## BRITISH VIRGINIA

British Virginia is a series of scholarly editions of documents touching on the colony. These original sources range from the 16th and 17th-century literature of English exploration to the 19th-century writing of loyalists and other Virginians who continued to identify with Great Britain. British Virginia editions appear principally in digital form, freely downloadable. The editorial offices sit appropriately at the research university nearest both the falls of the James River, and the site of the first English college planned for this side of the Atlantic Ocean, Henricus Colledge.

## VIRGINIA COMPANY SERMONS

This subseries features sermons preached to and printed for the Virginia Company of London. The first three of these sermons supported an unprecedented effort to use religion to rally broad support for the troubled colony in 1609, and to defend it from a host of criticisms. William Symonds, Robert Gray, and William Crashaw each contributed to the cause a sermon quarto, published by William Welby. The company revived the practice of printing sermons in 1622 with quartos by Patrick Copland and John Donne. The subseries offers the first type facsimiles of most of these sermons, and searchable, color photographic facsimiles as well. It also provides important evidence of early objections to Virginia, a context for Donne's celebrated address, and additional evidence with which to reconsider the religion of the company and colony.

Virginia:

A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel Type facsimile edition

William Symonds Joshua Eckhardt, editor

Virginia Company Sermons 1.1

BRITISH VIRGINIA Richmond

VCU Libraries

nond 2013

## BRITISH VIRGINIA

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The general editors welcome proposals for scholarly editions of documents related to colonial Virginia. Please see the British Virginia website for proposal guidelines.

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Hulsey has also worked with Dean James Coleman to donate Honors College funds for peer review honoraria.

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reach any time soon. Other contributors to the Oxford edition of Donne's sermons have also fielded questions and shared information, including Drs. Arnold Hunt, Mary Morrissey, and Emma Rhatigan. Dr. Daniel Starza Smith generously hosted me in London, turning his Camden flat into a reading room for early modern English sermons and manuscript miscellanies.

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14 March 2012 / 24 April 2013

Lord finish this good worke thou hast begun; and marry this land, a pure Virgine to thy kingly sonne Christ Iesus; so shall thy name bee magnified: and we shall have a Virgin or Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition to our Great Britaine.

William Symonds, "The Epistle Dedicatorie," sig. A3v

## INTRODUCTION TO BRITISH VIRGINIA

In the opening pages to his sermon for the Virginia Company, William Symonds combined, to spectacular effect, two common notions. First, he acknowledged that the promoters of the Virginia colony—who had ambitiously applied the name to much of the eastern seaboard—had named it after Elizabeth I, the "Virgin Queen"<sup>1</sup>

Our late Soueraigne Q. *Elizabeth* (whose storie hath no peere among Princes of her sexe) being a pure Virgin, found it, set foot in it, and called it *Virginia*.<sup>2</sup>

Second, Symonds evoked Saint Paul's representation of the church as the bride of Christ. He used the Pauline conceit to make the colony's virginal title amenable to Elizabeth's decidedly un-virginal successor, King James VI and I:

Our most sacred Soueraigne, in whom is the spirit of his great Ancestor, *Constantin the pacifier of the world, and planter of the Gospell in places most remote*, desireth to present this land a pure Virgine to Christ. (sig. A3v)

<sup>1</sup> The original 1606 charter that established the two Virginia companies, of London and of Plymouth, laid claim to "that parte of America commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America either appartaining unto us or which are not nowe actuallie possessed by anie Christian prince or people, scituate, lying and being all along the sea coastes between fower and thirtie degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctiall line and five and fortie degrees of the same latitude and in the maine lande betweene the same fower and thirtie and five and fourtie degrees, and the ilandes thereunto adjacente or within one hundred miles of the coaste thereof" David Beers Quinn, ed., New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612 (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979), 5: 192; Samuel M. Bemiss, ed., The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London (Williamsburg: The Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), 1.

<sup>2</sup> William Symonds, *Virginia: a sermon preached at White-Chappel* (London: by I. Windet, for Eleazar Edgar, and William Welby, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Windmill, 1609; STC 23594); sig. A3v.

Thus King James, represented fancifully as a descendent of the first Christian ruler, patriarchally arranges a marriage between his virginal colony and Christ. In order to maintain the bride's purity, Symonds went on to insist, the managers of the expedition "are carefull to carry thither no Traitors, nor Papists that depend on the Great *Whore*"—the whore of Babylon from the book of Revelation, which reformers routinely applied to the Roman Catholic Church. With this, Symonds broke off and began to pray the words reproduced here as the epigraph, asking the Lord to "marry this land, a pure Virgine to thy kingly sonne Christ Iesus." Still praying, Symonds declared that, as a result, "we shall haue a Virgin or Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition to our Great Britaine."

With this evocative phrase—"a Virgin or Maiden Britaine"—Symonds introduced the concept that gave his sermon its secondary title: "Virginea Britannia." After the "Epistle Dedicatorie," virtually every page spread of his quarto features the phrase "Virginea Britannia" in large type across the top. Thus Symonds, or one of the stationers who produced the little book, unwittingly provided the British Virginia project at Virginia Commonwealth University with the Latinate root of its name. British Virginia publishes scholarly editions of documents ranging from early modern literature promoting English exploration, such as Symonds' sermon, to the 19th-century writing of loyalists and others who continued to identify with Great Britain, whether politically or just culturally. The general editors welcome proposals for scholarly editions within this broad range. British Virginia editions appear principally in digital form, specifically in the now-free Adobe Portable Document Format (PDF). Readers may freely download them from the British Virginia website. Libraries may freely catalogue and acquire them without the cost even of shelf-space. The general editors simply ask that you help us widen and preserve access to these important sources by reproducing and storing them, whether on hard drives, other discs, or acid-free paper, and in any combination of inventive bindings and boxes, computer housing, and good old-fashioned roofs and walls.

## INTRODUCTION TO "VIRGINIA COMPANY SERMONS"

In addition to serving as the first publication of *British Virginia*, Symonds' sermon inaugurates the subseries "Virginia Company Sermons." This subseries offers, in most cases, the first type facsimiles of sermons preached to, and printed for, the Virginia Company of London. It also offers the first searchable, color facsimiles of any of these documents—all for free.

The first two sermons to the Virginia Company did not appear in print until early in 1609, over three years after it had received its first royal charter, and nearly two years after it began to establish and settle Jamestown. In the company's first charter, dated 10 April 1606, King James had made a brief, conventional reference to spreading Christianity abroad, at least eventually. He explained that the company's "noble...work" may:

hereafter tende to the glorie of His Divine Majestie in propagating of Christian religion to suche people as yet live in darknesse and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worshippe of God and may in tyme bring the infidels and salvages living in those parts to humane civilitie and to a setled and quiet governmente<sup>3</sup>

Yet the rest of the 1606 charter proceeds to more immediate and material concerns (such as the royal tax on any precious metals the colonists might discover). Moreover, no printed book reiterated James' reference to religious conversion in Virginia until 1609. Yet, by the end of 1608, negative reports from Jamestown had made clear to its backers in London that the colony needed the sort of broad support that perhaps only scripture and sermons could compel. Jamestown would require a socially diverse coalition of investors and settlers, ranging from nobility to yeomen, and certainly including the skilled craftsmen without whom the failing colony would not survive. Attracting such heterogeneous supporters to a risky and dangerous venture,

<sup>3</sup> Bemiss, Three Charters, 2.

given the colony's failure to produce anything that would turn a quick profit, required appealing to non-commercial motivations, such as the religious ones that the company had done little or nothing to confirm publicly before the 1609 Virginia Company sermons. As this introductory essay will show, within weeks after the first two of these sermons helped to introduce its new missionary motive, the company received a second charter that ends by placing the religious conversion of natives as its highest possible goal. Read in isolation from the sermons, the brief references to religion in the first two charters may not seem to differ substantially. Yet considered together, the second charter and the early 1609 sermons appear to have supported an unprecedented campaign (a "media blitz" even) to save Virginia by promising to offer salvation to its native inhabitants.<sup>4</sup>

The Virginia Company's religious promise must have made many Londoners doubtful. For the first three sermons in the subseries show how hard preachers had to work to try to convince their audiences that the Virginia Company had any right to enter or claim land that natives had rightly inherited and were peaceably governing. This characteristic of the sermons requires a significant re-evaluation of not only the religion of colonial Virginia but also the capacity of early modern Londoners to turn critiques of colonization against their own fellow citizens.

Yet, in reacting to the Virginia Company of London, what sort of organization were contemporaries questioning? King James had established two separate companies with the 1606 charter: one for London, and a second for Plymouth, Bristol, Exeter, and other western ports. He placed over both a "Counsell of Virginia," which would remain in England and consist of investors from each group, arguably in order to "ensure that national interests did not become subordinated to those of the two companies." So investors not only funded but also managed the Virginia companies, yet they did so with the

permission and supervision of the crown. This dual interest, for both the king and certain subjects, may help explain why the Virginia Company of London can sometimes look like a colonial arm of a nascent royal empire, nevertheless staffed by self-interested traders, and at other times appears to be a trading company that could not make money for anyone until independent farmers discovered tobacco. Yet the main reason for this confusion has been that modern readers cannot help but see colonial Virginia as something of a birthplace for the United States, even though the colony's founders could have hardly imagined, and could not have condoned, this fate. Writing over a hundred years ago, Susan Kingsbury, the great authority on the records of the Virginia Company, attempted to turn attention away from its role in colonial history and, instead, toward its relationship to dozens of contemporary trading companies. In Kingsbury's words, the typical supporter of the Virginia Company "was a trader first, a colonizer afterwards":

those interested in a project for Virginia insisted that the investment would redound to the glory of God, but they expected to convert the savage by trading with him; they urged the advancement of the Kingdom, but they meant to secure dividends on their adventure by bringing back to England the supplies she needed most—the materials for shipbuilding; they insisted on the immense gain to come from the development of the resources of the new country, but they expected the lion's share for the stockholder.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christiantiy Created Race* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), 46.

