

*Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln*  
*Electronic Texts in American Studies*

---

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Year 2006

---

A Description of New England (1616):  
An Online Electronic Text Edition

John Smith , Captain & Admiral\*

Paul Royster , editor<sup>†</sup>

\*

<sup>†</sup>University of Nebraska-Lincoln, proyster@unl.edu

This paper is posted at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/etas/4>

John Smith, *A Description of New England* (1616):  
*An Online Electronic Text Edition*

CONTENTS

John Smith (1580-1631) made one voyage to the coast of Massachusetts and Maine in 1614, and attempted a second one the following year, only to be captured by French pirates and detained for several months near the Azores before escaping and making his way back to England. This book is the story of these two voyages.

Smith went the coast of America north of Virginia to explore the opportunities for fisheries, fur trading, and settlement. Smith was a veteran soldier, sailor, traveller, explorer, cartographer, and colonist: he had fought the Spanish in France and Italy, the Turks in Hungary and Transylvania, and the Algonkians in Virginia; he had sailed the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and the Caribbean; he had been a prisoner of the Ottomans and a slave in Constantinople, had journeyed through Russia, Europe, and North Africa; he had been both a president and a prisoner in the Jamestown colony, and had explored the Potomac River and mapped the Chesapeake Bay.

His *Description of New England* describes the fishing, soils, inhabitants, fauna, flora, and climate of the coastal region from Cape Cod to Penobscot. This work is the first to apply the term “New England” to that portion of the North America from Long Island Sound to Newfoundland. At that time it held a few trading and fishing stations, and French traders from the north and Dutch from the south carried on commerce in furs with the natives. There was a prosperous fishery to the north, where cod were taken by ships from Portugal, Holland, and Spain. To Smith, these were evidence of the richness of commodities to be had, and signs of the strategic importance to England of securing permanent settlements in the region. Smith had departed Virginia in 1609 under a cloud of accusations and had quarrelled with the leaders of the privately-held Virginia Company. Seeking a new arena for colonial opportunities in the new world, Smith saw New England as a place where English life could be transplanted to America, and this work is an extended advertisement and prospectus for investors and settlers, with Smith to provide the expertise and leadership.

This open-access online electronic text edition is based on the London edition of 1616, and preserves the spelling and punctuation of that original. Some explanatory notes have been added, along with a discussion of the text and a list of typographical errors corrected. A PDF version of Smith’s map is included as a supplemental file.

<i>A note on the orthography</i> . . . . .	ii
<i>Inserted leaf</i> . . . . .	iii
To the High Hopeful Charles, Prince of Great Britaine . . . . .	3
To the Right Honourable and worthy Lords, Knights, & Gentlemen, of his Maiesties Councell, for all Plantations and discoueries; especially, of New England . . . . .	5
To the right Worshipfull Aduenturers for the Countrey of New England, in the Cities of London, Bristow, Exceter, Plimouth, Dartmouth, Bastable, Totneys, &c. and in all other Cities and Ports, in the Kingdome of England . . . . .	7
<i>Testimonial verses</i> . . . . .	10
A Description of New-England, by Captaine Iohn Smith . . . . .	17
<i>Testimonial verses</i> . . . . .	68
<i>Notes</i> . . . . .	70
<i>Note on the Text</i> . . . . .	74

*A note on the orthography:*

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English printers and typesetters used the “u” and “v” interchangeably to represent either sound (thus, “Beuer” for “beaver,” “vse” for “use,” “seauen” for “seven,” etc.), and the “i” was used both for “i” and “j”. Vowels were occasionally printed with either a macron (ˉ) or a tilde (˜) to indicate a following (implied) nasal “n” or “m” (thus “cōstancy” for “constancy” or “thē” for “them”). These features of John Smith’s original edition are preserved in this electronic text.

*Some copies of A Description of New England contain the following on an inserted leaf:*

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.	The old names.	The new.
Cape Cod	Cape James	Sowocatuck	Ipswich
	Milford haven	Bahana	Dartmouth
Chawum	Barwick		Sandwich
Accomack	Plimouth	Aucociscos Mount	Shooters hill
Sagoquas	Oxford	Aucocisco	The Base
Massachusets Mount	Chevit hill	Aumoughcawgen	Cambridge
Massachusets River	Charles River	Kinebeck	Edenborough
Totant	Fawmouth	Sagadahock	Leeth
A Country not discovered	Bristow	Pemmaquid	S. Johns towne
Naemkeck	Bastable	Monahigan	Barties Iles
Cape Trabigzanda	Cape Anne	Segocket	Norwich
Aggawom	Southhampton	Matinnack	Willowby’s Iles
Smiths Iles	Smiths Iles	Metinnicut	Hoghton’s Iles
Passataquack	Hull	Mecadacut	Dunbarton
Accominticus	Boston	Pennobscot	Aborden
Sassanowes Mount	Snodon hill	Nusket	Lowmonds

