed and fludded by that river, for corn, rice, rapes, flax and hemp. After 17 years trading and discovery there and triall made, is begun to be planted and stored by the Governour and Company of *New Albion*, consisting of forty four Lords, Baronets, Knights and Merchants, who for the true informing of themselves, their friends, Adventurers and Partners by Residents and Traders there four severall years out of their Journall Books, namely, by Captaine *Browne* a Ship-master, and Master *Stafford* his Mate, and by Captaine *Claybourne* 14 years there trading, and *Constantine* his Indian there born 21 and bred, and by Master *Robert Evelin* 4 years there; yet by eight of their hands subscribed and enrolled doe testifie this to be the true state of the Country, of the Land, and *Delaware Bay* or *Charles River*, which is further witnessed by Captaine *Smith* and other books of *Virginia* and by *New Englands Prospect*, new *Canaan*, Captain *Powels* Map, and other descriptions of *New England* and *Virginia*.

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*Captain Brown.*

*Captain Clayborn.*

*Robert Evelin.*

*Stafford.*

*Constantine.*

*Stratton.*

*Thomas White.*

*Richard Buckham.*

*Christoph. Thomas.*

*Edward Monmouth.*

*Tenis Palee.*

*Edward Rhodes.*

*Peter Rixford.*

Master Evelins Letter.

*Good Madam:*

Slr *Edmund* our noble Governour and Lord Earl Palatine, persisting still in his noble purpose to goe on with his plantation in *Delaware* or *Charles* river, just midway between *New England* and *Virginia*, where with my Uncle *Young* I severall years resided, hath often informed himselfe both of me and Master *Stratton*, as I perceive by the hands subscribed

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of *Edward Monmouth*, *Tenis Palee*, and as Master *Buckham*, Master *White*, and other Ship-masters, and Saylor, whose hands I know, and it to be true, that there lived and traded with me, and is sufficiently instructed of the state of the country, and people there, and I should very gladly according to his desire have waited on you into *Hamshire* to have informed your Honour in person, had not I next weeke been passing to *Virginia*. But neverthelesse to satisfie you of the truth, I thought good to write unto you my knowledge, and first to describe you from the North side of *Delaware* unto *Hudsons* river, in Sir *Edmunds* Patent, called new *Albion*, which lieth just between *New England* and *Maryland*, and that Ocean sea, 22 I take it to be about 160 miles. I finde some broken land, Isles and Inlets, and many small Isles at *Egbay*: But going to *Delaware Bay*, by Cape May, which is 24 miles at most, and is as I understand very well set out and printed in Captain *Powels* Map of *New England*, done as is told mee by a draught I gave to M. *Daniel* the plot-maker, which Sir *Edmund* saith you have at home, on that North side about five miles within a port, or rode for any Ships called the Nook, and within lieth the King of *Kechemeches*, having as I suppose about 50 men, and 12 leagues higher a little above the *Bay* and *Bar* is the river of *Manteses*, which hath 20 miles on *Charles* river, and 30 miles running up a fair navigable deep river all a flat levell of rich and fat black Marsh mould, which I think to be 300000 acres: In this Sir *Edmund* intendeth as he saith to settle, and there the King of *Manteses* hath about 100 Bow-men, next above about 6 leagues higher is a fair deep river 12 miles navigable, where is Freestone, and there over against is the King of *Sikonesses*, and next is *Asomoches* river and King with an hundred men, and next is *Eriwoneck* a King of forty men, where we sate down, and five miles above is the King of *Ramcock* with a hundred men, and four miles higher the King of *Axion* with two hundred men, and next to him tenne leagues overland an inland King of *Calcefar*, with an hundred and fifty men, and then there is in the middle of *Charles* river two fair woody Isles, very pleasant and fit for Parks, the one of a thousand acres, the other of fourteen hundred, or thereabout. And six leagues higher neer a Creek called *Mosilian*, the King having two hundred men. And then we come to the *Fals* made by a rock of lime-stone, as I suppose it is, about sixty and five leagues from the sea, near to which is an Isle fit for a City, all materials there to

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build; and above, the river fair and navigable, as the Indians inform me, for I went but ten miles higher. I doe account all the Indians to be eight hundred, and are in severall factions and war against the *Sasquehannocks*, and are all extream fearfull of a gun, naked and unarmed against our shot, swords, and pikes. I had some bickering with some of them, and they are of so little esteem, as I durst with fifteen men sit down, or trade in despite of them, and since my return eightene Swedes are settled there, and so sometime sixe Dutch doe in a boat trade without fear of them.

I saw there an infinite quantity of Bustards, Swans, Geese and Fowl, covering the shoares as within the like multitude of Pigeons and store of Turkies of which I tried one to weigh forty and sixe pounds. There is much variety and plenty of delicate fresh and sea-fish, and shell-fish, and Whales or Grampuses: 23 Elks, Deere that bring three young at a time, and the woods bestrewed many moneths with Chest-nuts, Wall-nuts, and Mast of severall sorts to feed them and Hogs, that would increase exceedingly. There the barren grounds have four kindes of Grapes and many Mulberries with Ash, Elms, and the tallest and greatest Pines and Pitch-trees that I have seen. There are Cedars, Cypresses and Sassafras, with wilde fruits, pears, wilde cherries, pine-apples, and the dainty Parsemenas. And there is no question but Almonds, and other fruits of *Spain* will prosper, as in *Virginia*. And (which is a good comfort) in four and twenty houres you may send or goe by sea to *New England* or *Virginia*, with a fair winde, you may have cattle, and from the Indians two thousand barrels of corn, at twelve pence a bushel in truck, so as victuals are there cheaper and better then to be transported: Neither doe I conceive any great need of a Fort or Charge where there is no enemy.

If my Lord Palatine will bring with him three hunted men or more, there is no doubt but that he may doe very well and grow rich, for it is a most pure healthfull air, and such pure wholesome springs, rivers, and waters, as are delightfull, of a Desert, as can be seen, with so many varieties of several flowers, trees, and forests for swine. So many fair risings and

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prospects, all green and verdant: and *Maryland* a good friend and neighbour, in four and twenty hours, ready to comfort and supply.

And truly I beleieve, my Lord of *Baltamore* will be glad of my Lord Palatines Plantation and assistance against any enemy or bad neighbour. And if my Lord Palatine employ some men to sow flaxe, hemp and rapes in those rich Marishes or build ships and make pipe-staves, and load some ships with these wares, or fish from the Northward, he may have any money, ware, or company brought him by his own ships, or the ships of *Virginia* or *New England* all the year.

And because your Honour is of the noble house of the *Pawlets*, and as I am informed, desire to lead many of your friends and kindred thither, whom as I honour I desire to serve, I shall intreat you to beleieve mee as a Gentleman and Christian, I write you nothing but the truth, and hope there to take opportunity in due season to visit you, and doe all the good offices in *Virginia* my place or friends can serve you in. And thus tendring my service, I rest

*Madam*, Your Honours most humble faithfull servant, *Robert Evelin*.

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### CHAP. IV.

NOw since Master *Elmes* letter and seven years discoveries of the Lord Governour in person, and by honest traders with the Indians, wee finde beside the Indians Kings by him known and printed, in this Province there is in all twenty three Indian Kings or chief Commanders, and besides the number of 800 by him named, there is at least 1200 under the two *Raritan* Kings on the North side next to *Hudsons* river, and those come down to the Ocean about little *Egbay* and *Sandy Barnegate*, and about the South cape two small Kings with forty men a piece, called *Tirans* and *Tiascons*, and a third reduced to fourteen men at *Roymont*, the *Sasquehannocks* are not now of the Naturals left above 110, though with their forced Auxiliaries the *Ihon a Does*, and *Wicomeses* they can make 250: these

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together are counted valiant and terrible to other cowardly dul Indians, which they beat with the sight of guns only; but in truth meeting with English, are the basest cowards of all, though cunning and subtile to intrap and surprise on all straits, coverts, reeds, and ambushes, for at the last *Maryland* March against them, these 250 having surprised in the reeds, and killed three English men with the losse of one of theirs, Captain *Cornwallis*, that noble, right valiant, and politick soldier, losing but one man more, killed with fifty three of his, and but raw and tired *Marylanders*, twenty nine Indians as they confessed, though compassed round with two hundred and fifty: and Summer this twelve moneth, Captain *Lewis* of *Maryland* at the *Coves* drawing but twenty men out of his winde bound Sloupes, and in two small Cocke-boates, much distant, finding twenty four *Canoes*, and therein an hundred and forty *Sasquehannocks*, reduced by these three *Swedes* into a half moon, with intent to encompassse the first small boat before the second could reach the former, at the first volley of ten shot, and losse of one Indian, they run all away; for note generally twelve English with five foot Calivers, shoot thirty pellets, or dagge shot, and fifty yards distance, and the naked Indian shooteth but one arrow, and not thirty yards distance, so as his Lordship knoweth well with such a squadron of twelve or thirteen mark-men, to encounter three hundred, and to bring off the lock the proudest Sagamoore, to bee ransomed for any Trespasse: and not to suffer any Indian or trader without his Lordships badge or stamped livery worn, to come within twenty miles of his Plantation, or ten miles of their Cattle, 25 as in all the out-skirts of *Virginia* is used, but to kill them. Insomuch that the Emperour *Nicotowance* saying was, my countrymen tell me I am a liar, when tell them the English men will kill you if you goe into their bounds, but valiant Captain *Freeman* made him no liar, when lately he killed three Indians so without badge incroaching. And therefore fair and far off is best with Heathen Indians; and fit it is to reduce all their trading to five Ports or Pallisadoed trucking houses, and to kill all straglers and such spies without ransome. Then shall christians and their cattle be safe and quiet, and severely putting to death all that sell the Indians guns, arms and ammunition, then Indians are sooner ruled, civilized and subjected, as in *New England* is daily seen. In *Long Isle* are about four: Kings, and eight hundred Bow-men, most of them two hundred miles off his Lps seat of

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*Watcessit* in *Charles* river, these of *Long Isle* are well civilized, living within ten miles, and in sight of eight thousand English in that part of *New England* being, and the five towns in *Connectacut* river, and *New Haven* town being populous, discourageth any hostility: but chiefly his Lordships sixe good free-holding towns in *Long Isle*, is a bridle to check and contain them; for *Southampton*, *Hempsteed*, *Flushing*, *Gravesand* and *Ainsford* are placed like distinct Garisons to command them. Then between the two South Capes there are two petty Kings called *Aquats* and little *Matankin*, having both an hundred Bow-men, and above *Watcessit*, South-west, are the black and white *Mincos* neer three hundred men, being speciall friends to *Watcessit*, and enemies to the *Sasquehannocks*. Now for choice seats for English, *Watcessit* first, where were seventy English, as Master *Miles* deposeth, he swearing the officers there to his Majesties allegiance, and to obedience to your Lordship as Governour, being twenty one leagues up *Delaware Bay* in *Charles* river, to which any ship may come, and about IT *Manteses* plain, which Master *Evelin* avoucheth to be twenty miles broad, and thirty long, and 50 miles washed by two fair navigable rivers, and is 300000 Acres fit to plow and sow all Corn, Tobacco, and Flaxe, and Rice, the four staples of *Albion*. The second seat is three miles off to *Watcessit* adjoining to *Charles* and *Cotton* river, so named of six hundred l. of *Cotton wilde* on trees growing: and is called *Ritchneck*, being twenty four miles compasse, oak wood, huge Timber trees, and two foot black mould, much desired of the *Virginians* to plant Tobacco, they alledging each plant there dried and cured, will bring a pound, whereas worn land five and sixe to pound, and their large leaves in the new land, and freshes, serve to lap up all the bad S. *Christophers*, and *Barbadoes* rolled Tobacco, 26 and maketh it fire sooner: of the three upper leaves they make *Varinas* and *Spanish*. The Dutch give for this double price, and the English double for sweet sented: and though *Charles* river is 120 miles North of *James* river in *Virginia*, yet having a more faire constant and tempered growing heat, Tobacco three years together tried, is riper, and sooner struck by wet seasons by full three weeks, then in *Virginia*, and hath yeilded double the price: and no doubt Cotton will grow as in *Millai\*\**, being three degrees more North-ward, though as there it dieth yearly by frost, is re-planted by the seed as a Rosebush giveth a full cod.

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The third seat is at *Roymont* a strong, rich and fit place for a Fort. Sir *Walter Rawley* left there thirty men, and four guns, the Dutch seated there fifteen men and a Fort, both to plant in that rich five miles neck to *Roymont* river (which runneth down into *Chisapoack Bay*) choice Tobacco, and thereby to prejudice and undersell *Virginia*, as to set up a fishing Stage for Whales, these proved but *Grampus*, and they killing basely an Indian refusing quarter or ransome, were by the Indians killed and expelled twenty years since. This place is close to the In-south Cape, having a Creek of sixe foot water only, and two furlongs of the grand *Delaware Bay*: on one side is an *Isthmos* or *Peninsule*, nine miles compasse, fit for pasturage, and Hogs and Goats: and on the other side is a second *Isthmos*, four miles compasse, easily fenced, and is but sixty miles over land to the Northermost and neerest part of *Virginia*, to drive cattle by land, and have supplies by horse and foot: and here is never ice or frost: sea fish, all oysters, and shell-fish, and fowl, all winter Cod to lade ships three moneths after *December* fit for salt and trade: and there is a poor Indian of fourteen men only, and weak to hinder any, all the soile is under a brick earth, stone slat hard by, and timber to build.

The fourth seat is *Vvedale* under *Websneck*, and is a valley sixe miles long, sheltred by hills from the North-west windes: below it is sixe miles a thicket of four sorts of excellent great Vines running on Mulberry and Sassafras trees; there are four sorts of Grapes, the first is the Tholouse Muscat, sweet sented, the second the great foxe and thick Grape, after five moneths reaped being boyled and salted, and well fined, it is a strong red Xeres; the third a light Claret, the fourth a white Grape creeps on the land, maketh a pure GOLD colour white wine: *Tenis Pale* the French man of these four made eight sorts of excellent wine, and of the Muscat acute boyled that the second draught will fox a reasonable pate four moneths old: and here may be gathered and made two hundred tun in the Vintage moneth, and 27 re-planted will mend; two other valleys there of the same Grapes and large, above *Vvedale*, the bill is called *Websneck*, environed with three rivers round, one of sixteen foot water navigable, all but a neck, a caliver shot over, easily imbarked, being 9000 acres, the cliffes all of rich black mould, with huge timber trees, most fit for

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Tobacco and Corn: not far off are rich lead mines, containing silver tried, and iron stone, and by it waters, and fals to drive them in an inhabited desert, no Christians or Indians neer it, where Elkes, Stagges and Deer are most quiet, most fat, and not disturbed, so as five men in three or four days kill and salt sixty Deer, or an hundred twenty sides for Summers food: four or five hundred Turkeys in a flock, Swans, Hoopers, Geese, Ducks, Teles, and other Fowles, a mile square, and seven mile together on the shores, for here is all Ches-nuts Wall-nuts, and Mast berries, and March seeds wilde Oats, and Vetches to feed them. Neer hand is also in *August* Custard apples, and Papawes to make the best Perry English for 100 tun in a place, and all Plums, Hurtleberries, Black Cherries, wilde Anniseed, Persimenas, and other dainty fruits, and roots, are had, as in all the huge long Meads and Marshes, sweet seg roots, ground nuts, Tucaho and Cuttinamon roots for Hogs and whole Warrens, and berries of sweet Muskerats, and here black Bears and Lions feeding on sweet foods, are killed and eaten. In the head of *Chisepeack* river by *Tomkins* and *Walton*, was seen a Camel Mare brown black, seven foot high, of which 300 mile West-ward are stores their skins brought and sold by the Indians confirm it.

The fifth seat is *Brents* fort, a steep rock, invincible and not to be battered, having an *Isthmos* of low hard ground like a Tongue below it environed with fresh water, and under it a Cove close to hide two ships or gallies, ships of 500 tun may come up to it, and hard by is good Mead and rich land, and Woods to plant; and in this desert is best living, stored as before with all game and their food to maintain them.

The sixth is an Ile called *Palmers* Ile, containing 300 acres, half meade, halfe wood; in it is a rock forty foot high, like a Tower, fit to be built on for a trading house for all the Indians of *Chisepeack* Gulfe: it lieth a mile from each shore in *Sasquehannocks* river mouth, and there four Sakers will command that river, and renue the old trade that was; it lieth in forty degrees and twelve minutes, it is most healthy, but cold neer the hils, and full as all the seventeen rivers there of eleven sorts of excellent fresh fish; the Indians in stead of salt doe barbecado or dry and smoak fish, to each house a reek or great pile, and another of

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Sun dried on the 28 rocks. Strawberries, Mulberries, Symnells, Maycocks and Horns like Cucumbers.

The seventh is five mile off it, called *Mount Royall* or *Bolalmanack* hill, and more properly *Belveder*, for thence you may see 100 miles off high hils, above the clouds like sugar-loaves that shelter and bear off the North-west windes; here is a clear Indian field sixe miles long to plant and plow rich land, and as well stored as the rest, and under it is *Elk* river, having many branches navigable, in all these the Tide of fresh sweet water ebbes and flowes, and hath three fathome deep, the mouth of it is like a fort with fit *Isthmos* and *necks*, and runneth up seven leagues to a street, but eleven miles over land into *Charles* river, and *Delaware Bay*, this neck is a rare work of God, for it is 450 miles compasse to goe by sea and water, from one side to the other of this eleven miles street, and *Vvedale* is on one of these branches.

The eight seat is *Kildorpy*, neer the fals of *Charles* river, neer 200 miles up from the Ocean, it hath clear fields to plant and sow, and neer it is sweet large meads of clover or honysuckle, no where else in *America* to be seen, unlesse transported from *Europe*, a ship of 140 tuns may come up to these fals which is the best seat for health, and a trading house to be built on the rocks, and ten leagues higher are lead mines in stony hils.

The ninth is called *Mount Ployden*, the seat of the *Raritan* King on the North side of this Province twenty miles from *Sandhay* sea, and ninety from the Ocean, next to *Amara* hill, the retired Paradise of the children of the *Ethiopian* Emperour, a wonder, for it is a square rock, two miles compasse, 150 foot high, a wall-like precipice, a strait entrance, easily made invincible, where he keeps two hundred for his guard, and under it is a flat valley, all plain to plant and sow.

The *Sasquehannocks* new Town is also a rare, healthy and rich place, with it a Crystall broad river, but some fals below hinder navigation, and the Hooke all on the Ocean with its

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clear fields neer *Hudsons* river on one side, and a ten leagues flowing river on the south side is much commended for health and fish, were it not so Northerly.

The bounds is a thousand miles compasse, of this most temperate, rich Province, for our South bound is *Maryland* North bounds, and beginneth at *Aquats* or the Southermost or first Cape of *Delaware Bay* in thirty eight and forty minutes, and so runneth by, or through, or including *Kent* Isle, through *Chisapeack Bay* to *Pascatway*; including the fals of *Pawtomecke* river to the head or Northermost branch of that river, being three hundred miles due West, and thence Northward to the head 29 of *Hudsons* river fifty leagues, and so down *Hudsons* river to the Ocean, sixty leagues; and, thence by the Ocean and Isles across *Delaware Bay* to the South Cape fifty leagues; in all seven hundred and eighty miles. Then all *Hudsons* river, Isles, *Long* Isle, or *Pamunke*, and all Isles within ten leagues of the said Province being; and note *Long* Isle alone is twenty broad, and one hundred and eighty miles long, so that alone is four hundred miles compasse. Now I have examined all former Patents, some being surrendred, and some adjudged void, as gotten on false suggestions, as that at the Councell Table was at Master *Gorges* suit, of *Matachusets*, and as Captain *Clayborn* heretofore Secretary, and now treasurer of *Virginia*, in dispute with Master *Leonard Calvert* alledged; that of *Maryland* is likewise void in part as gotten on false suggestions: for as Cap: *Clayborn* sheweth the *Maryland* Patent in the first part declareth the Kings intention to bee to grant a land there after described, altogether dishabited and unplanted, though possest with Indians. Now *Kent* Isle was with many houtholds of English by C. *Clayborn* before seated, and because his Majesty by his privy signet shortly after declared it was not his intention to grant any lands before seated and habited: and for that it lieth by the *Maryland* printed Card, clean Northward within *Albion*, and not in *Maryland*, and not onely late Sea-men, but old Depositions in *Claybornes* hand, shew it so to be out of *Maryland*, and for that *Albions* Privy signet is elder, and before *Maryland* patent, *Clayborn* by force entred, and thrust out Master *Calvert* out of *Kent*; Next *Maryland* Patent coming to the Ocean, saith along by the Ocean unto *Delaware Bay*; That is the first Cape of the two most plain in view, and exprest

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in all late English and Dutch Cards; and note unto *Delaware Bay* is not into the *Bay*, nor farther then that Cape heading the *Bay*, being in thirty eight and forty, or at most by seven Observations I have seen, thirty eight and fifty minutes: So as undoubtedly, that is the true intended and ground bound, and line, and no farther, for the words following, are not words of Grant, but words of Declaration; that is, *Which Delaware Bay lieth in forty degrees where New England ends*; these are both untrue, and so being declarative is a false suggestion, is void, for no part of *Delaware Bay* lieth in forty. Now if there were but the least doubt of this true bounds, I should wish by consent or commission, a perambulation and boundary, not but there is land enough for all, and I hold *Kent Isle* having lately but twenty men in it, and the Mill and Fort pulled down, and in war with all the Indians neer it, not worth the keeping.

But it is materiall to give a touch of Religion and Government, to satisfy the curious and well-minded Adventurer. For 30 Religion it being in *England* yet unsettled, severall Translations of Bibles, and those expounded to each mans fancy, breeds new Sects, I conceive the *Holland* way now practised best to content all parties: first, by Act of Parliament or Grand Assembly, to settle and establish all the Fundamentals necessary to salvation, as the three Creeds, the Ten Commandments, Preaching on the Lords day, and great days, and Catechising in the afternoon, the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptisme; But no persecution to any dissenting, and to all such as to the *Walloons* free Chapels; and to punish all as seditious, and for contempt, as BITTER, rail and condemn others of the contrary; for this argument or perswasion ALL Religion, Ceremonies, or Church-Discipline, should be acted in mildnesse, love and charity, and gentle language, not to disturb the peace or quiet of the Inhabitants, but therein to obey the Civill Magistrate.

For the Politique and Civill Government, and Justice, *Virginia* and *New England* is our president: First, the Lord head Governour, a Deputy Governour, Secretary of Estate, or Seal keeper, and twelve of the Councill of State or upper House: and these or five of them is also a Chancery Court. Next, out of Counties and Towns, at a free election and day prefixed, thirty Burgesses, or Commons. Once yearly the tenth of *November* these meet,

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as a Parliament or Grand Assembly, and make Laws, or repeal, alter, explain, and set taxes and rates for common defence, and without full consent of Lord, upper and lower House nothing is done: Appeals are here also tried, all criminall cases for life, above only by two Jurics, or actions at Law, a Jury on either side may be called, and by them tried: and any before judgement, may stop the Law, and be tried in Equity; The two months Courts may try before four Justices of Peace, any action not exceeding 10l. or 1500 l. of Tobacco, at 4 s. charge onely, and plead without attorney; an Appeal lieth thence to each quarter, or Chancery first Court above, and from thence an appeal to the Grand Assembly: any matter under 40 s. value, or 200 l. of Tobacco, to be ended by the next Justice at 1 s. charge, no deposition to be taken but before two Justices, whereof one of the *Quorum*, or in Court, or before a Councill, or of Estate: and here is no Jeofails, nor Demurrers, but a Summary hearing, and a Sheriffe, and Clerk of Court, with small fees, ends all for the most part in a few words.

Last of all, how plentifully may a quiet industrious man live here, having with Corn Land, Mead and Pasture, and Timbers, and Woods covered, many months with Ches-nuts, and four other nuts, and mast for Deer, Hogs and Turkeys, Fish, Fowl, Venison, Wine and Fruits *gratis*? Our chiefe Staples are Tobacco, then Flax and Rice, of which in floated lands you 31 have infinite increase, and without floating you may have, and all the winter Ship-plankes, clove board and Pipe-staves, these lade home ships twice a year hence, and for them bring you any English servants, or English or Dutch wares, cloths, stuffes, drams, wines, or what you bespeak: but surely we may easily grow rich if we will and buy no clothes, for a good Weaver brought hither, will make us of our own Flaxe nine sorts of Linnens, tufted Hollands, Velures, Velvets, Tuftaffetaes, and Plushes; and for Winter a good Glover with some onely of our own Elk-skins, maketh the best Buffe-coats, our owne Stag and Deer skins make best gentile and soldiers clothes, fittest for our Woods: a Doe-skin breeches with the fur inside in our short Winter, is better then two broad clothes and warmer, so we need no English clothing; Cattle in *Virginia*, and all Grain in *New England* brought to our doores cheaper then here; Indian Corn, or Pease, or Beans, at twelve

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pence a bushel, by truck with the Indians, and Rye Meal, a third, with the white and any Mayz Meal, which is all together but twenty pence, a bushell of Meale maketh the best bread, and we have more choice drinks then here, for sweet \*\*alk and Pumpion drink hopped, is good beer, and ale we have and mault for you; and in the hot Summer rock cold water, with an eighth of Peach Vinegar is the best Beaverage: Peaches better then Apricocks by some doe feed Hogs, one man hath ten thousand trees, all Apples, Pears, Cherries, and other fruits grow here in half the time as in your cold and blasty Region, and do all Hops and Roots, Hearbs and Garden stuffe. Our days in Summer 2 hour shorter, and in Winter more comfortable two houres longer, and a warme Sun and bigger fires, and no rent to my Landlord, makes us merry. He that is lazy and will not work, needs not fear starving, but may live as an Indian, sometimes Oysters, Cockles, Wilkes, Glams, Scollons two moneths together; sometimes wilde Pease and Vetches, and Long Oats, sometimes Tuckaho, Cuttenoman ground, Nuts, Marhonions, sometime small nuts, Filbirds, Wallnuts, Pokikerries, ten sorts of Berries, Eggs of Fowl, small fish in Coves at low water will teach him to live idly.

### CHAP. V.

EACH Adventurer of twenty or fifty men must provide houshold necessaries, as irons and chains for a draw-bridge, two Mares or Horses to bred or ride on, Pots, Pans, Dishes, Iron for a Cart and Plow, Chains, Sithes, and Sickles, 32 Nets, Lines and Hooks. A sail for a fishing Shallop of three tun, and Hemp to employ his people in making them, as with hair, and canvas for quilts, as well on shipboard as demurring at the sea port, as with locks, keys, bolts, and glasse casements for his house. And generally fit Implements for the work or trade he intends.

For trade with the Indians, buy Dutch or Welch rugged cloth, seven quarters broad, a violet blew or red, at four or five shillings a yard, small hooks and fishing lines, Morris bels, Jewesharps, Combes, trading knives, Hatchets, Axes, Hoes, they will bring you Venison, Turkeys, and Fowles, Flesh, &c. for a pennyworth of corn at twelve pence a bushell.

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*Provisions for each man, and the charge from London.*

1. Canvas, or linnen clothes, Shooes, Hats, &c. costing here foure pounds for two men to buy Cows, Goats, and Hogs in *Virginia*, which there yeeld sixe pound, and will buy one Cow, and Oxe, two Goats two Sowes, which one each man comes to 2l. 0. 0.

2. Freight for a Passenger, and his half Tun of provisions and Tooles. 1 l. 10. 0.

3. Victuals till his own stock and crop maintain him for seven moneths. 3 l. 10. 0.

That is, Pease, Oatmeal and Aquavite, 7 s. five bushels of Meal, of which to be baked into Biskets, and five bushels of Malt, some must be ground and brewed for the voyage, both 1 l. 10s. a hundred of Beefe, and Pork, 1 l. 2 s. two bushels of roots, 2 s. salt fish, 2 s. Cask to carry provision 5 s. five pound of Butter 2 s.

4. One Hogshead of eares of Corn Garden seeds, Hemp, and linseed with husk and some Rice from *Virginia*. 0. 16. 0.

5. Armes ( viz.) a Sword, Calliver five foot long, or long Pistoll, Pikehead: six pound of powder, ten pound of shot, halfe an old slight Armour that is, two to one Armour. 0. 19. 0.

6. Tools, a Spade, Axe and Shovell, 5 s. Iron and Steel to make and mend more, and two hundred of nails, 5 s. 0. 10. 0.

7. Guns and Powder for the Fort, that is to every fifty foure Murtherers, \*\*\* a barell of powder 4 l. 10 s. that is to each man 5 s.

8. A Bed and sheets of Canvas, to be filled with huls, each man a Rug 15 s.

*Sum totall*, 10l. 5. 0.

**CHAP. VI.**

HEre by bringing good Labourers, and Tradesmen, the provident planters may doe well by giving shares or double wages, when each man may earn his five, nay sixe shillings a day in Tobacco, Flaxe, Rice.

2. For here the Ship-carpenters ten men a day will build a tun of shipping as in *England*, which with masts and yards there taken is here, and there worth \*\* a tun, and yet here, and there is built at 1 l. a tun wages, which is 6 s. a days work, having the Timber without money.

3. Here in 14 days they make a thousand of Pipe-staves, worth here foure pound, and at the *Canaries* twenty pound a thousand, and so get six shillings a days work.

4. Here in making Iron they save 5 l. a tun in the price of wood, and 3 l. more in digging the Iron mine, and saving land carriage of it, and of the CHARCOALE for mine is taken on the Sea beach, and wood floated down the Rivers, and so each man earns 5 s. 10 d. a day, Iron valued at 12 l. *per* tun.

5. Here the constant trade of 350 ships, and 7000 men a fishing beginne leave cold *Newfoundland* small fish, and late taken, when this is before theirs two moneths at the market, 100 fish here yeelds four quintales, there scarce one, and here is fish all the year, there but only in the four warm months, and is for nine weeks work each man above his diet, passage, and returne, gets twenty pound, and twelve pound a man, and herein dried Base, in Sturgeon, in dressed Mackrell, Herrings, and Pilchers, is got as well as well as in Cod-fish, sixe shil. and eight shil. a day. And this returns ready French and Spanish coin.

6. Here the glorious ripening Sunne as warme as *Italy* or *Spain*, will bring rare fruits, wines, and such store of Anniseed and Licoras, as well as Bay-salt made without boyling, only in pans with the Sun, that each labourer may make 6 bushels a day, worth in these three 12 s. a day, And this maiden soyl, so comforted with the Suns glittering beams, and being

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digged, and set with the Indian Wheat, and their Beans and Pease, with 40 s. charge in 40 days work with seed, yeelds 10 quarters an acre, the same Wheat being ten times as big and as weighty as ours, besides Potatoes, Woad, Madder, Roots, and many Plants, and Tobacco, will yeeld half a tun of Flax, and a tun of Hemp, worth 12 l. an acre, and 6 s. a days work. C

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7. Here as in *Province in France*, Walnut-Milk, or Oyle ground and pressed, will yeeld the gatherer ten gallons, and 10 s. a days work.

8. Here the Land lieth covered seven moneths with Beech, and Oke Mast, Walnuts, chestnuts, and three moneths with Groundnuts, Seg and other roots, and wilde Pease, and Fetches yearly, so as forty Hogs for one, and ninety Turkeys, Partridges, Heathpoults, and tame Poultry, eating their fill, for ONCE ordinary encreased.

9. Here the Sope and Pot-ashes men paying in *England* 12 d. a bushel and 4 d. carriage for ashes, and 20 l. a tun for Pot-ashes, may make them at a quarter and lesse: and get 8 s. a days work, by cutting, reeking, and burning whole plains of Fern, Brambles, and wilde Vines, being thrice as stronge as Wood-ashes.

10. Here a ship may goe, and return in five moneths laded, and comfortable, see their friends, makingt wo voyages a year, in a healthy ayre, free from Enemies and Turks, and get two for one each voyage: that is, four for one, of that stock, and proceed in a year.