<sup>5</sup> James Horn, A Land As God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 37; Bemiss, Three Charters, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Susan Myra Kingsbury. "A Comparison of the Virginia Company with the other English trading companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." American Historical Association. Its Annual Report...or the year 1906, vol. 1 (Washington DC, 1908), 159-76; 161. Yet some scholars have used the sermons in particular to offer alternative accounts. Without denying its commercial interests, Louis Wright long ago represented the company as much more consistently religious than most historians have. Louis B. Wright. Religion and Empire: The Alliance Between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625 (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 84-114. Much more recently, Andrew Fitzmaurice has argued that the company sought to establish a Ciceronian commonwealth.

The Virginia Company's relationship to other trading companies arguably looks a lot stronger in the second charter than in the first, since the later document includes the names of the members of several of other trading companies.

The sermons preached to, and printed for, the Virginia Company in the months surrounding its second charter may qualify as some of the most overlooked documents promoting the colony. David Beers Quinn decided to exclude only this one genre of promotional Virginia Company literature from his mammoth compilation of primary documents, *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, which ran to five large volumes and 851 texts, yet had no room for the sermons:

No examples (they are long-winded and in content only of intermittent interest) of the sermons preached to potential subscribers are given. There the theme that the company was set up largely to save the souls of the heathen could be pressed and the missionary impulse stirred in Protestant audiences who might not care to let all the credit for conversions go to the papists even if, during the years 1606-1612 at least, the company made no attempt to implement its pious promises.<sup>7</sup>

This may qualify as the first expert assessment of "Virginia Company Sermons": "they are long-winded and in content only of intermittent interest." Quinn explains why several members of his generation chose to deemphasize the sermons, and some of the other London documents on the Virginia Company: they misrepresent what was happening in Virginia. For historians focusing on what occurred in and around Jamestown, which did not include anything like proselytizing for several years, sermons

promising the religious conversion of natives fostered misperceptions.

Fortunately, colonial historians' focus on Virginia as a place in the new world, to the relative exclusion to its role in London sermons, did not deter John Parker from writing, for a festschrift dedicated to Quinn, an article that may still serve as the best survey of the Virginia Company literature that appealed to potential investors and settlers on religious grounds in 1609 and '10.8 Just as fortunately, scholarly interests have changed since Quinn compiled his collection in the late 1970s, effectively a generation ago (when the general editors of British Virginia were indeed small children). Colonial historians, most notably Edward Bond, have since taken the religion of early Virginia much more seriously. Simultaneously, scholars of early modern English literature and history—including Lori Anne Ferrell, Jeanne Shami, Peter McCullough, and VCU's own Boyd Berry—have demonstrated the importance of English sermons, especially those of John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes. 10 The "Virginia Company Sermons" occupy the intersection of these two scholarly interests, inviting students of English sermons to consider the view from Virginia, and colonial historians that from English pulpits.

in America, irrespective of the material gain that English colonies had thus far failed to produce. Andrew Fitzmaurice. *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation*, 1500-1625 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 58-102.

<sup>7</sup> Quinn, ed., New American World, 5:233; Fitzmaurice, 65.

<sup>8</sup> John Parker, "Religion and the Virginia Colony, 1609-10," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, edited by K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 245-70.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Bond, Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Seventeenth-Century Virginia (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 2000) makes especially good use of Virginia Company sermons. For a complementary account, see also Douglas Bradburn, "Eschatological Origins of the English Empire," Bradburn and John C. Coombs, eds., Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Boyd Berry, Process of Speech: Puritan Religious Writing & Paradise Lost (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Lori Anne Ferrell, Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Peter McCullough, Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Jeanne Shami, John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003).

Thanks in large part to the scholars mentioned above, the "Virginia Company Sermons" now offer quite a lot of interest. In addition to the religious and political issues that attend virtually all early modern English sermons, the subseries features an exceptional store of contemporary objections to Virginia, beginning with those that Symonds structured his entire sermon to counter, and concluding with the ones that John Donne bravely drew from his Biblical text in 1622. The unedited photographic facsimiles of the earlier sermons have done little or nothing to recognize the remarkable objections to early English colonization that some of them countenance. 11 So the "Virginia Company Sermons" subseries features digital type facsimiles of the five sermon quartos most clearly produced for the company, complete with introductory essays and bibliographical descriptions. As the following section on the copy-texts explains, digital type facsimiles offer searchable reproductions of the spelling and layout of the original printed sources. Thanks to the generous cooperation of the Virginia Historical Society, the type facsimiles also form the basis for a corresponding set of photographic facsimiles of the VHS copies of the same five sermons. Unlike the currently available facsimiles of these rare books, the British Virginia editions will be color, searchable, and free.

Although the Virginia Company sermons include state-

ments that some readers will find typical of Christian missionaries, Parker offered (and may have overstated) one reason why people would not have found them typical at the time: according to him, the 1609-10 company literature constitutes "the first serious proposal to carry England's religion to a non-Christian people abroad." Company preachers faced a London public that was not yet used to spreading the gospel overseas. They figured that the apostle Paul and Saint Augustine had already accomplished all this for the old world, and they had not yet seriously started competing with Catholics to evangelize the new world. So, if the Virginia Company preachers sound like the same old English, protestant, overseas missionaries, this may be because they are the oldest, having adapted English missionary rhetoric to a trans-Atlantic venture.

Yet Virginia Company preachers needed to convince their auditors and readers of more than its new religious purpose. The 1609 sermons (in old-style dating) show preachers confronting not only the company leaders, who had invited them to support the venture, but also other Londoners who had a number of grave doubts about, and sharp criticisms of, Virginia. To be sure, the 1609 sermons record objections to the colony only in the words of its invited promoters and defenders. As Parker acknowledged, "since the objectors published no sermons or pamphlets articulating their negative attitudes, the pro-Virginia responses are the best insights we have into the anti-Virginia points of view" (246). The first three "Virginia Company Sermons" will therefore provide the best available evidence of the first English criticisms of English colonization overseas. The subseries may help scholars identify the critics, and to explain why they opposed the company. The fact that the company's opponents left no statements of their views, and no apparent sign of their identities, makes all the more striking the preachers' and the company's repeated decision to acknowledge their fellow citizens' objections to Virginia. The company would have had little or no incentive to represent Londoners' criticisms

<sup>11</sup> William Symonds, Virginia: a sermon preached at White-Chapel (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Da Capo, 1968). Microfilm and microfiche facsimiles include those produced for "Early English Books, 1475-1640" (Ann Arbor MI: University Microfilms International, 1957), 726:12; "Library of Thomas Jefferson" (Washington DC: Microcard Editions, 1973); "Selected Americana from Sabin's Dictionary," "Literature of theology and church history in the United States and Canada; group 18," and "New Cambridge bibliography of English literature; group 26" (Louisville KY: Lost Cause, 1979, rpt. 1986); and possibly an additional, unnamed and undated, series (Englewood CO: Microcard Editions, n.d.). Digital editions for paid subscribers include those produced for "Sabin Americana, 1500-1926," <a href="http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabinaf=RN&ae+CY100556729&srchtp+a&ste=14">http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabinaf=RN&ae+CY100556729&srchtp+a&ste=14</a> and "Early English Books Online," <a href="http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\_ver=Z39.88-2003">http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\_ver=Z39.88-2003</a> &res\_id=xri:eebo&rft\_val\_fmt=&rft\_id=xri: eebo:image:11682>.

<sup>12</sup> Parker, "Religion and the Virginia Colony," 247.

as more challenging or persistent than they actually were.

Nevertheless, each of the three 1609 company preachers acknowledged the same strong objections, indicating that the criticisms remained persistent at least until the company quit printing sermons altogether in early 1610. As the next two editions in the subseries will detail, Symonds seems to have established the talking points for the other two people who wrote sermons for the company in the same year: R.G., probably Robert Gray, and Symonds' friend, the well-placed preacher to the Inner and Middle Temples, William Crashaw. Symonds' title page records the earliest date to appear in any of the company sermons, claiming that he preached it on "25. April. 1609" at "White-Chappel," apparently the medieval church of St. Mary, Whitechapel, well within walking distance (over the Thames) of Symonds' parish, "Saint Saviors in Southwarke," itself only steps away from Shakespeare's Globe. Only three days later, on "April 28. Anno 1609," "R. G." signed the dedicatory epistle to his company sermon, without giving any indication that he had actually preached it anywhere.<sup>13</sup> William Welby entered Gray's possibly unpreached sermon into the stationers' register on 3 May, where five days later Eleazar Edgar then entered Symonds' probably earlier sermon.<sup>14</sup> Welby and Edgar published the Symonds quarto together, and their partnership seems to have gone no farther than this (their names appear together on no other book). Some ten months later, on "FEBR.21. 1609"/1610, Crashaw preached a sermon to the company, which Welby registered on 19 March and printed no less than a week later, with the year "1610" (which began on 25 March). 15 Over 1609 then (according to the

Julian calendar), William Welby was serving as the central stationer in the Virginia Company's campaign to defend itself, using sermons, from a series of persistent critiques—an effort that the company seems to have abandoned before it actually stopped the criticisms.

Most of the objections to Virginia had to do with individuals' relatively personal reasons for not venturing their purse or person with the company: investors would likely not see a return on their investment; the passage and work would be difficult; many settlers would die in the process and could even be forgotten back home. Yet, before dealing with this line of rather self-interested reservations, each of the 1609 company preachers first answered the principal objection that people were making to the Virginia Company in 1609: that it was unconscionable, unjust, and even unlawful to take land that others have rightly inherited and were peaceably governing. For those of us who have presumed that such a criticism, so obvious to virtually everyone now, was unthinkable in Jacobean England, its prominence and persistence in Virginia Company sermons can come as a shock.

Symonds introduced the primary objection to the Virginia Company in the following terms:

And heere might we have proceeded to the next point, were it not for one scruple, which some, that thinke themselues to be very wise, do cast in our way; which is this in effect. The countrey, they say, is possessed by owners, that rule, and gouerne it in their owne right: then with what conscience, and equitie can we offer to thrust them, by violence, out of their inheritances? (10)

According to Symonds then, people have been throwing this "one scruple" in the "way" of a preacher who would use scripture to support colonization. These critics have been saying that others already possess and govern the country in their own right. And they have been asking how conscience or equity could allow them to thrust the rightful inheritors from their lands. The marginal note for this passage reads: "Obiection. Not to enter other Princes Territories." Critics of Virginia were thus insisting on the

<sup>13</sup> R[obert]. G[ray]., A Good Speed to Virginia (London: by Felix Kyngston for William Welbie, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Greyhound in Pauls Church-yard, 1609; STC 12204), sig. A4r.