A  
DESCRIPTION  
of *New England*:

OR

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND  
discoveries, of Captain *John Smith* (Admirall  
of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year  
*of our Lord 1614: with the successe of sixe Ships,*  
*that went the next year 1615; and the*  
accidents befell him among the  
*French men of warre:*

With the prooffe of the present benefit this  
Country affoords: whither this present year,  
*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 Lin-  
colnes Inne. 1616.



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

*SIR:*



O fauorable 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 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 sute 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 & infamy, if (hauling 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 Highnesse true  
and faithfull seruant,  
Iohn Smith.*



TO THE RIGHT Honourable and worthy Lords,  
*Knights, & Gentlemen, of his Ma-  
iesties Councill, for all Plantations  
and discoueries; especially, of  
New England.*



*Eeing the deedes of the most iust,  
and the writings of the most wise,  
not onely of men, but of God him-  
selfe, haue bene diuersly tra-  
duced by variable iudgements of the  
Times opinionists; what shall such  
an ignorant as I expect? Yet reposing my selfe on your fau-  
ours, I present this rude discourse, to the worldes construc-  
tion; 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 affection; I intreat your pardons to say thus  
much of my selfe: Neere twice nine yeares, I haue bene  
taught by lamentable experience, as well in Europe and  
Asia, as Affrick, and America, such honest aduentures*

*as the chance of warre doth cast upon poore 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 projects: which though I neuer so plainly and seriously propound; yet it resteth in God, and you, still to dispose of. Not doubting but your goodnesse will pardon my rudenesse, and ponder errours 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 seruice,  
I. S.



To the right VVorshipfull Ad-  
uenturers for the Countrey of *New Eng-  
land*, in the Cities of *London, Bristow, Exceter,*  
*Plimouth, Dartmouth, Bastable, Totneys,*  
&c. and in all other Cities and  
Ports, in the Kingdome  
*of England.*



**I**f the little Ant, & 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 aduenture their purses, as I, purse, life, and all I haue: or as diligent to furnish the charge, as I know they are vigi-

lant 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, & 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 bee subiect to casualty as well as my selfe: but least this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill will (by rumour) the behoofefull worke I pretend; I haue writ this little: which I did thinke to haue concealed from any publike vse, till I had made my returnes speake as much, as my pen now doth.

But because I speake 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, aswell as a golde-smith: and nothing is there to bee had which fishing doth hinder, but furder 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 discovery in those parts there yet vnknowne: Considering, withall, first those of his Maiesties Councell, then those Cities aboue named, and diuerse

others that haue beene moued to lend their assistance to so great a worke, doe 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,*

John Smith.



In the deserued Honour of the Au-  
*thor, Captaine Iohn Smith,*  
 and his Worke.

**D**amn'd Enuie is a sp'rite, that euer haunts  
*Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards or Ignorants.*  
*But, onely such shée 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 moutnes possesse,*  
*Might fall from thence; or else tis Sottishnesse.*

*If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;*  
*Thy \* Letters are as Letters in thy praise;*  
*Who, by their vice, improue (when they reprocue)*  
*Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.*

*Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame;*  
*Scorning for any Smith to forge such fame.*

Io: Dauies, Heref:

\*Hinderers.

---

To his worthy Captaine the Author.

**T**hat 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 helpe the rest: my Pen no more*  
*Can doe, but this; I'auē said enough before.*

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

---

To my Worthy friend and Cosen,  
 Captaine Iohn Smith.

*It ouer-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words*  
*Of 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.

**M** *Ay Fate thy Proiect 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 dy'st (as all that liue must die)  
Thy fame liue heere; thou, with Eternitie.*

R: Gunnell.

---

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

**S** *Ir; your Relations I haue read: which shewe,  
Ther's reason I should honour them and you:  
And if their meaning I haue vnderstood,  
I dare to censure, thus: Your Proiect's good;  
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,  
With honour, pleasure and a trebble 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  
Beeing 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 Lincol.

---

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

**C** *Aptaine 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 Countries Fame to raise.*  
*With due discretion, and vndanted 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 Successse 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, &*  
*Richard Wiffing, Gentlemen, and*  
*Souldiers vnder Captaine Smiths*  
Command: In his deserued  
honor for his Worke,  
and worth.