11. Here the kinde Gentleman that in *England* doth not live without deep mortgages, suretiship, law-suits and troubles, may here settle, and avoid ill company, and tempting occasions, and live in plenty, and variety of all sports, hunting Deere, hawking Fowl, fishing, and many more sports, and sorts of game, as with dainty fruits; and lay up his spare rents.

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12. Here the Soldier, and Gentlemen wanting employment, and not hire to labor, without going to war to kil Christians for 5 s. a week in the mouth of the roaring Cannon, or in a Siege threatned with famine, and pestilence: and OFTEN together against a few naked salvages, may like a devout Apostoliqued soldier with sword, and the word to civilize, and convert them to be his Majesties Lieges, and by trading with them for furs, get his ten shillings a day, and at home intermixing sport and pleasure, with profit, store his Parks with Elks and fallow Deer, are fit to ride, milke or drawe, the first as big as Oxen, and bringing three a year, and with five hundred Turkeys in a flock got by nets, in stalling get his five shil. a day at least.

Passage and diet of a man, his bedding and chest thither, 5 l. 0.0.

Bedding will cost 15 s. drams, fruit and spice, 1. 0. 0.

In goods to buy a Cow, and stock each man here, 2. 0. 0.

Arms, Ammunition and Tools, each man 2. 0. 0.

*Sum totall* 10. 0. 0.

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All Adventurers of 500 l. to bring fifty men shall have 5000 acres, and a manor with Royalties, at 5 s. rent, and whosoever is willing so to transport himself or servant at 10 l. a man, shall for each man have 100 acres freely granted for ever, and at may be instructed how in a moneth to passe, and in 20 days to get fit servants and artificers for wages, diet, and clothes, and apprentices according to the 3 Statutes 5 *Eliz.* All which after 5 years service, are to have 30 acres of free land, and some stock, and bee free-holders.

FINIS.

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A Perfect Description of VIRGINIA: BEING, A full and true Relation of the present State of the Plantation, their Health, Peace, and Plenty: the number of people, with their abundance of Cattell, Fowl, Fish, &c. with severall sorts of rich and good Commodities, which may there be had, either Naturally, or by Art and Labour. Which we are fain to procure from *Spain, France, Denmark, Swedeland, Germany, Poland*, yea, from the *East-Indies*. There having been nothing related of the true estate of this Plantation these 25 years.

no. 8

*Being sent from Virginia, at the request of a Gentleman of worthy note, who desired to know the true State of Virginia as it now stands.*

ALSO, A Narration of the Countrey, within a few dayes journey of *Virginia, West and by South*, where people come to trade: being related to the Governour, Sir *William Berckley*, who is to go himsele to discover it with 30 horse, and 50 foot, and other things needful for his enterprize.

*With the manner how the Emperor Nichotawance came to Sir William Berckley, attended with five petty Kings, to doe Homage, and bring Tribute to King CHARLES. With his solemne Protestation, that the Sun and Moon should lose their Lights, before he (or his people in that Country) should prove disloyall, but ever to keepe Faith and Allegiance to King CHARLES.*

*London, Printed for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peters Church in Cornhill. 1649.*

P. Force, Washington, 1837.

LEB 22 Apr 03

*These things that follow in this ensuing Relation are certified by divers (Letters from Virginia, by men of worth and credit there, written to a Friend in England,) that for his owne, and others satisfaction, was desirous to know these particulars, and the present*

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*estate of that Countrey. And let no man doubt of the truth of it, there be many in England, Land and Seamen that can beare witnessse of it. And if this Plantation be not worth Encouragement, let every true Englishman judge.*

1

THat there are in *Virginia* about fifteene thousand *English*, and of *Negroes* brought thither, three hundred good servants.

2 That of *Kine*, *Oxen*, *Bulls*, *Calves*, twenty thousand, large and good, and they make plenty of Butter and very good Cheese.

3 That there are of an excellent raise, about two hundred *Horse* and *Mares*.

4 That of *Asses* for burthen and use, them is fifty but daily increase.

5 That for *Sheepe* they have about three thousand, good wooll.

6 That for *Goates* there number is five thousand, thrive well.

7 That for *Swine* both tame and wilde (in the Woods) innumerable; the flesh pure and good, and Bacon none better.

8 That for Poultry, *Hens*, *Turkies*, *Ducks*, *Geese*, without number.

9 That they yearly plow and sow many hundred Acres of *Wheat*, as good, and faire, as any in the world, and great increase.

10 That they have plenty of *Barley*, make excellent Mault.

11 That they have *Six publike Brewhouses*, and most brew their owne Beere, strong and good.

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12 That their *Hopps* are faire and large, thrive well.

4

13 That they sell their *Beefe* at two pence halfe penny a pound, *Pork* at three pence a pound, plentifully.

14 That their *Cattell* are about the prices in *England*, and most of the *Ships* that come yearly hither, are there *Victuall'd*.

15 That they have thirty several sorts of *Fish*, *River* and *Sea*, very excellent good in their kinds, plentiful and large.

16 That they have five and twenty sundry sorts of *Birds* and *Fowles*, *Land* and *Water* abundance, and for food not amisse.

17 That they have twenty kinde of *Beasts*, whereof *Deere* abundance, most sorts to be eaten; creeping *Creatures* many also.

18 That they have fifteene kinds of *Fruits*, pleasant and good, and with *Italy* they will compare for delicate *Fruits*.

19 That they have five and twenty sorts of *Trees*, large, good and fit for *Shipping*, *Housing*, and other uses.

20 That they have *Roots* of severall kindes, *Potatoes*, *Sparagus*, *Carrets*, *Turnips*, *Parsnips*, *Onions*, and *Hartichokes*.

22 For *Herbes* they have of all kinds for *Garden*, and *Physicke* *Flowers*.

23 That their *Maize* or *Virginia* *Corne*, it yeelds them five hundred for one, increase, ('its set as we doe garden *Pease*) it makes good *Bread* and *Furmitie*, will keep seven years, and maults well for *Beere*, and ripe in five *Moneths*, set in *April* or *May*.

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24 That they have store of *Indian Pease*, better then ours, *Beans*, *Lupines*, and the like.

25 They have store of *Bees* in their Woods, make plenty of honey and wax, and also tame *Bees* in hives about their Houses.

26 *Indico* begins to be planted, and thrives wonderfully well, growes up to a little tree, and rich *Indico* made of the leaves of it, all men begins to get some of the seeds, and know it will be of ten-times the gaine to them as Tobacco (and gaine now carries the Bell;) their hopes are great to gaine the Trade of it from the *Mogulls* Countrey, and to supply all Christendome, and this will be many Thousands of pounds in the yeare.

27 Their Tobacco is much vented and esteemed in all places, yet the quantities so great that's made, that the price there is but three pence a pound. A man can plant two Thousand waight a yeare of it, and also sufficient Corne and Rootes, and other provisions for himselfe.

28 They begin to plant much Hempe and Flax which they find growes well and good, onely hands are wanting to this and other workes.

29 Iron Ore and rich Mine are in abundance in the Land, fit 5 streams and waters to erect Iron Mills, woods never to be destroy'd to burne Coale, and all this lye on great Rivers bankes, easie for transportation of Wood and Ore, and there is Stone fit to build the Furnaces with; triall hath been made of this Iron Ore, and not better and richer in the World; his work Erected would be as much worth as a Silver Mine, all things considered: not onely to make all Instruments of Iron for the Plantations Uses, but for Building, Shipping, there being wanting in that Countrey no other Materialls to that Worke; Then the casting of Ordnance, and making them, will abound to serve all the World; so of Mussquets, Armour, all kinde of Toolles, and Manufacture of Iron Workes will be produced in abundance, so that it would become speedily the Magazine of Iron Instruments in every

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kinde, and at cheape rates; so that no Nation could afford them halfe so cheape, and all men know, that Iron will command better Mines.

29 Skilfull Iron-men for the Works sent out of *England*, with the assistance of as many more able labourers there in *Virginia*, housing and victuall ready provided for them; (fitting places for Erecting, the Mills found out already, and Oxen for draught at hand,) the Worke in sixe Moneths time would be effected, and foure hundred pound charge to transport the twenty men to *Virginia*, with all tooles and necessaries for the Worke would doe it: and these Men for their incouragement to have halfe the gaine made of the Iron to be yearly divided betwixt the Undertakers and Workemen, the profit and gaine would be to the enriching of all.

30 They have 4 Wind-mills, and 5 Water-mills to grind their Corn; besides many Horse-mills of several kinds, and Handmills for several uses: A Sawing mill for Boards is much wanted; one mill driven by water, will do as much as 20 Sawyers, &c.

31 There comes yearly to trade with them above 30 saile of ships, and in these not so little as seven or eight hundred Mariners employed, (some say above a thousand, this is a considerable thing) and they return laden home in *March*, (this is a good seminary for Mariners.)

32 The Commodity these ships bring, is Linnen Cloth of all sorts, and so of Woollen Cloth, Stockins, Shooes, and the like things.

33 Most of the Masters of ships and chief Mariners have also there Plantations, and houses, and servants, &c. in *Virginia*; and so are every way great gainers by Freight, by Merchandize, and by Plantation and Pipe-staves, Clap-board, choice Walnut-tree-wood, Ceader-tree-timber and the like, is transported by them if Tobacco is not their full lading.

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34 They have in their Colony Pinnaces, Barkes, great and small Boats many hundreds, for most of their Plantations stand upon the Rivers sides or up little Creeks, and but a small way into the Land so that for transportation and fishing they use many Boates.

35 They make Pitch and Tarre, (and there is materials in the Woods for abundance.) Also for Pot and Sope-ashes, Woods most proper and store: hands want.

36 That for Mulbery-trees, the natural and proper food for *Silk-wormes*, they have abundance in the woods, and some so large that one tree contains as many leaves as will feed *Silke-wormes* that will make as much Silk as may be worth five pounds *sterling* money, this some *French* men affirme. And now they desire *Silk-wormes-seed* which is sent them, and their hopes are good of the thriving of it: A *Commodity* that may soon enrich them all with little labour, care or pains; all Materials so plentiful and at hand, the food in abundance, the Climate warm, and the work done in five weeks time, and within doors, by women and children as well as men, and at that time of the year in *May*, that it hinders not any other work or planting, sowing, or the like employments; such an advantage, that had the *Dutch* the like in any of their Plantations, they would improve it to the certaine gaine in the trade of Silke from *Persia* and *China*, which we fetch with great charge and expence and hazard, and inrich Heathen and Mabumetans greatly; but to these things lack Publick and State encouragements to begin the work: but more of this in an other place, it deserves a full handling.

37 Vines in abundance and variety, do grow naturally over all the land, but by the birds and beasts, most devoted before they come to perfection and ripenesse; but this testifies and declares, That the Ground, and the Climate is most proper, and the Commodity of Wine is not a contemptible Merchandize; but some men of worth and estate must give in these things example to the inferiour inhabitants and ordinary sort of men, to shew them the gain and Commodity by it, which they will not believe but by experience before their faces: And in Tobacco they can make 20 *l. sterling* a man, at 3 d a pound *per annum*; and this they find and know, and the present gain is that, that puts out all endeavours from

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the attempting of others more Staple, and Sollid, and rich Commodities, out of the heads and hands of the Common people: So as I say, the wealthier sort of men must begin and give the example, and make the gain of other Commodities as apparent to them, by the effecting them to perfection, or it will not (as it hath not hither unto) go forward.

38 That they have health very well, and fewer die in a year 7 there, according to the proportion, then in any place of *England*; since that men are provided with all necessaries, have plenty of victual, bread, and good beer, and houseing, all which the Englishmen loves full dearly.

39 That the Passengers also come safe and well: the seamen of late years having found a way, that now in 5, 6, and 7 weeks they saile to *Virginia* free from all Rocks, Sands, and Pirats; and that they return home again in 20 dayes sometimes, and 30 at most: the Winds commonly serving more constantly, being Westerly homeward, the Easterly outward bound.

40 That the mouth of the two Capes of Land, Cape *Henry* on the South, and Cape *Charles* on the North; the entrance in is in 37 degrees: that the first River up the West is *James* River, where most of the Plantations are setled and Towns: the second is *Charles* river on the North of it; and the third called by the Indian name *Tapahanuke*, the 4 river *Patawoenicke*, the 5 river *Patuxant*, the 6 *Bolus*, the 7 *Saquisahanuke*: at the head of the great Bay of *Chespiacke*, into which Bay these 7 rivers from the West side of it do all enter and run into, and so the mouth of the Bay issueth out due East into the main Sea between the two aforesaid Capes: the Bay lies North and South, and hath a Channel in draught of 140 miles, and in depth between 5, 6, and 15 fathomes in some places. The widenesse of the Bay is from the West side which is the great Land, to the East side of the Land which joynes upon the Sea called the *Acamake*-shore; the widenesse and breadth of this Bay I say, is about 9, 10, and 14 miles broad in some places of it; and these 7 Rivers have their mouths into the Bay, not above 20 miles, each River is distant from the other: But this in *Smiths* Map is more at large described.

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41 That some English about a thousand are seated upon the *Acamake*-shore by Cape *Charles*, (where Captaine *Yeardly* is chief Commander) now called the County of *Northampton*.

42 That they have Lime in abundance made for their houses, store of Bricks made, and House and Chimnies built of Brick, and some Wood high and fair, covered with *Shingell* for *Tyle*, yet they have none that make them, wanting workmen; in that trade the Brickmakers have not the art to do it, it shrinketh.

43 That since the Massacree, the *Savages* have been driven far away, many destroyed of them, their Towns and houses ruinated, their cleer grounds possessed by the English to sow *Wheat* in: and their great King *Opechauenow* (that bloody Monster upon 100 years old) was taken by *Sir William Berkely* the Governour.

44 All kinds of Trades-men may live well there, and do gaine 8 much by their labours and arts, as Turners, Potters, Coopers; to make all kind of earthen and wooden Vessels, Sawyers, Carpenters, Tyle-makers, Boat-wrights, Taylors, Shoemakers, Tanners, Fishermen, and the like.

45 Young youths from 16 yeers and upward, for Apprentises and Servants for some yeers, then to have Land given them, and Cattel to set them up. Thousands of these kinds of young boyes and maydens wanting.

46 That the Government is after the Lawes of *England*, (that is well for men before they go, to know under what Lawes they shall live:) A Governour and Council of State; and yearly general Assemblies, men chosen and sent out of each County, (there being 12 in *Virginia*;) these men Vote, and by the major part all things are concluded; and they are Elected to those places by the most voices in the County for whom they are chosen, and by whom sent.

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47 They have 20 Churches in *Virginia*, and Ministers to each, and the Doctrine and Orders after the Church of *England*: the Ministers Livings are esteemed worth at least 100 *l. per annum*. they are paid by each planter so much Tobacco *per Pole*, and so many bushels of Corn: they live all in peace and love.

48 That for matter of their better knowledge of the Land they dwell in, the Planters resolve to make a further Discovery into the Country West and by South up above the Fall, and over the Hills, and are confident upon what they have learned from the *Indians*, to find a way to a West or South Sea by land or rivers, and to discover a way to *China* and *East Indies* or unto some other Sea that shall carry them thither; For Sir *Francis Drake* was on the back side of *Virginia* in his voyage about the World in 37 degrees just opposite to *Virginia*, and called *Nova Albion*, and by the Natives kindly used: And now all the question is only how broad the Land may be to that place from the head of *James River* above the Falls, but all men conclude if it be not narrow, yet that there is and will be found the like rivers issuing into a South Sea or a West Sea on the other side of those Hills, as there is on this side when they run from the West down into a East Sea after a course of 150 miles: but of this certainty M. *Hen. Brigs* that most judicious and learned Mathematician wrote a small Tractate, and presented it to that most noble Earle of *Southampton* then Governour of the *Virginia* Company in *England*, *Ann.* 1623. to which I referre for a full information.

And by such a Discovery the Planters in *Virginia*, shall gain the rich trade of the *East India*, and so cause it to be driven 9 through the Continent of *Virginia*, part by Land and part by Water, and in a most gainfull way and safe, and far lesse expenceful and dangerous, then now it is.

And they doubt not to find some rich and beneficiall Country, and commodities not yet known to the world that lies West and by South now from their present Plantation.

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49 That the *Swedes* have come and crept into a River called *Delawar*, that is, within the limits of *Virginia* in 38 degrees and 30 min. it lies, and are there planted, 100 of them drive a great and secret trade of Furs, which they trade for with the Natives: it is but 2 dayes journey by land from our Plantations, and a dayes sail by Sea from Cape *Charles*.

50 And again, the *Hollanders* have stolen into a River called *Hudsons* river in the limits also of *Virginia* (and about 39 degrees) they have built a strong Fort there, and call it *Prince Maurice* and *New Netherlands*, they drive a trade of Fures there with the Natives for above ten thousand pounds a year.

*These two Plantations are between Virginia and New England on our side of Cape Cood which parts us and New England.*

Thus are the *English* nosed in all places, and out-traded by the *Dutch*, they would not suffer the *English* to use them so: But they have vigilant *Statesmen*, and advance all they can for a Common good, and will not spare any encouragements to their people to discover.

But it is well known, that our *English* Plantations have had little countenances, nay, that our *Statesmen* (when time was) had store of *Gondemores* gold to destroy and discountenance the Plantation of *Virginia*, and he effected it in a great part, by dissolving the Company, wherein most of the Nobility, Gentry, Corporate Cities, and most Merchants of *England*, were Interested and Engaged; after the expence of some hundred of thousands of pounds: For *Gundemore* did affirme to his Friends, that hee had Commission from his Master to ruine that *Plantation*. For, said he, should they thrive and goe on increasing, as they have done under the Government of that Popular L. of *Southampton*, my masters *West-Indies*, and his *Mexico* would shortly be visited by Sea and by Land, from those Planters in *Virginia*. And Marquis *Hambleton* told the Earle of *Southampton*, that *Gundemore* said to King *James*, that the *Virginia* Courts, was but a Seminarie to a

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Seditious Parliament. But this is but a touch by the way, for a future *Item* to our Countrey not to despise Plantations.

10

51 The Land in *Virginia* is most fruitfull, and produceth with very great increase, whatsoever is committed into the Bowells of it, Planted, Sowed. A fat rich Soile every where watered with many fine Springs, small Rivolets, and wholesome Waters.

52 The Countrey is with pleasant rising small Ascents and Descents, Valleys, Hills, Meadowes, and some levell Upland: Its Woody all over, but where labour hath cleared the ground from Trees, and this truely is the great labour in *Virginia*, to fell Trees, and to get up the Roots, and so make cleare ground for the Plow.

53 Stones, and Rocks, and Quarries of severall kinds, and very fit for the Iron Furnaces (as triall hath been made to endure fire) are in divers places found in *Virginia*.

54 There is divers skins of Beasts for Merchandize and uses, as Beavers, Otters, Squirrels, wild Cats, and Christall is there found.

55 Divers kinds of Druggs, Gummes, Dyes, Paints, that the *Indians* use.

56 There is a kind of Flax the *Indians* use to make threeds of and strings, we call it silke grasse, i'ts fine to make both Linnen and Stuffe of it; abundance in many places of it groweth.

57 To the *Southward* of *James* River, some fiftie miles by Land, and eighty by Sea, lyes the River *Chawanok*: whither Master *Porey* went by Land, and reported, the King there told him, that within ten days Journey *Westward* towards Sun setting there were a people that did gather nut of a River sand, the which they washed in *Sives*, and had a thing out of it, that they then put into the Fire, which melted and became like to our Copper, and offered to send some of his People to guide him to that place. But master *Porey* being not

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provided with men as he would have had of *English*, he returned to Sir *George Yearly*, and acquainted him with the Relation. But before they could prepare for the Journey, and Discovery, the first Massacre happened, and so to this day it hath beene unattempted. The Company also in *England* was dissolved, their Patent most unjustly, against all Law and Conscience, taken from them. Procured by the *Spanish* Gold and Faction, and the Colony never looked after, whether sinke or swimme; and hath now these twenty foure yeares since, laboured for life, and onely to subsist with much adoe; The Cattell then left, increased to what you heare, and in all these many years no more People in it, and they having little Incouragement, and great uncertainties, whether ever to be continued a Colony, whereby men have had 11 no heart to Plant for Posterity, but every man for the present, Planted Tobacco to get a livelyhood by it.

And had not this present Governour beene sent as hee was, and continued, who hath done all a Gentleman could doe to mainetaine it alive: It had upon this second Massacre beene utterly deserted and ruined; as things stand in our owne Land. If any demand the cause of this late Massacre, all having been forgiven and forgotten, what the *Indians* did the first time; Those that are Planters there, write the occasion of the *Indians* doing so wicked an Act, was. [???] That some of them confessed, That their great King was by some *English* Informed, that all was under the Sword in *England*, in their Native Countrey, and such divisions in our Land; That now was his time or never, to roote out all the *English*; For those that they could not surprize and kill under the feigned masque of Friendship and feasting, and the rest would be by wants; and having no supplyes from their own Countrey which could not helpe them, be suddenly Consumed and Famished. The *Indians* Allaruming them night and day, and killing all their Cattell, as with ease they might doe, and by destroying in the nights, all their Corne Fields, which the *English* could not defend. All this had (as they write) taken full effect, if God had not abated the Courages of the Savages in that moment of time, they so treacherously slew the *English*; who were presently (the Act done) so affrighted in their owne minds, that they had not the heart to follow the Counsells their King had commanded: but to the admiration of the

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*English*, prosecuted not their opportunitie, nor were constant to their owne Principles, But fled away and retyled themselves many miles distant off the Colony: which little space of time gave the *English* opportunity to gather themselves together, call an Assembly, secure their Cattell, and to thinke upon some way to defend themselves, if need were and then to offend their Enemies; which by the great mercy of God was done and effected; And the particulars of all is worthy in some other place to be remembred and manifested to the World, that the great God may have his due Glory, Honour, and Praise for ever and ever, *Amen, Amen, Amen*. And now at this present the Colony is in good estate (and never a third time to be so surprised by a seeming Friend.) And they conclude, their conditions are now, such as they may and will greatly improve the advancement and welfare of the Colony, even by this late sad Accident; and the Pit there Enemies digged for them, they are like to fall into themselves, and their mischief 12 will and hath assuredly fallen farre more upon their own Pates; since their great King was taken Prisoner.

And in briefe, they say in three Letters, that if God please, in mercy, now to looke upon poore *England*, that it fall not into a second Warre, nor relapses, but a happy Peace settled in their Native Countrey. Then they in *Virginia* shall be as happie a people as any under heaven, for there is nothing wanting there to produce them, *Plenty, Health, and Wealth*.

58 Concerning *New-England*, that they have Trade with them to and fro, and are but foure dayes Saile off from *Virginia*, that they have had many Cattell from *Virginia*, and Corne, and many other things; That *New-England*, is in a good Condition for livelyhood. But for matter of any great hopes but Fishing, there is not much in that Land; For its as *Scotland* is to *England*, so much difference, and lyes upon the same Land *Northward*, as *Scotland* doth to *England*: there is much Cold, Frost and Snow, and their Land so barren, except a Herring be put into the hole that you set the Corne or Maize in, it will not come up; and it was great pittie, all those people being now about twenty Thousand, did not seate themselves at first to the *South* of *Virginia*, in a warme and rich Countrey, where their Industrie would have produced *Sugar, Indico, Ginger, Cotten*, and the like Commodities.

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And its now reported in *Virginia* that Thousands of them are removing (with many from *Summer Islands* also) unto the *Bahana Islands*, neere the *Cape of Florida*; and thats the right way for them to goe and thrive.

13

*Letters came now this March, 1648, relate further.*

THAT *Opachankenow* the old Emperour being dead since he was taken prisoner by our Governour, there is chosen a new one, called *Nickotawances*, who acknowledge to hold his Government under King *Charles*, and is become tributary to him, and this *March* 1648, *Nickotawance* came to *James* town to our Noble Governour *Sir William Barkley* with five more petty Kings attending him, and brought twenty Beavers-skinnes to be sent to King *Charles* as he said for Tribute; and after a long Oration, he concluded with this Protestation; *That the Sunne and Moon should first lose their glorious lights and shining, before He, or his People should evermore hereafter wrong the English in any kind, but they would ever hold love and friendship together: And to give the English better assurance of their Faith, He had Decreed, That if any Indian be seen to come within the limits of the English Colony, (except they come with some Message from him, with such and such tokens) that it shall be lawfull to kill them presently; and the English shall be free to passe at all times when and where they please throughout His Dominions.*

And the *Indians* have of late acquainted our Governour, that within five dayes journey to the Westward and by South, there is a great high mountaine, and at foot thereof, great Rivers that run into a great Sea; and that there are men that come hither in ships, (but not the same as ours be) they weare apparell and have reed Caps on their heads, and ride on Beasts like our Horses, but have much longer eares and other circumstances they declare for the certainty of these things.

That *Sir William* was here upon preparing fifty Horse and fifty Foot, to go and discover this thing himself in person, and take all needfull provision in that case requisite along with him;

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he was ready to go when these last ships set sail for *England* in *April* last: and we hope to give a good accompt of it by the next ships, God giving a blessing to the enterprize, which will 14 mightily advance and enrich this Country; for it must needs prove a passage to the South Sea (as we call it) and also some part of *China* and the *East Indies*.

The Governour *Sir William*, caused half a bushel of Rice (which he had procured) to be sowed, and it prospered gallantly, and he had fifteen bushels of it, excellent good Rice, so that all these fifteen bushels will be sowed again this yeer; and we doubt not in a short time to have Rice so plentiful as to afford it at 2 d a pound if not cheaper, for we perceive the ground and Climate is very proper for it as our *Negroes* affirme, which in their Country is most of their food, and very healthful for our bodies.

We have many thousand of Acres of cleer Land, I mean where the wood is all off it (for you must know all *Virginia* is full of trees) and we have now going neer upon a hundred and fifty Plowers, with many brave yoke of Oxen, and we sowe excellent Wheat, Barley, Rye, Beans, Pease, Oates; and our increase is wonderful, and better Grain not in the world.

One Captain *Brocas*, a Gentleman of the Counsel, a great Traveller, caused a Vineyard to be planted, and hath most excellent Wine made, and the Country, he saith, as proper for Vines as any in Chrissendome, Vines indeed naturally growing over all the Country in abundance: only skilful men wanting here.

That at last Christmas we had trading here ten ships from *London*, two from *Bristoll*, twelve *Hollanders*, and seven from *New-England*.

Mr. *Richard Bennet* had this yeer out of his Orchard as many Apples as he made 20 Butts of excellent Cider.

And Mr. *Richard Kinsman* hath had for this three or four yeers, forty or fifty Butts of Perry made out of his Orchard, pure and good.

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So that you may perceive how proper our Country is for these fruits, and men begin now to plant great Orchards, and find the way of Grafting upon Crab-stocks, best for lasting, here being naturally in this Land store of wild Crab-trees.

*Mr. Hough at Nausamund*, hath a curious Orchard also, with all kind and variety of several fruits; the Governour in his new Orchard hath 15 hundred fruit-trees, besides his Apricocks, Peaches, Mellicotons, Quinces, Wardens, and such like fruits.

I mention these particular men, that all may know the truth of things.

Worthy Captaine *Matthews*, an old Planter of above thirty yeers standing, one of the Counsell, and a most deserving Common-wealths-man, I may not omit to let you know this Gentlemans industry.

15

He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sowes yeerly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps Weavers, and hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty *Negroe* servants, brings them up to Trades in his house: He yeerly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley, &c. The Wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell; kills store of Beeves, and sells them to virtuall the ships when they come thither: hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine great store, and Poltery; he married the Daughter of Sir *Tho. Hinton*, and in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, and a true lover of *Virginia*; he is worthy of much honour.

Our Spring begins the tenth of *February*, the trees bud, the grasse springs, and our Autume and fall of Leafe is in *November*, our Winter short, and most yeers very gentle, Snow lies but little, yet Yce some yeers.

I may not forget to tell you we have a Free-Schoole, with two hundred Acres of Land, a fine house upon it, forty milch Kine, and other accommodations to it: the Benefactor

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deserves perpetuall memory; his name *Mr. Benjamin Symes*, worthy to be Chronicled; other petty Schools also we have.

We have most rare coloured Parraketoos, and one Bird we call the Mock-bird; for he will imitate all other Birds notes, and cries both day and night-birds, yea, the Owels and Nightingalls.

For Bees there is in the Country which thrive and prosper very well there: one *Mr. George Pelton*, alias, *Strayton*, a ancient planter of twenty five yeers standing that had store of them, he made thirty pounds a yeer profit of them; but by misfortune his house was burnt down, and many of his Hives perished, he makes excellent good Matheglin, a pleasant and strong drink, and it serves him and his family for good liquor: If men would endeavour to increase this kind of creature, there would be here in a short time abundance of Wax and Honey, for there is all the Country over delicate food for Bees, and there is also Bees naturally in the Land, through we accompt not of them.

59 Now these are the several sorts and kinds of Beasts, Birds, Fish, in *Virginia*.

***Beasts great and small as followeth: above 20 severall kinds.***

**But all these foure sorts are up in the higher parts of the Countrey, on the hills and mountaines, few to be seene in the lower parts where the *English* are; the *Elkes* are as great as Oxen, their horns six foot wide, and have two Calves at a time; the skins make good Buffe, and the flesh as good as Beefe.**

1 *Lyons*,

2 *Beares*,

3 *Leopard*,

4 *Elkes*.

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5 *Deere*.

6 *Foxes*.

7 *Wilde Cats*.

8 *Raconnes*, as good meat as Lambe.

9 *Passonnes* This beast hath a bagge under her belly into which she takes her young ones, if at any time affrighted, and carries them away.

10 Two sorts of Squirrels, One called a flying one, for that she spreads like a Batt a certaine loose skin she hath and so flyes a good way.

13 *A Muske Rat*, So called for his great sweetnesse and shape.

14 *Hares*.

15 *Beavers*.

16 *Otters*.

17 *Doggs*, But barke not, after the shape of a Wolfe, and Foxes smell not; Wolves but little, neither not fierce.

18 *Wolves*.

19 *Martins*, *Poule Cats*, *Weesels*, *Minks*: but these Vermine hurt not Hens, Chickins or Eggs, at any time.

20 A little beast like a *Conny*, the *Foxes* kill many of them.

***Birds* are these, viz. above 25 severall kindes.**

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1 *Eagles.*

2 *Hawkes* of six or severall kinds.

17

3 *Parteridges* many.

4 *Wilde Turkie*s, some weighing sixtie pound weight.

5 *Red Birds*, that sing rarely.

6 *Nightingales.*

7 *Blue Birds*, smaller then a *Wren.*

8 *Blacke birds.*

9 *Thrushes.*

10 *Heath Cocks.*

11 *Swannes.*

12 *Cranes.*

13 *Hernes.*

14 *Geese.*

15 *Brants.*

16 *Ducks.*

17 *Widgeons.*

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18 *Dottrells*.

19 *Oxeyes*.

20 *Parrots*.

21 *Pidgeons*.

22 *Owles*.

Many more that have no *English* Names; for one called the *Mock-bird*, that counterfeits all other severall *Birds* cries and tunes.

### ***Fish* are in these in their kind above Thirty sorts.**

1 *Codde*.

2 *Basse*.

3 *Drummes* six foot long.

4 *Sheepshead*, this Fish makes broath so like Mutton-broath, that the difference is hardly known.

5 *Conger*.

6 *Eeles*.

7 *Trouts*.

8 *Mullets*.

9 *Plaice*.

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10 *Grampus*.

11 *Porpus*.

12 *Scales*.

13 *Sturgeons*, of 10 foot long.

14 *Stingraes*.

15 *Brets*.

16 *White Salmon*.

17 *Soles*.

18 *Herring*.

19 *Conny-fish*.

20 *Rocke-fish*.

21 *Lampres*.

22 *Cray-fish*.

23 *Shads*.