<sup>14</sup> Edward Arber, ed., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D. (London: privately printed, 1 July 1876; rpt. Gloucester MA: Peter Smith, 1967), vol. III, f. 182v.

<sup>15</sup> William Crashaw, A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable Lord Lavvarre, Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall of Virginea (London: for William Welby, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Swan, 1610; STC 6029); Arber, Transcript, vol. III, f. 193r.

rights not of other European or Christian princes or merchants (as had King James in the companies' first charter, for instance) but of the indigenous "owners" and "Princes" who already ruled and governed the land that the company would call Virginia. So the English notions of land rights that would eventually benefit Virginia settlers first posed a problem for the company back in London, where people were refusing to support the venture in recognition of the land rights of native rulers.

Symonds took nearly six pages to dismiss just this first objection, before proceeding to devote the majority of his sermon to arguing against several other ones. He did so first by reminding his opponents of the long list of esteemed conquerors who would now suffer dishonor, if Jacobean Londoners suddenly decided to consider conquest shameful. He summoned the "great Princes, and Monarkes, of Assyria, Persia, Media, Greece and Rome" to tell them that their accomplishments, so long admired, "are now araigned, and must bee found guiltie" (10-11). He asked who can blame Cyrus, whom God anointed "to subdue nations" (11). He informed Jacob that his "blessed bow and sword...must be broken and burnt: and thou must bee condemned for vnlawfull conquest" (11-12). He challenged Joshua, "where is thy vertue, to set thy feete vpon the neckes of princes, in their owne kingdomes"? He demanded of David, "how wilt thou answere for the blood thy sword hath shed?" He called on Solomon to answer for his father the psalmist's advice to take up arms against his enemies and "enlarge thy borders" (12).

Yet Symonds suspected that this line of argument would not defeat his opponents, but serve only to get them to qualify their complaint.

I am perswaded that at the onely naming of so mightie Monarches, and holy conquerors, our objecters out of their modestie will with some distinction qualifie their proposition, and say that it is not lawfull, by force to inuade the Territories of other Princes, that are in quiet possession, in some sort, and in some cases. (12-13) This may sound like a reasonable qualification: that invasion may occasionally be lawful but not against princes who are in "quiet" or peaceful "possession" of their territories. Yet Symonds saw no difference between this subtle distinction and those of the devil and the Jesuits:

I know that the diuell himselfe, with all his distinctions, that euer he made, which are recorded in scripture, or which he left in hell, in his cabinet of *Abstruse Studies*, (locked safe, till hee found out the Iesuits his trustie secretaries to keepe them:) I say none of them all can arme a subject against his prince without sinne. (13)

With this Symonds set up his strongest counter-attack: none of the distinctions that the objectors could make could arm a subject against his prince without sin. This conflates asking a question about the Virginia Company with taking up arms against the monarch who established it. Deciding not to support a failing colony thus equals committing insurrection against the king himself. Right after aligning the critics with Jesuits, Symonds proceeded to associate them with people on the opposite end of the religious spectrum in early modern England: anabaptists.

And if I might be so bold, I would faine aske one question of these obiecters, that come dropping out of some Anabaptists Spicery: whether (if it be vnlawfull to conquere) the crowne sit well on the head of our most sacred soueraigne? (whose dayes be as the dayes of heauen O Lord) For by this obiection they shew, that had they power to vntwist that, which in so many ages hath beene well spunne, they would write him crownelesse, as farre as hee hath his title from the conqueror. (13)

Symonds thus suggested, however imaginatively, that the critics of the Virginia Company were both Jesuits and anabaptists. In other words, he affiliated, on one hand, some of the Church of England's most Catholic opponents and, on the other, some of its most puritanical antagonists. In order to make this charge,

Symonds need not have believed that actual Jesuits and genuine anabaptists were responsible for the resistance to the Virginia Company's public relations campaign. He was likely evoking these opponents as extremes, simply to present his own rather puritanical version of Anglicanism as moderate. Yet, juxtaposed to this sermon, contemporary statements of anabaptist pacifism, or even of Jesuit concern over the prospect of a protestant footing in the New World, may suggest the identities, or at least the communities, of those to whom Symonds was responding.

Whether anabaptist, Jesuit, or neither, the targets of Symonds invective end up looking like traitors in his sermon. The preacher asks them whether they think "the crowne sit well on the head of our most sacred soueraigne?" And he charges that, if they had the power to do so, "they would write the [king] crownelesse, as farre as hee hath his title from the conqueror." To object to any conquest is thus to deny the legitimacy of all conquests, including the one that resulted in King James' sovereignty. Symonds argued that the objectors' apparent pacifism masked violent treason. Compared to it, the conquest proposed by James and the Virginia Company seemed downright peaceful and orderly.

Symonds imagined that the objectors would object to this charge of treason as well: "O but God forbid, saith the obiecter, that wee should doe any wrong at all, no not to the diuell" (13). The company's opponents so resisted conflict, in Symonds' caricature, that they feared wronging even the devil, or disciplining even a child: "our objecter would not whip a child to teach him learning and vertue, for feare of doing wrong" (14). The Virginia Company could hurt the devil, of course, by making disciples of the nations, as Christ's own apostles had done: "What wrong I pray you did the Apostles in going about to alter the lawes of nations, euen against the expresse commandement of the princes, and to set vp the throne of Christ" (14). One might ask how concerned the apostles had been with altering the laws of nations, and whether they continued to look for a "throne" for Christ even after he refused political power, died, and ascended. Nevertheless, the marginal note represents both the apostles and

Symonds faithfully, acknowledging that they saw it "No wrong to bring in the Gospel" (13).

By defending conquest and evangelism, Symonds had done most of the work of dismissing the primary objection to Virginia, but not all of it. Critics could still say, "O but, in entring of other countries, there must needes be much lamentable effusion of bloud" (14). Yet, in the words of the marginalia, "No blood [was] ment to bee shed." Catholics might shed the blood of natives, but true "professors of the Gospell" would follow the example of Jacob and his progeny when they merely "soiourne[d]" in the land of Pharaoh, and of Samson who lived "peaceably" with the Philistines until he was "constrained by iniustice" to defend himself (this latter example especially unconvincing) (14-15). They could even "instruct the barbarous princes," as did Joseph and Daniel (15). Despite his defense of conquest, Symonds insisted that Virginia would constitute not a "bloudy inuasion" but a "peaceable Colony."

And if these obiecters had any braines in their head, but those which are sicke, they could easily finde a difference betweene a bloudy inuasion, and the planting of a peaceable Colony (15)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Symonds insisted that the Virginia colony would involve no "bloudy inuasion." Yet the reasons that he did so may surprise some modern readers: Londoners in 1609 presumed that the Virginia Company's actions in the new world would involve entering the land both unlawfully and violently and, for this reason, they initially hesitated or refused to promote the colony.

For his closing argument against this principal objection to Virginia, Symonds reminded its opponents that what they say against the colony they may also be saying against their own ancestors:

And if our objecter bee descended of the Noble Saxons bloud, Let him take heede lest while he cast a stone at vs, he

wounds his father, that first brought him in his loynes from forreigne parts into this happie Isle. (15)

Objecting to the legality of the Virginia Company thus amounts to stoning one's own father, not to mention knocking the crown from the king's head, effectively undermining one's own place in a family and kingdom. You cannot oppose colonization and conquest because you owe everything that you have and are to the same.

With this, Symonds decided that he had disposed of the primary objection and, so, could move on to all of the other reasons that Londoners did not want to support the colony: "Their reasons are diverse according to their wits. One saith, *England* is a sweete country...O but, saith another, my kin dred would not be forsaken" (18-19). Understandably, many potential adventurers just wanted to stay in England or take care of their families, some perhaps for ulterior motives: "Some few, and those very few, are not willing to leave their fathers house, where any thing may bee hoped for after the death of their parents" (19). Such settlers could lose their inheritance in Virginia. Others "object they are loth to goe from home; because they know not what shall become of them" (28). Others "will not goe abroad, for feare of loosing the blessing of God." These said,

Sure hee cannot have the blessing of *God, that is mingled among the heathen*. Hee must lose the preaching of the word of God, and the purity of the Sacraments, thus is he vndone in bodie & soule. (30)

Without sermons and sacraments, an adventurer to Virginia would lose his body and soul. Others feared being forgotten in their home country, even before they died. They asked, "What should a man do abroad?....If I go out of my Country, I shall be but swallowed vp among strangers, my memorie will bee sooner rotten abroad, though I liue; then if I were long laide in my graue at home" (31-32). Other potential settlers feared the malice of Catholics: "The perill, say the obiecters, is great by the Papists

that shall come on the backe of vs" (43). Others accuse the company of millenarianism:

But stay, saith one, you run too fast without good ground: you seeme to encline to the Millenaries, or such as looke for the gospell to be spread ouer all the world. You must know that is done manie a faire yeare agoe, that we need not looke for a new Reuolution of that. It were safer to tremble at the last iudgement, whose trumpet is euer sounding in our eares: *Arise from the dead and come to indgement*. (47)

Such critics argued that others had already spread the gospel to the known world; they considered anyone who proposed to do the job again a fanatic. More urgent to these people than Christ's commission to baptize the nations was his promise to return: "safer to tremble at the last iudgement."

The following edition details precisely how Symonds defended the Virginia Company from each of these charges, at least for the readers of his printed quarto, if not precisely for the hearers of his oral address. Yet, while his arguments may have convinced many, they did not convince everyone. Just three days after Symonds preached, Robert Gray dated the epistle dedicatory for a printed sermon that responds to three of the same objections. As the next edition in the subseries will show, Gray added over two more pages to the effort to defeat "[t]he first objection...by what right or warrant we can enter into the land of these Sauages, take away their rightfull inheritance from them, and plant our selues in their places, being vnwronged or vnprouoked by them."16 Quite like Symonds, Gray thus acknowledged that Londoners were objecting that the Virginia Company had no right to take the natives' "rightfull inheritance" and supplant them, especially since they had neither wronged nor provoked the English.