**W** *Hy may not we in this Worke haue our Mite,*  
*That had our share in each black day and night,*  
*When thou Virginia foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;*  
*And held'st the King of Paspheh enchaind.*  
*Thou all alone this Saluage sterne didst take.*  
*Pamunkes king wee saw thee captiue make*  
*Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,*  
*To murther thee and vs resolued; when*  
*Fast by the hand thou led'st 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 helplesse 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 thee too.*

*But, if the 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 Spurre 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.*



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



IN the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from *London*, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arriue in *New-England*, a parte of *Amerycia*, at the Ile of *Monahiggan*, in  $43\frac{1}{2}$  of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take

My first voyage to new-England

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 howsoeuer: we found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: They beeing a kinde of Iubartes, 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 & Furres was now our guard: & 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 seuered 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 skinned, 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 furdur; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against vs in the Main was a Ship of Sir *Frances Poppames*, 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. With these Furres, 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 situa-  
tion 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 beene 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 nor 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.

*Florida* is the next adioyning to the *Indes*, 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  
Florida.

*Virginia* is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*; whose bounds may be stretched 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 discovered) may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit. And Southward adioyneth that part discovered at the charge of Sir *Walter Rawley*, by Sir *Ralph Lane*, and that learned Mathematician M<sup>r</sup>. *Thomas Heryot*. Northward six or seauen degrees is the Riuer *Sagadahock*, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of vertue Sir *Iohn Poppam* Lord chief Iustice of *England*. Ther is also a relation printed by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnould*, of *Elizabeths Iles*: and an other by Captaine *Way-*

Notes of  
Virginia.

*moth*, 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, & 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 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 discovered. 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* & the rest. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think euery one w<sup>ch</sup> 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 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 & 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, Cōstancy, Diligence and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing then another; and therein are to be employed: and nothing breedes more confusion then misplacing and misimplying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus, Cortez, Pizarra, Soto, Magellanes*, and the rest serued more then a prentiship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Indies*: which to the wonder of all ages succesfully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre aboute them in the worlds opinion, being 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 anchorage for 500. sayle of ships of any burthen; in some of them for 5000: And more then 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 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, Wakkogo, Passharanack, &c.* To these are allied the Countries of *Aucocisco, Accominticus, Passataquack, Aggarwom, & Naemkeck*: all these, I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment: though most be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The particular Countries or Governments.

The next I can remēber by name are *Mattabunts*; two pleasant Iles of groues, gardens and corne fields a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then *Totant, Massachusetts, Pocapawmet, Quonahassit, Sagoquas, Nahapassumkeck, Topeent, Seccasaw, Totheet, Nasnocomacack, Accomack, Chawum*; Then *Cape Cod* by which is *Pawmet* and the Ile *Nawset*, of the language, & alliance of them of *Chawum*: The others are called *Massachusetts*; 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 ouergrowne 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 excel-  
lent soyle.

Betwixt *Sagadahock* and *Sowocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especially the Coast of the *Massachusetts* is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, & then tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely diuided with tinctured 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 lime-stone: 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 & steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare engage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building and 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 prooue it in a lesse limitation.

A proofe of  
an excellent  
temper.

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 the 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 & fertility?

A proofe of  
health.

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.

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 Fortresses, & that abundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, Pretious stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth 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

Staple com-  
modities  
present.

The Hol-  
landers  
fishing.

his debts, his friends, & 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.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicite that makes their wealth & shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would thinke it) they yearly draw at least one million & 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 Busses, 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 *Ireland* and in the North Seas.

*Hamborough*, & the *East Countries*, for Sturgion and Cauiare, gets many thousands of pounds from *England*, and the *Straites*: *Portugale*, the *Biskaines*, and the *Spaniards*, make 40 or 50 Saile yearly to *Cape-blank*, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and make *Puttardo*: and *New found Land*, doth yearly fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish, which at least yearly amounts to 3 or 400000 pound. If from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines

Which is fifteen hundred thousand pound.

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 fift 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 Iustice: no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God & his Maiesty bestowed those blessings on thẽ that will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master and owner of his 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, w<sup>ch</sup> 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 *Galaxia*, *Biskey*, *Nauarre*, *Arragon*,

Examples of the altitude comparatively.

*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*.

In *France*, the Prouinces of *Gasconie, Langadock, Aui-gnon, Prouince, Dolphine, Pyamont, and Turyne*, are in the same paralel: which are the best & richest parts of *France*. In *Italy*, the prouinces of *Genua, Lumbardy, & Verona*, with a great part of the most famous State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Bononia, Mantua, Ferrara, Raenna, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Urbine, 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 plētifull 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 *Baldiua*, & the mouth of the 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 seene 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 labour and diligence 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 vs 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.