24 *Perch*.

25 *Crabbs*.

26 *Shrimps*.

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27 *Crecy-Fish.*

28 *Oysters.*

29 *Cockles.*

30 *Mussels.*

31 *St. George Fish.*

32 *Toad-Fish.*

### **Trees above 20 kinds, and many no *English* names.**

1 *Okes red and white Wood.*

2 *Ashe.*

3 *Wallnut, two kinds.*

4 *Elmes.*

5 *Ceadar.*

6 *Cypres three fathomes about.*

7 *Mulbery Trees great and good.*

8 *Chesnut Trees.*

9 *Plum Trees of many kinds*

10 *The Puchamine Tree.*

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11 The *Laurell*.

12 *Cherries*.

13 *Crahes*.

14 *Vines*.

15 *Sassafras*. B

18

*Fruits they have, Strawberies, Gooseberies, Raspices, Maracokos, Puchamines, Muskmillions, Pumpions; And for Fruits brought thither and planted. Aples, Peares, Quinces, Apricocks, Peaches; and many more kindes excellent good, &c.*

FINIS.

*Virginia and Maryland*. OR, The Lord *Baltamore's* printed Case, uncased and answered.

U no.9.

Shewing, the illegality of his Patent and usurpation of Royal Jurisdiction and Dominion there.

With, The Injustice and Tyranny practised in the Government, against the Laws and Liberties of the English Nation, and the just Right and Interest of the Adventurers and Planters.

Also, A short RELATION of the Papists late Rebellion against the Government of his Highness the Lord Protector, to which they were reduced by the Parliaments Commissioners; but since revolting, and by Lord *Baltamore's* instructions caused to assault the Protestants there in their Plantations, were by a far lesser number repulsed, some slain, and all the rest taken Prisoners.

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To which is added,

A brief Account of the Commissioners proceedings in the reducing of *Maryland*, with the Grounds and Reason thereof; the Commission and Instructions by which they acted; the Report of the Committee of the Navy, concerning that Province; and some other Papers and Passages relating thereunto: together with the Copy of a Writing under the Lord *Baltimore's* Hand and Seal, 1644. discovering his Practices, with the King at *Oxford* against the Parliament, concerning the *Londoners* and others trading in *Virginia*.

*For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord, I will set him in safety, from him that puffeth at him.* Psal. 12. 5.

*London*, printed and are to be sold at the Crown in Popes-head-Ally, and in *Westminster Hall*. 1655.

P. Force, Washington, 1837.

***Virginia and Maryland. OR, The Lord Baltamores printed Case, uncased, and answered.***

L E B 2 2 Apr 03

IN the yeer 1607, divers preceding discoveries having confirmed an Opinion, That the Country of *Virginia* was fit for Plantation; It pleased God to affect the mindes of very many worthily disposed Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others to conceive it as a matter of great Religion and Honour, to undertake the work of perfecting a Christian Plantation in those parts. Whereupon King *James* was pleased to become the first Founder of this noble work, and by his Letters Patents from time to time renewed and enlarged, granted all ample Priviledges and Immunities, both to those that managed in *England*, and those that went to inhabit there: which gave so great an encouragement, that fifty Earls and Barons, three hundred and fifty Knights, and six hundred Gentlemen, and Merchants of primest rank became incorporated, and were originally named in the Letters Patents by

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the name of the Company of *Virginia*, being a greater union of Nobles and Commons, then ever concurred to such an undertaking. But nevertheless, partly by the natural difficulties incident to all new Plantations; but chiefly, through the unnatural and faulty impediments arising by the cross agitations of two powerful factions in the Company, the work went heavily on for the first twelve yeers, appearing desperate in the several ill successes thereof. And though afterward somewhat advanced and prosperous, yet in the yeer 1621. by the fatal blow of a Massacre, it was almost shattered to pieces, and brought to a very low and calamitous condition; which occasion the contrary faction presently took hold of, insomuch that they exceedingly slighted the action, and cared not to cast aspersions A 2 4 on the Country, and on the whole management of that affair. And then further strongly possessed and advised the then King, against the form of the Companies Government, as consisting of an excessive number of Councillours, and a confused Popularity, as being a Nurse of Parliamentary spirits, and obnoxious to Monarchical Government. Thereupon Order was made upon the eighth day of *October*, 1623. at the Council-Table, whereby the Company were moved to give in their assents for surrendering their Patent, and altering their form of Government, and a new one proposed, wherein the Interests and Rights of all men should be preserved: which Order the Company not submitting unto, A *Quo Warranto* was directed for the calling in of their Patent, and an advantage taken upon their misleading. The Patent was condemned in *Trinity*-Term following; but for many yeers after, not vacated upon the Record in the Office of the *Rolls*, whereby some that sought the overthrow of the Lord *Baltamore's* Patent for *Maryland*, in the beginning of the Parliament, 1640. took out the *Virginia* Patent again under the broad Seal of *England*: therefore thought by primest Lawyers now to be unquestionably in force, at least to point of interest; and that Patent of *Maryland* inconsistent and void.

Thus in brief was the late Company dissolved, and a Commission given to divers Lords and others, for present directing and ordering the affairs of *Virginia*; and that they should advise touching a better form of Government for advancing and establishing the Colony. Then issued also severall Proclamations, and several Orders from the Council-Table, with

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great assurances under the Broad Seal and privy Seal, that all men, with the Adventurers and Planters should be assured, that their Rights and Interests should be conserved and enlarged, onely alteration in point of Government. But both that Commission and renewing of the Companies Charter expired, and all those Proceedings were delayed, by reason of the death of King *James*, which then suddenly ensued. The principal scope of that Commission was, that they should finde a better form of Government for the Countryes advancement, and therein was especially promised the conservation of every man's right; intentions worthy the wisdom and justice of so great a Prince. But nothing was done by those Commissioners touching either of those ends, nor by those by whose prosecutions these things hapened, who having attained their private ends of spleen and profit upon the changes and revolutions of ensuing times deserted the interest of the Colony, and left her weltring in her blood, unsupplied with Ammunition and Arms in the heat of a difficult war with the Indians: the burthen and charge whereof was 5 onely undergone by the remaining Planters, who thus forsaken by their former friends, were constrained both to work and fight for their lives and subsistance; and thereby preserved the Colony from desertion, and at last restored it by the blessing of God to peace and plenty.

And then, about the year 1633. Lord *Baltamore* pretending, though not truely, the greatest part of the Country was unplanted, procured that the aforesaid judgement so long delayed, was entred, and obtained a Patent, for that part now called *Maryland*, which he hath since held with a few people and small Adventurers, bebarring of those to whom it belonged from planting of it; destroying and ruining these formerly seated under *Virginia*, at the Isle of *Kent*; and interdicting Trade with the Indians for Furs, discovered and begun by the Virginians, by direction and commission from the King; which since by this means is enjoyed by the Dutch and Swedes, with the profit of many thousand pounds yeerly; which Trade had been solely in the English Nations hands, had not the Lord *Baltamore* interdicted it, and seized all Vessels, and displanted their Plantations. And those Swedes and Dutch do trade for great quantities of Guns Powder and Shot with our Indians, to the total endangering this Colony, if not timely prevented. Such a ground-Work, had the

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Patent of *Maryland* upon the Rights and Labours of others; and as unreasonable and unjust have been the whole proceedings and management of their Colony and Interests, at their first arrival surprising and confiscating many Vessels with the Goods of divers that they found trading with the Natives under the commissions of *Virginia*, which they had enjoyed neer thirty yeers. And professing an establishment of the Romish Religion onely, they suppressed the poor Protestants among them, and carried on the whold frame of their Government in the Lord Proprietaries name; all their Proceedings, Judicature, Tryals and Warrants, in his name, Power and Dignity, and from him onely: not the least mention of the Sovereign Authority of *England* in all their Government; to that purpose, forceably imposing Oaths, (judged illegal in a Report made by a Committee of the Council of State, 1652.) to maintain his royal Jurisdictions, Prerogatives, and Dominions, as absolute Lord and Proprietary, to protect chiefly the Roman Catholick Religion in the free exercise thereof; and all done by yeerly Instructions from him out of *England*, as if he had been absolute Prince and King. By all which it is easily evident, that the Patent of *Maryland* was grounded upon no good foundation.

The King being mis-informed; when in nothing more deeply 6 and directly, could the Honour and Justice of his Throne be concerned, then in confirming and conserving the Interest of so great a conjuncture of Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants, who so piously and worthyly adventured their Moneys, and expended their Estates and Labours; whose Rights and Interests, though their Patent were called in, for the time, in point of Government, yet had received the most solemn Declarations and Assurances, under the Broad Seal and Privy Signet, Orders of Councils, Letters to the Colony, and by general Proclamations there and here.

That it were impious to think that either the then King or King *James* being rightly enformed, would ever have granted such a Patent as this of *Maryland*, it being neer two third parts of the better Territory of *Virginia*; and as no way consistent with Equity, and the Honor and publick Faith of the Kingdom: so was no way agreeable (in the absolute and regal power assumed and executed by him) to the late Monarchical Government, or

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to the present Authority of the Commonwealth of England, under his Highness the Lord Protector, and most injurious to the Rights and Interests of the noble Adventurers and the painful indefatigable Planters, who had so long under God, conserved the Country from total ruine.

### **A short and successive Narration of most of the aforesaid publick Assurances, follows, viz.**

1. BY an Order of the Council the eighth of *October*, 1623. before the *Quo Warranto* brought to Arm the mindes of the Adventurers and Planters against any mistaken fear and apprehension, as if their Estates should receive prejudice.
2. And whereas the Lords of the Council were enformed, that the intended change of the Government, had begot a general discouragement amongst the Adventurers: notwithstanding sundry other Declarations made at the Board, *Viva Voce*, and that former Act of Council, their Lordships were pleased by an 7 Order of the twentieth of *October*, 1623. to declare again, that there was no other intention, but onely and meerly in reforming and change of the present Government; and that no man should receive any prejudice, but have his Estate fully and wholly confirmed; and if in any thing defective, better to be secured; which Order was sent over by their Lordships command, and published in *Virginia* for encouragement of the Planter.
3. King *James* was also pleased to express the same in his Commission to sundry of his own privy Council, and other Commissioners for the time being, for the affairs of *Virginia*, *July 5*, 1624. that his intention was to alter the Letters Patents, as to the form of Government; but with the preservation of the Interest of every Adventurer and Planter.
4. The like Declaration of the King's intentions was exprest in the Commission then sent to Sir *Francis Wiat*, and the Council then appointed by his Majesty, to direct the Affairs and

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People in *Virginia*; and the like hath been inserted in all King *Charles* his Commissions, and of all the Governours of *Virginia*, that have been since that time to this present.

5. The said King *Charles* by his Proclamation *May* 13. 1625. declared, That *his aim was onely to reduce the Government into such a right course, as might best agree with the form held in the rest of his Monarchy, and not intended to impeach the interest of any Adventurer or Planter in Virginia.*

6. The Lords of the Council by their Letter dated the 24 of *October*, 1625. declare to the *Colony*, That *the Kings pleasure was to preserve every man's particular right, and the Planters to enjoy their former priviledges;* with addition of other requisite immunities; encouraging also the Planter to discoveries both by Sea and Land; and to perfect the Trade of Furs: which Letter, according to their Lordships command, was published in *Virginia*. But Captain *Cleyborn* who was thereupon imployd by Commission from the Governour, under the King's Broad Seal, and the Seal of the Colony, and then discovered those parts of the Trade of *Maryland*, was thereby utterly undone, supplanted and expelled by the Lord *Baltamore*.

7. The King also, for the encouragement of the Planters, by his Royal Letters the 12 of *September*, 1628. was pleased to promise thereby to renew and confirm unto the Colony under the great Seal of *England*, their Lands and Priviledges formerly granted to them.

8. And when the generall Assembly, consisting of the Governours, Council, and Burgesses of the whole Colony complained to the Lords of the Council, of the interruption of their Trade by the Lord *Baltamore's* Deputies their Lordships were pleased 8 by their Letter *July* 22, 1634. to signifie that the Plantation of *Virginia* should enjoy their Estates and Trade, with the same freedom and priviledge as they did before the recalling of their Patent.

By all which it appears, that howsoever the Government could not be reduced from that popular form of the Company in *England*, but by revocation of the Patent itself; yet in

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respect of both those Kings Declarations, and the Lords Orders, the Adventurers and Planters of *Virginia*, as to their Rights and Priviledges, according to the Rule of Equity, remain in the same condition, as if no such Judgement had been given.

Object. But they answer hereunto to this effect, though not truely neither, That *the Lord Baltimore his Patent takes in no part, that the Virginians had then planted, and so the interests of all men is preserved; and, that Maryland is no other, then a particular Plantation, as the Company used to grant to divers Adventurers and Planters; and, that the King might do as much as the Company while they stood.*

*Answ.* 1. We reply, That the Adventurers and Planters were encouraged to expend their Estates, in so vast a proportion, and to hazard their lives in all extremities, always accompanying new designs and beginnings, in hope, that their shares upon the division of Lands, being four hundred Miles along the Seashore, and into the Land from Sea to Sea, would recompence them and their Heirs, as in *Ireland*, heretofore, and now is done. But this Interest by the Patent of the Lord *Baltmore's* comprehending neer two degrees, which is an hundred and twenty Miles, is wholly taken from them, and scarce is there any room for any Adventurers to take up any Land due unto them.

It is truely answered, that all the Adventurers of the Company were Tenants in common to all the Land, which was not actually divided and set out, and their claim cannot justly be thus nullified, and yet their interest said to be reserved.

3. It is granted, That the Lord *Baltmore* may have as large a proportion of Land, as ever was granted to any by the Company, though his adventures have never been proportionable to som mens. But we think it agreeing to reason, that he should people it, and either shew his right to it by the adventure of people sent over to plant it, which was by the Company appointed to be fifty Acres to every person transported thither; otherwise, how unreasonable is it, that he should possess two third parts of the *Bay of Virginia*, which may perhaps be said to be as big as the Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*, and yet now in

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many yeers have not more men there, except such as 9 have gone from *Virginia*, then can or do plant as much as is contained in a small corner thereof, and those chiefly employed in Tobacco; and the great name of *Maryland* is but in effect made a factory for Trade; Ammunition and Arms being as commonly sold to the Indians, (though not altogether so openly) as among the Swedes and Dutch: a Nursery for Jesuits, and a bar to keep off other Planters from the greatest part of the Country left void, and for the most part not known by him or his.

5. We say, that after we had discovered, and brought the Indians of those parts of *Maryland* to a Trade of Corn and Beaver, by vertue of the King's instructions under the Broad Seal of *England*, with the expence of our Bloods and Estates, and exercised annual intercourse with them above eight and twenty yeers: how can it be said, our Interests and Rights are preserved, when we are forbidden this Trade, our Men slain, Vessels and Goods seized, Persons imprisoned, and the whole Trade assumed onely to the Lord *Baltamore's* use, and he not able to manage it neither, but left it to the Swedes and Dutch?

6. And chiefly we answer, We claim Right by Possession, having planted the Isle of *Kent* almost three yeers before ever the name of *Maryland* was heard of, and Burgesses for that place sitting in the Assembly of *Virginia*; whereby it is evident, that the Lord *Baltamore's* suggestions to the King, mentioned in his Patent, that those parts were uncultivated and unplanted, unless by barbarous people not having the knowledge of God, was a mis-information; and by it, that Patent appears to be surreptitiously and illegally gotten: and if the Lord *Baltamore* takes away those Lands from them, who have also purchased the Interest of the Natives, (a Right not inconsiderable) and seize their Goods, and that in an hostile manner as he hath done; How can it be said, that those mens Interests and Rights are preserved, they being the first Discoverers, of that Island, by vertue of the King's Commission, and planted there under the Government of *Virginia*, on the confidence they apprehended from the former assurances, and there began in great part the Trade of Furs.

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How unjust an intrusion then will the Lord *Baltamore's* Patent appear, which overthrows the Interests of so many and such Persons: for the Company of *Virginia* were of a nature diversified from other Companies; which if it had not been founded on so good Grounds, yet their zeal and pious endeavours to propagate the true Christian Religion, enlarge the English Dominions, and to encrease the Trade and Strength of shipping, and considerably the Customes, do deserve justice, with addition of reward for so honourable and good intentions.

10

In the next place, to prove the Lord *Baltamore's* usurpation of Royal Jurisdiction and Dominion in *Maryland*, as absolute Lord and Proprietary, there needs no more then his Commissions and Processes running in this stile, *viz. We, Us, and, Given under our hand and greater Seal of Arms, in such a yeer of our Dominion, &c.* The Oath also, that he tenders to all his Subjects and the Inhabitants, such being the very words thereof, as by the Oath itself, copied from his own hand, and herewith published, appears. This is surely incompatible to the English Nation, that there should be any such principality erected over them, whereas the books of Law teach us, that all Writs, Executions, and Commands ought to be done in the name of the Supream Authority onely, and is so appointed by the late Platform of Government, for all the Dominions of the Commonwealth, of which this is a part; and by a late Ordinance declaring Treason upon such penalty, that none ought to exercise any power, but in the Lord Protector's name; and these men acting so wilfully, cannot excuse themselves. By the ancient English Laws, all those Pleas that concern Life, and Member, and Pardons, cannot be done in the name of any inferior Person; and all Writs, Indictments, and Process as heretofore, so must now only be in the name of the Lord Protector, and not in the name of the Lord *Baltamore's*, as he hath assumed in *Maryland*. And whereas the Lord *Baltamore* pretends to the like priviledges as in the County-Palatine of *Duresme*, even those priviledges of *Duresme*, and all the other County-Palatines of England, were, and are taken away as dishonorable, and incongruent to the English Nation, by the Statute of the 27 *Hen.* 8. 25. With what strange confidence then

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doth the Lord *Baltamore* publish to the world, That these Royalties and Priviledges are warranted by his Patent, when as they are contrary to Law, and to the Government now established under his Highness, and to a Clause in his Patent, wherein it is provided, That no Construction be made thereof, whereby the Government in the Common-wealth of England should suffer any prejudice or diminution.

Whereby it appears there was as good Cause to reduce *Maryland* as *Virginia*; the People, and General Assembly thereof also complaining of their Grievance, among many other exorbitant Usurpations of Lord *Baltamore* over them, as appears by their Complaint in Governor *Green's* time, made and Recorded there by a Committee of that Assembly: But 'tis known that Governor *Green* was deposed by Lord *Baltamore*, for suffering that Committee, and not for proclaiming the Kings Son, 11 as he aleadgeth, when no such thing appears in *rerum natura*, nor no word in all his many Instructions, of the Parliament, much less of his pretended affection to them, or their friends, but clean contrary: And 'tis notoriously known that all the Lord *Baltamore's* Governors usually took the Kings part against the Parliament; and his Brother, Mr. *Leo. Calvert*, his only Governor while he lived there, ever declared himself against them: And to evince this irrefragably, and clearly to demonstrate the management and complexion of this business, both Lord *Baltamore* himself, and his Brother, by long Solicitations at *Oxford* procured and sent over in *Anno* 1644. Commissions under the Kings Broad Seal, to surprize the Parliaments and *London* -ships in *Virginia*; and to impose Customs, raise Regiments, and Fortifie the Country against the Parliament; which appears by several Writings under the Lord *Baltamore's* Hand and Seal, (one of which is hereunto annexed.) They did with zeal proclaim the Kings Son, *Charles the Second*, at *Maryland*; and some that read it, and assisted therein, of the primest rank, are still continued Counsellors by him, and never a word of blame; whereas 'tis evident his own Interest is more than circumspectly watcht over, and contended for. How can he pretend that his Governor, Captain *Stone*, bare any affection to the Parliament, when without check from himself, in their Assemblies Laws, he used the name of King, and His Majesty; and of *Charles* the First, when the Second was Proclaimed

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there? And why did Lord *Baltamore* himself in England advisedly consent and approve those Laws *in terminis*, under his hand, 1650. if such had not been his own thoughts toward the Parliament? The Commissioners that were imployed by the Parliament to Reduce *Virginia*, Anno. 1652. were commanded to Reduce all the Plantations in the Bay of *Chesapiak*: and then, that all Writs should issue in *the Names of the Keepers of the Libertie of England*: They saw not how they could decline this service, well knowing how contrary to those Commands, and the Honor and Interest of the Parliament, the Government of *Maryland* was exercised; and think strange any should pretend assistance and supply of Victuals from *Maryland* to that Fleet, when no such thing ever was; that the Parliament Ships were entertained there in his Harbors, whenas never any of them came at *Maryland*, nor within near 100. miles thereof, save only the *Ginny* Frigot, who went thither to Reduce that Province; they knew his Governor had alwayes bore affection to the Kings side, that *Charles* the Second (as hath been said) was proclaimed there, that the Councel were all Papists, or indifferently affected, and that they refused to Govern the people by the Laws of *England* 12 (another Clause in the Parliaments Commission) to which several of their actings, and even Lord *Baltamore's* Instructions were contrary, as in this particular, and many others, appears by the Reports of the Committee of the Navy, and the Councel of State, to whom the Parliament referred this Cause; a Copy of which Report is hereunto annexed: And they ruled in *Maryland* in such an absolute way and authority, as no Christian Prince or State in *Europe* exercises the like.

His Governor hath an absolute Negative Voice in all things, and in the Assembly of the Burgesses; calls into the Upper House (as he terms it) whom he will, to over-vote the rest; places and dis-places whom he will in that Councel: and the Lord *Baltamore* himself, though in *England*, appoints all Officers, even to the meanest degree; and who flatter him most, are sure to have it: His Mandates are sent over to stop Justice, and the Judges imprisoned for proceeding according to Justice: Writs are given out under the Governors hand in his own Case, without any judgement of Court, to seize mens Goods into the Governors hands: His Governors are not suable for any just debts, and so they usually

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exercise their priviledges even to the oppression and discontent of the people: No Appeals allowed from their Courts, though consisting but of two men, and those perhaps of no great knowledge or skill in Government, no not to the general Representative Assemblies. It would be infinite to rake in this Dunghil; but all indifferent men that have lived and been there, know these things to be sad Truths; and surely not without cause, have the general Assemblies there, most of the Councel and the Freemen, been often contesting with the Lord *Baltamore's* Governors about these things, and yet could never obtain any redress from him; but have resolved to Petition the State of *England*.

Why therefore should *Maryland*, so ill Founded, and so ill Managed, be wrung from the right of *Virginia*, against all Law and Equity, as is before truely set forth? And be established to Lord *Baltamore*, a professed Recusant, as his publish'd Book intimates; who hath in effect made it a subject of his own domination and tyranny (being his main aim:) But to colour it, and the better to get friends, first made it a receptacle for Papists, and Priests, and Jesuites, in some extraordinary and zealous manner; but hath since discontented them many times and many ways, though Intelligence with Bulls, Letters, &c. from the Pope and *Rome* be ordinary for his own Interests; and now admits all sorts of Religions, and intended even 2000 Irish, and by his own Letters clears and indemnifies one, that said, *Those Irish 13 would not leave a Bible in Maryland*. His Country, till he employed Captain Stone, never had but Papist Governours and Counsellors, dedicated to St. *Ignatius*, as they call him, and his Chappel and Holyday kept solemnly: The Protestants for the most time miserably disturbed in the exercise of their Religion, by many wayes plainly enforced, or by subtil practises, or hope of preferment, to turn Papists, of which a very sad account may from time to time be given, even from their first arrival, to this very day.

*Virginia* hath used all good Neighbourhood towards them, without which assistance and supply, even of all things, they could not have subsisted; for their numbers were inconsiderable, and their Adventures small and very little after the first ship, in comparison of such a work. And though Lord *Baltamore* pretends great Adventures with his Friends

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thither; yet none have appeared there to any considerable value from him for many yeers, onely what Merchants, and some few have done upon Returns of Tobacco and Beaver: so that in Truth it will appear, and that by his own Letters too, *Maryland* hath been chiefly planted by *Virginia* from the first to last, and by people from thence wanting seats in their narrow limits; *Maryland* taking away above half the Country, which (as hath been said before) was onely discovered by *Virginia*, with continual Trade and abode of people there for above 20 yeers, by Commissions and Warrants in the King's Name, and was planted by Colonel *Claiborn* under *Virginia* Government, some yeers before ever the name of *Maryland*, or Lord *Baltamore* was ever heard of there; which himself knew, though he misinformed the King, and obtained his Patent upon pretence of Unplanted places onely.

But the many illegal Executions and Murthers of several persons at the Isle of *Kent* by the Lord *Baltamore's* commands and his Officers; the Imprisonments, Confiscations of many mens Estates, and of Widows and Orphans, to the destruction of many Families there; especially his seizure of Captain *Claiborn's* Estate, though out of his Patent, because planted, to the value of 6000 pounds, with the great tyranny and wrong done there, although the then King Declared and Commanded the contrary, but was disobeyed by the Lord *Baltamore's* Agents, are too long to be inserted here.

Many Inconveniencies and Losses hath *Virginia* suffered by *Maryland*, of which the continual Invitation and Entertainment of run-away servants, and protecting fugitive persons and indebted, is not the least: But above all, it is easie to be made appear 14 that the Lord *Baltamore* hath continually ever since their seating there, interposed in the matters of Government in *Virginia* by the potency of his friends in the late Kings Court, both by placing and displacing the Governours, Counsellors, and Supream Officers, as they stood affected or were displeasing to him.

Mr. *Bennet* and Captain *Claiborn* being two of the Commissioners, that were employed by the Parliament to reduce *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are strangely taxed by Lord *Baltamore* for being his declared enemies: indeed, it seems for their service to the Parliament, he is

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become implacable towards them, though Captain *Curtis*, another Commissioner now in *England*, and all *Maryland* can testify how unwilling, and how tenderly they did any thing there, and how much they desired and endeavoured to have declined any alteration, if either Captain *Stone* the Governour or the Council, would have issued out Writs in the name of the *Keepers of the Liberty of England*, and have promised to govern according to the Laws of *England*; both which they refused under their hands: and the Commissioners being sent to *Maryland*, is since owned by the Report of the Committee of the Council of State, and the Lord *Baltamore* taxed and blamed for not issuing out Writs as they required them; and therefore seems a bold aspersion for the Lord *Baltamore* to publish, that *Maryland* being struck out of their commission, was afterwards by some mistake put into the Commission the second time: and as strange it seems, that now since the reduction of *Maryland* the Lord *Baltamore* in opposition and contempt of the Supreme Authority of *England*, should cause his Governor and Council most falsly and rebelliously to revolt and recede from the same, and give instructions under his own hand, as he had lately done, to issue out all Writs and Proceedings in his own name onely: which they have accordingly done, and not the least mention of the Lord Protector's name in all their Government. This the said Commissioners, though they received confirmation of their Commission from the Parliament under the Seal, (the Original the first time miscarrying) yet bore with a long time onely by Letters out of *Virginia*, admonished Captain *Stone* and that Council of their error, and protested against their actings: but they continued obstinate. The Commissioners were desirous still to expect and attend a settlement and determination out of *England*, and to intermeddle as little as they could. But about a year since Lord *Baltamore* sends over Instructions and Commands to Captain *Stone* and his new made Council, all or most Papists, or indifferent, to seize the Lands and Estates of all such as would not take the Oath of fidelity (as he stiles it) before specified. But the people of 15 *Maryland* generally abhorred this Oath and justly as is conceived, especially those of *Patuxent* and *Severn* declined to take it, as being against their Engagement, incompatible with their subjection to the Commonwealth of *England*, and incongruous to swear to serve two absolute Superiours, whereupon Captain *Stone* and his Counsel proclaim them

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seditions, and rebels to Lord *Baltamore*, and forget not to include the two Commissioners, though in *Virginia* under the same name, with other opprobrious terms: whereupon the people of *Patuxent*, *Severn*, and *Kent* often and earnestly apply themselves if possible to have relief from those Commissioners, yet they still desirously forbore to intermeddle, hoping it would be done out of *England*, until after many solicitations Mr. *Bennet* and Captain *Claiborn* with onely two men in *July* last went thither in a Boat, yet using all fair means: but how ill they were treated for their moderation, and intended to be surprised by night, and made Prisoners, and how they were necessitated to prevent greater mischief and the present ruine of hundreds of Families to interpose to have that Oath suspended, and the Government managed in the Lord Protector's name; (which being denied to avoid bloodshed, they re-assumed the Government out of those hands that so ill-managed it, and placed it in others for the time being under his Highness the Lord Protector, until he should please to signifie his further pleasure) will appear in a Declaration then and herewith published, together with the peoples Petition, the Commissioners answer thereunto, and an Order for setting the Government in the hands of Captain *William Fuller*, and others.

The Lord *Baltamore* also since gives particular Commission and Command to seize the persons of those Commissioners, under his Hand and Seal, dated in *November* last; and for their service to the Lord Protector to proceed against them as abettors in mutiny and sedition; chides, and upraids Captain *Stone* for cowardise, provokes him to fighting and bloodshed, (a course too often acted in *Maryland*) appoints another Governor in case he decline it, and yet sends no revocation of the Commissioners reducement, though he acknowledges he sought it earnestly of the Lord Protector but could not obtain it; yet to blinde and delude Captain *Stone* and his Counsel, there came over a Letter of Recommendation from his Highness of one Captain *Barbar*, and by what practise or mistake is not known, a subscription thereon to Captain *Stone* Governour of *Maryland*. And by this (together with a Copy of that Petition of the Merchants and others trading to *Virginia*, brought in by Mr. *Eltonhead*, 16 and sent over by Lord *Baltamore*, ) Captain

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*Stone*, and all *Maryland* fall to arms, and disarm and plunder those that would not accept the aforesaid Oath. A part of them at last stood upon their guard, onely sought to Captain *Stone* to shew his Commission, and they would submit; he caused to imprison their Messengers, and being of far greater number, assaulted them at their houses, threatens to have their blood, calls them Round-head Rogues and Dogs, brought whole bagfuls of chewed Bullets, rolled in powder, saying, The Devil take him that spares any; and so falls on upon the day dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, with the word *Hey for St. Mary*: but the Protestants commanded their men not to shoot upon pain of death, until some being slain by a volly of shot from the *Marylands*, they defended themselves, and God confounded Capt. *Stone* and all his Company before them: there were near double the number in Prisoners to the Victors, twenty slain, many wounded, and all the place strewed with Papist beads where they fled; but the Proceedings thereof, and how the arm of the Lord was revealed, and his mighty power manifested even to admiration, together with the success, and the evils drawn upon themselves, appears by the relation thereof, at this time also published by a Messenger from thence.

The Lord *Baltamore* pretends in print, his entertainment into *Maryland* of the Parliaments Friends thrust out of *Virginia*; but those very men whom he so stiles coming thither being promised by Captain *Stone*, that he would declare urging the Oath upon them, complain of it to the Parliament, are in answer thereunto vilified by Lord *Baltamore*, and publickly taxed for obscure factious fellows, and in his later Letters termed the basest of men, and unworthy of the least favour or forbearance; such advantages doth he make on all sides, at such a distance, and in such incompounded times, that he confidently takes the liberty to aver such extream and contrary things which amaze other men that see them, The place as himself confesses, had been deserted, if not peopled from *Virginia*. He might with more reason scruple to supplant the Rights of the most considerable conjuncture of worthy men that ever undertook such an Adventure, as Plantation out of *England*; which hath been the beginner and parent of all the rest.