Ten months after this, in February 1609/10, Symonds' friend William Crashaw still saw a need to counter many of the

<sup>16</sup> G[ray]., A Good Speed to Virginia, sig. C3v.

very same criticisms when he preached to the company. He devoted four more pages to "[t]he first discouragement: question of the lawfulnes." Furthermore, he acknowledged that "many" had continued to raise the objection, "some" of them even for understandable, respectable reasons:

The first and fundamentall is the *doubt of lawfulnes of the action*, the question being moued by many, and some not out of curiositie, nor other sinister, but conscionable and Christian respects: and this keepes many from assisting it; for how may they put their helping hands to that which they are not resollued in conscience, to be lawfull and warrantable in it selfe.<sup>17</sup>

So ten months after Symonds and Gray had started to defend the Virginia Company from the primary charge of unlawfulness, Crashaw thought that the charge had grown even stronger: "many" had questioned "the lawfulnes of the action," and the question had kept "many from assisting it," including some who withheld their support "out of...conscionable and Christian respects." In other words, even some good Christians were not "resollued in conscience" that the venture was "lawfull and warrantable in it selfe." Crashaw thus found some of the company's critics sincere, even if ultimately misguided. He did the best he could to set them right, before referring them back to "M. Simonds his Sermon":

And this may suffice for the lawfulnesse of the action, especially seeing whosoeuer would be satisfied more particularly, may have recourse to a learned and godly *Sermon*...well pend... set out by authoritie for that end (sig. D4v)

Thus Symonds ends, where he had begun, the Virginia Company's 1609/10 effort to preach against its opponents—with the opponents apparently stronger than ever. No other

sermons quite so devoted to and promoted by the company would appear for over a decade.

Yet other clergymen did more briefly endorse the Virginia Company in sermons that could only misleadingly be called "Virginia Company Sermons," and so do not appear in the subseries. Nearly a year before Symonds and Gray wrote their sermons, on 24 March 1608 at Paul's Cross, Richard Crakanthorpe attempted to prove that King James' authority came from God, and pointed to Virginia as evidence of his piety and true religion.<sup>18</sup> A little more than a week before Symonds addressed the company, on 17 April 1609 Robert Tynley preached against the idolatry and false miracles of the Catholic Church, offering Virginia as one of the true miracles that God had done for the Church of England.<sup>19</sup> While Welby was working on the Symonds and Gray quartos, on 7 May George Benson ended a long sermon with a brief encouragement to settlers to show the native peoples a better example of Christianity, and of "gentle & humane dealing," than had Spanish Catholics.<sup>20</sup>

Later that month, on 28 May, Daniel Price gave quite a bit more attention to Virginia at the end of a sermon—yet far less than its title promises with the phrase, "a reproofe of those that traduce the Honourable Plantation of VIRGINIA." Price asked his audience for "leaue to examine the lying speeches that

<sup>17</sup> Crashaw, A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable Lord Lavvarre, sig. D3r.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Crakanthorpe. A sermon at the solemnizing of the happie inauguration of our most gracious and religious King Iames (London: by W. Iaggard for Tho: Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the blew Bell, 1609; STC 5979), sigs. D2r-v; Parker, "Religion and the Virginia colony," 254 (records the date as "14 March 1608").

<sup>19</sup> Robert Tynley. Two Learned Sermons. The one, of the mischieuous subtiltie, and barbarous crueltie, the other of the false Doctrine, and refined Hæresis of the Romish Synagogue. Preached, the one at Paules Crosse the 5. of Nouember, 1608. The other at the Spittle the 17. of Aprill, 1609. (London: by W. Hall for Thomas Adams, 1609; STC 24472), pp. 67-68; Parker, "Religion and the Virginia Colony," 260.

<sup>20</sup> George Benson, A Sermon Preached at Pavles Crosse the Seaventh of May, M. DC. IX. (London; by H.L. For Richard Moore, and are to be sold at his shop in S. Dunstans Church-yard, 1609; STC 1886), p. 92; Parker, "Religion and the Virginia Colony," 261.

haue iniuriously vilified and traduced...the *Plantation* of VIRGINIA." He rebuked "those scandalous and slanderous Detractors of the most Noble *Voyage*." And he explained why these detractors should stop traducing it:

The Philosopher commendeth the Temperature, the Marchant the commodity, the Politician the opportunity, the Diuine, the Pietie, in converting so many thousand soules. The *Virginian* desireth it, and the *Spaniard* enuyeth vs, and yet our own *lasie*, *drousie*, yet *barking Countrimen* traduce it: who should honour it, if it were but for the remembrance of that *Virgine Queen* of eternal memory, who was first godmother to that land and Nation. (sig. F2v)

Yet, while Price thus joined the preachers who were defending the Virginia Company from its critics, he did not specify any of their objections; he did not devote much of his sermon to the matter; he did not dedicate his quarto to the company; and he did not have it printed by Welby. Neither the company nor anyone else printed a sermon for the Virginia Company until William Crashaw did nearly a year later. And then no one did so again for over a decade.

A few other texts, in other genres, can help make sense of the spurt of sermons that defended the Virginia Company from detractors, especially in April and May of 1609. Robert Johnson, chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, introduced the Virginia Company's newfound religious purpose, and started the task of defending it from critics, in the quarto tract *Nova Britannia*, which Samuel Macham entered into the stationers' register on 18 February 1608/9.<sup>22</sup> After more than two years of

merely sporadic and passing references to religion in Virginia Company literature, Johnson ambitiously claimed that the Virginia colony would

advaunce and spread the kingdome of God, and the knowledge of the truth, among so many millions of men and women, sauage and blind, that neuer yet saw the true light shine before their eyes, to enlighten their minds and comfort their soules.<sup>23</sup>

Yet he knew that his audience would have doubts about this new religious claim on behalf of the company. He admitted that "some obiect" that he and the company were "being led on by our owne private endes"; moreover, they asked "how we can warrant a supplantation of those Indians, or an invasion into their right and possessions" (sigs. B4v-C1r). Here, just as soon as he first announced the Virginia Company's new missionary motive, Johnson recognized that some would "obiect" that it amounted to the self-interested "supplantation" of "Indians" and "invasion into their right and possession." Johnson defended the company by insisting that it intended not to supplant, but to benefit, native peoples:

And as for supplanting the Sauages, wee haue no such intent : our intrusion into their possessions shall tend to their great good, and no way to their hurt, vnlesse as vnbridled beasts, they procure it to themselues (sig. C1r-v)

The company will not supplant but will benefit the natives, unless they behave like "beasts" and, therefore, require the settlers to supplant them—or "procure" their own "hurt." Until then, adventurers would make clear to the natives that they had come:

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Price, Savls Prohibition Staide. Or The Apprehension, and Examination of Savle. And the Inditement of all that persecute Christ, with a reproofe of those that traduce the Honourable Plantation of VIRGINIA. (London: for Matthew Law, and are to be Sold in Pauls Church-yard, neere vnto Saint Austines Gate, at the Signe of the Foxe, 1609; STC 20302), sig. F2r.

<sup>22</sup> Arber, Transcript, vol. III, f. 179v.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (London: from Samvel Macham, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bul-head, 1609; STC 14699.5), A4v.

not to supplant and roote them out, but to bring them from their base condicion, to a farre better. First, in regard of God the Creator; and of Iesus Christ their Redeemer, if they will beleeue in him. And secondly, in respect of earthly blessings. (sig. C1v)

In this, Johnson began to prepare the way, in February, for the preachers who would address the company and print their sermons in April and May, beginning with Symonds. Yet by the time that he did so, Symonds may have thought that objections on behalf of native rights and possessions had grown stronger. For he devoted much more attention to countering them than had Johnson.

Shortly after Symonds and Gray's sermons appeared in print, King James signed the Virginia Company's second charter, dated 23 May 1609.<sup>24</sup> Among its innovations, one of the last paragraphs of the lengthy charter made official the religious motive that pro-Virginia preachers had introduced over the past three months, announcing:

the principall effect which wee cann desier or expect of this action is the conversion and reduccion of the people in those partes unto the true worship of God and Christian religion (54)

Even if this claim resulted in no other conversion before Pocahontas, it did complete the religious conversion of the Virginia Company, which had appeared rather unconcerned with the proselytizing up until these months, even in London. The preachers Johnson, Symonds, and Gray had each worked to effect this conversion of the company into a religious body. These writers could not have worked alone, though. The names of both William Crashaw, Bachelor of Divinity, and William Welby, stationer, appear in the second charter, suggesting that they had

both the motive and the opportunity to have helped initiate the Virginia Company sermons (32, 37).

Crashaw could have certainly influenced Symonds to start the sermon series. After an unsuccessful stint as a schoolmaster in Oxford and three rectorships in Lincolnshire, Symonds preached a sermon commemorating James VI and I's first visit to the diocese of Lincoln, on 25 April 1603 (the feast of St. Mark, the same feast day on which he would address the Virginia Company six years later). Yet as Stephen Wright, his ODNB biographer has explained, "[f]ollowing the promulgation of the new canons in 1604...his differences with the practice of the established church came to the notice of authorities." Until the bishop visited in August, Symonds did not wear the surplice. In 1606, as a lecturer at both Christ Church, Greyfriars, London and St. Saviour's in Southwark, he again had to be instructed to read public prayer and administer the sacraments in the surplice, and he again conformed. At his last Lincolnshire rectorship, Halton Holgate, Symonds had benefited from the patronage of a promoter of the Virginia Company, Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby. He had also gotten to know Crashaw, the wellconnected preacher at the Temple. One or both of these men would seem to have encouraged Symonds to move to London and support Virginia, which evidently became an abiding concern of his. A couple years after seeing his Virginia sermon in print, Symonds helped to bring to press the two parts of A Map of Virginia (1612), attributed to Bertie's more famous patronage client, Captain John Smith. While this demonstrates Symonds' continuing interest in Virginia, it shows support for Smith and, therefore, a willingness to aggravate those who had excluded the talented yet controversial captain from the company in 1609. According to Wright, "the Virginia Company acted to block the publication of the book in London: it had quarreled with Smith

<sup>24</sup> Samuel M. Bemiss, *The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London* (Williamsburg: The Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration, 1957), 54.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen Wright, Symonds, William (b. 1556, d. in or after 1616)," in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.library.vcu.edu/view/article/26892 (accessed November 9, 2011).

and sought to muzzle criticism of its own stewardship of the enterprise."<sup>25</sup> Thus Symonds, the Virginia Company's first preacher in print, came to antagonize the company's ruling faction in print.