And whereas it is said, the *Hollanders* serue the *East-erlings* themselues, and other parts that want, with *Herring, Ling, and wet Cod*; The *Easterlings*, a great part of *Europe*, with *Sturgion and Caiare; Cape-blanke, Spaine, Portugale*, and the *Leuant*, with *Mullet, and Puttargo; New found Land*, all *Europe*, with a thin Poore Iohn: yet all is so ouerlaide 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, & with all those aduantages.

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

The particular staple commodities that may be had.

The nature of ground approved.

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 encrease if need be (obseruing the seasons) I durst vndertake to haue corne 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 subiectiō, and make this prouision; if they vnderstand what they doe: 200 whereof may nine monethes in the yeare be employed in making march-andable fish, till the rest prouide other necessaries, fit to furnish vs with other commodities.

The seasons  
for fishing  
approoued.

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, here is Cod in abundance; in May, Iune, Iuly, and August Mullet and Sturgion; whose roes doe make Caiuare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the 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 Iohn: 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 sauēd: 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, Aprill, 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 heer the ayre is so temperate, as all these at any time may well be preserued.

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 twelue yeares of age and cannot doe so much: and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thred to make engines to catch them.

Employment  
for poore  
people and  
fatherlesse  
children.

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, & 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

The facility  
of the plan-  
tation.

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.

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 endeuor to make tryall of their goodnesse.

Of Beuers, Otters, Martins, Blacke Foxes, and Furies 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 nour-

ish and feed man and beast, as well as *England*, and the Sea those severall 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 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 *Iceland* fishers, or the *Hollanders*, *Cape blank*, or *New found Land*: who must be at as much more charge, then you) may easily be coniectured by this example.

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

2000. pound will fit out a ship of 200. & 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: 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 & wages; with her fraught thither of things necessarie for the planters, the salt being there made: as also may the nets & 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 aduisd by good discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humours of dissolute idlenesse.

But, to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects 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 Gouvernement, 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 Northren 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 Riuer ranne 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 en-

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

emies, 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 leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next; then *Nusconcus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*. Vp this Riuer where was the Westerne plantation are *Aumuckcarogen*, *Kinnebeck*, and diuers others, where there is planted some corne fields. Along this Riuer 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 & fertill. Westward of this Riuer, 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 know. But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre I could see Eastward of it is nothing but such high craggy Cliffy Rocks & stony Iles that I wondered such great trees could growe vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrey 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 fishpond 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 kingdome so fertile hath not some part barren: and *New England* is great enough, to make many King-

domes 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 Countrey, 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 Countrey. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it. The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the Countrey 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 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 Southwest 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, peo-

ple, and mineralls; which I went to discouer this last yeare: but because I miscarried by the way, I will leaue them, till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

The *Massachusetts*, they report, sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobskot*; and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawun* 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 *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 remarkeablest Iles & mountains for Landmarkes are these; The highest Ile is *Sorico*, in the Bay of *Pennobskot*: but the three Iles and a rock of *Matinnack* are much furder in the Sea; *Metinicus* is also three plaine Iles & a rock, betwixt it & *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*.

A good  
Countrie.

The land-  
markes.

Hearbes. The cheefe mountaines, them of *Pennobscot*: the twinkling mountaine of *Aucocisco*; the greate mountaine of *Sasanon*; and the high mountaine of *Massachusit*: each of which you shall finde in the Mapped; 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, chesnuts, small nuts, &c. pumpions, gourds, strawberries, beans, pease, and mayze; a kinde or two of flax, wherewith 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, plumbtree, 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, Mackerell, Herring, Mullet, Base, Pinacks, Cunnners, Pearch, Eels, Crabs, Lobsters, Muskles, Wilkes, Oysters, and diuerse others &c.

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, & diuerse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not. All these and diuerse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, & 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 Cunnners, 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, Mackerell, Scate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And, in diuerse sandy 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 vineger: 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 constraie 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 mannage 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 his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing & his owne industrie, without preiudice 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 suites with honour and honestie, as the discovering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching virtue; & gaine to our Natiuemother-countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde 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 remembring 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 formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pains & 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, & 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, & 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, despair in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea euen thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates? though thou

seest what honours, and rewards, 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  
couetous-  
ness.