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The late King *James* revoked the *Virginia* -Companies Patent, for denying him to alter the Government, for which he had fundamentally provided to give Instructions from time to time, and was the same, which the last King did by his Commission to Sir *William Davenant*, of which the Lord *Baltamore* speaks so 17 much, and makes such inferences as serve his own ends. But the Truth is, all that can rightly and properly be collected from thence is onely this, (his right to the Soil being in express words reserved) if the King might dispose of the Government of *Maryland*, why not the Parliament, as they have done; and why not the Lord Protector as he also hath done? Another of those Fundamentals was, That no Papists should be tolerated to remain in *Virginia*, but sent away if they would not take the Oath of Allegiance, and was so practised: this the old Lord *Baltamore* refusing, stayed not in *Virginia*; and, *Hinc illa lachryma*, to all those that were of the Council, who with their wives and children have not suffered a little for it; of which onely Colonel *Matthews* and Colonel *Claiborn* remain alive. His son this Lord *Baltamore* now publishes himself a Recusant, and avers contrarily that the Laws against Papists and Recusants extend not thither; yet his Patent sayes, No interpretation shall be admitted thereof, by which God's holy and truely Christian Religion, or the allegiance due to the Successors of the State of *England*, should suffer any prejudice or diminution.

By all which surely it's most evident, This County Palatine aimed and coveted by him, appears disagreeable to Law and to his own Patent: and as a Monster unlike the rest of the Dominions of the Commonwealth of *England*, and contrary to the late Platform of Government under his Highness the Lord Protector; yet hath he omitted no means to inforce his Dominion on those men that are most unwilling to submit to him as an absolute Prince and hereditary Monarch. Neither doth that instance of the Roman Commonwealth in his printed Pamphlet hold for him, who though they permitted and continued many Kingships over people that formerly had them, as is now done in *Virginia* among the *Indians*; yet he cannot shew, that ever they constituted King over the people of *Rome* to govern absolutely over them, as this case pleads for, to have a negative voice, yea, and a power *ad placitum*, in all things that is before specified, to the great regret of the

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Inhabitants, the oppression of many, and the obstruction of justice, of which *Maryland* hath afforded no mean examples and Complaints.

But although *Virginia* seeks the re-establishment of her bounds so often assured under the great Seal of *England*, and otherwise, yet to renew any such Authority as this of *Maryland*, or that of the Company over her, she desires it not; but to be from time to time under such Government as the State of *England* shall appoint. B

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***Duplicate Instructions for Captain Robert Dennis, Mr. Rich-Bennet, Mr. Tho. Steg, and Capt. William Claiborn appointed Commissioners for the reducement of Virginia, and the Inhabitants thereof to their due obedience to the Commonwealth of England.***

WHereas the Parliament of *England* by an Act intituled, *An Act prohibiting trade with Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermudas and Antego*, hath committed to this Council several powers therein expressed, for the settling, reducing, and governing the said Islands, printed copies of which Acts are herewith delivered you. In pursuance whereof, a Fleet is now set forth victualled, armed, and manned under the command and conduct of Captain *Robert Dennis*, to effect by the blessing of God the ends aforesaid; and for the management of that service you are hereby joyntly nominated and appointed Commissioners: and for your better directions and proceedings therein, you are to follow these Instructions following:

Such of you as are here to repair on board the ships, *John* or the *Guinny* Friggot of the States, which of them you shall think fit, and winde and weather permitting to sail to *Virginia*, as Captain *Robert Dennis* shall direct and appoint. And upon your arrival in *Virginia*, you, or any two or more of you, (whereof Captain *Robert Dennis* to be one) shall use your best endeavours to reduce all the Plantations within the Bay of *Chesepiak* to their due obedience to the Parliament and the Commonwealth of *England*.

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For which purpose, you, or any two or more of you, (wherof Captain *Robert Dennis* to be one) have hereby power to assure, pardon, and indemnity to all the Inhabitants of the said Plantations that shall submit unto the present Government, and Authority as it is established in this Commonwealth; in which pardons you may make such limitations and exceptions, as you or any two or more of you, whereof capt. *Robert Dennis* to be one, shall think fit.

And in case they shal not submit by fair wayes, and meanes you are to use all acts of hostility that lies in your power to enforce them, and if you shal find the people so to stand out as 19 that you can by no other wayes or means reduce them to their due obedience, you or any two or more of you whereof capt. *Rob. Dennis* to be one have power to appoint captains, and other Officers, and to raise forces within every of the plantations aforesaid, for the furtherance and good of the service, and such persons as shall come in unto you and serve as soldiers, if their masters shal stand in opposition to the present Government of this Commonwealth, you or any two or more of you whereof capt. *Rob. Dennis* to be one, have hereby power to discharge, and set free from their masters all such persons so serving as souldiers.

You shall cause and see all the several Acts of parlament against Kingship, and the house of Lords to be received and published; as also the Acts for abolishing the Book of common prayer, and for subscribing the ingagement, and all of their Acts therewith delivered to you.

You or any two or more of you have ful power to administer an Oath to all the Inhabitants and planters there, to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of *England* as it is now established without a King or house of Lords: You or any two or more of you, whereof cap. *Robert Dennis* to be one, have power to give liberty to the inhabitants, and planters who shall have taken the engagement formerly mentioned to choose such Burgesses as they shall think fit, and send to the place you shal appoint for the better Regulating and

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governing affairs there; provided that nothing be acted contrary to the Government of the commonwealth of *England*, and the Laws established.

You shall cause all Writs, Warrants, and other processe whatsoever to be issued forth as occasion shall require, in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by authority of Parliament.

In case of Mortality, or absence of Cap. *Rob. Dennis*, you or any two, or more of you have power to put in execution these instructions. In case of Mortality or absence of Cap. *Rob: Dennis, Edmund Curtis* commander of the *Guinny* Frigot is hereby impowered to act as Commissioner with you, or any two or more of you, and he is also in the absence of Capt. *Robert Dennis* to take the charge of the Fleet so far as concerns the shipping, according to the power given to Cap. *Rob: Dennis*. And lastly as we doubt not but you will use your best dilligence, and care in carrying on of this affair of consequence with which you are intrusted, and that by your good endeavours it will have a good issue, so the Counsel will take the same into consideration that respect may be had of your pains, and travel therein, and of a recompence agreeable to your service, when the same shall be B 2 20 compleated, and work upon which you are imployed shall be finished.

*Signed in the name and by order of the Councel of State appointed by authority of Parlam.*

John Bradshaw President.

*Whitehal* 26

Sept: 1651.

Jo: Thurloe *Cler: of the Counsel.*

*Committee Navy* 31 December: 1652.

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IN pursuance of an order of *Parlament* of the 31 Aug. 1652. whereby the 4. and part of the 7. and 8 Articles agreed on at *James City* for the surrendring, and settling of plantation of *Virginia*, with certain parchments concerning *Mariland*, and the petition of the Inhabitants of *Virginia*, are referred unto this Committee to consider what patent is fit to be granted to the said Inhabitants of *Virginia*, and to hear all parties, and to consider of their particular claims, and to report the same unto the *Parlament*.\* This Committee upon examination of the matter of fact, and upon hearing both parties, and their Counsel, do find, and humbly certifie.

\* See Note, page 46.

That by a Patent dated the 23 day of *May*, in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of King *James*, there was granted to divers Adventurers and Planters by the name of the *Virginia* Company, all those Lands, Countries, and Territories scituate in that part of *America* called *Virginia*, from Cape, or point comfort all along the sea coast to the Northward two hundred mile; and from the said Cape, or point comfort all along the sea-coast to the Southward 200 miles; all that space of Land lying from the sea-coast of the precinct aforesaid up into the Lands throughout from sea to sea, West and Northwest, and all the Islands lying within 100 miles along the coast of both seas of the precincts aforesaid, with the soyls &c. thereunto belonging to hold to them and their heirs forever under the several reservations therein mentioned.

That the said patent was afterwards by a *Quo warranto* in the 21 of the said King repealed, and made void.

That in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the late King, upon the humble petition of the Ld. *Baltemore*, that he might have and enjoy a collony or parcel of ground in *America* then uncultivated, and not inhabited by any save the *Indians* there was by patent dated 20 *June* 8 *Car.* granted to the said Lord *Baltemore* all that parcel of Land lying in the part of *America*, from the sea on the East to the Bay of *Chessaphia* on the West, extending from *Watkins* point to

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*Delawar Bay*, and from *Delawar Bay* to 21 *Potowmeck River*, and so along to *Watkins point*, together with the Islands thereunto belonging, and by the said patent called the Province of *Mariland*. To hold the same in as ample manner as any Bishop of *Durham*, within the Bishohprick or County palatine of *Durham* in *England*, heretofore ever held or injoyed, and to hold the same in free and common soccadg. as of the Castle of *Windsor*, Reserving to the King, his Heirs, and successors faith, allegiance and dominion, and two indian arrows yearly with the fifth part of all gold and silver Oar found in and upon the said province, and also liberty for any the people of *England*, or *Ireland* to fish as well in those seas, as in any ports, or Creeks of the said province, and to salt and cure their fish there. That in and by the said patent, power is granted to the Lord *Baltemore*, and his heirs to make Laws by and with the Counsell assent, and approbation of the Freemen of the said Province, or the Major part of them, that shal concern life, or Member as often as his Lordship shal think fit, &c. so as such Laws be consonant to reason, and not repugnant, nor contrary, but as neer as possible may be agreeable to the Laws of this Nation.

That by the said Patent the said Province is separated from *Virginia*, but by express provisoe declared to be subject, and depending upon the Crown of *England*. And in case any doubts arise about any claim in the said patent, the same were to be decided by the Courts of *England*.

It also appears by examinations taken by this Committee that *Kentish Island* was before the date of the said Patent part of *Virginia*, and planted, and inhabited by Cap. *Claiborn* three years before the arrival of the Lord *Baltemores* Agents in *Maryland*, and that Burgesses sat in the Assembly at *James Town* in *Virginia* for the said Island. And that the Virginians had the sole possession of the Bay of *Chesopiack*, and a free Trade with the *Indians*.

That in the yeer 1633. upon the arrival of the Lord *Baltemores* Agents in *Maryland*, the *Virginians* were prohibited from trading with the *Indians*, in any part of *Maryland*, which formerly they had accustomed, whereupon severall differences arose between capt.

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*Claiborn's* men, and the L. B. planters, and capt. *Clayborn* continuing his trade, a Vessell called the *Longtail* was seised upon by the *Marilanders*, and one Lieutenant *Warren* (with some others whom he sent to rescue the said Vessell) were killed by the *Marilander* in that attempt in *Potomoke* River. That the goods of Mr. *Harman*, and others were all seised by the Lord *Baltemores* Agents, and at length after three 22 yeares suffering, Captaine *Claiborn* was forsbly disseisd, and dispossesed of his plantation in *Kentish Island*; and forced for safety of his life to fly into *England*, and ever since that *L: B.* hath had possession of the said Island, not suffering any of the *Virginians* to trade in the said Bay without ceisure, and confiscation of their Goods.

It likewise appears unto this Committee upon perusal of the several parchments mentioned in the Order of Parliament, that the *L: B.* hath constituted forms of Oaths, and enjoined the taking thereof by all persons as wel Officers, as others within the said province, and that not to the King, but to himself, and that he hath issued out Writs in his own name, all his Commissions and processe running in this stile ( viz. ) we, us, and given under our hand, and greater seal of arms in such a yeer of our Dominions over the said Province. That he hath likewise appointed an upper and lower house of Assembly and also a privie counsel of State, which is not mentioned in the said patent. And we further find that several of the Laws made by the said Lord *Baltemore* are not agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, and customes of *England*, as for instance.

That the Lands sold by the said Lord *Baltemore* are directed to be purchased and held of him, and his Heirs only in soccadg as of the Mannor: &c.

That the Oaths hereafter mentioned must be taken by all that shal bear Office, or shall inhabite, or come into the said province upon pain ofe being banished, and if they return, and refuse, to be subject to such Fine as his Lordship shall think fit.

### **The Oath of the Lieutenant or chief Governor of the Province of Maryland.**

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I A. B. doe Sweare I will be true and faithfull to the Right Honourable *Cecilius*, Lord Baron of *Baltemore*, the true and absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province of *Maryland*, and his Heires, and him and them, and his and their Rights, Royall Jurisdictions and Seigniory, all and every of them into or over the said Province and Islands thereunto belonging. Will at all times Defend and Maintaine to the utmost of my power; and will never accept of, nor execute any Place, Office, 23 or Employment within the said Province, any way concerning or relating to the Government of the said Province, from any person or Authority, but by, from, or under the hand and Seale at Arms of his said Lordship, or his Heires or Assignes, Lords and Proprietaries of the said Province. I will faithfully serve his said Lordship as Lieutenant of the said Province, and in all other Offices committed to my Charge by his said Lordships Commission or Commissions to me, and will willingly yield up the said Commission and Commissions againe, and all Offices, Powers, and Authorities granted or to be granted by them or any of them, into the hands of his said Lordship, and his Heires and Assignes, or to such person or persons as he or they shall appoint, whensoever he or they shall appoint me so to doe, and shall signifie the same to me in writing under his or their hand and Seale at Armes. And will not presume to put in execution, or attempt to execute any Office, Power, or Authority granted unto me by any of the said Commissions, after that his Lordship, his Heires or Assignes, Lords and Proprietaries of the said Province shall repeale them or any of them respectively by any writing under his or their respective hand and Seale at Armes, and that the said Repeale be published in this Province. I will doe equall Right and Justice to the poore and to the rich, within the said Province, to my best skill, judgement, and power, according to the Lawes and Ordinances of the said province, and in default thereof according to my conscience, and best discretion, and the power granted and to be granted to me by his said Lordships Commission or Commissions; I will not for fear, favour or affection, or any other cause, let, hinder, or delay Justice to any, but shal truly execute the said Office and Offices respectively according to his said Lordships Commissions to me in that behalf, and to the true intent and meaning thereof, and not otherwise, to the best of my understanding and Judgment. I wil not know of any attempt against his said Lordships person, or his

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Rights or Dominion into, or over the said province, and the people therin, but I will prevent, resist, and oppose it with the utmost of my power, and make the same known with all convenient speed to his said lordship, and I will in all things from time to time as occasion shal serve faithfully counsel and advise his said Lordship according to my heart and conscience; And I do further swear I will not by my selfe, nor any other person directly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person whatsoever in the said province professing to beleeve in Jesus *Christ*, and in particular no Roman Catholick, for or in respect of his or her Religion, nor his or her free exercise thereof within the said province, 24 so as they be not unfaithful to his said Lordship or molest or conspire against the civill Government established under him, nor will I make any difference of persons in conferring Offices, Rewards, or Favours proceeding from the Authority which his Lordship hath conferred on me as his *Lieutenant* here, for or in respect to their said Religion respectively, but meerly as I shall find them faithful and wel-deserving of his said Lordship, and to the best of my understanding endowed with morall vertues and abilities fitting for such Offices, Rewards or Favours, wherein my prime aim and end shall be from time to time sincerely the advancement of his said Lordships service here, and the publick unity and good of the Province without partiallity to any, or any other sinister end, whatsoever. And if any other Officer or persons whatsoever shal during the time of my being his said Lordships Lieutenant here, without my consent, or privity molest or disturb any person within this province professing to beleeve in Jesus Christ meerely for, or in respect of his, or her Religion, or the free exercise thereof, upon notice or complaint thereof made unto him, I will apply my power, and Authority to relieve any person so molested, or troubled, whereby he may have Right done him for any damage which he shal suffer in that kind, and to the utmost of my power wil cause all and every such person or persons as shal molest or trouble any other person or persons in that manner to be punishment. I wil faithfully serve his lordship as his Chansellor and Keeper of his great Seal of this Province committed to my charge and custody by his said Lordships Commission to me, to the best of my skil, and understanding I will cause the impression in Wax of the said Seal to be affixed to all such things as I have, or shal from time to time receive commission or Warrant for

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so doing from his said Lordship under his hand and Seal at arms; and that it shall not be affixed to any other Writing, or thing whatsoever, directly or indirectly with my privy consent, or knowledg, I will do my best endeavour carefully to preserve the said Great Seal in my custody so long as it shall please his said Lordship to continue me in the charge, and keeping thereof, to the end that it may not be lost, stollen, or unlawfully taken from me; And whereby any other Person may affix the impression thereof unto any Writing, or thing whatsoever without Authority for so doing lawfully derived, or to be derived from, by, or under a commission or Warrant under his said Lordships Hand and Seale at Arms, and that I will truly and faithfully deliver up againe the said great Seal into the hands of such Person or Persons as his said Lordship, or his Heirs shall appoint, when his, or their pleasure for that purpose shall be signified to me under his, or their 25 hands and Seale at arms; so help me God, and by the contents of this Book.

### **The Oath of fidelity to the Lord Proprietor.**

*I A: B. Do faithfully and truly acknowledge the Right Honourable Cecilius Lord Baron of Baltemore to be the true and absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province and Country of Maryland, and the Islands thereunto belonging; And I do swear that I will bear true faith unto his Lordship, and his Heires as to the true and absolute Lords and proprietaries of the said Province and the Islands thereunto belongings, and will not at any time by words or actions in publick or private, wittingly or willingly to the best of my understanding any way derogate from; but will at all times as occasion shall require to the uttermost of my power defend and maintaine all such his said Lordships and his Heires Right, Title, Interest, Priveledges, Royal Jurisdiction, Prerogative, propriety and Dominion over, and in the said province of Maryland, and the Islands thereunto belonging, and over the people who are or shall be therein for the time being as are granted or mentioned to be granted to his said Lordship, and to his Heirs by the King of England in his said Lordships patent of the said province under the Great Seale of England, I do also swear that I will with all expedition discover to his said Lordship, or his Lieutenant or other chief Governor of the said province for the time being, and also use my best endeavours to prevent any plot, conspiracy, or*

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*combination which I shall know or have cause to suspect is intended or shall be intended against the person of his said Lordship, or which shall tend any wayes to the disinherison or deprivation of his said Lordships or his heirs the Right, Title, Royal Jurisdiction or Dominion aforesaid, or any part thereof, and I do swear that I will not either by myself or by any other person, or persons directly, or indirectly, take, accept, receive, purchase or possess any Lands, Tenements or Hereditants within the said Province of Maryland, or the Islands thereunto belonging from any Indian or Indians to any other use or uses, but to the use of his said Lordship and his heirs or knowingly from any other person or persons not deriving a legall Title thereunto from or under some Grant from his said Lordship, or his said Heirs legally passed or to be passed under his or their Great Seal of the said province for the time being, so help me God and by the Contents of this Book.*

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### **The Oath of a Counsellor of State in *Maryland*.**

I A: B. Do swear that I will be true and faithfull to the Right Honorable *Cecilius* Lord Baron of *Baltimore*, the true, and absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province of *Maryland*, and his Heirs, and him and them: and his and their Right, Royal Jurisdictions and signiory, and every of them into and over the said Province and Islands hereunto belonging wil at all times defend and maintaine to the utmost of my power, and will never accept of, nor execute any Place, Office, or Employment within the said Province, any way concerning or relating to the Government from time to time, but from his said Lordship, or his Heirs, Lords, and proprietaries of the said Province, under his or their Hands and Seal at Arms. The peace and welfare of the people of this Province I will ever procure, as far as I can: I will aid and assist the administring and execution of Justice in all things to my power: to none will I delay or deny Right, for fear, favor, or affection; I will to my best skill, and according to my heart and conscience, give good and faithful Counsel to the said Lord and Proprietary, and his Heirs, and to his, and their Lieutenant and chief Governor of this Province for the time being, when thereunto I shall be called; I will keep secret all matters committed or revealed unto me, or which shall be moved or debated secretly in Council,

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and faithfully declare my mind and opinion therein, according to my heart and conscience: And if any of the said Treaties and Council shall touch any the Privy Counsellors of this Province, I will not reveal the same to him so touched or concerned, but will keep the same secret until such time as by the consent of the Lord Proprietary, or chief Governor here for the time being, publication shall be made thereof; I will as a Counsellor, as a Justice, and Commissioner, for conservation of the peace of this Province, do equal right unto the poor, and to the rich, to the best of my understanding and judgment, according to the Laws from time to time in force within this Province; and in default thereof, according to my best discretion, and generally in all things will do as a faithful Counsellor to the Lord Proprietary; And I do further Swear, I will not by myself, or any other person, directly or indirectly trouble, molest, or discountenance any person or persons in the said Province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, and in particular, no Roman Catholick, for, or in respect of his or their Religion, nor in his or her free exercise thereof within the said Province, so as they be not unfaithful to 27 his said Lordship, nor molest or conspire against the Civil Government established under him. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

That whosoever shall call any one an Idolater, Papish Priest, Jesuite, Jesuited Papist, &c. to forfeit ten pounds; and that no Papist shall be troubled for exercise of his Religion, so as they be faithful to his Lordship.

Whosoever shall be accessory to the running away of an Apprentice, shall suffer death; but the party himself, if apprehended, to serve his time double.

Whosoever shall counterfeit his Lordships Seal or Sign Manual, shall suffer the loss of his hand, imprisonment during life, or pains of death, or confiscation of Lands or Estate, or any one or more of them as the Governor, and Chancellor, and Council, shall think fit.

His Lordship suffers Dutch, French, or Italian Descents to plant, and enjoy equal priviledges with the British and Irish Nations.

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And lastly, In one of his Laws he mentions the High and Mighty Prince *Charles*, the First of that name; and in another expresseth, That none shal transport any Tobacco's in any Dutch Vessel bound for any other Port than his Majesties.

Unto all which Exceptions, Answer having been made by the Lord *Baltamore*, which is hereunto annexed; the same is humbly submitted to the Judgment and further direction of this Honorable House.

It hath been confessed by the Lord *Baltamore*, That one Captain *Green* his Lieutenant-Governor of *Maryland*, did soon after the death of the late King, proclaim his Son *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, &c. for which his Lordship saith he did by a Writing under his hand and seal (which is one of the parchments remaining with this Committee) revoke the Commission granted to the said Captain *Green*, and appointed one *Stone* in his room: but there is no such cause mentioned in the said Writing.

It likewise appears, That in *March* 1651. the Governor and Council of *Maryland*, being required by the Commissioners that were sent thither, to issue forth Writs in the Name of *The Keepers of the Libertie of England*; they refused the same, saying, They could not do it without breach of their Trust and Oath.

28

**To the Honourable, *Richard Bennet*, and Col. *William Claibourn*, Esquires,  
Commissioners of the Commonwealth of *England*, for *Virginia* and *Maryland*.**

*The Humble Petition of the Commissioners and Inhabitants of Severne, alias Ann Arundel County.*

*Sheweth,*

THat whereas we were invited and encouraged by Captain *Stone*, the Lord *Baltamore's* Governor of *Maryland*, to remove ourselves and Estates into this Province, with promise

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of enjoying the liberty of our Consciences in matter of Religion, and all other priviledges of English Subjects; And your Petitioners did upon this ground, with great cost, labor, and danger, remove ourselves; and have been at great charges in building and clearing: Now the Lord *Baltmore* imposeth an Oath upon us, by Proclamation, which he requireth his Lieutenant forthwith to publish; which if we do not take within three months after publication, all our Lands are to be seized for his Lordships use. This Oath we Conceive not agreeable to the terms on which we came hither, nor to the liberty of our Consciences as Christians and free Subjects of the Common-wealth of *England*: Neither can we be perswaded in our Consciences by any light of God, or engagement upon us, to take such an Oath; but rather humbly conceive it to be a very real grievance, and such an oppression as we are not able to bear; neither do we see by what lawful power such an Oath, with such extream penalties can by his Lordship be exacted of us who are free Subjects of the Common-wealth of *England*, and have taken the Engagement to them. We have Complained of this grievance to the late honorable Council of State in a Petition 29 subscribed by us, which never received any answer, such as might clear the lawfulness of such his proceedings with us: but an aspersion cast upon us of being Factious fellows; neither have we received any Conviction of our error in not taking the said Oath, nor Order by that power, before whom our Petition is still depending, to take it hereafter; neither can we believe that the Common-wealth of *England* will ever expose us to such a manifest, and real bondage (who assert themselves, The maintainers of the lawful Liberties of the Subject) as to make us Swear absolute subjection to a Government, where the Ministers of State are bound by Oath to countenance and defend the Roman Popish Religion, which we apprehend to be contrary to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, the Covenant taken in the three Kingdoms, and the Consciences of true English Subjects: and doth carry on an arbitrary power, so as whatever is done by the people at great costs in Assemblies, for the good of the people, is liable to be made Null by the negative Voice of his Lordship; But affirmative Propositions and Commands are incessantly urged, and prest, and must not be denied.

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In Consideration whereof, we humbly tender our Condition and Distraction, upon this occasion falling upon the hearts of all the people, to your view and Consideration, intreating your honors to relieve us according to the Cause and the power wherewith you are intrusted by the Common-wealth of *England*: the rather, because upon such an exigent as this, we have none to flie to but your selves the honorable Commissioners of the Common-wealth of *England*; not doubting but God will direct you into what his mind and will is in this matter concerning us, and that you will faithfully apply your selves to our Redress in what is Just, and our lawful Liberty; which is the Prayer of your poor Petitioners.

*Severn River, the 3 of January, 1653.*

Subscribed by *Edw. Lloyd*, and 77. persons of the House-keepers, and Freemen, Inhabitants. To

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**To the Honorable *Richard Bennet*, and Colonel *William Claibourn*, Esquires, Commissioners for the Common-wealth of *England*, within the *Bay of Chesopiak*.**

*The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the North-side of Patuxent River in the Province of Maryland.*

*Sheweth,*

THat we being reduced by your Honors from that Tyrannical power exercised over the people of this Province by the Lord *Baltamore* and his Agents, unto the Obedience of the Common-wealth of *England*, to which Government we have Subjected and Engaged, and have by your Honors been often enjoyed reall conformity and obedience to the same, and not to own any other power or Authority as we will answer the contrary: In subjection whereunto, we have had peace and freedom hitherto, which with all thankfulness we cannot but acknowledg, and in our continued obedience, do expect from the Parliament

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next under God continued peace, liberty, and protection from the pride, rage, and insolency of their, and our adversaries: Now so it is, may it please your honor, that of late the Lord *Baltamore* doth by his Order and Agents seek to set over us the old form of Government formerly exercised by him in this Province, which we did conceive, by the blessing of God upon your honors endeavors, had been fully made Null and void; yet notwithstanding, by the Arbitrariness of his own will, he appoints Laws for us, and sets up Popish Officers over us, outing those Officers of Justice appointed by you; issuing forth Writs in his own name, contrary to your honors Order and appointment: 31 And doth by Proclamation under his own Hand, and in his own Name, impose an Oath, which if refused by us, after three months, all our Lands and Plantations are to be seized upon to his Lordships use: And if taken by us, we shall be ingaged at his will to fight his battels, defend and maintain him in his Patent, as it was granted to him by the late King, &c. Which Oath, we humbly conceive, is contrary to the Liberty and freedom of our Consciences, as Christians, and contrary to the fundamental Laws of *England*; contrary to the Engagement we have taken in Subjection to the Common-wealth of *England*, and unsutable to Freemen, to own any other power than that to which we belong, and to whom we are, and have Engaged; and contrary to the Word of God, to fight for, and defend, and maintain Popery, and a Popish Antichristian Government; which we dare not do, unless we should be found Traytors to our Country, fighters against God, and Covenant-breakers.

The Premises Considered, we humbly spread our Condition before your view and Consideration, hoping that as you are Commissioners for the Common-wealth of *England*, and that power which God hath put into your hands, that you will up, and be doing, in the name and power of our God, that we be not left for our faithfulness as a prey to ungodly, and unreasonable men, before we can make our Complaint and Grievance known to the Supream Authority of *England*; which with all readiness we shall endeavor to do by the first opportunity; and from whom we do hope, and shall expect, by God's blessing, to have a gracious Answer, and sutable Redress; And your Petitioners hereunto Subscribed, shall pray, &c.

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*Dated in Patuxent River, in the Province of Maryland, the first of March, 1653.*

Subscribed, *Richard Preston*, and 60. more of the House-keepers, and Freemen. An  
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### ***An Answer to the Petitions lately Received from the Inhabitants of the Rivers of Severn and Patuxent.***

*Gentlemen,*

WE have lately Received from you a Petition and Complaint against the Lord *Baltamore* his Governor and Officers there, who upon pretence of some uncertain Papers and Relations to be sent out of *England*, but no way certified or authenticated, have presumed to recede from their Obedience to the Common-wealth of *England*, to which they were reduced by the Parliaments Commissioners; to the contrary whereof, nothing hath been sent out of *England*, as far as is yet made appear unto us; But Duplicates and Confirmation of the Commissioners Power and Actions were sent from the Parliament since the Reduction of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. Now whereas you Complain of real Grievances and Oppressions, as also of the Imposition of an Oath upon you against the Liberty of your Consciences, which you say you cannot take as Christians, or as Free Subjects of the Common-wealth of *England*; We have thought good to send you this Answer, That because we, nor you, have not as yet received, or seen sufficient order, or directions from the Parliament and State of England, contrary to the form to which you were Reduced and Established by the Parliaments said Commissioners; Therefore we advise and require you, that in no Case you depart from the same, but that you continue in your due Obedience to the Common-wealth of *England*, in such manner as you, and they, were then appointed and engaged; And not to be drawn aside from the same upon any pretence of such uncertain Relations, as we hear are divulged among you. To which we expect your real 33 Conformity, as you will answer the contrary; notwithstanding any

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pretence of power from the Lord *Baltimore's* Agents, or any other whatsoever to the contrary.

*Your very loving friends,*

Richard Bennet.

Will. Claibourn.

*Virginia, March the 12. 1653. A De-*

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### **A DECLARATION Published in MARYLAND.**

IT cannot be unknown to the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, that about two yeers since, this Province was Reduced and Settled under the Obedience of the Common-wealth of *England*, by the Parliaments Commissioners sent thither with special Commission and Instructions to that purpose: And that Captain *William Stone*, Mr. *Tho. Hatton*, and others, reassuming the power and place of Governor and Council here, undertook, and promised to continue in their said Obedience, and to issue out all Writs, Process, and proceedings in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, as was Commanded by the said Instructions, by which *Maryland* was Reduced; which said Commission and Instructions have been since renewed, and the proceedings of the said Commissioners owned by the Committee of the Council of State, as by their Order and Report drawn up for the Parliament may appear, wherein the Lord *Baltimore's* Agents are taxed for refusing to issue out Writs in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*. Notwithstanding all which appearing so clear and evident, The said Captain *Stone*, and Mr. *Hatton*, though they continued, and exercised the Government for some time, and for divers Courts, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, yet have they since, upon no good ground, falsified their said trust and engagement, though acted publicly, and after long Advice and Consideration: And having rejected, and cast off 35 their said Obedience to

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the Common-wealth of *England*, have further refused to Govern this Province according to the Laws of *England*, but declare and assume a power and practise contrary thereunto, and contrary to the late Platform of Government of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereof; As namely, by the Governors Negative Voice in Assemblies, and his chusing and removing Counsellors at pleasure, and the like, is manifest. And whereas we have lately received Commands from his Highness the *Lord Protector*, to publish the said Platform of Government; and that all Writs and Proceedings should be issued in the Name of his Highness; to which, though we desire this Government should be conformable, yet the said Captain *Stone*, and Mr. *Hatton*, having lately Associated unto them divers Counsellors, all of the Romish Religion, and excluding others appointed by the Parliaments Commissioners, have, and do refuse to be obedient to the Constitutions thereof, and to the *Lord Protector* therein; And have in the name, and by special direction of the said Lord *Baltimore*, made Proclamation, and exacted an Oath of Fidelity from all the Inhabitants of the Province, contrary, and inconsistent to the said Platform of Government: which said Oath nevertheless, and the Law here commanding the same, and many other Laws, are likewise by the Report of the said Committee of the Council of State, declared to be contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the English Nation; which is an express breach of his Patent. And whereas the said Oath, in many particulars, is distasted by all the inhabitants of *Maryland*; and especially out of tenderness of Conscience by all Northern Plantations of *Patuxent* and *Severne*, who having lately engaged to the Parliament of *England*, do say, and declare, they cannot take the said Oath to the Lord *Baltimore* to be absolute Lord and Proprietary of *Maryland*, and to the utmost of their power, to defend and maintain all his Rights, and Royal Jurisdictions, Prerogatives, Dominion, &c. Upon which their refusal of the said Oath, the said Captain *Stone*, by the said Lord *Baltimore's* especial direction, hath set forth a Proclamation, declaring, That all such persons so refusing, shall be for ever debarred from any Right, or Claim to the Lands they now enjoy, and live on: And that the said Captain *Stone*, as his Lordships Governor, is thereby required to cause the said Lands to be entred, and seized upon, to his Lordships use.