Yet in the 1609 sermon quarto presented here, Symonds-directed his aggression and his persuasive powers against not the Virginia Company but its opponents, especially its most local critics in London, whom he tried to coax over to the colony's side. In so doing, he arguably preserved their critiques, some of the earliest on record, of English colonization and overseas evangelism. While he must have filtered and skewed his contemporaries' objections, he and the preachers who joined him in defending the company in 1609/10 represented them as far more numerous, formidable, and ethical than most modern readers would otherwise imagine.

## THE EDITIONS AND SOURCES

The "Virginia Company Sermons" subseries offers both digital type facsimiles and searchable, photographic facsimiles of five printed quartos held at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Whereas the black-and-white photographic facsimiles previously available of these sermons feature images of individual copies, type facsimiles reproduce them in modern, and now digital, type. Although a type facsimile duplicates less of a book less faithfully than does a photographic facsimile, it also features a more legible, and a searchable, text. Furthermore, the work of rekeying and rechecking each letter in a book teaches one much about it, which leads to the introductory essays and bibliographic descriptions that further distinguish "Virginia Company Sermons" from the unedited photo facsimiles. Our digital type facsimiles reproduce original spelling, line breaks, page numbers, signatures, measurements, and virtually every feature that we can learn how to duplicate without photographs or scans. This has required months of not only transcribing and quadruple-checking the text, but also taking measurements of individual features and learning Adobe InDesign well enough to replicate them. Among her many invaluable contributions to the project, Neal Wyatt, British Virginia's first graduate research assistant, has done an amazing job teaching herself InDesign and consulting the original quarto to check my measurements and take many others.

Yet a type facsimile cannot reproduce exactly. Every feature that we have painstakingly reconstructed reveals at least one more that we cannot represent. I have chosen a digital font that differs from the one that the printer, J. Windet, used; most glaringly, it lacks the long s, which I have conflated with the short s. We are replacing engravings with simple rectangles. Even if we learned our tools well enough to fabricate the font and engravings, a digital type facsimile would still misrepresent them by regularizing them. Despite hours and months of attempts to acknowledge the often odd spacing between letters, the computer program makes them somewhat uniform, as it does individual

letter forms and the rules that form the borders. Of course, each of Windet's pieces of type was distinct, with its own damage, and each imprint from them could differ, depending on the application of ink and the features of the paper: digital type tends to appear much more regular on a properly-working computer screen. Windet's rules are not straight; our rules are identical. So a digital type facsimile constitutes something of an idealized approximation, perfecting much of the variation of an early modern printed book and, if only for this reason, always imperfectly reproducing it.

A type facsimile also reproduces a single copy of a book, as opposed to a critical edition, which collates several copies of a text in order to identify variants and to arrange copies in a genealogical recension or sequential press run. Since Symonds' sermon survives only in copies of a single printed edition, a critical edition would serve primarily to determine the order in which Windet and his colleagues produced and, more to the point, corrected the book in the process of printing it. A complete critical edition, based on an analysis of all extant copies, would record every stop-press variant that resulted from any corrections. It would demonstrate, among other things, that Windet or his compositor had initially placed the engraved initial S upside-down and signed the epistle "Fours" instead of "Yours." These two mistakes remain in the New York Public Library copy. I have decided to publish the present edition after consulting only a few copies of the sermon, and forgoing such critical editorial work, with only so strong a defense for doing so: British Virginia's digital publication strategy makes it quite affordable to publish a critical edition or, for that matter, a modernized text at a later time. In fact, because of the generous partnership of the Virginia Historical Society, we are able to publish, alongside the five type facsimiles, a second set of five searchable, color, photographic facsimiles.

We are editing the Virginia Historical Society's copies of the sermons for a few reasons, and not only because they reside within a (vigorous but pleasant) walk from VCU. The VHS seems to be one of only three institutions that owns all five of these sermons; the University of Virginia and the British Library have all five as well. Yet, especially in the case of the BL, these other sets of all five are part of much fuller collections of early modern English sermons and books. The VHS, on the other hand, has arguably isolated the five sermons devoted to the company by including them in an otherwise small collection of contemporary sermons, and drawing the line precisely where the subseries does, excluding Price, Crakanthorpe, Benson, and Tynley, who merely mention Virginia. Editing the VHS copies ackowledges that the library has already, in its own way, done much of the work of recognizing the relationship that these sermons have to one another and to Virginia. Of course, in this, the VHS was itself following the book collectors who had preserved these sermons.

The VHS copy of Symonds' sermon (Rare Books F 229 S98) is a beautifully preserved, rare example of the sort of unbound, untrimmed copy that book browsers would have encountered in William Welby's bookstall in St. Paul's Churchyard. It has been loosely stabbed through in three places, partially covered only in a probably contemporary, rather stained and small, half-sheet of paper. The other copies that I have consulted have been bound, either on their own or in a *sammelband* with other works. A bookworm has done more to modify the little book than has any hand: no marginal notes predate those in pencil added by modern librarians or, possibly, booksellers or collec-

<sup>26</sup> The VHS has just one other contemporary sermon, which contains only notes on Virginia: John King, A sermon at Paules Crosse, on behalfe of Paules Church, March 26, 1620 / by the B. of London (London: by Edward Griffin for Elizabeth Adams, 1620; STC 14982; Rare Books BV4210 .K58 1620). It also has a treatise refuting another work by one of the Virginia Company preachers: John Floyd, The overthrow of the Protestants pylpit-babels, convincing their preachers of lying & rayling, to make the Church of Rome seeme mysticall babell. Particularly confuting VV. Crashawes sermon at the crosse, printed as the patterne to iustify the rest. VVith a preface to the gentlemen of the Innes of court, shewing what vse may be made of this treatise. Togeather with a discovery of M. Crashawes spirit: and an answer to his Iesuites ghospell. By I. R. Student in divinity. ([St. Omer]: anno 1612; STC 1111; Rare Books BX3702.A2 F7).

tors.

The book stays in a modern clamshell box and four-flap folder of thin cardboard covered in blue, waxy cloth and, on the inside, light blue paper. This box and folder came from "the celebrated library" of Boies Penrose II (1902-1976), the nephew of Boies Penrose (1860-1921), the Senator from Pennsylvania. Pasted in the center of the left side flap is the bookplate of "Boies Penrose," with an image of "OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE." This is superimposed upon the earlier, partially-visible bookplate of "BOIES PENROSE II." The book went up for auction with much of the rest of the younger Penrose's library in 1971.<sup>27</sup>

On the other flap is a manilla pocket enclosing a type-script on the letterhead of a book dealer who likely acquired the book at the Sotheby sale, at which he was quite active (according to an incomplete list of buyers and prices included with at least one copy of the catalogue): "Kenneth Nebenzahl INC. / 33 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601 • TELEPHONE: 312/641-2711 • CABLE: NEBENBOOKS." The footer explains, "Rare Books, Maps, Manuscripts & Prints relating to the Western Hemisphere. *Member:* ABAA, ILAB." The undated typescript, some of which deserves scrutiny, reads:

SYMONDS, WILLIAM. Virginia. A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel...the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia.... Small 4to., stitched in original paper wrapper, uncut; large portion of final leaf, blank except for printer's

Virginia, suitably based on Genesis, 12, i-iii.

rule, torn away; but a fine copy in original state. Protective case.

London, for Edgar & Welby, 1609
First edition. First sermon preached to the Virginia colonists before their departure to America - the message of advice spoken to those who established the first permanent English colony in the New World. The sermon was undoubtedly given late in May, preparatory to the expedition of seven ships and 500 men that sailed under Gates and Somers.

This fine copy is more than an inch wider and nearly an inch taller than the Huntington Library copy.

Church 344. DNB XIX, p. 278. JCB II, 93. Sabin 94125. STC 23594. Vail 19.

Nebenzahl, or his associate, professed a lack of doubt only when making a doubtful claim, dating the performance of the sermon to May, after omitting the April date on the title-page.

Beneath the superimposed Penrose bookplates is the simpler one of the collector who would seem to have purchased the book from Nebenzahl, in the seventies or eighties: "Gordon M. Jones, M. D. / Falmouth / Virginia." Above the pocket is the VHS bookplate: "Virginia Historical Society / Acquired Under / Thomas Kirbye / First Settlers Fund." Within the volume, among the modern cataloguing notes, this line, written in pencil up the left margin of sig. A1v, gives the last piece of the provenance puzzle: "9-5-88 Jones...Kirbye." This indicates that the VHS purchased the volume directly from Dr. Jones, on the fifth of September in 1988, with Kirbye funds. While none of the book's modern owners edited it or published the claims with which I open this edition, they did anticipate this subseries by collecting the sermons together, among related works. Needless to say, without the value that they placed on these rare books, and the work they have done to make them accessible, we would lack the important evidence that the sermons provide.

<sup>27</sup> Sotheby & Co., The Celebrated Library of Boies Penrose ESQ FSA FRGS, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby & Co, 1971), 78-79: 242 Symonds (William) Virginia. A sermon preached at White-chappel, in the presence of many, honourable and worshipfull, the Aduenturers and Planters for Virginia, first edition, most of last leaf, blank except for printer's rules, torn away, inner margin with a little worming, but a very fine copy, uncut, stitched in the original white paper wrapper, in a cloth wrapper and case [STC 23594; Church 344] small 4to I. Windet, for Eleazar Edgar, and William Welby, 1609

\*\*\* The first sermon preached before the Company of Adventurers to

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

This technical description admittedly repeats, yet usefully condenses, information that the following pages spread out. It records the text of the title page, drop-heads, running titles, epistle subscription, catchwords, and explicit—with the font size regularized. It also includes a codicological collation that distinguishes the gatherings and identifies the signed leaves, as well as information on the pagination. Again, nothing short of a full textual collation identifying every variant in every extant copy will teach us all we can learn about the printing of this quarto. Yet this description can help those scholars with the opportunity to carry on such work, as it offers a range of features that one can check quickly when consulting other copies (which it lists below), in order to begin the process of identifying its variants and its place in a press run.