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 citzens (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 deuouring *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 coun-

treys, 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 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 moouie you to embrace employment, for those whose educations, spirits, and iudgements, 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 ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound a yeer; you would grudge to giue halfé so much in aduerture with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time but with a little assistance of your providence, 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 beleeuie him, no more then *Columbus* was beleued 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, & incredulity; Hoping that gaine will make them affect that, which Religion, Charity, and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in me, To deceiue my selfe; much more the King, & State, my Friends, and Countrey, with these inducements: which, seeing his Maiestie 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, 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 re-

turne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of those Countries; & 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 ease 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 diligence: I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamly 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, 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 con-

The planters  
pleasures,  
and profits.

tent 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 marchants, 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 fishers: yet all men, whatsoeuer, 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.

Employments  
for gentle-  
men.

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 & 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.

For labourers, if those that sowe hemp, rape, turneps, 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.

Employments  
for labour-  
ers.

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 ther 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.

It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spanyards*, and *Portugals*, 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 discoueries & plantations, as may well condemne vs, of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and neg-

Examples of  
the Span-  
yard.

ligence: yet the Authors of those new inventions, 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 indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleue nothing; or so curiously contest, to preuent 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; & building vpon faire sand, rather then rough rockes, 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, & 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 about 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 yeeres limited an apprentice for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man, or 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 par-

adox opinion, to say, that halfe seauen yeeres is scarce sufficient, for a good capacitie, to learne in these affaires, how to carrie 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 double dealing, as binde 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.

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 secret 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

The blisse of  
Spaine.

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 truly 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 showes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse & 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 *Spaniards* 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 be we so far inferior to other nations, or our spirits so far dejected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall*, *Spaniard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke* (as

to the cost of *Europe*, too many dooe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, & our selues? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of imploiment; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discouering these North parts of *America*.

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

My second  
voyage to  
New Eng-  
land.

<i>Thomas Dirmir.</i>	} Gent.	<i>William Ingram.</i>	} <i>Soul- diers.</i>
<i>Edward Stalings.</i>		<i>Robert Miter.</i>	
<i>Daniel Cage.</i>		<i>Dauid Cooper.</i>	
<i>Francis Abbot.</i>		<i>Iohn Partridge,</i>	
<i>Iohn Gosling.</i>		<i>and two boies.</i>	
<i>Thomass Digbie.</i>	} <i>Sailers.</i>	<i>Thomas Watson</i>	
<i>Daniel Baker.</i>		<i>Walter Chissick</i>	
<i>Adam Smith.</i>		<i>Iohn Hall.</i>	

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 meanes 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 & securitie in their seasons may be vsed. With him and diuerse others, I had concluded to inhabit, and defend them against the *Terentyes*; 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 & betraied many others: I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more in *Virginia*, then I intended heere, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught me) that to mee it seemes no daunger more then ordinarie. And though I know my selfe the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiu inspection can pearce beyond the boundes of my habilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I in-treate 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 misprision 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 euent.

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 trechery 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 hee seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots, and obseruations: and so left mee alone in a desolate Ile, to the fury of famine, and all other extremities (lest I should haue acquainted Sir *Thomas Smith*, my Honourable good friend, & the Councill 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, delivered 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 in *Spaine* for slaues, to moue 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 fift 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 my publike proceeding gaue such encouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some fewe of the Southren Company, as these proiects were liked, & 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 discourie, 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 endeauour 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 doubtfullnesse: So that the businesse prosper, I haue my desire; be it by *Londoner*, *Scot*, *Welch*, or *English*, that are true subiects to our King and Country: the good of my Country is that I seeke; and there is more then enough for all, if they could bee content but to proceed.

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 co-tinuall losse. By whose example, many inhabitants of the west Cou-try, 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 reaccommodated a Iury mast, & the rest, to returne for *Plimouth*. My Vice-admirall being lost, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage: Now with the remainder of those prouisions, 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, & 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 Viceadmirall of *Deuonshire*; which were as followeth.

The occasion of my returne.

My reimparkment, incounters with pyrats and imprisonment by the French.

*The examination of Daniel Baker, late Steward to Captaine John 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 & murderers, 80 men, of which 40, or 50. were master gunners.

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 Pirats into his ship then hee liked off; otherwise, he would make sure of them he had, and defend himselfe against the rest as hee could.

More: he confesseth that the quarter-masters & *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*.

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 wee went cleere of them, for all their shot.

The one of 200, the other 20.

At *Flowers*, wee were chased by foure French men of warre; all with their close fights afore and 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 goe aboard them, in that hee could speake *French*, by curtesie hee might goe cleere; seeing they offered him such faire quarter, & vowed they were Protestants, and all of *Rochell*, and had the Kings commission onely to take *Spaniards*, *Portugales*, and Pyrats; which at last hee did: but they kept this examinants 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 examinants 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.