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By which strange, and exorbitant proceedings, many great Cruelties and Mischiefs are likely to be Committed, and many hundreds, with their Wives and Families, are utterly ruined, as hath been formerly done here, and at *Kent*, though Planted C 2 36 before the Lord *Baltamore's* Claim to *Maryland*, with many Murders, and illegal Executions of men, Confiscations of Estates and Goods, and great miseries sustained by Women and Orphans: In Consideration and just fear whereof, the said Planters of *Patuxant* and *Severne*, have made their often Addresses to us, as some of the then Commissioners for the Reducement of *Maryland*, and most lamentably Complain of the great Danger they stand in of being utterly undone, and chiefly for engaging their Fidelitie to the Commonwealth and Parliament of *England*, now devolved to his Highness the Lord Protector; their Obedience and Faith to both, being plainly repugnant to each other, and inconsistent.

We therefore the Commissioners of the Parliament, having written and proposed to the said Captain *Stone* and that Council, for a Meeting, to procure a right understanding in the matters aforesaid, and to prevent the great inconveniences likely to ensue: In Answer thereunto, though they acknowledge our Lines Peaceable, yet so exulcerated are their minds, that in the very next Line they add, *We in plain terms say, We suppose you to be Wolves in Sheeps clothing*; with many other following like uncivil, and uncomely words, and expressions.

In Contemplation therefore of all the Premises, we have thought fit for to make publication hereof, and to justifie and manifest our proceedings in these Affairs, lest many people may be ensnared by false and cunning suggestions and pretences, as lately hath been practised herein, the falsitie whereof time hath sufficiently demonstrated; And we are ready to give further satisfaction for the truth of any of the particulars before alleaged, if any shall desire it, or repair to us to that purpose, which they may securely do.

Wherefore we advise, and in the Name of his Highness the Lord Protector, Require all the Inhabitants of this Province, to take notice of the Premises, and to contain, and keep themselves in their due obedience under his Highness the Lord Protector of *England*,

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*Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, of which, this is undoubtedly a part, and ought to be Governed accordingly; whereby they may assure themselves of the peaceable enjoyment of their Liberties, profession of their Religion, and their Estates, and that they shall be protected from wrong and violence in what kind soever.*

Hereby also Protesting against the said Captain *William Stone*, Mr. *Thomas Hatton*, and all others any way Confederate, or Assistant with them in their unlawful practises, that they may be accomptable, and answerable to God and the State of *England* under his Highness the Lord Protector, for all the mischiefs, 37 damages, losses, and disorders that may, or shall happen thereby.

Richard Bennet.

Will. Claiborne.

*Dated at Patuxent in Maryland the 15. of July, 1654. Capt.*

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### **Captain *William Stone's* RESIGNATION of the GOVERNMENT.**

WHereas since the Orders or Directions of the Commissioners of the State of *England* for the Government of this Province of *Maryland*, of the 28. of *June*, 1652. I *William Stone* Esquire, Governor of the said Province, was Enjoyed by the Direction, and Appointment of the Right Honorable, the Lord *Baltamore*, Lord Proprietary of the said Province, to issue out all Writs, and Process, within this Province, in his the said Lord Proprietaries name, and to admit of those of the Councel which were appointed by his Lordship, and no other: And whereas upon my Compliance with his Lordships Commands therein, not any wayes contradictory, so far as I understand, to any Command from the Supream Authority in *England*; the said Commissioners, in pursuance of their Declarations lately here published, have threatned, and gone about by force of Arms to compel me to decline his, the said Lord Proprietaries, Directions and Commands before mentioned; which in regard of the

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trust reposed in me, by his said Lordship, as Governor here under him, I conceive I was engaged not to do; I have therefore thought fit, for prevention of the effusion of Blood, and ruine of the Country and Inhabitants, by an Hostile Contest upon this occasion, to lay down my Power as Governor of this Province under his Lordship; and do promise for the future, to submit to such Government as shall be set over 39 us by the said Commissioners, in the Name, and under the Authority of his Highness the Lord Protector.

Witness my Hand the 20 of *July*, 1654.

In presence of

*William Stone.*

*Thomas Gerrard.*

*Thomas Hatton.*

*Edm. Scarborough.* Order

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### **Order for settling the GOVERNMENT OF MARYLAND.**

WHereas by several Orders drawn up and Published at St. *Marie's* the 29, of *March*, and the 28, of *June*, 1652. *Maryland* was Reduced and settled under the Authority and Obedience of the Common-wealth of *England*, as to the Government thereof, by special Order and Command of the Councel of State by Commission from the Parliament, and was left in the hands of Captain *William Stone*, Mr. *Hatton*, and others; who were required, and promised to issue out Writs and other Process in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, according to the express words of the Commission and Instructions for Reducing, Settling, and Governing of all the Plantations in the Bay of *Chesapiak* to the Obedience of the Common-wealth of *England*, as in, and by the aforesaid Orders and Proclamations may, and doth appear: And whereas the aforesaid Captain *Stone*, by

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special Order and Directions from the Lord *Baltamore* as it appeareth, was perswaded, and induced to go away from his Obligation and the Trust reposed in him, By issuing forth Writs, and all other Process in the Name of the Lord Proprietary of this Province, placing and displacing those of the Councel, and imposing an Oath upon the Inhabitants, contrary unto, and inconsistent with the said Engagement and Oath to the Common-wealth of *England*, upon the Penalty and Forfeiture of the Lands of all such 41 as should Refuse to take the same within three Months after publication thereof, which were then to be Entred upon, and Seized to his Lordships use; thereby occasioning great discontent and disturbance among the Inhabitants, besides the Irregularity and Cruelty of the said proceedings, and the Opposition, Contempt, and Rebellion therein to the Common-wealth of *England*, and his Highness the Lord Protector. And further, whereas by a late Proclamation, dated the 4 *th.* of this Month, published in this Province, both the Commissioners of State, and the people who adhered to their Engagement to the Common-wealth of *England*, and refused to own, or acknowledge any other Name or Authority, as to Government, or to take any other Oath but what they had already taken to that power, were charged, That they drew away the people, and led them into Faction, Sedition, and Rebellion against the Lord *Baltamore*; whereby not only the Lands and Plantations of many hundreds of people, but also their Estates and Lives were liable to be taken away at the pleasure of the aforesaid Lord *Baltamore* and his Officers: By all which unjust and unreasonable proceedings, the people were put upon a necessity of standing upon their own defence; for the Vindication of their just Rights and Liberties, and freeing themselves from those great Oppressions, whereby the whole Province was very much threatned, and apparently endangered. For the prevention whereof, as also for the Relief of those who were so deeply distressed, and for the Settlement of the Province in peace, and in their due Obedience under his Highness, The said Commissioners by Authority derived unto them from his Highness the Lord Protector, applyed themselves unto Captain *William Stone* the Governor, and the Councel of *Maryland*, according to a Declaration of the 15 of this Month, herewith published, who returning only opprobrious, and uncivil language, presently mustered his whole power of men and Souldiers in Arms, intending

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to surprize the said Commissioners, and as could be imagined, to destroy all those that had refused the said unlawful Oath, and only kept themselves in their due obedience to the Common-wealth of *England*, under which they were Reduced and Settled by the Parliaments Authority and Commission as aforesaid; Then the said Commissioners in peaceable and quiet manner, with some of the people of *Patuxent* and *Severne*, went over the River of *Patuxent*, and there at length received a Message from Capt. *Stone*, That the next day they would meet and treat in the Woods; and thereupon being in some fear of a party, to come from *Virginia*, he condessed to lay down his power lately assumed from the Lord *Baltamore*, and to submit (as he 42 had once before done) to such Government as the Commissioners should appoint under his Highness the Lord Protector.

It is therefore Ordered and Declared by the said Commissioners, That for Conservation of the Peace and publick administration of Justice within the said Province of *Maryland*, Captain *William Fuller*, Mr. *Richard Preston*, Mr. *William Durand*, Mr. *Edward Lloyd*, Captain *John Smith*, Mr. *Leonard Strong*, Mr. *Lawson*, Mr. *John Hatch*, Mr. *Edward Wells*, and Mr. *Richard Ewen*, or any Four of them, whereof Captain *William Fuller*, Mr. *Richard Preston*, or Mr. *William Durand* to be alwayes one, to be Commissioners for the well Ordering, Directing, and Governing the Affairs of *Maryland*, under his Highness the Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereof, and in his Name only, and no other; and to proceed therein as they shall see cause, and as neer as may be, according to the Laws of *England*: To appoint and hold Courts for the due administration of Justice and Right in such places, and at such times as they shall think fit and necessary: And any of the Commissioners of the *Quorum*, to issue forth Writs, Warrants, Subpœna's, &c. As also that they Summon an Assembly to begin on the 20<sup>th</sup>. day of *October* next; For which Assembly all such shall be disabled to give any Vote, or to be Elected Members thereof, as have born Arms in War against the Parliament, or do profess the Roman Catholick Religion. And the said Mr. *William Durand* is hereby appointed to be Secretary to the said Commissioners, and to receive the Records from Mr. *Thomas Hatton*; And Captain *John Smith*, to be Sheriff for this ensuing year.

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*Dated at Patuxent, in the Province of Maryland, the 22 of July, 1654.*

*Richard Bennet.*

*William Claiborne. Cecilius,*

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CEcilius, Lord *Baltamore*, To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, by His Highness Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date at *Oxford* the 28 day of *February* now last past, Hath authorized *Leonard Calvert* Esquire, Brother of me the said Lord *Baltamore*, to Treat, Conclude, and Agree at, and with the General Assembly of the Colony of *Virginia*, for, and concerning the Ascertaining and Establishing by Act of General Assembly there, of Customs and Duties to be paid to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors in *Virginia*, upon Exportation of Tobacco, and other Goods and Merchandizes from thence, and upon all other Goods and Merchandizes brought in and imposed there, other then for necessary supply for Cloathing imported, as by the said Commission more at large appeareth: And whereas by a Contract or Agreement in Writing, bearing date the day of the date of the said Commission, made between our Sovereign Lord the King, of the one party; and me, the said Lord *Baltamore*, on the other party, Reciting the said Commission herein before recited; our said Sovereign Lord the King, for the considerations in the said Contract or Agreement expressed, Is pleased, and hath agreed with me the said Lord *Baltamore*, that in case a certainty of Customs and Duties shall be Established by Act of General Assembly of the said Colony of *Virginia*, according to the tenor of the said Commission, That then His said Majesty will make a Lease or Grant to me, and such others as I shall desire to be joyned with me, of the same Customs and Duties which shall be established as aforesaid, for such term, and under such Rents and Covenants as in the same Contract or Agreement, are expressed; And that immediately after the Establishing of the said Customs and Duties as aforesaid, and until such Lease or Grant shall be made as aforesaid, I the said Lord *Baltamore*, and such as I shall appoint, shall be the Receiver or Receivers, Collector or Collectors of all

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such Customs and Duties as shall be established as aforesaid, to the proper use of me the said Lord *Baltamore*, my Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, without accompt; paying 44 certain Rents, Salaries, and Entertainments in the said Contract or Agreement expressed and mentioned. And his Majesty hath by the same Contract or Agreement, Constituted and Ordained me, the said Lord *Baltamore*, and my Deputy or Deputies, to be appointed by me, to be his Collector and Receiver of all Customs and Duties which shall become due and payable to His Majesty, as aforesaid, as by that part of the said Contract or Agreement which is remaining with me the said Lord *Baltamore*, being under the Great Seal of *England*, more at large appeareth: Know ye now, That I the said Lord *Baltamore*, for divers good Causes and Considerations me thereunto moving, Have substituted, ordained, made, and appointed; And by these Presents do Substitute, Ordain, Make, and Appoint to be my Deputy in this behalf, and do by force and vertue of the same Contract or Agreement, Authorize and put the said in my place and stead, and to the use of me, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, to Receive, Collect, and Gather all such Customs and Duties whatsoever, as in pursuance of the before recited. Commission, and Contract, or Agreement shall be established to be paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors in *Virginia* aforesaid, by Act of General Assembly of the said Colony, and out of the same, to pay, and discharge all such Rents, Salaries, and Entertainments, as by the said Contract or Agreement are mentioned to be by me paid and discharged, rendring to me, my Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, the Overplus or Remainder of the same Customs and Duties: Giving, and hereby Granting unto the said as full Power and Authority to recover, and receive the said Customs and Duties to be Established as aforesaid, to the use aforesaid, when the same shall grow due; and to give Acquittances and Receipts for the same, and to Substitute and Appoint one or more Person or Persons under him in this behalf, and the same to revoke at his will and pleasure, and to pay and discharge the said Salaries and Entertainments, as I my self have, or may, or might claim to have by force and vertue of the said Contract or Agreement; And further, to do, execute, and finish all and every such further, and other Acts and things which shall be expedient and necessary to be done by the said touching the Premises by reason of his

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being my Deputy as aforesaid, as effectually as I might do the same being personally present: Ratifying, Confirming, and Allowing all, and whatsoever the said shall do, or cause to be done in the Premises in pursuance hereof. In 45 witness whereof I the said Lord *Baltamore* have hereunto put my Hand and Seal at Arms, the tenth day of *April*; 1644. *Annoq; Regis Carols Angl. &c. vicessimo.*

*C. Baltamore.*

FINIS.

*NOTE.—Page 20.*

This refers to a fact connected with the surrender of Virginia, which, as far as I have observed, has been entirely overlooked by the historians who have noticed that event. Although the Commissioners, in the Articles agreed upon between themselves and the Assembly, on the 12th of March, 1652, engaged “the honour of Parliament for the full performance thereof,” yet it appears that until the Articles were approved and confirmed by the Parliament, they were not considered by that body as binding upon the Commonwealth: And when the Council of State communicated the papers on the subject to the House, it will be seen by the following extracts from the Journal, that three of the Articles, (the fourth, seventh, and eighth,) were not confirmed; and therefore did not receive “the last formal and final and definitive ratification,” which Burke, ( *II.* 92,) supposes they did. These three articles contained the important concessions, often referred to, relating to limits, privileges, and freedom from Taxes, Customs, and Impositions.

Tuesday, *August 3*, 1652. *Ordered*, That the Council of State do make a speedy Report, touching the Articles of the *Barbadoes*.

Friday, *August 13*, 1652. *Resolved*, That the Reports, touching the *Barbadoes* and *Virginia*, be made on *Tuesday* next, next after the Report touching the Compositions.

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Wednesday, *August 18*, 1652. *Ordered*, That the Articles for the rendition of *Virginia*, be reported on *Friday* morning next.

The House did, this day, take into consideration the Articles made upon the surrender of the *Barbadoes*.

*Resolved*, That the House doth approve of, and confirm the said Articles, provided that the same, nor any thing therein contained, shall not extend to the prejudice of any Third Person, as to any of the Plantations mentioned in the said Articles; nor to confirm the Lord *Willoughby*, or any other Person by his authority, in the place of Governor or Commander of or in any Government or Command, in any of the Plantations aforesaid, or elsewhere.

Thursday, *August 26*, 1652. *Ordered*, That the Articles touching *Virginia* be read, to-morrow morning, the first business.

Friday, *August 27*, 1652. *Ordered*, That the Articles touching the surrender of *Virginia*, be taken into consideration on *Tuesday* morning next, the first business.

Tuesday, *August 31*, 1652. *Mr. Love* reports from the Council of State, a copy of a letter from *Richard Bennett*, *Edmond Carew*, and *William Claiborne*, dated at *Virginia*, 14th of *May*, 1652, with a copy of the Articles agreed on, and concluded at *James City*, in *Virginia*, for the surrendering and settling that Plantation, under the obedience and government of the Commonwealth of *England*: Which were this day read.

A Letter from *Richard Bennett*, from aboard the *Guinny* Frigat, in *Virginia*, dated *May 15th*, 1652, was this day read.

47

The humble petition of *Cecil*, *Lord Baltimore*, and divers Adventurers, Planters, and Traders, into that part of *America*, called *Maryland*, adjoining to *Virginia*, was this day read.

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The First Article being read;

*Resolved*, That the word “ *there*, ” in the First Article, be explained, and made “ *in England*. ”

And the said Article being so amended was agreed unto.

The Second Article being read, was agreed unto.

The Third Article being read, was agreed unto.

The Fourth Article being read;

[“4THLY, That *Virginia* shall have and enjoy the antient bounds and “lymitts granted by the Charters of the former Kings, And that we shall “seek a new Charter from the Parliament to that purpose against any that “intrencht upon the rights thereof.”]

*Ordered*, That this Article be referred to the Committee of the Navy, to consider what patent is fit to be granted to the Inhabitants of Virginia: And to hear all parties; and to consider their particular claims; and report the same, with their Opinion, to the Parliament: With power to send for Persons, Papers, Witnesses, and Records.

*Ordered*, That the Parchments delivered in, concerning Maryland, be also referred to the same Committee.

The Fifth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Sixth Article, being read, was upon the Question, agreed.

The Seventh Article, being read;

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*Resolved*, That these words, “ *that Commonwealth*, ” be explained in these words, “ *the Commonwealth of England*.” And the first part of the said Article, so amended, was agreed.

*Resolved*, That the latter clause of the said Article, in these words, “ *and that Virginia shall enjoy all Privileges equal with any Plantation in America*,” be committed to the same Committee, to be considered of the Patent to be granted to them.

The Eighth Article, being read;

[“8THLY, That *Virginia* shall be free from all Taxes, Customes, and “Impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent “of the Grand Assembly, And soe that neither ffortes nor castles be “erected or garrisons maintained without their consent.”]

*Resolved*, That *this Article be committed to the same Committee*.

The Ninth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Tenth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Eleventh Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Twelfth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Thirteenth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Fourteenth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

The Fifteenth Article, being read, and put to the Question, was agreed.

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*Ordered, That the Petition of the Inhabitants of Virginia, and the Papers thereby reported from the Council, be referred to the same Committee.*

The Report of the Committee of the Navy, made on the 31st of December following, as given in this Pamphlet, ( p. 20–22,) while it enters at large into the disputes between Virginia and Maryland, about their respective limits, and the conduct of Lord Baltimore, does not refer to the equally important matters contained in the Seventh and Eighth Articles, which had also been referred. I have not found this Report, nor any allusion to it, on the Journals of Parliament. P. F.

A NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS Of the PEOPLE of South-Carolina, In the YEAR 1719: AND OF The True CAUSES and MOTIVES that induced them to Renounce their Obedience to the LORDS PROPRIETORS, as their Governors, and to put themselves under the immediate Government of the CROWN.

Francis

LONDON, Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXVI.

1726

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1837.

To the Right Honourable JOHN Lord CARTERET, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, &c.

My LORD,

*THE People of South-Carolina are now forced, (by the Lords Proprietors Application to His Majesty for a Restitution of their Government) by me [their Agent] to set forth the true Cause of their Proceedings in the Year 1719, to put themselves under the Protection and Government of the Crown; for which they do not plead Law, but Necessity. The World, from the Knowledge they have of your Lordship's Humanity, Honour, and Good-Nature, will be induc'd to conclude, You will not insist upon what may be strictly Your Right, where*

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*the Lives and Estates of upwards of Seventeen Hundred Families may be endanger'd thereby.*

*I presume also to say, It is equally the Lords Proprietors as the Peoples Interest, that Province should be govern'd by the Crown, who only can protect that Frontier Colony: For if the Inhabitants are ruined and drove off the Country, their Lordships must, in some sort, be Sufferers with them; not to mention the Expencc it saves them, of a Salary to a Governor and other Officers of the Government. And tho' I would be thought far from prescribing Rules to their Lordships, I dare venture to say, that under proper Regulations, Their Estates may be better Augmented and Receiv'd under His Majesty's Government, The Dedication than under their own, and it would be a Reciprocal Advantage, as well to the Province as Themselves.*

*I have been forced, in the following Narration, to lay some Mismanagements to the Lords Proprietors Charge, which I do truly believe, if your Lordship had not been then on your Embassy in Sweden, I should not have had Occasion to mention, for they would not have been: But as Truth, and the necessary Apology of the People who employ me, have constrained me to it, without the least Intention of blemishing any One's Character; so I hope for their Pardon, and more particularly for that of your Lordship, from whom I have receiv'd so many Favours: And I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that I am, with the greatest Respect and Deference,*

*My LORD, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, and Most Humble Servant,*

F. Yonge.

### **A NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS Of the PEOPLE of South-Carolina, In the Year 1719.**

THE *Lords Proprietors of Carolina* being at this Time soliciting His Majesty for the Restitution of their Government of *South-Carolina*, from whose Authority the Inhabitants

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revolted in the Year 1719, and humbly besought His Majesty to take them under his own immediate Government and Protection; I could not help thinking this a proper Juncture to acquaint the World how those People came to take such extraordinary Measures, as those they did, has the Appearance of to them who are not acquainted with the Springs and Motives which agitated and push'd them on to such violent Proceedings.

And being furnish'd with proper Materials, the *Original Papers*, and an Eye-Witness to most that then pas'd in that Province, I can answer for the Truth of the Facts hereafter related: and as the Continuance of the Government of that Province under the Crown is of the greatest Consequence, not only to the Province itself, but to all the Settlements in *North-America*, to which it is a Frontier; I hope it will not be thought an impertinent Work to acquaint the Publick with an Affair, which altho' so remote, is of so great Importance.

6

But before I proceed to Particulars, it will be necessary to give the Reader a short View of the Nature of the Settlement and Government of that Province, and of the Accidents and Contingencies that first gave the people a Dislike to the *Lords Proprietors*; and which, by degrees, so far irritated them, that they at last resolv'd to be no longer subject to their Government.

This Province was first settled at the Charge and Expence of several Persons of Quality, to whom King *Charles II.* granted it by Charter, soon after his Restoration; and a Scheme was then by them drawn, for the forming and settling the Legislature, and for encouraging Settlers to go over: It will be sufficient only to mention here, that by their Charter, they had Power given them to call an Assembly of the Freemen of the Province, or their Delegates, and with them, *either by themselves or their lawful Deputies*, to enact and make Laws, *not repugnant to the Laws of England*; and it had been usual with them, to appoint a Governor and seven Deputies, called the Council, the first of which (the Governor) represented the Palatine, and the others the rest of the *Lords Proprietors*, respectively, and were called the Upper House of Assembly: Thus the Laws were pass'd, and the Country govern'd for

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upwards of Fifty Years; when, after some Years Intercourse and Dealing between the Inhabitants and several Nations of the *Indians*, with whom they Traded, as they now do for several Thousand Pounds a Year, the said *Indians* unanimously agreed to destroy the whole Settlement, by murdering and cutting to pieces all the Inhabitants, on a Day they had agreed on; and altho' some private Intimations Were given the People of this their Design, it was totally disbeliev'd; so that on that certain Day, in the Year 1715, they killed all, or most of the Traders that were with them in their Towns; and going among the Plantations murder'd all who could not fly from their cruelty, and burned their Houses. The Occasion of this Conspiracy, which was so universal, that all the *Indians* were concerned in it, except a small Clan or two that lived amongst the Settlements, insomuch that they amounted to between Eight and Ten Thousand Men, was attributed to some ill Usage they had receiv'd from the Traders, who are not (generally) Men of the best Morals; and that, no doubt of it, might give some Cause to their Discontents; to which may be added the great Debts they owed the Inhabitants, which it is said amounted to near 10,000 *l.* Sterling, with the Goods then amongst them; all which they seiz'd and made their own, and never paid their Debts, but cancell'd them, by murdering their Creditors.

7

In this War near 400 of the Inhabitants were destroy'd, with many Houses and Slaves, and great numbers of Cattle, especially to the Southward near *Port-Royal*, from whence the Inhabitants were entirely drove, and forced into the Settlements near *Charles Town*.

This Town being fortified, they there had Time to think what to do; and not mustering above 1200 Men, they sent to *Virginia* and the neighbouring Colonies for Assistance; and for want of Money, of which they have very little in the Country, they formed *Bills of Credit*, to pass Current in all Payments, of which we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter. This their necessary Defence brought the Publick in Debt near 80,000 *l.* and intail'd great Annual Charges upon them, to maintain Garrisons, which they were forced to keep at great Expences.

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In this very great Extremity, they sent Agents to *England* with an Account of their deplorable State, and to beg Assistance from their Proprietors: But not having very great Expectations from them, as very rightly imagining they would not be brought to expend their *English* Estates, to support much more precarious ones in *America*, their Agents were directed to lay a State of their Circumstances before her then Majesty Queen *Anne*, and to beg the Assistance of the Crown.

Their Agents soon sent them an Account, that they found a Disposition in Her Majesty to send them Relief, and to protect them; but that the Objection was, they were a *Proprietary Government*; and it was the Opinion of the then Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, that if the Queen was at the Expence of Protecting and Relieving the Province, the Government thereof should be in the Crown.

This first contracted in the Inhabitants in general, an Opinion of their being very unhappy in living under a Government that could not protect them; the Effects of which were also worse, since it hinder'd the Crown from doing what they (the *Proprietors*) could not do themselves.

The Publick Emergencies had occasion'd the Stamping the aforesaid Sum of 80,000 *l.* in Bills of Credit, to pay their Soldiers, and other Charges the Country was forced to be at; and it was Enacted by the Assembly, They should be Current in all Payments between Man and Man. But the precarious State the Province was in by the *Indian War*, and the Danger it was exposed to, by being a Frontier, to the *French and Spaniards*, gave the Merchants in *England* who Traded thither, and to whom the Inhabitants were considerably Indebted, so great an Alarm, that they writ to their Correspondents, to make them Returns at any Rate, for fear of losing the Whole.

8

The great Demand for the *Commodities* of the Country that this necessarily occasion'd, together with the Scarcity of *them* by the Peoples being taken from their Labour to defend

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themselves, and there being no other way of paying their Debts to the Merchants in *England* but by the Produce of the Country, the Money being National, having no Intrinsic Value in it; all these things concurr'd to raise the Price of the Rice, Pitch and Tar, and other Productions, to such a height, that the Bill that was made for Twenty Shillings, would not purchase what was worth intrinsically more than a Half a Crown. From whence it follow'd, that those who had Money owing them on Bond or otherwise before the War, and who must have been paid in Gold or Silver, or its Value, if those Bills had not been made Current in all Payments, by their being so, lost Seven Eighths of their Money: These Losses fell chiefly on the Merchants and such of the Inhabitants of *Charles Town* as were Money'd Men; and, on the contrary, the Planters, who were their Debtors, were the Gainers.

This so very great a Loss falling upon the *Merchants* (tho' I do truly believe it was not foreseen by the People) made very great Clamours in *England*, from *them*, who applied to the *Lords Proprietors* for Redress, and desired that a Stop might be put to the Increase of that sort of Currency, and that some Way might be found for the calling-in, and sinking what was then Current of them. In this Condition and thus Circumstanced, Mr. *Johnson* found the People on his Arrival, who was appointed Governor by the *Lords Proprietors* Commission dated 30th of *April* 1717; and agreeable to an *Act of Parliament* in that Case provided, he was Approv'd of by His Majesty, under his Sign Manual.

At his first coming, he applied himself to the Assembly, to call-in those Bills, which had brought so great Inconveniencies upon themselves, as well as on the Traders; and in Justice and Honour, (he told them) they ought to make good; and so far prevail'd on them, that altho' there were great Contentions in the Assembly, between the Planting and the Mercantile Interest; altho' the Annual Expences of the Country were then very great, the *Indian War* with some Nations still continuing, Coast very much infested with Pyrates, who had several times block'd up the Harbour for several Weeks together, and taken all the Ships coming in or going out, which had put the Country to great Expences; they having fitted out Vessels twice, and taken two of them, one commanded by Major *Steed Bounett*,

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in *Cape-Fear* River, and the other by *Worley*, off the Bar of *Charles Town*; in which last Expedition Mr. *Johnson* went himself in Person: 9 I say, notwithstanding they then labour'd under these Difficulties, they passed an Act for Sinking and Paying off all their Paper Credit in three Years, by a Tax on Lands and Negroes, which gave a general Satisfaction.

It will be necessary here to make a Digression, to inform the Reader, that at the first Settling the Country, before it was divided into Parishes, the whole Lower House of Assembly were chosen at *Charles Town*, and were Representatives of the whole Province; which Custom had continued after the Country was laid out in Parishes, until about a Year before Mr. *Johnson* arriv'd: When in the Government of Mr. *Daniel*, who was left Deputy Governour by Mr. *Craven* when he came for *England*, they pass'd a Law for Regulating the Elections for Members of the Assembly; wherein amongst other Things it was *Enacted*, That every Parish should send a certain Number of Representatives, 36 in all, and that they should be Balloted for at their respective Parish-Churches, or some other Place convenient, on a Day to be mention'd in the Writs, which were to be directed to the Church-Wardens, and they to make Return of the Elected Members: and of this *Act*, the People were very fond; finding it gave them a greater Freedom of Election, and was more easy to them than going out of their respective Countries to *Charles Town*; at which Elections, there had been very often great Tumults; and besides, that it came nearer the Methods used in *England*.

On the other hand, as it pleased the Generality of the People, because of the Freedom it gave them in their Choice, it was sure to displease two of the *Lords Proprietors* Principal Officers; their Chief Justice and Receiver General Mr. *Trott*, and Mr. *Rhett* his Brother in Law; who by the former Method of Electing at *Charles Town*, had used to have a great Sway in the Elections, which they thought would be lessen'd by this new method; and therefore they did what they could to obstruct the Passing the Bill, which they failed in; but so represented it to the *Lords Proprietors* with whom they had always too much interest, either for their Lordships or the Peoples Good, that just at the Juncture when they had been at the aforesaid great Expence to drive the Pyrates off their Coast, that they were

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mightily pleas'd with Mr. *Johnson* for exposing his own Person in that Expedition against them, had pass'd the Law for sinking their paper Currency, and were contriving to pay for their Expeditions against the Pyrates, and their other contingent Debts, and they were never observ'd to be in so good a Disposition towards the *Proprietors*, but were doing every Thing that could be ask'd of 2 10 them. At this Juncture arriv'd an Order to the Governor to Dissolve the Assembly forthwith, and to call a New one to be Elected according to the Ancient Custom, they not acknowledging the New Election Law, because not approv'd and ratified by them in *London*, as the former was and therefore they insisted; the Legislature of *Carolina* could not Repeal it, and substitute a New one in the Place, without their Consent, they being (notwithstanding their Impowering their Deputies in *Carolina*) the Head of the Legislative Body of the Province, and had a Right to put a Negative on such Laws as they did not approve of; at the same time they also Repeal'd an Act of the Assembly for laying a Duty on *Negroes*, Liquors, &c. imported into the said Province, for raising a Sum of Money to defray the Contingent Charges of the Province, and for other Services therein mention'd.

Mr. *Johnson* and his Council, (that is, the major part of them for Mr. *Trott* was of that body) were very much surpris'd at the receipt of these Orders; and after having duly consider'd the Consequences they might produce, resolv'd to suspend the Execution of them, especially that part which directed the Dissolution of the Assembly; but on the contrary, thought it best they should sit until they accomplish'd the Business then before them. But as the Repeal of the Duty-Law was by Order of the King in Council, because of a part of it that laid a Duty on Goods manufactur'd in *Great-Britain*, the Council therefore resolv'd to acquaint the Assembly with the King's Dislike to that part of the Law, and require them to make a New Act, in which to leave out the part complain'd of. These Orders and Repeals, altho' all Endeavours were used that they should be kept secret, came to the Knowledge of the Assembly, and begat prodigious Heats and Debates about the *Proprietors* Right of Repeal, or of their Authority to allow of, or disallow any of the Laws pass'd in that Province; which the Assembly alledg'd being assented to by their Deputies who acted for them; and

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at that time, by a sort of Deputation, every *Proprietor* gave in the Nature of a Power of Attorney, to act for him, and in his stead; they insisted, bound them, according to the Tenor of their Charter, as much as if they themselves had been present, and had ratified and confirm'd those Acts.