VTRGINIA. | [rule] | A | SERMON | PREACHED AT | White-Chappel, In The | presence of many, Honourable and | Worshipfull, the Aduenturers and Plan- | ters for Virginia. | 25. April. 1609. | PVBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT | And Vse Of The Colony, Planted, | And to bee Planted there, and for the Ad- | uancement of their Chris- | tian Purpose. | By William Symonds, Preacher at Saint | Saviors in Southwarke. | [rule] | Ivde. 22.23. | Haue compassion of some, in putting of difference: | And other saue with feare, pulling them out of the fire. | [rule] | London | Printed by I. Windet, for Eleazar Edgar, and | William Welby, and are to be sold in Paules Church- | yard at the Signe of the Windmill. | 1609.

4°, A-H<sup>4</sup>, (\$3 (-A1, B3) signed), 32 leaves.

Sigs. A1r t., A1v ruled blk, A2r-A4r Dedication dh: [illustration] TO | THE RIGHT NO- | BLE, AND WORTHIE | ADVANCERS OF THE STANDART | OF CHRIST, among the GENTILES, | the Aduenturers for the Plantation of | VIRGINIA, W.S. prayeth | that Nations may blesse them, | and be blessed by | them. | [rule], A2v-A4r rt: THE EPISTLE | DEDICATORIE., A4r sub: Yours most heartily affected in | the cause of Virginia. | WILLIAM

SIMONDS., A4v ruled blk, B1r-H3v text dh: VIRGINEA | BRITANNIA. | A | SERMON PREACHED AT | WHITE CHAPPELL, IN THE | presence of many the Aduentu- | rers, and Planters for | VIRGINIA. | [rule] | GENESIS 12.1.2.3. | For the Lord had said vnto Abram, Get thee out of the Coun- | trey, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house, vn- | to the land that I will shew thee. | And I will make of thee a great nation, and will blesse thee, and | make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing. | I will blesse them also that blesse thee, and curse them that curse | thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed. | [rule], B1v-H3v rt: VIRGINEA. | BRITANNIA., H4r-v [55-56] ruled blk.

*Pagination*: B1r-H3v paginated 1-54 without error. *Press-figures*: none.

Catchwords: A2r breake, (breake^), A2v uen (~), A3r Angell (~), A3v that (~), B1r earth (~), B1v For (~), B2r These (~), B2v that (~), B3r that (~), B3v land^ (land,), B4r mercie (~), B4v call (~), C1r is (~), C1v tude, (~), C2r burnt^: (burnt:), C2v lawfull^ (lavvfull,), C3r stones, (~), C3v iustice, (~), C4r such^ (such,), C4v ha^m (ha m,), D1r the (~), D1v indeede^ (indeede,), D2r mightier (~), D2v pleaseth. (~), D3r then (~), D3v we (~), D4r neth (~), D4v part, (~), E1r A (~), E1v rose (~), E2r promise (~), E2v thee, (~), E3r such (~), E3v kinde, (~), E4r willing^ (willingly), E4v the (~), F1r the (~), F1v know-^ (knowledged), F2r know (knovv), F2v and (~), F3r Satans (~), F3v by (~), F4r hid (~), F4v of (~), G1r vnto (~), G1v ple (~), G2r exempt (~), G2v Aske (~), G3r offen- (offending), G3v all (~), G4r condem- (condemnation), G4v The (~), H1r the (~), H1v Kings (~), H2r the (~), H2v ny (~), H3r tence (~).

Explicit: H3v FINIS.

Copies: Beinecke Library (Yale University) 2003 265; Birmingham Central Library [in ESTC] Bodleian Library (Oxford University) 4° F 34(9) Th.; Boston Public Library H.26.270; British Library, General Reference Collection 694.e.4.(17.); Cambridge University Library, Rare Books, Bb\*.11.42(E); Chapin Library (Williams College) Am1609 .S85 vault; Durham University Library STC (2), 23594 Folger Shakespeare Library STC 23594;

Huntington Library, Rare Books 3362;

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Princeton University Library, Rare Books (Ex) 1230.893;

University of Virginia Library Special Collections A 1609 .S95; F229 .S98 1609;

Virginia Historical Society, Rare Books F229 .S98;

William L. Clements Library (University of Michigan) C 1609 Sy.

## VIRGINIA.

# SERMON PREACHED AT

WHITE-CHAPPEL, IN THE

presence of many, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Aduenturers and Planters for VIRGINIA.

25. April. 1609.

PVBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT
AND VSE OF THE COLONY, PLANTED,
And to bee Planted there, and for the Aduancement of their CHRISTIAN Purpose.

By WILLIAM SYMONDS, Preacher at Saint SAVIORS in Southwarke.

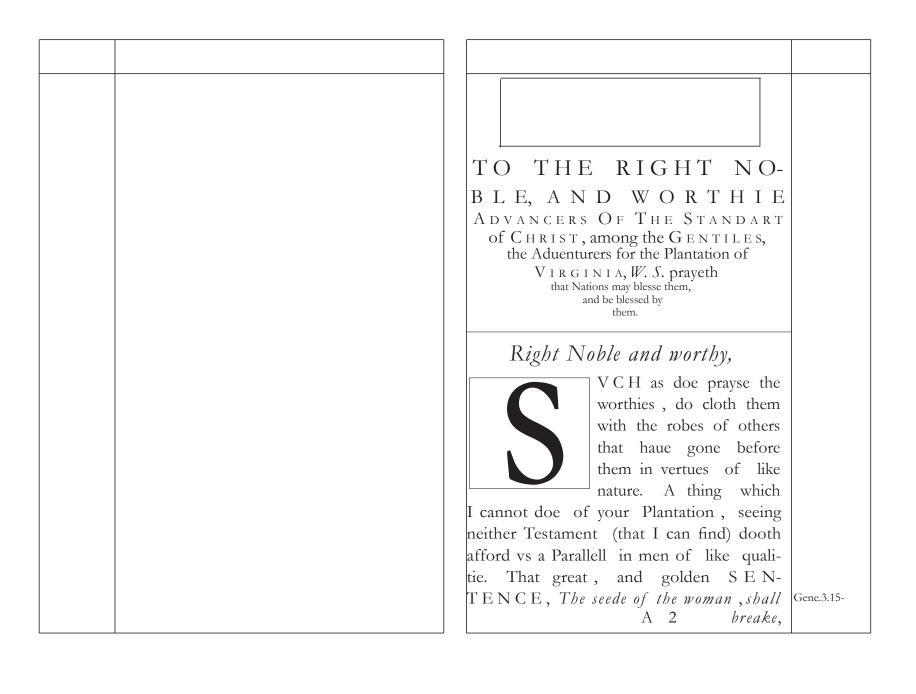
## I V D E. 22.23.

Haue compassion of some, in putting of difference: And other saue with feare, pulling them out of the fire.

## London

Printed by I. WINDET, for ELEAZAR EDGAR, and William Welby, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard at the Signe of the Windmill.

1 6 0 9.



		THE EPISTLE
		breake the Serpents head, (the onely subject
		of all ages) with a part of the wisedome
		that is folded therin, hitherto hath beau-
		tified the world with admirable and plea
		sant varieties; more rich and delightfull
		then all the ornaments of Princes palaces,
		or the Curtaines of <i>Salomon</i> . Here may we
		see the Flood, the burning of Sodom; the
		drown ng of <i>Pharoh</i> : the subduing of the
		Cananites by Dauid and his sonnes; the
	Dan.2.35 .	breaking of Monarchies into chaffe : the
	Ephe.6. 17.	surprising & conquering of great Nations,
	Ерне.о. 17.	by Fisher-men, with the sword of the spi-
		rit; the stamping of the Dragon (the Hea-
	Euseh, de vita	then Empire) into peeces by Constantine;
	Constantini.	the desolation , and nakednesse of Anti-
		christ, now readie to be cast into the fire.
		Manifest demonstrations of the Serpents
		bruised head. But here is not all. These
		things were done in a corner, in compari-
		son of that which is in hand, and remai-
		neth to be accomplished at the last iudge-
	D ( 0 40	ment. Long since the Gospell of Christ did
		ride forth conquering that hee might ouer-
	Reue.6. &. 19.	come. And NOW, the hostes that are in hea-
		uen

T

 $\overline{\mathbf{T}}$ 

## DEDICATORIE.

Isai. 52.10.

Isai. 60.9.

uen doe follow him on white horses. Now the Lord hath made bare his holy arme, in the sight Revel. 19.12. of all the Gentiles; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salutatio of our God.NOW many Psal. 47.9. Mighty Kings haue set their Crownes vpon the head of Christ. The valiant soul- Zach.14.20. dier saith, The shields of the world belong to God. The true Nobilitie, haue vpon their horse bridles, Holinesse to the Lord. now the wise and industrious Merchant, doth hold the riches of the Gentiles too base a fraight for his shippes. He tradeth for his wisedome, that said: Surely the Isles wait for me (saith the Lord) and the shippes of the Ocean most especially: namely to carry the Gospell abroad. The people in multitudes, like stronge thundrings, doe say Hallelu-iah. And who is wanting in this Reuel. 19.6. blessed expedition? Surely, not any tribe, Prayse ye the Lord, - for the people that offered Iudg. 5.2. themselues so willingly. For who can withdraw himselfe from concurrence in so good an action: especially, when he shall but read, or heare, that one sentence which Deborah did sing: Curse ye Meroz, sayd the A3Angell

	The Epistle
Iudg.5.23.	Angell of the Lord curse the inhabitants therof:
	because they came not forth to helpe the Lord.
	This land, was of old time, offered to
	our Kings. Our late Soueraigne Q. Eliza-
	beth ( whose storie hath no peere among
	Princes of her sexe) being a pure Virgin,
	found it, set foot in it, and called it Virginia.
	Our most sacred Soueraigne, in whom
	is the spirit of his great Ancestor, Constantin
Euseb. de vita	the pacifier of the world, and planter of the Gos-
Constantin.	pell in places most remote, desireth to present
	this land a pure Virgine to Christ. Such as
	doe mannage the expedition, are carefull
	to carry thither no Traitors, nor Papists
	that depend on the Great VVhore. Lord fi-
	nish this good worke thou hast begun; and mar-
	ry this land, a pure Virgine to thy kingly
	sonne Christ Iesus ; so shall thy name bee
	magnified : and we shall haue a Virgin or
	Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition
	to our Great Britaine.
	And now Right Worthy, if any aske an
	account of my vocation, to write and
	Preach thus much ; I answere : that al-
	though I could not satisfie their request
I .	.1 .

that

## DEDICATORIE.

that would have me goe; yet I could not omit to shewe my zeale to the glory of God. If they aske account of my Dedication, I answere, your vertue hath exacted it. If any man list to be curious, or contentious, wee haue no such custome, nor the Churches of God. Hold on your blessed course, and you shall receive blessings of Christ. Bleßed bee the Lord God; euen the Psal.72.18.19. God of Israell, which onely worketh great wonders, and hath put these blessed thoughts into your Christian hearts, And bles-

sed be his glorious name for euer, and let all the earth be filled with his glory, Amen, Amen.