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, & lines sufficient, & 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,

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

The gentlemen and souldiers were euer willing to fight.

apparell, and many other things; the particulars he remembreth not: But, as for the cloath, canuas, and the Captaines cloathes, *Chambers*, and his associats diuided it amongst themselues, and to whom they best liked; his Captaine not hauing any thing, to his knowledge, but his wastecoate 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 hee 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 on sterne; and 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*, *Dauid Cooper*, *Robert Miller*, and *John Partridge*, being examined, doe acknowledge and confesse, that *Daniel Baker* his examination aboute written is true.

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; & 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 of leaue me. And thus they returned to *Plimouth*; and perforce with the *French* I thus proceeded.

A double treachery.

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 Councell, 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*, and *English* Pyrat, in a small ship, with some twelue peeces of ordinance, about thirty men, and neer all starued. 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-roum, & 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 *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 such like, we discried foure sayle, after whom we stood; who forling their maine sayles attended vs to fight. But our

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

*French* spirits were content onely to perceiue they were *English* red crosses. Within a very small time after, we 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 alter 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 wedges 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 be tooke; yet at last, he was intreated I should goe for *France* in the Caruell of sugar: himself resolved 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 instead 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 curtesie for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe. To preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that

A prize  
worth 16000  
crownes.

A prize  
worth 200000  
crownes.

beat them all vnder Hatches, I watched my 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 fearefull 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 & bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke mee) at last I arriued in an oazie Ile by *Charowne*; where certaine fowlers found mee neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, colde, and hunger. By those, I sound meanes to gette to *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 Admiraltie, 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 iudges 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 & was saued with the Caruell, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge did promise me I shold haue

My escape  
from the  
French men.

Sir Thomas  
Edmunds.

They betray-  
ed mee  
having the  
broad seale  
of England:  
and neere  
twentie sayle  
of English  
more, be-  
sides them  
concealed,  
in like  
maner were  
betrayed that  
year.

My returne  
for England,  
1615.

justice; what will bee the conclusion as yet, I know not. But vnder the colour to take Pirats and West-Indie men (because the *Spanyards* will not suffer the *French* trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, thogh they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize; or from any of his territories out of the limits of *Europe*.

Leauing 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 & 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 desperat a fishing, as this I proiect in *New England*. *Placentia*, & 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; & found fish so much, that neither *Izeland-man*, nor *Newfound-land-man*, I could heare of hath beene there, will goe any more to either place, if they may goe thither. So, that vpon the returne of my Viceadmirall 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

The successe  
of my vice  
Admirall  
and the  
foure ships  
of *London*,  
from *New  
England*.

of profit: where the Englishmen haue yet beene, all their returnes together (except Sir *Fr. Poppames*) 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 hundred 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, & the birds of the aire. But, all men are not such as they should bee, that haue vndertaken those voiages: 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 all *Spanyards*, *Cortes*: 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 & 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 & their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent 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 daungers 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 subiects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies & 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 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 too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them, to prouide that doth maintaine vs? and basenesse 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 & glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors.

*FINIS.*

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

To his worthy Captaine,  
the Author.

**O**ft thou hast led, when I brought up 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 goe to bed, or drinke,

And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme  
As nothing. This doth cause mee thinke

That thou I'auē seene so oft approu'd in dangers  
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valor still hath freed)

Art yet preserued, to conuert those 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. Robinson.

To my honest Captaine,  
the Author.

**M**alignant 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 beleu'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 Warriar: 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 (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend,  
sontimes your soldier,  
THO. CARLTON.