Just before the arrival of these unhappy Orders, there had been presented to the Assembly, Articles of Complaint against the Chief Justice *Trott*, being Thirty one in Number, which in the Whole set forth, "That he had been guilty of many Partial Judgments; that he had contriv'd many Ways to multiply and 11 "increase his Fees, contrary to Acts of Assembly, and to the "great Grievance of the Subjects; and that amongst others, he "Contriv'd a Fee for Continuing Causes from one Court (or "Term) unto another, and then had Put off the Hearing for "several Years together; that he took upon him to give Advice "in Causes depending in his Courts, and did not only act as a "Councillor in that Particular, but also had and did draw Deeds "and other Writings between Party and Party, some of which "had been contested before him as Chief Justice; in the determining "of which, he had shewn great Partialities, with many "other Particulars; and lastly, complaining that the whole Judicial "Power of the Province was lodg'd in his Hands alone; "of which it was evident he had made a very ill Use, he being "at that time sole Judge of the *Pleas* and *King's-Bench*, and "Judge of the Court of *Vice-Admiralty*; so that no Prohibition "could be lodg'd against the Proceedings of that Court, he being "in that Case to grant a Prohibition against himself; he was "also, at the same time, one of the *Council*, and of consequence; "of the Court of *Chancery*."

These Complaints took their Rise from the Attornies who practis'd in the Courts, and were fully made appear to be Facts to the Commons House of Assembly; but the Judges Commission from the *Proprietors* being *Quam diu se bene gesserit*, and he insisting his Actions were not to be tried but before the *Proprietors* themselves, they were constrained to apply to the *Proprietors* for Redress; and therefore sent a Message to the Governor and Council, desiring they would join with them in representing his Male-Administration to the *Lords*, and in supplicating them, that if they did not think fit to remove him entirely

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from presiding in their Courts of Justice, (which they desired,) then that they would at least leave him only one single Jurisdiction, that they might have the Liberty of Appealing from his *sole*, and too often, Partial Judgment.

The Governor and a Majority of his Council agreed with them, to represent the Grievances they complain'd of, to the *Proprietors*; and thinking it might be better done by one of their own Members, who had been present in all their Debates, than by Letters, they agreed on Mr. *Yonge* to go to *Great-Britain*, to give their *Lordships* a true State of this, as well as of their other Affairs, who was accordingly properly instructed, and in the Month of *May*, 1719, arrived in *London*.

The Lord Carteret the *Palatine* was then just going on his Embassy to the Court of *Sweden*, who therefore was pleased to refer him to the rest of the *Proprietors*; and after having waited on them two or three times, he presented them with the following *Memorial*.

12

To the Right Honourable the *Lord's Proprietors* of the Province of *South-Carolina*.

*The Memorial of Francis Yonge Esq; Surveyor-General of South-Carolina.*

“THE abovesaid *Francis Yonge* being appointed by your “Lordships Governor and Council of *South-Carolina*, to “lay before you, not only several *Acts of Assembly*, made “and passed there the last Sessions of Assembly, for your Lordships “Approbation, but also to inform your Lordships of the Reasons “that urged them to defer Dissolving of the General Assembly, “pursuant to your Lordships Commands; and to shew “your Lordships the Arguments between Them and the Commons “House of Assembly, touching your Lordships Right of “Repealing laws, ratified and confirmed there by your Lordships “Deputies; Does therefore present your Lordships with “a *Speech* made by Mr. Chief Justice *Trott*, at a General Conference “of both Houses; and the Commons Answer thereunto; “as also several Messages that passed between them: Which he “hopes will

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shew your Lordships, that no Arguments or Endeavours “were wanting on their part, to assert your Lordships “Right of Repealing Laws not Ratified by you.

“They (your Lordships said Governor and Council) would “not have given them an Opportunity of disputing (at least at “that time) such your Lordships Power, but should have Dissolv'd “them, according to your Lordships Commands, had it “been possible to have been done without the greatest Prejudice “to the Country in general, as well as to several Merchants and “particular Persons, who had either voluntarily furnish'd, or had “pressed from them such Things as were necessary for fitting-out “the two Expeditions against the Pyrates, which amounted to upwards “of 10.000 *l.* and which that Commons House of Assembly “had provided for the Payment of; and they were not certain “another would agree to, considering the ill Humour their “Dissolution was likely to create amongst them: Beside, that “the *Imposition Act* being Repeal'd, and no other substituted in “its Place, leaving out the Clause, *laying a Duty upon Goods “of the Manufacture of Great-Britain*; which Clause gave Offence; “the Duties arising by which Act were applied to the “Payment of the Clergy, Maintenance of the Garrisons, paying “several Publick Debts, and on which Orders were drawn “for 30.000 *l.* The *Indian Trading Law* being also Repeal'd: “The doing of which before the Trade was put under some 13 “Regulation might have brought those People down on our “Settlements, and have occasion'd another *Indian War*. The “ *Act for sinking 35.000 l.* the current Year, in Bills of Credit, “had been broken through; which it was absolutely necessary “some other Law should be provided to make good.

“The abovesaid Reasons, the presume, your Lordships will “think were such, that they could not then immediately Dissolve “the Assembly, who had but Six Weeks to Continue, by “their Biannual *Act*: And it is with some Pleasure that they “can inform your Lordships, that they think they have preserv'd “to your Lordships any Right you were before posses'd of; and “at the same time have got such Laws pass'd, as, with your

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“Lordships Approbation, will very much contribute to Settle “the Country, and, we hope, give no Offence to *Great-Britain*.

(a) “The Governor and Council have frequently recommended “to Mr. Secretary *Hart*, his transmitting to your Lordships “Copies of the Laws pass'd, that your Lordships may “Approve, or signify your Dislike of them: And he has as often “complain'd of the Difficulty he has to get them Transcribed, “and of the great Charge he must be at so to do, that he is “now at 100 *l.* a Year Expence for a Clerk; and more than “that, for Books, Pens, Ink and Paper, &c. That your Lordships “Allowance to him for the Whole, is but 40 *l.* a Year. “They therefore take the Liberty of Requesting your Lordships “to Augment the Salary of the said Secretary, or allow a “Clerk with a competent Salary to attend the Council, and transcribe “such Laws, or other things, as may at any time be thought “needful to send to your Lordships, or done there. They have “also formerly, and do again request your Lordships, That the “Room they now sit in, and have done for four Years past and “which belongs to Mr. *William Gibbon*, the said Mr. *Gibbon* “may have some Allowance for, as well for the Time past, as “for the future; they having promis'd him to move your Lordships “in his Behalf. They are also in hopes your Lordships “will not think it unreasonable to make Themselves some Allowance, “to defray the Expence they are at, in Attending the “Council, Court of Chancery, and Assembly, which takes up “more than one third part of their Time, and is a very great “Charge to them. And whereas Fire, Candles, and several “other Contingent Charges will accrue, they desire the same “may be paid by your Lordships Receiver-General when he shall “be Order'd so to do by them.

(a) They had sent Orders to have all the Laws constantly sent them by their Secretaries.

14

“The said *Francis Yonge* is further directed to move your “Lordships, to procure Custom-House Officers at the Port of “ *Beaufort*, that Town increasing very much in Inhabitants, and “it being a very great Discouragement to them that they are “obliged to bring all their

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Produce to *Charles Town*, and will “very much retard the Well-Peopling the Southern Parts of “the Colony.

“It is also the humble Request and advice of the said Governor “and Council, as a Thing that will lay a very great Obligation “on the Country in general, That your Lordships will please “to grant 6000 Acres of land *gratis* to the Publick, for the Use “of three Garrisons at *Savannah Town*, the *Congress* and the “ *Apalachocolles*; and that some part of the Land to the Northward, “may be granted and disposed of on the same Terms as “the *Yamazee* Lands, in order to the effectual Securing and “Well-Peopling the Frontiers to the Northward, as well as to “the Southward.

“As these would be very great Concessions, and they hope “very much dispose the People to make your Lordships such “Returns of Duty and Respect as they wish had always been “done, and will, they hope very much contribute to the Peopling “the Country; so they also hope, your Lordships will “secure and preserve them in their Properties, (a much greater “Encouragement than all the rest,) by putting it into their “Power to assert their undoubted Right of Appealing from any “erroneous Judgments in Law; which Right they are now debarr'd, “by the sole Judicial Power being lodg'd in the Hands “of Mr. Chief Justice *Trott*, in the *King's Bench*, Court of “ *Pleas*, Court of *Admiralty*, and Court of *Chancery*; a Trust “never repos'd in any one Man before in the World, and which “the General Assembly has desir'd them to joyn, in Addressing “your Lordships to have remedied, and which I am directed herewith “to present to your Lordships.

“All which is most humbly submitted to your Lordships Consideration. “in *London*. The 5th of *June* 1719.

With this, Mr. *Yonge* also deliver'd them a letter from Governour *Johnson*, the Articles of Complaint against Mr. *Trott*, and an Address from the Governour, Council, and Assembly, that he might be remov'd, or at least be made contented with one single Jurisdiction, and several Acts of Assembly; one of which was, for the better Recovery of their Quit-Rents,

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with a Clause in it, making it of no Force, unless approv'd of by their Lordships: This was thought proper to be done, the People still insisting, That an Act ratified by the Lords-Deputies in 15 *Carolina*, could not be repeal'd by them; and this being their own particular Concern, requir'd, their more particular Approbation.

Mr. *Yonge* waited upon their Lordships three Months in *London*, and attended their Boards, in order to the satisfying them in any thing they might have had Occasion to have enquir'd after of him, concerning the State of the Country, or of the best Methods to be taken, to allay the Heats, and reconcile the People to their Authority; which he apprehended was not more than he ought to expect, since they had done him the Honour to appoint him their Surveyor-General, and one of their Council, and he had sailed Five or Six Thousand Miles for their Service, in a Conjecture that their Governour and Council thought it most absolutely necessary he should do so. But their Lordships were of other Sentiments; it may be suppos'd, they took all for Fact that was sent them by Mr. *Trott's* private Letters and at last, dispatch'd him back with Pacquets seal'd up, for the Governour, amongst which, upon his Arrival in *Carolina*, was found the following Letter.

SIR,

“ WE have receiv'd and perus'd your Letters, and all “your Papers deliver'd us, by your Agent Mr. *Yonge*; “and though we are favourably inclin'd in all our “Thoughts relating to our Governor, yet we must tell you, we “think you have not obeyed your Orders and Directions given “to you, to Dissolve that Assembly, and Call another forthwith, “according to the ancient Usage and Custom of the Province; “and to publish our Repeals of those Acts of Assembly, immediately “upon the receipt of our Orders aforesaid: But we shall “say no more upon that Subject now, not doubting but our Governour “will pay a more punctual Obedience to our Orders “for the future.

“The *Lords Proprietors* Right of Confirming and Repealing “Laws, was so particular a Privilege granted to them by the “Crown, that we can never recede from it: and we do

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assure “you we are not a little surprized, that you would suffer that “Prerogative of Ours to be disputed.

“We have sent you herewith an Instruction under our Hands “and Seals, nominating such Persons as we think fit to be of “the *Council* with you, six whereof, and your self, and no less “Number, to be a *Quorum*. Upon your Receipt of this, we “hereby require you to summons the said Council, that they 16 “may qualify themselves according to Law, and immediately sit “upon the Dispatch of Business.

“We also send you the Repeal of the Acts of Assembly, “which we Order you to Publish immediately, upon the receipt “of this.

“We do assure Mr. *Johnson*, that we will stand by him in “all Things that relate to the just Execution of his Office, and “we are Confident that he will perform his Duty to us, and support “our Power and Prerogatives, to the best of his Abilities.

“If the Assembly chosen according to your *pretended late Act* “is not dissolv'd, as we formerly Order'd, and a New Assembly “Chosen, pursuant to the Act formerly Confirm'd by the *Proprietors*, “you are forthwith Commanded hereby, to Dissolve “that Assembly, and to Call another, according to the above “mention'd Act of Assembly; so we bid you heartily Farewel, “and are,

Your very Loving Friends,

*Carteret P.*

*Bertie for D. Beaufort*

*M. Ashley.*

*J. Colliton.*

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*J. Danson.*

Although the above Letter has my Lord *Carteret's* Name to it, it was put by Mr. *Ashley*, who had a Power to Act for his Lordship, he being then on his Embassy to the Court of *Sweden*.

With this Letter they sent an Instrument under their Hands and Seals, appointing Twelve Gentlemen of the Council; whereas before, there were but Seven, who (as has been said) represented each one of the *Proprietors*, and was called such a one's Deputy; and the Governor represented the *Palatine*. They now also again Repeal'd the Duty Law, and two others; and instead of granting Land for the Publick Use of the Garrisons, they gave strict Orders that no more Land should be granted to any Person Whatsoever, but ordered fifteen Baronies, each containing 12.000 Acres, to be laid out for their own Private Use, as near as might be to *Port-Royal*. They also sent a Copy of the Complaint against Mr. *Trott* to *him*, and desir'd he would send *them* an Answer to it, and with it a Letter of Thanks for the Speech he had made, at the Conference of both Houses, in Justification of their Right of Repealing Laws; and to manifest how much they resented the Conduct of those of the Council, who had join'd with the Lower House of Assembly, in the Complaint against him, who were, Col. *Thomas Broughton*, Mr. *Alexander Skene*, Mr. *James Kinlaugh*, and Mr. *Yonge*, (the first of these the Governor's Brother in Law) they left the three first out of the Council; and one of the *Proprietors* told Mr. *Yonge*, he had also been left out, but in Respect to my Lord *Carteret*, who was his Patron and recommended him.

By this the Governor found Mr. *Trott* was to Rule the Province, tho' he had the Name of it; and therefore he resolv'd for the future to Act by his and the new Council's Advice, that they might be answerable for any ill Effects their future Councils and Transactions might produce. He, according to the *Lords Proprietors* Orders, call'd his New Council, and qualified such of them as would serve. Several of them refusing, he declar'd the three Acts of Assembly Repeal'd, and by Proclamation dissolv'd the Assembly, and called a new one, to be chosen all at *Charles Town*, after the old Method. Thus the People were

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irritated and heated to a violent Degree, and the Basis of all Government being either *Love, Fear, or Interest*, or perhaps any two, or a Mixture of all the three, but in this, there was neither one nor the other; for they thought they had no reason to *love* the *Proprietors*, who not only refused them Justice, but protected and countenanc'd an Evil Minister in an Office which most immediately affected their Lives and Properties, who refused to part with the Uncultivated Lands, either for the Publick or any Private Use, but their own; tho' it is apparent by their Charter, it was granted to them to be disposed of in such a Manner as to encourage His Majesty's Subjects to go over, and settle there, and to extend his Dominions, and they had just before promis'd it in Tracts of 200 Acres to new Comers; on which Promise several Hundreds had come from *Ireland*, but could not have a Yard of Land to settle on when they came, and this notwithstanding the Country had been put to the Expence of paying some Thousands of Pounds for their Passages to *Carolina*; so that the Number of Inhabitants could not be increas'd or their Frontiers strengthen'd, neither would they allow them the Freedom they desired, and what was the Practice of other Colonies, in chusing their Representatives, *nearest the Methods used in England*, which their Laws are to be, by the express Words of the Charter. Another Reason of their not loving the *Proprietors*, is the same that made them not fear them, *i. e.* their Inability to succour and protect them, either from their own Intestine Enemies, the *Indians*, or from the *Spaniards*, with whom at that time there was a War; for it is very natural to think, 3 18 that if they could not send Forces to assist them, it would be as difficult to correct them; and lastly, they judg'd it plainly their Interest to be under the Crown, who could and would protect them, and also (as they hoped) put them in the same Circumstances with His Majesty's other Colonies in *America*, who, they found, had proper Assistancess from the Crown. As there was therefore neither *Fear*, nor *Love*, nor *Interest* to support this Government, how could it long subsist?

The *Lords Proprietors* who liv'd in *England*, altho' most of them Men of Quality, whether they left it to an Under-Officer who they trusted with their Dispatches, and who abus'd his Trust, and did not give them just Accounts of their Affairs, for fear it might affect his

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Friends in *Carolina*, Mr. *Trott*, and Mr. *Rhett*; or whatever was the Cause, we shall leave it to the World to judge, whether they acted as if they knew or desir'd to be inform'd of the State of their Affairs there; for they gave no manner of Credit to what was told, and desir'd of them, by the whole Body of the People, the Governor, Council, and Assembly; but to shew they were resolv'd to be *Despotick* and *Absolute*, they acted just contrary to what they were requested by them, in the most humble manner, to do; and because the Act which was past for the better recovering of their *Quit-Rents*, also obliged them to part with their *Lands* at a certain Rate, they disapprov'd of *that*, being resolv'd to part with no more, tho' at the Hazard of ruining those already settled there. Indeed, my Lord *Carteret* was not then in *England*, or I cannot imagine he would have consented to the acting in this manner, neither were some others of their Board then at Age; but as I am inform'd, every thing was left to their Secretary, who sent any Instrument when drawn, by the Post, to such as were out of Town, or carried them to sign, to those that were in Town, which was generally done without any previous Consideration, whether they were fit and convenient to be done or not; and thus a whole *Province* was to be govern'd by the Caprice of one Man. But to return to our History.

The Governor call'd the Assembly according to his new Instruction, to be chosen at *Charles Town*; and now Mr. *Rhett* and Mr. *Trott* found themselves mistaken, in fancying they could influence the Elections when in Town, so as to have such Members chosen as they liked: for it proved quite the contrary; they could not get so much as a Man chose that they desir'd, the whole People in general were prejudic'd against the *Lords Proprietors* to such a degree, that it was grown almost dangerous to say any thing in their Favour; and about this time (which added more to their Dislike) the Governor receiv'd Advice, that 19 the *Spaniards* from the *Havanah* design'd to attack the Country. Upon which (the Time of meeting of the New Assembly being not yet come) he was oblig'd to call his Council and such of the new-elected Members as could be got together, and inform'd them of the Advice he had receiv'd; and he desir'd they would consider of the ill Conditions the Fortifications were in, and the Necessity there was immediately to repair them; which he

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propos'd to do by Voluntary Subscription, until the Assembly could provide for the doing it: And to shew an Example himself, he subscribed 500 *l.* (to such Extremity the Dissolving the former Assembly reduced the Province.) Those of the Assembly made Answer, They thought the Income of their Duties were sufficient for that Service. The Governor objected, That the Law was Repeal'd by the *Proprietors*. To which Answer was again made, That the Publick Receiver was order'd to sue any Man that refused to pay as that Law directed; for they did not nor would look on *their* Repeal as any thing. Mr. *Trott* told them, If any Action was brought into *his Courts* (for so he always call'd them) on that *Act*, he would give Judgment for the Defendant. At this Meeting hot Arguments arose among them, and they broke up without doing any thing, chusing rather to hazard the Loss of the Country to the *Spaniards*, than submit to acknowledge a Right in the *Proprietors* of Repealing their Laws.

The Governor was likewise oblig'd by this Advice he had receiv'd of the *Spaniards* Intentions, to call the Field-Officers of the Militia together, to give them Orders to review the Regiments, and settle a Rendezvous, in case of the *Spaniards* attempting to land in any part of the Country. Which Orders they seem'd to receive as usual, and muster'd the Regiments upon the Day prefix'd; but had an Association prepar'd; and when together, got all the People to Sign it almost to a Man; and so the whole Province was at once brought into a Confederacy against the *Lords Proprietors*, unknown to the Governor.

In this Assembly Mrs. *Skene* was elected a Member; who being one of those remov'd from the Council by the *Proprietors*, went in amongst the rest, full of Resentment against them, and having been for many Years Secretary to the Island of *Barbadoes*, was look'd upon as a Man that understood Publick Affairs very well; and several others of the best Understanding had frequently private Meetings, in which they resolv'd to have no more to do with the *Proprietors*. And they were the more encourag'd to throw off their Authority, by a Vote that had passed in the House of Peers some Years before, That *the Lords Proprietors had forfeited their Charter*: And an Address their 20 Lordships made to her then Majesty Queen *Anne*, wherein they desired *she would be pleas'd to order her Attorney-General to Prosecute the same, to assume the Government of the Country to*

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*herself*. Besides, they had been told by their then Agents, That when Her Majesty was desired to send them Relief in their *Indian War*, and the Government was expected, if she did so, that my Lord *Carteret* was so good, as publickly to declare to the then Lords of the Trade, He should be willing (as to his own particular) to give up the Government, rather than they should want that Relief. And the Time seem'd to be now coming, by the Attack threatned by the *Spaniards*, when they should more than ever want the Assistance of the Crown; and therefore they were resolv'd to remove the former Objection, and put themselves under His Majesty's immediate Protection.

The first Notice that the Governor had of the Certainty of this and of their being come to a fix'd Resolution, was by a Joint-Letter from Mr. *Skene*, Col. *Logan*, and Major *Blakeway*, in these words:

SIR,

“ WE doubt not but you have heard of the whole Province “entering into an Association to stand by their “Rights and Privileges, and to get rid of the Oppression “and Arbitrary Dealings of the *Lords Proprietors*: And “as we always bore you the greatest Deference and Respect “imaginable, we take this Opportunity to let you know, that a “Committee of the Peoples Representatives were last Night “appointed to wait on you this Morning to acquaint you, That “they are come to a Resolution, To have no Regard to the “ *Lords* Officers, nor their Administration; And withal, To beg “that your Honour would, hold the Reins of Government for “the King, 'till His Majesty's Pleasure be known.

“The great Value the whole Country express for your Honour's “Person, make them desirous of having no body but “your Self to Govern them: And as you must be convinc'd “that no Persons can be more passionately desirous of your “Government than our selves, we hope you will not take amiss “any Advice given by faithful and affectionate Friends; and “therefore we take the Liberty to tell you freely, That we are “of Opinion, that your Honour may take the Government upon “you, upon the Offer of the People, for the KING; and

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represent “to the *Proprietors*, That rather than the whole Country “should be in Confusion and want a Governing Power, you 21 “held it for their *Lordships*; tho' you were oblig'd to comply “with the Province, who were unanimously of Opinion they “would have no *Proprietors* Government.

“We could wish for a longer and better Opportunity to explain “this Affair to you; but it is impossible, for the Gentlemen “will be with you in two Hours at the farthest. We “heartily wish your Honour the utmost Success, let it go which “way it will; but beg Leave to observe, That your Compliance, “will be not only the greatest Satisfaction imaginable to the “Province in general, but in particular to,

Your most Obedient, &c.

28th Nov. 1719.

Sign'd *A. Skene*.

*Geo. Logan*.

*William Blakeway*.

The Governor being at his Plantation about four Miles off when he receiv'd this Letter, he came immediately to Town, and summon'd such of his Council as he could get together, who were Mr. *Izard*, Judge *Trott*, Mr. *Hart*, Mr. *Delaconsiliere*, Col. *Bull*, Mr. *Butler*, and Mr. *Jacob Satur*, and acquainted them with what he had heard, and that he had met in the Town Mr. *Skene* and Mr. *Berrisford*, who told him, that those who had designed to wait on him as above related, had chang'd their Minds, and were dispers'd and gone to their respective Homes. Upon all which he desir'd the Council's Opinions what was proper to be done; who unanimously advis'd him, That considering they had alter'd their Resolution of waiting on the Governor, no further Notice should be taken of their Proceedings, until such time as they should meet as an Assembly, and the Matter should be reviv'd.

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This I have mention'd more particularly, to shew, that if Mr. *Johnson* did not act in a more vigorous Manner, on the first Notice he had of the Designs of the People, it was owing to the Advice of his Council, who he was resolv'd to be guided by, tho' contrary to his own Opinion, especially by Mr. *Trott*, in whose Favour the *Proprietors* had shewn themselves so partial.

Before and after this, the Gentlemen that were chosen to be of the Assembly had many private Meetings in the Country; their Association was form'd, as before mention'd, and almost every body in the whole Province did sign it, except some few who more immediately belong'd to the *Proprietors*: In it they promis'd and agreed to stand by and support whatsoever should be done by their Representatives then newly chosen, in disengaging the Country from the Yoke and Burthen they labour'd under from the *Proprietors*, and putting the Province under the Government of His Majesty.

Having thus previously fortified themselves by the Consent of the People, they met according to the Tenor of their Writs, about the 10th of *December*, 1719; and the Governor sending them a Message as usual, that he was ready, with the Council, to receive them, and to order them to chuse the Speaker; they came in a Body, and Mr. *Middleton* deliver'd himself in the following Manner:

*May it please your Honour,*

“ I am order'd by the Representatives of the People here present “to tell you, that according to your Honours Order, “we are come to wait upon you; I am further order'd to acquaint “you, that we own your Honour as our Governour, you “being approv'd by the King; and as there was once in this Province “a legal Council, Representing the *Proprietors* as their “Deputies; which Constitution being now alter'd, we do not look “upon the Gentlemen present to be a Legal Council; so I am “order'd to tell you, That the Representatives of the people “do disown them as such, and will not act with them on any “Account.

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This *Speech* was deliver'd in Writing, at the Governor's Desire, and sign'd by Mr. *Middleton*, as President, and Twenty-two more of the Assembly. They, had (I suppose, before they came to the Governor) in their own House, come to the following Resolutions, *viz.*

“That the several Laws hereafter mention'd, and pretended “to be Repeal'd, are still in Force within this Province, and “could not be Repeal'd, or made Void or Null, but by the “General Assembly of this Province; and that all Publick Officers, “and others, are to have due Regard to the same “accordingly.

(a) *An Act intituled, An Act for Declaring the Right, of the House of Commons for the Time being, to Nominate a Publick Receiver.*

(a) These Three Acts are those the Lords Repeal'd, at the same Time they appointed a new Council.

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*An Act, intituled, An Act for Laying an Imposition on Negroes, Liquors, and other Goods and Merchandizes, &c.*

*An Act, intituled, An Act to Ascertain the Form and Manner of Electing Members to Represent the Inhabitants, &c.*

*Resolv'd,*

“That the Writs whereby we the Representatives here met “were elected, are illegal: First, Because they are sign'd by “such a Council, as, we conceive, the *Proprietors* have not a “Power to appoint.

“Secondly, For that their Council does consist of a greater “Number of Members than the *Proprietors* themselves are, “which, we believe, is contrary to the Design and original

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Intent “of their Charter, and approaching too near the Method “taken by His Majesty and his Predecessors, in his Plantations, “whom they ought not to pretend to imitate or follow; His “Majesty not being confin'd to any Number in his Council in “his Plantations, but as he thinks fit Himself; but the *Proprietors*, “as Subjects, we believe, are bound by a Charter.

“Thirdly, Were there no Doubt of the Legality of the Council, “yet, according to the *Proprietors* Instructions, there was “not a sufficient Number to dissolve the last Assembly, one of “the Council Signing being a Foreigner not Naturalized, and “consequently not capable of doing any Act of Government in “any of the *British* Dominions, and expressly contrary to the “ *Lords Proprietors* Charter; and a high Act of Presumption “in them thus to impose upon His Majesty's Free People of “this Province, for the aforesaid Reasons.

*Resolv'd,*

“That we cannot Act as an Assembly, but as a Convention, “delegated by the People, to prevent the utter Ruin of this “Government, if not the Loss of the Province, until His Majesty's “Pleasure be known.

“That the *Lords Proprietors* have, by such their Proceedings, “unhing'd the Frame of Government, and forfeited their “Right to the same; and that an *Address* be prepared, to desire “the Honourable *Robert Johnson* Esq; our present Governor, “to take the Government upon him, in the King's Name, “and to Continue the Administration thereof until His Majesty's “Pleasure be known.

These bold Proceedings very much alarmed the Governor and his Council, and put them on considering what could be done, Whether rough or gentle Means were to be used? It was Mr. 24 *Trott's* and the Majority of the Council's Opinion, That the Defection was too general to use any other Means than mild Expostulations, the People being all engaged in their Interest; but if those should fail, they might then be Dissolv'd, which would make them disperse, and so put an End to the Dispute for the present; but this, it was thought, might have its ill Consequences, and therefore was the last Method to be try'd: For how should

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they raise Money to fortify and secure themselves from the *Spaniards*, who they expected every Day to attack them? The *Lords Proprietors* had again Repeal'd the *Duty Law*, so that many People refus'd to pay any Duties; and this was the only Fund they had to Repair their works.

The Result of these Debates, was, a Message, That the Governor and Council desir'd a Conference with them. To which they answer'd, That they would not receive any Message or Paper from the Governor, in Conjunction with those Gentlemen he call'd his Council; and this constrain'd Mr. *Johnson* to send for them in his own Name, when he made them the following Speech:

“ WHEN I sent for you the other Day, I intended to “have desir'd you to have chosen your Speaker, to “be presented to me as usual, and then I did propose “to have spoke to you in the following Manner:

“Your being met together at a Time when there was never “more Occasion for a ready Dispatch of Publick Business, “and a good Harmony betwixt the Upper and Lower House; “I must recommend that to you, and nothing will be wanting “on my Part to promote a good Understanding betwixt the “ *Lords Proprietors* and the People, at present (to my great “Affliction) I fear too much interrupted: I must therefore in the “first Place, recommend to you, That you will, without Delay, “or other Matter intervening, fall upon proper Methods for raising “Money for finishing the Repairs of the Fortifications, and “providing Stores of War, which are much wanted. The Intelligence “which I have of the Designs of our Enemies, which “makes this Work so necessary, shall be laid before you.

“I am sorry the *Lords Proprietors* have been induced (by “a Necessity, to Defend and Support their just Prerogatives) at “this Juncture to disannul some of your Laws; if they had not “thought the letting those Acts subsist, might have render'd “their Right of Repeal precarious, they would have suffer'd “them still to continue. I hope from you therefore a Respectful “Behaviour towards them, that we may not feel any more 25 “their Displeasure

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in so sensible a Manner, as the Loss (in this "Time of Need) of our *Duty Law*, and which has also occasion'd "an Injunction to Me and the Council, from acting with "any Assembly who shall dispute their *Lordships* undoubted "Right of Repealing Laws, and Appointing Officers Civil and "Military.

"I find some are Jealous and uneasy on Account of Rumours "spread, That you design to alter the *Tax Act*, for sinking "your Paper Currency. Publick Credit ought to be Sacred, "and it is a standing Maxim, *That no State can subsist longer "than their Credit is maintain'd*: I hope therefore you have no "such Intentions, which would put me under a Necessity of "doing what I have never yet done; I mean, disagreeing with "you.

"I expect therefore you will make good what the Publick is "answerable for, and proceed to such farther Methods for paying "our Debts, as shall be both Honourable and Proper, and best "adapted to our Circumstances.

"The Alarm from the Southward, about five Months since, "obliged me to be in a Posture of Defence, and occasion'd some "Charges, the Accounts of which shall be laid before you; and "I desire you will provide for the Discharge of them: I think "also the *Militia Acts* want some Amendments, and that you "should contrive to keep a good Watch in *Charles Town*.

"This is what I intended to have recommended to you: but "Mr. *Middleton* 's telling me, in the Name of the rest, that you "would not Act *with*, and your surprising Message since, that "you will not receive any thing from me, in Conjunction with "my Council, has made it necessary for me to take this Occasion "of talking with that Plainness and Freedom so Extraordinary "a Proceeding of yours requires. And First, I must "take Notice of your Message, wherein you say, you own me "as Governor, because I am approv'd of by the King; but that "you disown the Council to be a Legal one, nor will act with "them on any account whatsoever; and this is subscrib'd by all "your Members: but upon Examining, I find it to be pretty "Dark and Evasive, and seems, as you would avoid expressing "in plain Terms, what I have too much Cause to fear is your "Design, I mean, to Renounce all

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Obedience to the *Lords Proprietors*: And this I cannot but think you propose from “all your Words and Actions. You say, you acknowledge me, “because I am approv'd of by the King; but you take no Notice “of my Commission from the *Proprietors*, which is what makes “me Governor. The Confirmation of the King, only signifies “his Majesty's Approbation of the Person the *Lords Proprietors* 4 26 “have Constituted; but it is my Commission and Instruction “from them, that not only grants, but limits my Power, and “contains the Rules by which I must Act, and are to warrant “and vouch my Actions; therefore to avoid declaring in express “Terms, your renouncing the *Lords* Power, and at the “same time doing it in effect, is to create perpetual Doubts and “Disputes, and is not acting with that Sincerity and Plainness “which ought to be used in all Publick Debates, and especially “in Matters of so great Concern as this is, and upon which “so great Consequences depend.