> Yours most heartily affected in the cause of Virginia.

WILLIAM SIMONDS.

1

# VIRGINEA

BRITANNIA.

A

## SERMON PREACHED AT

WHITE CHAPPELL, IN THE presence of many the Aduenturers, and Planters for VIRGINIA.

## GENESIS 12.1.2.3.

For the Lord had said vnto Abram, Get thee out of thy Countrey, and from thy kinared, and from thy fathers house, vnto the land that I will shew thee.

And I will make of thee a great nation, and will blesse thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing.

I will blesse them also that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

His Booke of Genesis conteineth the story of the Creation and Plantation of heauen and earth, with conuenient inhabitants. The heauen hath Angels, the skie starres, the aire foules, the water fishes, the

B earth

2	Virginea.
Matth.22.30.	earth (furnished with plants and hearbes, and beasts) was prouided for man a while to inhabite, who after was to be received into glory, like vnto the Angels. Hereupon the Lord (who by his great decree, set downe by his whole Trinitie, had determined that man should rule among the creatures) did make
2. <i>Cor</i> .4.4.	man, both male and female, After his owne image, that is, Iesus Christ; and gaue them this blessing, Bring
Gen.1.26.27. 28.	forth fruit and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it, &c. And howsoeuer this precept might seeme to finde interruption by the sinne of man, that had in-
Gen.2.17 & 3.3. Isai. 45. 23. Gen. 9.1,2.	curred the curse to die the death: yet we see that God would not, for any thing, alter his oath and word, that was gone out of his mouth; for vnto Noah hee reuiued this precept after the flood.
Gen.11.1.	But as all the commandements of God doe finde rebellion against them: so hath this most specially; insomuch that the whole earth conspired to make open insurrection against it, by building of a Citie,
Gen.11.7	and Towne, the better to continue together. For the subduing of which rebellion, The Lord came downe, and confounded their languages, and scattered them abroad: Not onely to the ouerthrow of their ambition, who sought a great name; but also to deprive them of his spirituall grace of saluation, one being
Gen.10.32.	not able to vnderstand the other: And so of the sonnes of <i>Noah</i> , were the Nations divided after the flood.
Gen 11.10.	Among whome the blessed line of <i>Shem</i> is not onely plentifully remembred; but also commended, as obedient vnto that first and great Law of God:  For

## B RITANNIA. 3 For Terah, the father of Abram, with his family, are reported to be found in a Land not theirs, that they might fill the earth. The context. The reason why Terah, and his family remoued, is recorded in these three verses; and, in a word, is the calling of *Abram* by the Lord to remooue. In the storie whereof, are these two points: First the the vocation of Abram, in these three verses, and then his obedience vnto this heauenly calling in the fourth verse. His vocation hath first the commandement of the Lord, and then the reasons and argu ments, by which God doeth induce him thereunto. The commandement is to take a iourney; in which we must consider the places from whence, and whi- Goe out of ther he was to goe. The place from whence, is not described Cosmographically, but Morally, conteining three important reasons, in all good sort, to rest him where hee was. The first is his Country, Thy Country. which was pleasant, and fruitfull: The second his kindred, which was holy and blessed: The third, his fathers house, which was louing and rich. Hence must hee goe, and leaue them all behind, if they would not goe with him. The place whither hee must goe is also very generally noted out: Namely, the place which God would shew him: a place vtterly To the place which I shall vnknowen vnto him, so that from thence he had no argument, to quicken him to that voyage. Arguments The arguments which the Lord doth vse to perfrom promises. swade Abram, to this iourney are all taken from the

promises of God; a stronger reason then the very sweetnesse of Paradise could be vnto a faithful man.

B 2

These

4	Virginea.
1. A great Nation.	These promises doe partly concerne <i>Abram</i> himselfe, partly those among whom he shall liue. For himselfe the Lord doeth promise foure things: First that, whereas himselfe was childlesse, <i>He would make of him a great nation</i> . A thing which the builders of Babel drifted but were disappointed of by the judge-
2.Blesse thee.	ment of God. The second promise is, that <i>God will bleße him</i> , by giuing him the good things of this present world, and that which is to come: A thing which the builders of Babel lost, by transgressing Gods commandement of replenishing the earth.
3. A great name.	The third thing is , that the Lord <i>will make him a great name</i> , with much honour , and good report; which the confounded builders of Babel sought,
4.A blessing.	and missed, because of their sinne. The fourth promise is, that he shall be <i>a blessing</i> : That is, such a one as men shall be the better where hee commeth; and so thinke themselues, seeing that through him, as through a golden Pipe, the Lord will bestow his blessings vpon his family, and others among whom he liueth.
	The arguments that concerne other men, are of two sorts; the one is their Temporall estate; the other their Spirituall. Concerning the Temporall estate of those amongst whom hee liueth, God will
<ul><li>1.Blesse them that blesse thee.</li><li>2. Curse them that curse thee.</li></ul>	dispose of, as they dispose themselues towards A bram: For the Lord will blesse them, and cause them to prosper, that seeke the blessing and prosperitie of Abram. And againe, if they stand otherwise affected towards Abram, then will the Lord also set his face against them, in these words: And I will curse them that

# B RITANNIA.

that curse thee: So that nothing they have shall prosper, vntill they be gracious and fauorable to Abram. That which concerneth their Spirituall estate, is, indeede an argument to a faithfull man, stronger then chaines of Adamant; Namely, that by this meanes, the people all abroad shall receive the grace of saluation. The thing he promiseth is saluation by the Gospel, in this word, I will blesse. The meanes, is Abram and his seede IESVS CHRIST: in these words in thee. The persons, to receive benefit by him, are infinite; euen all the families of Noah, by whom the nations of all the earth were divided; In these words, And in thee, shall all the families of the earth bee blessed. This is the sense of these three verses: In which are very many excellent things to bee obserued, but we will onely insist vpon those, which are proper to our occasion,&c.

#### DOCTRINES.

THE Lord called Abraham to goe into another Abraham called. double manner of calling; the one ordinary, by some knowne precept of the word of God: the o- $|_{Mat.1.20.}$ ther extraordinary when as by dreame, or by vi- Num.12.6. sion, God requireth any duetie to be done. Now if it be demaunded how Abraham was called, to goe into another Countrey: the answere is, both ordinarily and extraordinarily. It was a knowne rule of the word of God, concluded, and pronounced before the Creation, and often repeated afterwards,

5

3.All Nations

that

6	Virginea.
Gen.1.26.	that man should spread abroad, &c. and inhabite the earth, and fill it. Hitherto belongeth that, which God said; Let vs make man in our image, and let them rule ouer the Fish of the Sea, and ouer the Fowles of the Heauen, and ouer the Beastes, and ouer ALL the earth. Then must be replenish the earth, else can bee not
Genes.3.23.	rule ouer ALL. To the same effect is that spoken of Adam, after his fall, that God sent him forth of the Garden of Eden to till the earth: so that the fall of Adam did not, in the least thing, cause the Lord to al-
Gen.9.2,7.	ter his first decree. So to Noah after the flood; Bring forth fruite, and multiply, grow plentifully in the earth, and encrease therein, and replenish the earth. By all this it doth appeare, that God did call Abraham abroade, by a general Vocation. But when he is called to a certaine place, and vnder certaine conditions, it is also plaine, that withall, he had a special and extraordinary calling, either by dreame or by vision, or by some such extraordinary meane, which (til the Canon of the Scripture came fully in) was to be obeyed as the written word of God. Yet still wee must remember that this speciall calling was subject to the generall law of replenishing the earth. For although God called him to one land; yet to vpholde the generall rule, God often laide a necessitie vpon him to spread further: for in this Chapter, by reason of a famine, hee was constreined to so-iourne in Egipt: God did also tell him before hand,
Gen.15.13•	that his seede should be a stranger, in a land that is not theirs, foure hundred yeares. It is true, that the Iewes did holde themselues so confined to their owne land

Britannia.	7
land, that they were as loth to forgoe their inher tance, as from the Sacrament of their saluation: with the saluation in the saluation in the saluation in the saluation in the saluation inheritance of the saluation inh	t- rd 1.King.21.3.
thee. And yet, when God would have it so, a when there was famine, Elimelech and his Famil goe to soiourne among the Gentiles. In time of	ie R <i>uth</i> .1.1.2.
warre Dauid tooke his father and mother, and carr	
ed them to soiourne with the King of Moab. An when as we reade that there were dwelling at Ierus	d a- Act.2.5.
lem, Iewes of enery nation vnder heauen; it is plain that the Iewes did spread abroad, not onely to so iourne for a time, and then to come againe; but t inhabite and replenish the whole earth. Paul was a so a Iew, borne in Cilicia, euen in a Romane Colonie.	0- 1- Act.22.3.
The reason why God will have his to fill the earth is, because the Lord would have his workes to	Gods works.
be knowne. Now in diuers Countries God hat his diuers workes, of hearbes, and trees, and beaste and fishes, and fowles, and serpents, &c. which(if the people of God come not there) cannot praise the Creator. When Dauid saith, All thy workes praise, O God, and thy Saints blesse thee; they shew the gury of thy kingdome, and speake of thy power: the implementations of the countries of the power is the implementation.	s, ae ae ae <i>Psal.</i> 145.10.11.
cation is manifest, that his Saints must be witnessed of all his workes, in all Climates; for else they can not blesse him in all his workes. Another reason is that one that hath the knowledge of the feare of God, should communicate it to others: Hereupon is it that David doeth teach vs to pray thus; Hat mere	Spreading of knowledge.  Psal. 67. 1,2.