## Notes

- 3.2-3 CHARLES, *Prince of Great Britaine.* ] (1600-1649) Younger son of James I, who became heir to the throne on the death of his brother Henry (b.1594) in 1612. He became king in 1625 and was deposed and executed in 1649.
- 6.4 four quarters ] Fore-quarters, *i.e.*, upper limbs (arms).
- 6.10 *sacring* ] Perhaps an error or an abbreviation for “sacrificing.”
- 11.9 *I. Codrington*, now *Templer* ] John Codrington (c. 1580-c.1622) was a colonist at Jamestown in 1608; he was admitted to the Inner Temple (bar) in London in 1616.
- 11.22 N. Smith ] Probably Nicholas Smyth of Theddlethorpe, brother of Robert Smyth, headmaster of the Free Grammar School attended by John Smith; he was a “relation,” though the exact degree is unknown.
- 12.8 Pelias ] Uncle of Jason who sent him on the quest for the golden fleece, hoping he would not return.
- 12.14 R: Gunnell. ] Richard Gunnell (c.1585-1634) was an actor, dramatist, and theater manager in London.
- 14.22 Rawly Croshaw ] Colonist with Smith in Virginia
- 15.1-2 *Michael Phettiplace ... Wiffing* ] Brothers Michael and William Fettiplace were colonists and investors in Jamestown, as was Richard Wiffin.
- 15.12 Pamunkes *king* ] The Pamunkey were an Algonkian nation of eastern Virginia; Powhatan was their king, and Pocahontas his daughter.
- 15.21 Powhatan ] (c.1540-1618) Algonkian ruler of eastern Virginia
- 17.15 Iubartes ] Baleen whale or rorqual; humpback whale.
- 18.2 Cor fish ] Fish, usually cod, preserved in salt.
- 18.11 Sir *Frances Poppames* ] Sir Francis Popham (1573-1644) was a director of the Virginia Company and a promoter of his father’s settlement in Maine.
- 18.28 *Noua Albyon* ] The Pacific coast of North America
- 18.33 *New Granado* ] Present-day Colombia
- 18.33 *New Spain* ] Mexico
- 18.33-34 *New Andolosia* ] Chile
- 19.28 Sir *Ralph Lane* ] (d. 1603) He was recruited by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585 to lead the colonizing enterprise in North America that settled at Roanoke. Lane explored the Chesapeake Bay before he and the unsuccessful colonists returned to England with Sir Francis Drake in 1586.
- 19.29 *Thomas Heryot* ] Thomas Harriot (c.1560-1621), mathematician, navigator, cartographer, explorer, and Roanoke colonist. He published *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* in 1588.
- 19.32 Sir *John Popham* ] Sir John Popham (c.1531-1607), chief justice of the king’s bench 1592-1607. He was a founder of the Virginia Company and investor in an unsuccessful colony in Maine in 1606-07.
- 19.33 *Bartholomew Gosnould* ] An explorer of the New England coast in 1602, and sometime privateer. He is thought to be the recruiter who enlisted John Smith to go to Virginia in 1606.
- 19.34-20.1 *Captaine Waymouth* ] George Waymouth’s explorations of the New England coast in 1605 included the abduction of five natives.
- 25.19 Easterlings ] Germans of the Baltic Sea coast
- 26.8 *Primum mobile ... Spheres* ] Reference to the outermost sphere of heaven, bearing the fixed stars, whose motion directed the movements of all other celestial bodies.

- 26.17-18 Busses ... Todes ] Types of fishing vessels
- 26.28 the *Straites* ] Gibraltar
- 26.29 *Cape-blank* ] Cap Blanc, on the west coast of Africa, between the Cape Verde and Canary Islands.
- 26.30 *Puttardo* ] Elsewhere “puttargo”—botargo (*It.* bottarga, botarica; *Sp.* botarga; *Fr.* boutargue): a paste made of salted mullet or tuna roe, or a sausage or cake made from it.
- 26.32 Poore-Iohn ] Dried salted hake or small cod
- 28.21-22 *Natolia* ] Anatolia, in Asia Minor.
- 28.25 *Baldivia* ] Apparently a reference to Pedro de Valdivia, conqueror of Chile and founder of Santiago.
- 33.1 Alkermes ] “The Kermes, or Scarlet Grain insect (the female of *Coccus Ilicis*), formerly supposed to be a berry, and sometimes described erroneously as a ‘gall.’”—O.E.D.
- 34.26 Train ] Fish oil or seal oil
- 38.18 hurts ] Hurtleberries, or whortleberries; native blueberries, later known as huckleberries
- 40.8 respices ] Raspberries
- 40.19 Gripes ] Vultures
- 40.30 Aroughconds ] Raccoons
- 40.31 Fitches ] Fitchews; the European polecat (ancestor of the domestic ferret), from whence the North American fisher, a type of marten, derives its name.
- 53.26 *Dohannida* ] One of five Algonkians kidnapped by George Waymouth in 1605; he was returned in 1606 by Thomas Hanham.
- 55.7 *Hunt* ] Thomas Hunt, shipmaster on Smith’s 1614 voyage.
- 55.13 Sir *Thomas Smith* ] Sir Thomas Smyth (1558-1625), a London