“I do Require and Demand of you therefore, and expect you “Answer me in plain and positive Terms, Whether you own the “Authority of the *Lords Proprietors* as Lords of this Province, “and having Authority to Administer or Authorise others to “Administer the Government thereof; saving the Allegiance of “Them and the People to His Most Sacred Majesty King “GEORGE? Or, Whether you absolutely renounce all Obedience “to Them, and Those Commission'd and Authoris'd by “Them? Or, Whether you admit their General power, and “only dispute that particular Branch of their Authority, in “Constituting a Council after the Manner They have now “done? If you deny their General Power and Authority in “this Province, and say, that their Lordships have forfeited “their Charter, as Mr. *Berrisford* Asserted, and you all Acquiesc'd “in; Then I demand of you, that you signify wherein “the Lords have forfeited their Charter, and what particular “Branch thereof they have broken: And I demand of you, “That supposing (not granting) they have made a forfeiture of “their Charter; by what Power do you presume to renounce “their Authority, and to Model a Government out of your “own Heads, before such time as that, by a Court having Lawful “Jurisdiction of the same, it shall be Adjudg'd that the Lords “have made a Forfeiture of their Charter, and that the Powers “granted them are Null and Void? If the King is of Opinion, “that any Corporation or Society have made a Forfeiture of “the

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Rights and Powers granted by their Charter, altho' His "Majesty may have the Advice of his Attorney and Solicitor "General, and his Judges and Council Learned in the Law, "that such a Forfeiture has been made; and this He may more "reasonably depend on, than any Advice or Assurance you "can have: yet notwithstanding this, and His Supreme Authority "as King, He never Dispossess'd the Persons of the Powers "Granted them, before a *Quo Warranto* or some other Process "had been brought, and Judgment obtain'd against the "same. And if the King doth not assume such a Power, by "what Authority do you assume it?

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"I desire you further to consider the Consequence that attends "that Assertion, Of the Charter being forfeited, before Judgment "is given upon the same. For if it be so, then the Forfeiture "must be from the time that the Fact was committed "that caused the Forfeiture; and then you must remember, that "by the Charter, the *Lords* have granted to them, not only "the Power of ordering the Government, but also the Lands are "granted to them by the said Charter; so that if there is a Forfeiture "of the Rights and Prerogatives of the Government, there "is also a Forfeiture of their Rights to the Lands; and so all "Grants made by their Authority of any Lands, since the Fact "committed that caused the Forfeiture, according to your own "Doctrine and Assertion, must be Null and Void: And therefore, "how many Persons Titles to their Lands will become "Void, I leave you to consider; and tho', it may be, you will "assign some new late Fact, that you say will cause such "a Forfeiture, by which you may think to avoid the ill Con"sequences that attends the Titles to the Lands; yet know, "that the Facts that you assign, may not be the only ones "that may be thought to have made the Forfeiture of their "Charter. And if your present Assertion is true, that they may "be Dispossess'd before a Judgment; it may be other Persons "may assign other Causes of the Forfeiture, beside those which "you assign, which may have been committed many Years ago: "For you cannot but know there have been Persons in the "Province, that for several Years past have publickly asserted, "that the Lords have done Facts, for which their Charter was "become forfeited. Which if so

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I leave you to consider what “a Gate you will leave open to call in question, nay, utterly “destroy several Hundreds of Peoples Titles to their Lands. “And tho' you have most unjustly and untruly suggested to “the People, to create a Prejudice in them to the *Lords Proprietors*, “that their *Lordships* design'd to dispute their Titles “to their Lands; yet, by this Assertion and Practice, you are “the Persons that will not only call in question, but effectually “destroy their Titles.

“And if you persist in disowning the Council as now authoriz'd, “then I desire you further to consider, in what Capacity “I can act with you, and to what Purpose you pretend to sit “and transact the Publick Business of the Province. You “know very well I am not able to join with you in Passing any “Law without the Consent of my Council; and surely you can “not pretend to pass Laws without me: And what an absolute “Occasion there is now to pass some Laws, that the Province “may be put in a Posture of Defence, and the contingent “Charges thereof defray'd, I leave you seriously to consider, 28 “and hope you will not lose the whole Province to the Enemy, “for your own Humours.

“But I am further to tell you, That in case you continue to “deny the Authority of the Council, you cannot properly style “your selves the Representatives of the People; for you know “very well you were chosen Members of Assembly, pursuant “to, and by virtue of the Writs sign'd by my Self and Council; “for it is not the Peoples Voting for you, that makes you become “their Representatives; the Liege People of this, nor any “other Province, have power to convene and chuse their Representatives, “without being authoriz'd so to do by some Writ or “Order coming from Authority lawfully empower'd. And if “you pretend that the Writs sign'd by me, as Governor, were “sufficient: To that, I answer, That, I do not pretend to any “such Authority, but joyntly, and with the Consent of my “Council, it being the express Words of my Commission; nor “did I sign the Writs in any other Capacity, than in Conjunction “with my Council, who also sign'd the same. But if my “signing the Writs, were sufficient Authority for the People to “chuse you; then you must allow, that as the Power lies solely “in me to Call you, it lies also solely in me to Dissolve you; “and therefore, if by your Actions you will force me to make “use of that Power, I do hereby

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publicly Protest and Declare, “you only must be answerable for the ill Consequences may attend “such a Dissolution, and for the Loss of the Lives and “Estates of the King's Subjects in this Province, by any Attack “may be made upon them by our publick Enemies the “ *Spaniards*, or from the *Indians*, by reason of the Province's “not being put into such a Posture of Defence as it ought, and “would, if you proceeded to transact the Publick Business under “a Lawful Authority; and this I would have you seriously “to consider of.

“Notwithstanding Stories that have been industriously spread “to possess the People, That you are the only Persons who “stand up for their Rights and Privileges; by which, it may “be, you have so far engag'd them in your Favour, that you “may have their Assistance to enable you to commit any Act “of Force or Violence upon the Government, and the Authority “of the *Lords Proprietors*; yet know, and be assur'd, That “the Matters in Dispute are of that Consequence, that they must “and will be decided by an Authority in *England*, having lawful “Jurisdiction of the same; and that there it must be Law “and Right that must justify your Claims, and not the Consent “and Approbation of the People of *Carolina*, who will have “no Weight there, but the Right and Merit of the Cause.

“I must farther mention to you, That 'tis notoriously known, 29 “you have promoted two Forms of Associations, and have perswaded “the People to sign them. How far you can be justified “at home, it behoves you to consider: But as I am satisfied no “Matter of such Publick Concern ought to be carry'd on with“out my Knowledge so I do hereby (a) Require and Demand “of you, an attested Copy of both Associations; and tho' it “may not concern me to have the Names of every individual “Person that has sign'd them, yet I do insist upon it, that you “do acquaint me, which of your own Members have sign'd both, “or either of them, as also the Names of such Persons who “have Commissions, or hold any Places Civil or Military under “their *Lordships*, or of such Persons who practise the Law in “their *Lordships* Courts, and have sign'd them.

(a) Mr. *Johnson* never saw either of them.

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“To what is here Demanded of you, I do require your plain “and positive Answer in express Terms, and that you do in “Writing give me the same in a Body, and under your Hands.

This long Speech, which was also given them in Writing, they were not long considering of, but soon return'd with the following Message:

“ WE have already acquainted you, That we would “not receive any Message or Paper from your Honour, “in Conjunction with the Gentlemen you are “pleas'd to call your Council; therefore we must now again “repeat the same, and beg Leave to tell you, That the Paper “your Honour read and deliver'd to us, we take no Notice of, “nor shall we give any farther Answer to it but in *Great “Britain.*

Immediately after this, they came with the following Address to the Governor.

*South Carolina ss.*

To the Honourable *Robert Johnson Esq;*

*The Humble ADDRESS of the Representatives of the Inhabitants of the said Province, now conven'd at Charles Town.*

*May it please your Honour,*

“ IT is with no small Concern that we find our selves oblig'd “to Address your Honour, in a Matter which nothing but “the absolute Necessity of Self-Preservation could at this 30 “Juncture have prevail'd on us to do. The Reasons are “already by us made known to your Honour and the World, “therefore we forbear to rehearse them; but proceed to take “Leave to assure you, That it is the greatest Satisfaction imaginable “to us, to find throughout the whole Country, that universal “Affection, Deference and Respect the Inhabitants bear “to your Honour's Person, and with what passionate Desire “they wish for a Continuance of your gentle and good Administration; “and since we, who intrusted with, and are the

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“Assertors of their Rights and Liberties, are unanimously of “Opinion, That no Person is fitter to Govern so Loyal and “Obedient a People to His Sacred Majesty King GEORGE. “so we most earnestly desire and intreat your Honour, to take “upon you the Government of this Province, in his Majesty's “Name, 'till his Pleasure shall be known; by which Means we “are convinc'd, that this (at present) unfortunate Colony may “flourish, as well as those who feel the happy Influence of his “Majesty's immediate Care.

“As the Well-being and Preservation of this Province “depends greatly on your Honour's complying with our Request, “so we flatter our selves, that you who have express'd “so tender a Regard for it on all Occasions, and particularly in “Hazarding your own Person in an Expedition against the “Pirates, for its Defence, an Example seldom found in Governors; “so we hope, Sir, that you will exert your self at this “Juncture for its Support; and we promise your Honour on “our Parts, the most faithful Assistance of Persons duly sensible “of your Honour's great Goodness, and big with the Hopes “and Expectation of his Majesty's Protection and Countenance.

“And we farther beg Leave to assure your Honour, That “we will in the most Dutiful Manner Address His Most Sacred “Majesty King GEORGE, for the Continuance of your “Government over us, under whom we doubt not to be a Happy “People.

To this the Governor return'd the following Answer:

*Gentlemen,*

“ I Am Oblig'd to you for your good Opinion of me; but I “hold my Commission from the *true and absolute Lord “and Proprietors of this Province* (a) , who recommended “me to His Majesty, and I have His Approbation; it is by

(a) This is the Title the Charter gives them.

31 “that Commission and Power I Act, and I know of no Power “or Authority can dispossess me of the same, but those only “who gave me those Authorities. In

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Subordination to them, "I shall always Act, and to my utmost maintain their *Lordships* "just Power and Prerogatives, without encroaching on the "Peoples Rights and Privileges. I do not expect or desire "any Favour from you, only that of seriously taking into your "Consideration the approaching Danger of a Foreign Enemy, "and the Steps you are taking to involve your selves and this "Province in Anarchy and Confusion.

And now, they having fully declar'd what they intended, and the Governor and his Council finding nothing was to be expected from them but to put the Country into the utmost Confusion, he resolv'd to Dissolve them immediately; and accordingly, that very Afternoon, he issued a Proclamation to that Purpose: But they order'd it to be tore out of the Martial's Hands, and the *Convention* (as they now call'd themselves) issued a Proclamation in their own Names, which was in Substance, To Order and Direct all Officers Civil and Military, to hold their Offices and Employments until farther Orders from them; And finding Mr. *Johnson* would not come into their Schemes, they resolv'd to have a Governor of their own Chusing. And accordingly they chose Colonel *Moor*, who was Commander in Chief of the Militia, under and next to the Governor, but had been remov'd from his Command some small Time before, on Account of his being very warm in opposing the Authority of the *Proprietors*.

On *Monday* the 21st of *December*, 1719, Mr. *Johnson* came to Town from his Plantation, being inform'd they design'd to Proclaim their Governor in the King's Name, and writ Circular Letters to his Council to meet him, but they did not come; he had talk'd to Colonel *Paris*, the Commanding Officer of the Militia of the Town, and engag'd him in his Interest, as he thought, and as he had order'd the Town Companies to be Review'd the 21st of *December*, on Account of the Advice he had receiv'd from the *Havanah*, as before related; and finding they pitch'd on that Day to Proclaim their Governor, that they might have the better Opportunity to draw them, when together, in Arms, to forward their Purposes, (for they could not well be in Arms, but by some Authority) he, on the *Saturday* before, order'd, That they should not Muster, but wait for farther Orders; and had given particular Orders to Colonel *Paris*, That he should not suffer a Drum to beat in the Town; and had Assurances

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from him, his Orders should be obey'd: Notwithstanding 32 which, when he came early on the *Monday* Morning, he found the Militia drawn up in the Market-Place, with Colours flying at the Forts, and on-board all the Ships in the Harbour, and great Solemnity preparing for their Proclaiming their Governor. It would be tedious to the Reader, to enumerate all he did at this Juncture to oppose their Proceedings; some he menaced, and handled more roughly, and some spoke fair to, to perswade them from what they were doing; and going to the Commanding Officer, he ask'd him, how he durst appear in Arms, contrary to his Orders? and commanded him in the King's Name, to disperse his Men. But he answer'd, He was obeying the Orders of the Convention. And the Governor approaching him, he commanded his Men to present their Muskets at him, and bid him stand off, at his Peril. Mr. *Johnson* was in hopes some Gentlemen and others might have joyn'd him; but the Defection was so general, that hardly a Man but was in Arms; and only one of his Council and Mr. *John Lloyd* walk'd with him; and it appear'd, the latter of these was sent under pretence of being his Friend, by the other Party to prevent any hot Action he might have been provok'd to do, for that was his Business all the Day; and Two Days afterwards he was sworn into their New Council.

Col. *Rhett*, who had always pretended to be very Popular, and to have great Power with the People, and to be extremely in the Interest of the *Lords Proprietors*, did not appear in the *Lords* Behalf to assist Mr. *Johnson*: And indeed this whole Affair was owing to his and Mr. *Trott's* Counsels, who did, as usual in such Cases, leave their Masters in the Lurch; as will appear by their future Transactions. In short, they proceeded to Proclaim their Governor, which they did in spite of all the Opposition Mr. *Johnson* could give them; which could not be much, he being, as I have said, left entirely alone; altho' he did, in their March, stop the Militia that attended them, and had almost perswaded them to alter their Opinion; which if he could have effected, he might have been able to have given a great deal of Trouble to the opposite Party: But Sir *Hovendine Walker* was with them, and put them in mind to keep up the Spirits of the People; which occasion'd their turning back and Haranguing their Men, who thereupon marched on as they formerly intended.

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Surely, after this, no one will say but Mr. *Johnson* did all that was possible to prevent the Defection of the People: And these minute Circumstances we have been the more particular in, because their *Lordships* have been made believe, that he was himself in the Design, and conniv'd at their Transactions, 33 which he might have prevented, if he would. A Thing very improbable, that he should join with the People to Divest himself of his Government; and when he had done so, refuse to Govern them in their own Way as they desir'd: Which, it is plain, he might have done, but that he thought it was inconsistent with his Honour and the Trust, repos'd in him by the *Lords Proprietors*; and that his so doing, might have been resented by His Majesty as a presumptuous Act he had no Authority for.

The People having thus overcome all the little Opposition could be made, proceeded to chuse a Council of Twelve, after the manner of the King's Governments; of these, Sir *Hovendine Walker* was chosen President; so they had now their Governor, Council, and Convention, (as they call'd themselves;) but they soon after voted themselves an Assembly, and as such, made Laws, appointed Officers, especially a new Chief Justice in the Place of Mr. *Trott*, a Secretary, a Provost-Marshal, and voted, That no one should be capable of bearing an Office in the Province that own'd the Authority of the *Lords Proprietors*, except such as related to their own particular Revenue; which were Mr. *Rhett* and Mr. *Yonge*, their Receiver and Surveyor-General; they also pass'd a new Duty Law, and several Laws for raising Money to defray the Expence of the Government, to pay Agents whom they sent to represent their Affairs to his Majesty, and for other Uses.

Governor *Johnson* immediately writ home to the *Lords Proprietors*, to give them an Account of what had happen'd, as he did also to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to the following Effect:

“That the People labouring under great Difficulties, occasion'd “by the Debts contracted by the late *Indian War*, and “their having receiv'd Intelligence of the Designs of the *Spaniards* “to attack the Place, which is unhappily situated as a “Frontier, not only to them, but also to the *French*, who had “lately made a great settlement, and sent many People to “

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*Misissippe*, together with the Danger that continually threaten'd "them of another *Indian* War, and some Differences "lately arisen between the *Lords Proprietors* and the People, "about their Privileges.

"These Things had stirred up the Minds of *several* of the "richest Inhabitants, who had put it into the Heads of the rest, "that neither They nor their Posterities could be safe in their "Persons or Estates, nor the Province subsist, without the immediate "Protection of the King; so that they had with one "Accord disclaim'd all Obedience to the *Proprietors*. 5

34

"That he apprehending himself bound in Honour to Govern "those People in no other Way than as he was Commission'd "by the *Lords Proprietors*, and *instructed* by his Majesty, to "whom he had always been a Faithful and Loyal Subject, and "the People having for that Cause disown'd his Authority, with "that of the said *Lords*, he humbly hop'd their Lordships "would interest themselves so far, as that if His Majesty "thought fit to take the Government into his own Hands, he "might be honour'd with his Majesty's immediate Commission, "or otherwise, that he might be restor'd to his Government as "formerly, by his Majesty's special Command; the present "Disturbances not being in any wise owing to his Male-Administration, "as might appear by the *Address* of the People to "him, a Copy of which he inclosed them.

He also writ to Col. *Rhett*, who was Surveyor and *Comptroller* of the Customs, as well as the *Lords Proprietors* Receiver to the following Purpose:

"That the People having found Means to hinder almost all "the Masters of Ships from coming to him with their Clearances, "or from Clearing in the Lawful Secretaries Office, notwithstanding "the Laws of Trade made such Neglects the "Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo, and that the Naval Officer by "his Order, did all he could to induce them to act according to "Law.

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“And that whereas he was sensible the Defection was so “general, and his Authority so depress'd by them, that he had “no Power left to punish them; he therefore could think of no “other way to oblige them to their Duty, but by stopping their “being Clear'd by the Custom-House Officers, until they paid “their Duty to him as the Lawful Governour of the Province. “He therefore desir'd that Col. *Rhett* would consult his Powers “and Instructions, as Surveyor and *Comptroller* of the Customs “and act in this *Affair* as he should think agreeable to them, “the Laws of Trade, and the Service of His Majesty; and the “ *Lords Proprietors*, as he was likewise their Lordships Officer.”

If Mr. *Rhett* had thought fit to have order'd this to have been done, according to Mr. *Johnson's* Project, and which he would have done, if he had consulted the *Lords Proprietors* Interest, it would have given the Revolutioners a great deal of Trouble: They would have seen their Authority disown'd by all the transient People, and two Governments kept up in Opposition one to the other. The Fees due to the Governor and Secretary, 35 would have gone in their proper Chanel, in spite of all Opposition, which were otherwise transferr'd to those which had no Right to them; and the Masters of Ships would most readily have gone where they could have had the most authentick Clearances. But the Colonel's Spleen to Mr. *Johnson* outweigh'd his Duty to his Masters; and the new Government was so sensible of the Service he did them in refusing this, (that, contrary to their own Vote, That no one should bear an Office in the Province, who own'd the Authority of the *Proprietors*, ) they made him Overseer of the Repairs of the Fortifications in *Charles Town*, by which he got considerably; and he, at the same time also, accepted of a Commission from the new Governor *Moor*, of Lieutenant-General of the Militia. This might be deem'd a *Salvo* for their Vote, for it was tacitly disowning the *Proprietors* Authority, and owning theirs: But it is wonderful he could still keep his Credit with the *Lords Proprietors*, to whom he wrote on this Occasion, to assure them, That he accepted of that Commission from Mr. *Moor* to promote their Service, because it might give him an Opportunity of bringing the People again over to their Interest: And (as I am

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inform'd) they readily believ'd him, and sent him a Letter of Thanks, and a Confirmation of his Commission.

Soon after this, the New Government sent Home Col. *Barnwell*, their Agent, to lay their Grievances before His Majesty, to beg his Protection, and that he woul'd be pleas'd to take them under His own immediate Government. Much about the same time, Mr. *Trott* went also to *England*, and offer'd Governor *Johnson* so to represent Affairs, that he might have his Government restor'd him, if he would contribute to his Expences. Which he refusing, from thence may very reasonably be attributed the *Proprietors* Neglect of him; for they never so much as wrote him one line, to Approve or Disapprove of his Proceedings; which shew'd their utmost Neglect of him. No equal Return for the Expence and Fatigue he had been at for their Service.

Much about this Time, there came certain Advice, That the *Spaniards* were actually fitting out a Fleet at the *Havana*, to attack *Providence* and *South-Carolina*, and that it was uncertain which of the two Places they would begin with. The new Government proclaim'd Martial Law, and order'd all the People to be in Arms at *Charles Town*. Governor *Johnson* took this Opportunity again, to try to bring the People to Reason, by Representing to them the ill Consequences that might attend their acting under an unlawful Authority; on which Occasion he writ the following Letter to the *Convention*, who had then voted themselves an *Assembly*.

36

*Gentlemen,*

“ I Flatter my self, That the Invasion which at present “threatens the Province, has awaken'd a Thought in you, “of the Necessity there is of the Forces acting under a “lawful Authority and Commission. The Inconveniencies and “Confusion of not admitting it, are so obvious, I need not mention “them. I have hitherto born the Indignities put upon me, “and the Loss I sustain by being put out of my Government, “with as much Temper as the

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Nature of the Thing will allow “of, 'til such time as His Majesty's Pleasure shall be known; “but to have another assume my Authority, when Danger “threatens the Province, and Action is expected, and to be “depriv'd of the Opportunity of Serving the Publick in my “Station, as I am indispensably bound to do upon such Occasions, “I being answerable to the King for any Neglect regarding “the Welfare of the Province, is what I cannot sit “down patiently with.

*Gentlemen,*

“I am willing, with my Council, to consult and advise with “you for the Good and Safety of the Province in this Time of “imminent Danger as a *Convention* of the People, as you first “call'd your selves. Nor do I see, in this present Juncture of “Affairs, any Occasion of Formalities in our Proceedings, or “that I explain by whose Authority I Act in Grants of Commissions, “or other Publick Orders (a) Mr. *Moor's* Commission “you have given him, does not pretend to say it is deriv'd “from the King. You have already confess'd, I am invested “with some Authority you do approve of, and that's enough.

(a) This *Convention* gave Mr. *Moor* a Commission to Govern them.

“What I insist upon, is, To be allow'd to act as Governor, “because I am approv'd of by the King; I do not apprehend, “at present, there is a Necessity of Acting any Thing but what “relates to Military Affairs; and I do believe People will “be better satisfy'd, and more ready to advance Necessaries, to “trust the Publick, and to obey my Commands, (by Virtue of “the King's Authority, which I have) if left to their Liberty, “than any other Person in the Province, and in a short Time “we may expect His Majesty's Pleasure will be known.

“If my Reasons have not the Weight with you I expect “they should, you ought at least to put it to a Vote; that if a “Majority be against it, I may have that to justify my self to 37 “the King and the World, who ought to be satisfy'd that I “have done all I can to serve the Country, and do my Duty “in my Station.

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The *Convention* did not think fit to give any Answer to this Letter, but continu'd their Sitting, and doing Business in the same Way they had begun: But Sir *Hovendine Walker* being Out-of-Humour at some of their Proceedings, he retir'd to his Plantation, and they chose Mr. *Richard Allein* (who they had before appointed Chief Justice) President of their Council in his stead.

They order'd the Fortifications of the Town to be repair'd; which was done in a great Hurry and Haste, under the Inspection of Colonel *Rhett*, but so slightly, that in a very little time they wanted as much Repairing as ever. This necessary Work cost a great Sum of money; besides which, they voted their Governor 2500 *l.* a Year, and their Chief Justice 800 *l.* current Money of the Province, and transmitted to their Agents in *England* 1000 *l.* Sterling. To defray all which Expences, they pass'd a Law for laying a Tax on Lands and Negroes, to raise 30.000 *l.* for the Service of the current Year.

The Governor and his Friends refus'd to pay this Tax, the Act not being made by lawful Authority; but they were resolv'd to be obey'd, and forc'd every Body (except Mr. *Johnson*) to comply, by Distraining on their Negroes, who they took and sold at publick Auction, and apply'd the Money to the paying their Taxes; and thus they were intirely fix'd, both in their Legislative and Executive Capacity, in the full Possession of the Government.

The whole Country was in Arms for above a Fortnight, and several of the Country Companies of the Militia were drawn down to defend the Town; there being an Account, That the *Spanish Fleet* from the *Havana* was actually sail'd. But this Expedition of theirs, ended in an Attempt they made on *Providence*; where they were repuls'd by Governor *Rogers*, and lost most of their Fleet by Storm, in endeavouring to return back to their Port.

The *Spaniards* Designs being frustrated, and at an end, gave Leisure to the *Flambrough* Man of War to come from *Providence* to *Carolina*, to her Station, when the Commander, Captain *Hildesley*, was courted by the Contending Governors, who thought himself oblig'd to declare for Mr. *Johnson*. This, with Mr. *Johnson's* ordering the Secretary Mr.

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*Hart* to keep from them the Publick Records, and the Clergy's refusing to marry without his License, gave them no small Trouble; and which, 38 with the Perswasion of him and his Friends, had gain'd him (as he was in hopes) a considerable Party; insomuch that he propos'd, with the Assistance of the aforesaid Capt. *Hildesly*, and Capt. *Pearce*, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Phœnix*, who then happen'd to come into the Harbour, to frighten them into a Compliance of Surrendring to him the Government, by a Shew of their Men before the Town. But they were not so to be terrify'd, they being in a Town regularly fortify'd, and 70 Pieces of Cannon mounted on their Ramparts, and near 500 Men within it. So that Project was frustrated, and cost Mr. *Johnson* a great deal of Trouble, as well as Expencc.

And now Letters came from *England*, That the *Lords Proprietors* had sold their Charter to three *Quakers*, who pretended to Divide the Country into Shares, which were to be Stock-Jobb'd in *Exchange-Alley*. This again reviv'd and added Fuel to their old Animosities: They now became Outragious, and so Angry, there was no composing them. What had us'd to be said to them by the Friends of the *Proprietors*, That tho' they were our Fellow-Subjects, yet some of them were Men of the best Quality in *England*, and on that score ought to have a Deference shewn them, was now no longer an Argument. The *Lords Proprietors* were now *Quakers*, and might in time be transferr'd to no Body could know who, perhaps, the meanest of the People. But this Project was put an End to, by an *Act of Parliament for Suppressing Bubbles*, in the Year 1720.

The Country's Agents procur'd a Hearing before the then Lords of the Regency in Council, His Majesty being in *Germany*; when their Excellencies were of Opinion, The *Lords Proprietors* had forfeited their *Charter*, and order'd the Attorney-General to take out a *Scire facias* against it. They also appointed General *Francis Nicholson*, Provisional Governor, with His Majesty's Commission. And this put an End to any farther Attempts on the Part of Mr. *Johnson*, and was a good Reason, to perswade any of his Friends from Joining with

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or Assisting him any farther, now that what was done had a sort of a Sanction from the Government of *England*.

And thus the Government became the King's, to the great Joy of the People of that Province, who, if they have acted (as it cannot be deny'd they have) in a Manner not the most Legal; the Necessities of their Affairs must plead their Excuse. It plainly appears, by their Address to Mr. *Johnson*, they did it with great Regret towards him, (a) whose Father had formerly

(a) The Country was attack'd by the *French* and *Spaniards* in 1706, when he was Governor, and he fortified *Charles Town*.

39 done great Services to the Province, and they never had a Governor they lov'd better. And I believe it will be thought, that the *Lords Proprietors* gave them no small Provocations, but made it almost absolutely Necessary for them to do what they did, since they found there was no other Way of getting rid of their Chief Justice *Trott*, who had Tyranniz'd over them for many Years; and tho' often complain'd of, they could never get remov'd: Which together with the Right the *Lords Proprietors* insisted on, of Repealing their Laws, the absolute Necessity they lay under of the more immediate Assistance of the Crown, together with their refusing to part with their Lands; all these concurring, made them resolve to run all Hazards, to have them remedied.

To sum up all therefore, It is most Humbly Hoped, That after the Charge the Crown has been at in Protecting and Supporting the People of *Carolina*, and which is the only Power that can Protect them, (the End of all Government) that they will not now again be left destitute of that Support, without which they cannot subsist, but must abandon the Country the first War that may happen with the Crown of *Spain*, or if their *Indians* should think fit again to Quarrel with them. Their Defending themselves in the last War with the *Indians*, Maintaining Garisons in several Forts on their Frontiers ever since, and erecting them; repairing their Fortifications at *Charles Town* which were destroy'd by a Hurricane, and fitting out their Expeditions against the Pyrates, has put them very greatly in Debt, and

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would make it very difficult for them to defend themselves, if the like Occasions should again present.

They therefore Pray for the Continuance of His Majesty's Government, who, ever since He has been pleas'd to take it upon Him, has Protected their Trade by His Ships of War, and their Country by His Forces, and who is always ready to hear the Complaints of His Subjects, tho' never so remote, and is the Only Power (under GOD ) that is able to Defend them.

FINIS.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, DRAWN UP AT CHARLES TOWN, IN SEPTEMBER, 1731.

Jean

*Translated from Mr. Purry's Original Treatise, in French, and published in the Gentleman's Magazine, for August, September, and October, 1732.*

WASHINGTON CITY: PRINTED BY PETER FORGE.

1837.

### **DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.**

THE King of *Great Britain* having about 3 Years ago purchased this Province of the Lords Proprietors thereof, has since studied to make Agriculture, Commerce and Navigation, flourish in it. His Majesty immediately nominated Colonel *Johnson*, a worthy Gentleman, to be Governor thereof; who, at his Departure for *Carolina*, receiv'd divers Orders and Instructions, but in particular was directed instantly to mark out Places in a proper Situation for building Eleven Towns, *viz.*

Two on the River *Alatamaha*,

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Two on the River *Savanna*,

One at the Head of the River *Poupon*,

Two at the River *Santee*,

One at the River of *Watery*,

One at the Black River,

One at the River *Wacomau*, and

One at the River *Pedee*.

*The District of each of these Towns is to contain the Extent of 20000 Acres of Land, formed into a Square, bordering on the River, and divided into Shares of 50 Acres for each Man, Woman, or Child, of one Family; which may be augmented as the Planters shall be in a Condition to cultivate a larger Quantity of Ground, and every one of them shall have an equal Share of the better and worse Lands, and also the same Right on the River.*

*Each Town shall be formed into a Parish, the Extent whereof shall be about 6 Miles round the Town on the same Side of the River; and as soon as a Parish shall contain 100 Masters of Families, they may send Two Members to the Assembly of the Province, and enjoy the same Privilege as the other Parishes of the Province.*

*The Ground of each Town shall be speedily marked out, and shall belong in common to all the Inhabitants, till it shall be distributed in particular Shares to each of them. There are to be 300 Acres of Land near the Town, which shall be common for ever, without being charged with Rent, and no person shall, by Virtue of any former Grant, take Possession of any Land within 6 Miles of each Town.*

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*The Rent shall be 4s per Ann. for every 100 Acres, except that for the first 10 Years the Lands shall be entirely free, and all those that shall settle in the said Towns shall enjoy the same Advantages.*

*His Majesty further grants to every European Servant, whether Man or Woman, 50 Acres of Land free of all Rents for 10 Years, which shall be distributed to them after having served their Master for the Time agreed on.*

In consequence of these Instructions M. *Purry* was permitted to go and chuse on the Borders of the River *Savanna* Land proper to build the Town of *Purrysburg* upon; and having found it such as he wish'd, the Government made him a Grant thereof under the Great Seal of the Province, dated the 1st of *September* 1731, and at the same Time publish'd throughout the whole Country a Prohibition to all Sorts of Persons to go and settle on the said Land which is already called the *Swiss Quarter*.

In order to facilitate the Execution of this Undertaking in the best Manner, the Assembly granted to the said M. *Purry* 400 *l. Sterling*, and Provisions sufficient for the Maintenance of 300 Persons for one Year, provided they be all Persons of good Repute, and *Swiss* Protestants, and that they come to *Carolina* within the Space of 2 Years.

The River *Savanna* is one of the finest in all *Carolina*, the Water good and stored with excellent Fish: It is about the Largeness of the *Rhyne*, and there are 2 Forts already built upon it, one of which call'd *Pallaholaas*, is 100 Miles from the Mouth thereof, and the other call'd *Savanna* Town, about 300 Miles; and altho' there is not usually above 20 Men to garrison the first Fort, and about 40 in the other, yet the *Indians* have never dared to attack them.

The Town of *Purrysburg* will be situated 30 Miles from the Sea, and about 7 Miles from the highest Tide; The Land about it is a most delightful Plain, and the greatest Part very good Soil, especially for Pasturage, and the rest proper enough for some Productions.

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It was formerly call'd the great *Ymassee Port*, and is esteem'd by the Inhabitants of the Province the best place in all *Carolina*, altho' never yet possessed but by the *Indians*, who were driven from thence by the *English* several Years ago, and have never dared to return thither. All Sorts of Trees and Plants will grow there, as well as can be wish'd, particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Pease, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indico, Olives, Orange Trees and Citron 5 Trees, as also white Mulberry Trees for feeding of Silkworms. The Lands will not be difficult to clear, because there is neither Stones nor Brambles, but only great Trees, which do not grow very thick; so that more Land may be clear'd there in one Week, than could be done in *Swisserland* in a Month. The Custom of the Country is, that after having cut down these great Trees, they leave the Stumps for 4 or 5 Years to rot, and afterwards easily root them up, in order to manure the Land.

'Tis very certain, that *Carolina* is in general an excellent Country. 'Tis true, the Ground is sandy; but then 'tis a Sand impregnated with Salt and Nitre, so that it brings forth in great Abundance, as the like Soil does in divers Parts of *Europe*: But what is more particular to *Carolina*, there are a great Number of Plantations that have been continually cultivated for near 60 Years, which yet still produce great Plenty without ever being manured by the least Dung, for they never lay any on their Grounds: The Planter only turns up the Superficies of the Earth, and all that he plants and sows therein quickly grows and matures: Those who understand ever so little of Agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the Lands in *Europe* were not constantly manured, their Strength would be so exhausted, that at length the Crops would not pay for the Seed. But a Man who shall have a little Land in *Carolina*, and who is not willing to work above 2 or 3 Hours a Day, may very easily live there.

Another Consideration deserving our Notice is the Progress of the first Colonies, their sudden Advancement, the Riches of the present Inhabitants, the great Number of publick Expences for which they provide, the great Trade which they carry on at present, and lastly their Misfortunes and Losses; which are entirely repair'd. The better to comprehend these Matters, we shall only make the following Observations. 1. That there were no

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People in *Carolina* till about 60 Years ago, for the *English* did not begin to send any thither till the Year 1670. 2. That they had at first very fatal Beginnings, being afflicted with Sickesses, and even the Plague, which daily diminish'd the Number of the People. 3. That cruel destructive Divisions sprung up among them. 4. That they had a very bad Government under the Lords Proprietors, being almost without Order, Justice or Discipline. 5. That at a certain Time the Pyrates interrupted their Trade and Navigation. 6. That they have often had great Droughts. 7. That a terrible Fire consumed almost all *Charles Town*. 8. That they have been at great Expence in Fortifications, publick Edifices, Churches, &c. 9. That they 6 have often sustain'd long Wars with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and particularly with the *Indians*, who once united altogether to destroy the whole Province. 10. That notwithstanding all these Misfortunes, the People of *Carolina*, except those who give themselves up to Debauchery, are all rich, either in Slaves, Furniture, Cloaths, Plate, Jewels, or other Merchandizes, but especially in Cattle; which shews the Goodness of the Country they inhabit.

The most Part of those who came first thither were very poor and miserable; several of those who are most considerable went but as Servants.

The Trade of *Carolina* is now so considerable, that of late Years there has Sail'd from thence annually above 200 Ships, laden with Merchandizes of the Growth of the Country, besides 3 Ships of War, which they commonly have for the Security of the Commerce, and last Winter they had constantly 5, the least of which had above 100 Men on Board. It appears by the Customhouse Entries from *March* 1730, to *March* 1731, that there sailed within that Time from *Charles Town* 207 Ships most of them for *England*, which carried among other Goods 41957 Barrels of Rice about 500 Pound Weight per Barrel, 10754 Barrels of Pitch, 2063 of Tar, and 1159 of Turpentine, of Deer Skins 300 Casks, containing 8 or 900 each; besides a vast Quantity of *Indian* Corn, Pease, Beans, &c. Beef, Pork, and other salted Flesh, Beams, Planks, and Timber for Building, most part of Cedar, Cypress, Sassafras, Oak, Walnut and Pine.

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They carry on a great Trade with the *Indians*, from whom they get these great Quantities of Deer Skins, and those of other wild beasts, in Exchange for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarse Cloth, Vermillion, Iron Ware, and some other Goods, by which they have a very considerable Profit.

The great Number of Slaves makes another Part of the Riches of this Province, there being above 40,000 Negroes, which are worth one with another 100 Crowns each.

There are between 5 and 600 Houses in *Charles Town*, the most of which are very costly; besides 5 handsome Churches, *viz.* one for those of the Church of *England*, one for the Presbyterians, one for the Anabaptists, one for the Quakers, and one for the *French*. If you travel into the Country, you will see stately Buildings, noble Castles, and an infinite Number of all Sorts of Cattle. If it be ask'd what has produced all this? the Answer is, ' *Tis only the rich Land of Carolina.*

There is not the least Appearance but that the Prosperity of this Province will still increase, and, with the Blessing of Heaven, 7 in a few Years be the most flourishing of all *America*; not only because the King has much at heart the Improvement of this new Country, but because People come thither from all Parts. His Majesty has lately sent thither 74 pieces of heavy Cannon, with Powder, Ball, &c. and Governor *Johnson* is setting out from *Charles Town* to mark out the Land, whereon to build two good Forts, one at *Port-royal*, and the other upon the River *Alat?maha*, betwixt which is the River *Savanna*. The People of the *Palatinate*, those of *New-York*, *New-England*, and other Parts, sell all that they have to come to *Carolina*: which has raised the Price of Lands within 50 miles about *Charles Town* to four times the Value in 4 or 5 Years time: It will probably be the same about *Purrysburg*. However, it is a certain Truth, that the same quantity of Land at *Charles Town* which might be bought for a Crown about 40 Years ago, cannot at this Time be bought for 200 *l. Sterling*, nor even for 300 *l.* in those Places which are well situated for Trade.

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The good Dispositions which are making daily for a regular Administration of Justice, cannot fail of bringing the Country into Reputation, and drawing thither still great numbers of People. Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of Work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there. A skilful Carpenter is not ashamed to demand 30 s. *per* Day besides his Diet; and the common Wages of a Workman is 20 s. *per* Day, provided he speaks *English*, without which he cannot be understood, and consequently not so useful as others; and when a Workman has but 10 s. *per* Day he thinks he labours for almost nothing, tho' he has his Maintenance besides. But this is *Carolina* Money.

Most of their Shoes are brought from *England*, and generally sell for 40 s. *per* pair. Not but they have Hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's Hide being sold for 20 s. neither are they destitute of the Means to tan them; for they make very good Lime with Oyster-shells, and the Bark of Oak-trees is so plentiful, that it costs nothing but the Trouble of gathering: They want therefore only a sufficient number of good Tanners and Shoemakers.

I might say the same of Leather dressers, since they send every Year to *England* above 200,000 Deer-skins undrest. Yet *Carolina* produces Oker naturally, and good Fish-oil may be had from *New-York* or *New-England* very cheap: So that they might be drest and made up into Breeches in the Country, for which those Skins are very proper, being warm in Winter and cool in Summer.

There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no Earthenware but what comes from *England*, nor Glass of any kind: So that a Pot-house and a good Glass-house would succeed perfectly well, not only for *Carolina* but for all the other Colonies in *America*. There is a kind of Sand and Earth which would be very proper for these Purposes, as also Wood and Fern in abundance, had they but Workmen to make use of them.

The woods are full of wild Vines, bearing 5 or 6 sorts of Grapes naturally; but for want of Vine-dressers, &c. scarce any Wine is drank there but what comes from *Madera*, which

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are indeed cheap, for a Bottle of excellent Wine cost last Winter but 2 s. *Carolina* Money to those who bought it by the Hogshead. There is something so singular in these Wines of *Madera* that we cannot forbear mentioning it; which is, That Heat preserves them, and Cold spoils them: For as in *Europe* they are obliged to put their Wine in cool Cellars; these, on the contrary, must be put into the warmest Places. If they begin to be sour, they are exposed to the greatest Heats of the Sun to be recovered: So that to keep them good, you are to do what you would in other Parts to make Vinegar. This seems to be the greatest Paradox in the World, but nothing is more certain; and strange as it may seem, Col. *Bleek* caused a Vault to be made over his Oven, purposely to keep his Wine in all the Year.

The Cattle of *Carolina* are very fat in Summer, but as lean in Winter, because they can find very little to eat, and have no Cover to shelter them from the cold Rains, Frosts, and Snows, which lasts sometimes 3 or 4 Days: Only the Cattle design'd for the Butchery are fed, and they bad enough, with Potatoes, Straw, and Grain; but they always lie in the open Field, for there is not one Hovel in all the Country, either for Oxen or Cows. If you object this to the Planters, they answer, that such Houses or Hovels would do very well, but that they have too many other Affairs to think of that. The last Winter being very severe about 10,000 horned Cattle died of Hunger and Cold. Notwithstanding this, the People will not change their Conduct, because they do not understand the manner of ordering Cattle, nor even know how to mow the Grass, in order to make it into Hay, of which they might have great Plenty for Fodder. Their Ignorance in this respect is very great, which is the Reason that Butter is always dear, being sold last Winter at 7 s. 6 d. *per* Pound, and in *January* and *February* last it was sold at *Charles Town* for 12 s. *per* Pound: In a word, nothing would be more easy than for Persons who understand Country Affairs to grow rich in a little time. There is so great a number of Cattle, that a certain Planter had last Spring 200 Calves marked, which he let run in the Woods with other Cattle; Nobody looks after them, or takes any other Care, but to bring them together in the Evening to lie in a Park near the House.

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At certain times they kill a great many to send the Flesh salted to several other Colonies, where there is little Pasturage, particularly to the Isles of *Antilles*, and in general to all those of the *Torrid Zone*.

Horses, the best Kind in the World, are so plentiful, that you seldom see any body travel on foot, except *Negroes*, and they oftner on horseback; so that when a Taylor, a Shoemaker, or any other Tradesman, is obliged to go but 3 Miles from his House, it would be very extraordinary to see him travel on foot.

There is likewise in this Country a prodigious number of Swine, which multiply infinitely, and are kept with very little Charge, because they find almost all the Year Acorns, of which there is 5 or 6 sorts, as also Nuts, Walnuts, Chesnuts, Herbs, Roots, &c. in the Woods: So that if you give them never so little at home they become fat; after which you may salt and send great quantities of them to the Isles of *Barbadoes*, *St. Christophers*, *Jamaica*, &c. which produce very good Returns either in Money or Merchandizes.

Of all Animals in that Country, none are a less Charge than Sheep, for they subsist only on what they find in the Fields; yet are always in good Case, and bring forth their Lambs regularly; and there is a particular sort, whose Wool is not inferiour to the finest *Spanish Wool*.

Flax and Cotton thrive admirably, and Hemp grows to 13 or 14 Foot in height, but as few People know how to order it, there is scarce any cultivated; besides, they want Dung, which is very necessary for that purpose, few Plants weakening Land so much as Hemp does: However, this is one of the Articles which would produce most Profit, because the Parliament has allow'd so much *per Ton* upon all Hemp which comes from the *English Plantations in America*, in order that in time of War they may have no need of Hemp from *Russia* and *Poland*; besides this Encouragement, which is to last for 30 Years longer, there is an Exemption from some other Duties on Importation; which joined together, makes an Advantage of about 40 *per Cent.* over that of Hemp from other Parts.

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Rice and *Indian* Corn produce at least an hundred-fold, and would much more, if the Land was better cultivated. The Easiness of procuring such a plenty of Grain, is the Reason that the Planters have or may have at all Times a Court-yard fill'd with Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, &c. also a 10 good Pigeon-house, without being at any Expence. There is great plenty of Game of all sorts, but especially wild Turkeys, some of which are 30 pound weight, and those who love Fowling may easily take them. With this *Indian* Corn they make pretty good Bread, for it is much finer and better than in *Swisserland*, or in any other part of *Europe*, where it is commonly call'd *Turkey* Corn.

Persons may grow rich in *Carolina* without being at much Expence or Labour, by planting white Mulberry Trees for feeding of Silk-worms, there being perhaps no Country in the World where those Trees grow better, nor where the Silk is finer than in *Carolina*. They grow so much in so short a Time, that we dare scarce mention it: Capt. *Scott* has one at the back of his House at *Port-Royal*, not above 7 or 8 Years old, the Body whereof is above 5 foot round. It would be difficult to believe this, if it was not confirmed by other Mulberry Trees of 4 or 5 Years old, at *Port-Royal*, *Westmesaa*, *Gouscrick*, and other Plantations, the Trunks whereof are near a foot in Diameter. But as all the Planters apply themselves chiefly to the Production of Rice, Pitch, and Tar, there is very little Use made of them. However, those who have been in *Provence* and *Languedoc* know, that the Strippings of a Mulberry Tree, that is, the Leaves of a Summer, are commonly sold for a Crown, and sometimes two, altho' the Silk of those two Provinces is but very indifferent; from whence it may be easily conjectur'd, what Riches *Carolina* would produce, if this Affair was well managed. All other Trees grow there in the same Proportion, and much faster than in *Europe*, but particularly the Peach Tree; for the 3d Year it is commonly loaded with Fruit, and is a great Tree the 4th Year.

Some perhaps will object, that this Country is feverish and unhealthy, and all the Advantages which might be found in other Respects, would not make Amends for the loss

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of Health: Besides, that you are plagued there with several sorts of Insects, and especially with great Rattle-Snakes; so that you are in Danger of your Life every Moment.

To this we answer, That if People are sick there, 'tis generally an Effect of their bad Conduct, and not knowing how to regulate themselves suitably to the Country where they live; for 'tis very certain, that those who observe Precautions have as good Health there as they would in other Places. But the better to understand this Affair; you must know that the uncultivated Lands of *Carolina*, as well as the other adjacent Provinces, which extend much further than *Canada*, being wholly covered with large Pine Trees, very cold in their Nature, and when the 11 Vapours which they have attracted and retained come to be dispers'd by a Northerly Wind, you feel a Cold almost as sharp as in *Europe*; so that in one Day you may find a considerable Change of Air: This then, together with the Debauches made by Punch, strong *Madera* Wines, and the eating unripe Fruits, is the real Source of the Sicknesses there; for sensual Persons, who have not the Power to deny themselves any thing, when they find that a hot Day is succeeded by a great Coolness towards Evening, expose themselves to it with great pleasure without troubling themselves with the Consequence; and when this Pleasure is succeeded by Rheumatisms, Fevers, or other Distempers, they never fail of pouring out Curses on the Country, rather than own their Carelessness or Excess. And 'tis very common for those newly arrived, to say, when they have got any Illness, *That 'tis a Tribute they must pay to the Climate*. But such as take care to keep their Breasts always warm, to shun the great Transpirations of the Air, to cover themselves well in the Night especially in Summer, and in other Respects live regularly, will certainly enjoy as good Health there as in any other Part of the World.

There are few Insects in *Carolina* that can reasonably be complain'd of, except a sort of Gnats, which they call *Muscatoes*; and there is scarce any of these except in low Grounds, or near the Rivers; but if a House is troubled with them, it is easily remedied, by opening the Windows about Sun-setting, and shutting them again a little before the Close

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of the Twilight, the *Muscatoes* never failing to quit the House at that Time; and for better Security, they make fine Gause-work about their Beds, which keeps them off.

There are People in *Europe*, especially in *England*, that tremble only at the Name of a Rattle-Snake, imagining, that the Country of *Carolina* is so full of them, that there is no going into the Woods without Danger of Life: But this is an Error as ill-grounded as the most part of the other Reports pread Abroad to the Disadvantage of this new World. At least, 'tis certain, that this Serpent is very seldom seen, and if they are met, do very little Hurt, except they are provoked to defend themselves: Besides, they never fail of giving you Notice of their Approach by their Rattles, which may be heard at a considerable Distance. 'Tis also said, that the Venom of this Serpent is mortal, and kills in a very short Time, if not prevented by some Antidotes: But those Remedies are well known by every body in the Country. When Mr. *Purry* went with his small Company to chuse out a Spot of Land on the River *Savanna*, the People told them before their Departure from *Charles Town*, that they had great Reason to fear these Rattle-Snakes, 12 the Country being full of them; and that they ought to keep a good Guard against them; however they did not so much as see one of those Serpents, nor of any other sort for 15 Days that they travelled about in the Woods, tho' it was in the Middle of Summer at a time when all Serpents are out of their Holes. It is very seldom that any Person is bitten by these Snakes, or by those of other Kinds, which are much more common, that it would be very difficult to find so much as one Person in all *Carolina* that has ever had this Misfortune. There are also some Crocodiles in the Rivers, but the People fear them no more, than if they were so many Fishes, since it was never known that they have hurt any Person whatsoever.

Those that may have any Desire to go and settle there may further take notice of 3 or 4 observations:

1 *st*, That *South Carolina* is not only situated in the same Degree of Heat, Fertility, and Temperature of Air, which is about 33 Degrees Latitude, as *Barbary*, the Isle of *Candia*, *Syria*, *Persia*, *Mogolistan*, *China*, and in general all the best Countries in the Universe; but

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it is also the only Country of all those the *English* possess that is situated in that Degree; and there is all the Reason in the World to believe, that if there be now an Opportunity to have Lands there for nothing, this Advantage will not continue long. At least 'tis very certain that those who shall come first, will have the Choice of Land, as also the Proximity of Rivers, much better than those that shall come afterwards.

2 *dly*, That by means of the Wool, Cotton, Flax and Hemp, it will be easy to procure all Linnen necessary, as also good Cloth and Stuffs for Cloathing, without being forced to purchase them at a very dear rate from the Shops, as most of the Planters are at present. And what is still an Article very considerable, there will be no Danger of wanting Provisions in a Country so plentiful, unless some Accidents happen, which cannot be foreseen by human Prudence; we may be assured that Hailstones will not deprive the Inhabitants thereof.

3 *dly*, That *Carolina* being of all the Neighboring Provinces which the *English* possess on the Continent of *North America*, from 29 to 49 Degrees of Latitude, is not only the largest and most productive of Necessaries, but also the most Southward, and nearest to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and all the Islands of the *Antilles*, which have Occasion for salted Provisions, Bread, Wine, Fruits, Roots, and several other Things, we need not hesitate a Moment to prefer it to all the other Colonies on the North side. And besides the great Advantages which may accrue to the Inhabitants by the Fertility of the Land, and the Temperateness of the Climate, the Situation thereof for Trade will always draw Ships into its Ports, which there finding at a reasonable price and in good Order, all that the other most distant Provinces can have, will hardly go so far, whilst any thing is to be had in *Carolina*.

4 *thly*, and *lastly*, And what is of the greatest Importance of all is, that there is an entire Liberty of Conscience and Commerce for all that come thither, without paying any thing for it; Justice is duly administred to all; and every body can say that what he possesses lawfully belongs to him in full Propriety. There are no Tenths, Imposts, Tailles, nor

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Capitation Taxes, nor any of those Burdens which render so many other People unhappy: In a word, you have all the Laws, Liberties, and Priveleges there which are enjoyed in *England*: Tis the Lower House that has the Disposal of the Money of the Province, and who vote the Taxes necessary for the publick Service, however with the Approbation of the Upper House, and that of his Majesty, represented by the Governor; and when one of the two Houses would have an Act passed, on any Subject whatsoever, after having examined and debated all the Clauses thereof, it is ingrossed and sent to the other House for their Concurrence. But this Act, or rather projected Act, has at that time only the Name of a Bill, that is to say, properly, an Act proposed. Now if this Bill is passed by the other House, it is carried to the Governor, who may either approve or reject it; and 'tis not till the Moment the Governor gives his Consent thereto, that it takes the Form of a Law, and has all the Force thereof; for if either of the Houses or Governor rejects the said Bill, it drops of course. Therefore nothing better proves, that the Constitution of the Government of *Carolina*, as well as that of *England*, is founded on the Union between the King and the People, since they make only one and the same Body, of which his Majesty is always the Head; from whence it may be concluded and boldly affirmed that the *English* are the most free and happy People at this Time in the whole World.

We whose Names are hereunto subscrib'd, do Attest, that all which is contain'd in this Account of *South Carolina*, is the real Truth, having been Eye-Witnesses of most part of the Particulars therein mentioned. Done at *Charles Town* the 23d of *September*, 1731.

John Peter Purry, of *Neufchatel*.

James Richard, of *Geneva*.

Abraham Meuron, of *St Sulpy* in the County of *Neufchatel*.

Henry Raymond, of *St Sulpy*.

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*Proposals by Mr. Peter Purry, of Newfchatel, for Encouragement of such Swiss Protestants as should agree to accompany him to Carolina, to settle a New Colony.*

There are only two Methods, viz: one for Persons to go as Servants, the other to settle on their own Account.

1. Those who are desirous to go as Servants must be Carpenters, Vine-planters, Husbandmen, or good Labourers.
2. They must be such as are not very Poor, but in a Condition to carry with them what is sufficient to support their common Necessity.
3. They must have at least 3 or 4 good Shirts, and a Suit of Cloathes each.
4. They are to have each for their Wages 100 Livres yearly, which make 50 Crowns of the Money of *Newfchatel* in *Swisserland*, but their Wages are not to commence till the Day of their arrival in *Carolina*.
5. Expert Carpenters shall have suitable Encouragement.
6. The time of their Contract shall be 3 Years, reckoning from the Day of their arrival in that Country.
7. They shall be supply'd in part of their Wages with Money to come from *Swisserland*, till they imbark for *Carolina*.
8. Their Wages shall be paid them regularly at the end of every Year; for security whereof they shall have the Fruits of their Labour, and generally all that can be procured for them, whether Moveables or Imoveables.
9. Victuals and Lodging from the Day of their Imbarkation shall not be put to their account, nor their Passage by Sea.

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10. They shall have what Money they want advanced during the Term of their Service in part of their Wages to buy Linnen, Clothes, and all other Necessaries.

11. If they happen to fall Sick they shall be lodg'd and nourish'd Gratis, but their Wages shall not go on during their Illness, or that they are not able to Work.

12. They shall serve after Recovery, the time they had lost during their Sickness.

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13. What goes to pay Physicians or Surgeons, shall be put to their Accompt.

As to those who go to settle on their own Account, they must have at least 50 Crowns each, because their Passage by Sea, and Victuals, will cost from 20 to 25 Crowns, and the rest of the Money shall go to procure divers things which will be absolutely necessary for the Voyage.

It may not be disagreeable in this Place to inform our Readers, that Mr. *Purry*, on his Return to *Swisserland*, with this Account of Carolina, soon prevail'd on many industrious Persons and their Families to the Number of about 400, to go with him. On the 11th of this Month [ *August*, 1732,] they embarked at *Calais* in *France*, on Board two *English* Ships, which arrived off *Dover* the next Day, and are now sailed on their Voyage. Mr. *Bignion* their Minister came to *London*, and received Episcopal Ordination: So that the Reflections which some have cast on the Religion of these People, are unjustly founded.

A DESCRIPTION OF GEORGIA, BY A GENTLEMAN WHO HAS RESIDED THERE UPWARDS OF SEVEN YEARS, AND WAS ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS.

No.

LONDON: PRINTED FOR C. CORBET, BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER, AT ADDISON'S HEAD, AGAINST ST. DUNSTAN'S CHURCH, IN FLEET STREET.

MDCCXLI.

P. FORCE, WASHINGTON, 1837.

**GEORGIA.**

GEORGIA, formerly part of Carolina, named from his Majesty King George the first, who purchased it from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. And by his charter to severall noblemen and gentlemen, dated the 9th of June, 1732, erected it into a seperate and independant province, in order to settle the same. It lies in Lat. 30 Deg. 30 Min. to 32. The first embarkation of people consisted of forty families, who, with *James Oglethorpe*, Esq. arrived there the 2nd of February following. There was then a remnant of the Creek Indians settled near where the town of Savannah is now built, whom, by our good conduct, and steady justice, we soon gained, as well as all the Indian Nations bordering round us, who freely consented to our present settlement; so that we never lost a Man by their means. It is a fine healthful country, moderately hot, by reason of frequent norwesters from the mountains, and fresh breezes from the sea, which blow in the hottest days. It is plentifully watered with fine springs of water. Its soil consists of four different sorts, viz. Pine-barren, which is a sandy soil; oak and hickory, which is a good land, fit for most sorts of grain; and swamp, which lies low, and is mostly clay, of fat mud, and is the richest and best; and lastly Savannah, whereon grows cane, or wild grass. That there is a good proportion of all these sorts of lands; and the higher you go into the country, the better the land. There is plenty of fine oak, cedar, cypress, and other timber, for building of ships, and masts even for the tallest. It feeds great numbers of cattle. The mountains have gold, silver, and other ores, and the Savannahs are full of dyes and simples. There are numbers of fine harbours, and some have water enough for a 40 gun ship. There are several beautiful Islands all along the coast. The trees are diversified with various shades of green all the year, which delight the eye; and as the weather is mostly serene and clear, you seldom or never hear of coughs or wheasings there. The woods abound with deer, and the trees with swarms of bees and singing birds. There are great numbers

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of hares and 4 squirrels; and tame fowl, as well as hogs, breed in abundance, with little or no charge. There is great plenty of wild fowl, particularly turkies, partridges, doves, geese, ducks, teale, gannets, curlews, &c. And the greatest variety of fish in the world; especially sturgeon, which might be improved to great advantage. There are also fruit trees, as apples, pears, peaches, plumbs, nectarines, figs, olives, black and white mulberry trees, walnuts, chesnuts, chincopin nuts, hickory, ground nuts, several sorts of berries, and oranges to the southward: besides great quantities of grapes, both wild and cultivated, of exceeding good taste and flavour, and generally all the herbs and roots used in England. It produces good Indian corn and rice, which is naturall to the country; and all English grain will grow there, especially oats, barley, and wheat, as also beans and pease, of all which I have seen very good. An acre of hickory ground near Savannah, of which there is plenty, generally produces 25 or 30 bushels of Indian corn; and at Augusta-town, which lies up the river, an acre produces 35 bushels. I have seen the silk-worms breed there and fed, and afterwards wound off the balls, by Mrs. Camus, the Italian silk winder there, and it is of the finest and best sort of silk in the world: I reckon they will produce this year thrice the quantity they did last, because of the vast increase of mulberry trees of the white sort which have been planted, and so in proportion will encrease the quantity every year. That the country is well adapted to produce silk, is most certain; for you shall see numbers of silk balls, sticking to the boughs of trees even in the woods. There are some thousands of vines of the Portugal growth planted there, which thrive exceedingly; and as they are daily encreasing their stocks, no doubt but we shall soon see wine. The annual cotton grows well there, and has been by some industrious people made into cloathes. Some vessels have been built there, and, as workmen are encouraged, we may expect to see more. Indigo and cochineal may be also made, there being both the fly and the simple. Its commodities at present are deer skins, timber, bees wax, myrtle wax, honey, bears oil, furs, leather, pitch, tar, turpentine, drugs, and simples of several sorts. Several ships have been loaded there with joyce, cedar planks, green ebony, cypress shingles, pipe staves, hoop poles, and red bay (which is a closer grain, and a finer timber than mahogany) for the West Indies, and many more might every year with proper encouragement. The clay

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is so fine that very good potter's ware is made there, and sent to Carolina. Besides what provisions we raise, we are supplied from New England, New York and Pennsylvania, and have the necessaries of life at the following rates in 5 sterling; viz. beef, at one penny half-penny to two-pence halfpenny; pork, from two-pence to two-pence half-penny; veal, from two-pence half-penny to three-pence; mutton, from four-pence half-penny to five pence; good strong beer, from two-pence half-penny to three pence per quart; Madeira wine at one shilling per quart; cyder at four-pence per quart; tea at six shillings per pound; coffee at one shilling six-pence; fine wheat flour at one penny per pound; rice at four shillings six-pence per hundred weight.

Georgia has at present two divisions, the Northward and Southward. There are three towns, several villages, and considerable plantations in the Northward; viz.

### **Northern Division.**

#### **Towns.**

Savannah

Ebenezer

Augusta

#### **Villages.**

Old Ebenezer

Hampstead

Highgate

Abercorn

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### Skidoway

Southern Division. Frederica, Forts in the Province. Fort Argyle, Towns. New Inverness, Fort St. Andrew, Barikmacke, Village. Fort Augustine.

*Savannah* is a regular well built healthful town, full of springs of fine fresh water, containing above 130 houses, besides warehouses and huts, which are as many more. It stands upon an eminence near forty feet from the surface of the water, and fronts Savannah river. It hath a Court of Record in it, consisting of three Bailiffs, and a Recorder, who holds a Court every six weeks. It is extremely well situated for trade, being hardly a tide from the sea; and where ships of three hundred tons may lie in fresh water, free from the worm, close to the wharfs and take in their loading. On the entrance of its harbour is a beacon of curious workmanship called the Light house. The bar is near half a mile in width, and has 22 feet and upwards at high water. The entrance is so safe, that ships of 40 tons, without altering their course, may run directly from the sea, over the bar, where you presently get into a fine harbour (of good anchorage, and deep water, where a whole fleet of ships may lie at anchor in safety) called *Cockspur*.

The river Savannah is navigable some hundred of miles, and runs into the Indian nation, and commands the Indian Trade, so that you see numbers of trading boats continually going backwards 6 and forwards; and some thousand weight of skins are vended at Savannah, and many thousand more would be, if sufficient ware-houses were once established there, with trading goods. I must beg leave to mention the speech of Redshoes, a Chief of the Choctaw Nation, July the first, 1734, "We come a great way, and are a great nation; the people of Carolina have endeavoured to bring us down, but we were never down before. The French are building forts about us, which we don't like; we want to know who we might depend on, we have long traded with the French, but they are poor in goods, and we desire that a Trade may be opened between us and you." Since which we have traded with 10 towns, but want goods to supply them. There are several fine harbours all along the coast, capable of receiving his Majesty's fleets; and as in 24

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hours they can sail from thence into the Gulph Stream, where the *Spanish* vessels return from *New Spain* to *Europe*, they are of the greatest consequence to *Great Britain*.

During my residence there, which was upwards of seven years, many ships put into the harbours by distress, especially from the bay of *Honduras* and the *Spanish Coast*. As I am not particularly acquainted with the other towns I shall forbear to describe them. Thus much may suffice, to show the consequence of this country to England, and to silence the idle talk of people, who have had no experience there, which prompted me to publish this relation thereof.

I arrived here in June last, and petitioned soon after for a grant of lands, which I have obtained, and am going there again in order to spend the remainder of my life.

FINIS.