- merchant, was governor of the East India Company and treasurer of the Virginia Company.
- 55.27 Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* ] Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1568-1647) of Plymouth was an active proponent of English colonization and sponsor of several commercial settlements in New England. He was appointed governor-general of New England in 1635, but was never able to assume duties there and his authority was opposed by the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plimouth, Connecticut, and New Haven.
- 57.2 Doctor *Sutcliffe* ] Matthew Sutcliffe (1550-1629), dean of Exeter and founder of Chelsea College. He was a member of the council for Virginia from 1607 until its dissolution in 1624.
- 58.5-6 (*margin*) murderers ] Mortars or small cannon.
- 58.22 Iles of *Flowers* ] Flores, in the Azores.
- 58.23 *Fyall* ] Fayal, in the Azores.
- 59.2 close fights ] These are identified in Smith’s *Sea Grammar* (1627) as fortifications on the ship’s deck.
- 61.32 suckets ] Succades: candied fruit or fruit peels preserved in sugar.
- 62.6 Caruell ] Caravel: a small ship, fast and maneuverable, up to 100 tons and 100 feet long.
- 62.10 cutchanell ] Cochineal: an expensive red dye made from dried insects (*Dactylopius coccus*) of Mexico and South America.
- 68.25 Ed. Robinson. ] He served with Smith in the Austrian army during the campaign in Transylvania in 1602.
- 69.21 THO. CARLTON.] He also served with Smith in Transylvania.

## Note on the Text

John Smith's *A Description of New England* was printed and published in London in 1616. Smith later incorporated many portions into *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624). The work was first reprinted in 1837 by the Massachusetts Historical Society (*Collections*, 3rd series, volume VI), again the same year in volume II of Peter Force's *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America* (Washington, DC, 1837), and later in a separate edition by William Veazie (Boston, 1865). It was included in Edward Arber's edition of *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (Birmingham, 1884) and most recently in Philip Barbour's edition of *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith* (Williamsburg & Chapel Hill, 1986). The two latter editions make editorial corrections and modernize the spelling and orthography of the work. The Barbour edition contains much useful information and scholarship on Smith's life, writings, and associates, and it has been consulted in the preparation of this online electronic text and apparatus.

The text presented in this electronic edition was transcribed from digital page images of the copy of the London 1616 edition held in the British Library, accessed online in the Early English Books Online Series, no. 22788. It was collated against page images of the copy held in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, accessed online in the same series, no. 22788.3. The Huntington Library copy may contain a later impression of some signatures, since it shows a correction of the error listed here at 53.6 (on page 45, lines 1-2 in the 1616 edition). It also shows the "i" that is missing from "Ind es" (at 62.9 in this edition; 55.27 in the first edition), suggesting that its impression of that signature ("H") may have been made before the "i" dropped out in the course of printing.

The design and layout of this edition are based on those of the London edition of 1616. The typeface is IM Fell English, probably cut originally by Christoffel van Dijck (roman) and Robert Granjon (italic), and digitized and furnished by Iginio Marini (<http://iginomarini.com/fell.html>). Some accommodations have been made in the composition: in deference to modern readers, the long "s" and its ligatures have not been used, nor have the ligatures for "ct", "ff", "fi", "ff", "ff", and "ff"—in order to allow for easier and more accurate searching and excerpting. Headpieces, initials, and ornaments are reconstructions of those in the London first edition, some using the Fell Flowers from Iginio Marini.

This edition retains the spelling, capitalization, italics, and punctuation of the London 1616 edition. No attempt has been made to standardize spellings or orthography. Some typographical errors have been corrected, and a list of these emendations is given below, keyed to page and line number of the present edition (the line count includes chapter headings, but not running heads, blank lines, or hairlines):

Page.line	1616 reading	emended to
14.5	loooke	looke
14.6	sometimes-Albyon)	sometimes-Albyon
19.30	Sadagahock	Sagadahock
20.12	sodiffering	so differing
20.21	bemany	be many
24.20	building the	building and the
24.21	and and good	and good
25.4	if selfe	it selfe
25.7	howevet	however
25.8	yet who who	yet who
28.12	Sate of	State of
36.31	and and interior	and interior
40.15	firre,	Firre,
48.7	weeke: or? if	weeke? or if
50.11	bloominig	blooming

50.24	aboue it	aboue its
51.11	libertie profit	libertie, profit
53.6	<i>Ame-/ merica</i>	<i>America</i>
53.11	<i>Wlliam</i>	<i>William</i>
55.16	knowne to to	knowne to
59.28	nets, & &	nets, &
60.31-32	opportunie	opportunitie
61.27	fish when	fish ; when
62.9	<i>Ind es</i>	<i>Indies</i>
63.20	<i>at Rochell,</i>	<i>at Rochell,</i>
65.1	bneene	beene

Paul Royster  
 University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
 August 30, 2006