8	Virginea.
Exod.11.9.  Exod.10.16.  Dan.4. 20.21. 27.29.	mercie on vs Lord, and blesse vs, and cause thy face to shine among vs, Selah. Marke this, that he biddeth vs pray, God be mercifull vnto vs; The meanes how, is this: That they may know thy way vpon earth, and thy sauing health among all nations; whereby he doth imply, that God hath with-held some mercy from vs, til all nations haue the meanes of saluation. This was a cause why God sent Abrahams posterity into Egipt, that by their meanes Pharaoh, whose heart was bigge, and would not acknowledge God, might be constrained to fall down, and say, I have sinned against the Lord. The cause also of the captiuity of the Iewes in Babilon, in the secrete prouidence of God, was, that the Monarkes of the world, who thought there was no God could come neere them in greatnes, might be as beastes before God, acknowledging, that it is God, that giueth Kingdomes to whom he will. And when the Lord had casued his people to returne, and to build their Citie and Temple; yet would not God fore-slowe the inforcing of his precept, Fill the earth. For whereas, by reason of his promise, he could not send the people abroad till Christ came, to make his glory knowne, he brought vpon them Gog and Magog, with their numbersome
Ezek.38.16.23.	Armies: The reason is, that the Heathen may knowe the Lord: I wil be magnified, and sanctified, and knowne in the eyes of many Nations. Then here must wee
V s e. I.	know, that what inducement <i>Abraham</i> had, to goe out of his Countrey, by a generall calling, the same doth binde all his sonnes, according to the faith, to goe likewise abroad, when God doth not otherwise call

## B RITANNIA. 9 call them to some speciall affaires: How euer, still they must have a longing, and a liking to spread the Gospel abroad. And that this point may be euidently conuicted vnto vs, Christ our Sauiour hath, according to his infinite wisedome, reviued the olde law, of filling the earth, in a most excellent manner: Goe teach (saith he) all nations, and baptize them in the Matth.28.19: name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. Gaue hee this Commaundement to his Apostles onely? haue not also the labours of godly Preachers, which they have spread over the face of the whole earth, beene bestowed by the power of this Commandement? And though the words, as they lie, doe binde the Ministers of the Word, to endeuour the propa gation of the Gospell, with all their power; yet not onely them: For we reade, that poore Tent-makers Acts18.3.26. and others, haue done much good in spreading the Gospell, according to their vocations: they also sa-II. tisfying thus much of Christs precept. Neither can there be any doubt, but that the Lord that called Abraham into another Countrey, doeth also by the same holy hand, call you to goe and carry the Gospell to a Nation that neuer heard of Christ. The Prophet Zachary, speaking of the daies of the Gospell,doth shew, that it is a good Vocation for men to goe abroad, when the number of the children of God doe exceede; his wordes are these: Thus saith the Lord of hostes, my cities shall yet be broken Zach.1.17. with plenty, the Lord shall yet comfort Zion. Vnto whom agreeth the Prophet Isaiah: The children of Isa. 49.20. thy barrennesse shall say againe, in thine eares, the place

is

10	VIRGINEA.
Obiection. Not to enter other Princes Territories.	is too strait for me, give me place, that I may dwell. Wherefore seeing that, thankes be to God, we are thronged with multitude; the Lord of hostes himselfe hath given vs the calling of his children to seeke for roome, and place to dwell in. And heere might we have proceeded to the next point, were it not for one scruple, which some, that thinke themselves to be very wise, do cast in our way; which is this in effect. The country, they say, is possessed by owners, that rule, and governe it in their owne
1. Answere. Conquest lawfull.	right: then with what conscience, and equitie can we offer to thrust them, by violence, out of their in-
CARION	uate. And if <i>Sigismund</i> , the Emperour, said well, that he merueiled euery man auoided all labors and difficulties,but onely to rule,which is the most difficult of all other labours; then to giue sentence of that, which in ruling is the most waightie, namely, warres, which are done with the greatest counsell, must needes bee a labour too heauie for a priuate mans shoulders. And because my selfe am but weake eyed in so great a mysterie; Come foorth ye great Princes,and Monarkes, of Assyria, Persia, Media, Greece and Rome, with your grauest counsellours,and answere for your facts,in conquering and subduing nations. For your stories, that were wont to be read with singular admiration of your fortitude,

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tude, your wisdome, your magnificence, and your great iustice, are now araigned, and must bee found guiltie, that through your sides, an action, of truer honour, then euer you attempted, may bee wounded. Your strong title of the sword, heeretofore magnified by Historians, Polititians, and Ciuilians, is to our objecter, but a spiders web, or the hatching of a Cockatrice his egge. But whatsoeuer the rest can say for their owne defence, the Lord himselfe doth say thus much for Cyrus: Thus saith Isay 45.1.2.3 4 the Lord vnto Cyrus, his anointed: whose right hand I haue holden to subdue nations before him : therefore will I weaken the loynes of Kings, and open the doores before him, and the gates shall not be shut: I will goe before thee, and make the crooked straight: I will breake the brasen doores, and burst the yron barres. And I will give thee the treasures of darkenesse, and the things hid in secret places; that thou maist know, that I am the Lord, which call thee by thy name, even the God of Israell. For Iacob my seruants sake, and Iraell mine elect, I will euen call thee by thy name, and name thee, though thou hast not knowen me. Then who can blame Cyrus, and keepe himselfe from blaspheming the almightie. Nay,that which is more to be trembled at, we must also to summon vp, and call to the barre, the most holy worthies of the Scripture : and see if man, or God, hath any thing to be said for them, why they should not be condemned as iniust, cruell, and bloudy. O Iacob, thy blessed bow and sword, with the fruit Gene.48.22. whereof thou blessedst thy sonne *Ioseph*, the staffe of thy gray head, and feeble knees, must be broken and C 2 burnt:

11

12	Virginea.
Psal.18.2. Iosh.10.24.	burnt: and thou must bee condemned for thy vn-lawfull conquest. Worthy <i>Ioshuah</i> , & most worthy <i>Dauid</i> , with thy cloud of worthies, who hanged vp so many shields in the house of God, and who sweetly singeth, that <i>God was his fortitude and buckler</i> , must incurre the note of iniustice. <i>Ioshuah</i> , where is thy vertue, to set thy feete vpon the neckes of princes, in their owne kingdomes, and call of the meanest of the people to be thy partners in that indignitie? <i>Dauid</i> , how vvilt thou answere for the
1.Sam.21.9.	blood thy sword hath shed? which thou vvast vvont to praise, <i>There is none to it.</i> Nay thou glory of men, and true type of Christ, King <i>Salomon</i> , whose wisedome vvas like vnto the vvisedome of God: teach vs to say some vvhat in thy defence. (For one graine of thy wisedome is of more worth then a talent of their leaden wits, that we are constrained to an-
Psal.45.2.4.5	swere.) Giue an account of his innocencie that said vnto thee: Girde thee vvith thy sworde vpon thy thigh, O thou most mightie, -Thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things, -The people shall fall vnder thee. Thy father, the sonne of Ishai, made a sinfull prayer for thee (as our objecters blaspheme) vvhen he said,
Psal.72.8.	thou shouldest so enlarge thy borders, that <i>Thy dominion should be from sea to sea, and from the river to the end of the land.</i> He vould have thee too rigid, when he saith, <i>That thine enemies should licke the dust.</i> Sure I am persvvaded that at the onely naming of so mightie Monarches, and holy conquerors, our objecters out of their modestie vvill vvith some distinction qualifie their proposition, and say that it is not lawfull

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lavvfull, by force to inuade the Territories of other Princes, that are in quiet possession, in some sort, and in some cases. I know that the diuell himselfe, vvith all his distinctions, that euer he made, vvhich are recorded in scripture, or vvhich he left in hell, in his cabinet of Abstruse Studies, (locked safe, till hee found out the Iesuits his trustie secretaries to keepe them:) I say none of them all can arme a subject against his prince vvithout sinne. But he that will set open his schoole in the fantasticall shop of his addle imagination, (for he will be hissed out of the Vniuersities) and take vpon him to nurture princes, as petties: telling them that they must not make offensiue warres, if it were to gaine the whole world to Christ, shall neuer be bidders of guests to the marriage of the kings sonne, who are required to compell them to come in. And if I might be so bold, I would faine aske one question of these objecters, that come dropping out of some Anabaptists Spicery:whether (if it be vnlawfull to conquere) the crowne sit well on the head of our most sacred soueraigne? (whose daye s be as the dayes of heaven O Lord) For by this obiection they shew, that had they power to vntwist that, which in so many ages hath beene well spunne, they would write him crownelesse, as farre as hee hath his title from the conqueror.

O but God forbid, saith the objecter, that wee should doe any wrong at all, no not to the diuell. The rule of Christ is excellent; Cast out the beame of thine owne eye, so shalt thou see clearely, to cast the mote out of thy brothers eye. If you will needs bee casting C 3 stones,

Matth.22.2.

Luke 14.23.

13

2.No wrong to bring in the Gospel. *Matth*.7.5.

14	VIRGINEA.	Britannia.
Iohn 8.7.	stones, Let him beginne first, that is without sinne. But to the point: our objecter would not whip a child	iustice, to stand vpon their defence. They can instruct the barbarous princes, as <i>Ioseph</i> did <i>Pharaoh</i>
	to teach him learning and vertue, for feare of doing wrong. What wrong I pray you did the Apostles	and his Senators; and as Daniel did Nabuchad-ne- zer, &c. And if these objecters had any braines in
	in going about to alter the lawes of nations, euen	their head, but those which are sicke, they could ea-
	against the expresse commandement of the princes,	sily finde a difference betweene a bloudy inuasion,
	and to set vp the throne of Christ. If your mouth	and the planting of a peaceable Colony, in a waste
Tertu. Apol.	be so foule, to charge them with wrong, as the Gen-	country, where the people doe liue but like Deere
contra Gentes.	tiles did, we have more neede to provide you a me-	in heards, and (no not in this stouping age, of the
	dicine for a cankred mouth, and a stinking breath,	gray headed world, ful of yeres and experience) haue
3. No blood	then to make you any answere at all.	not as yet attained vnto the first modestie that was
ment to bee	O but, in entring of other countries, there must needes be much lamentable effusion of bloud. Cer-	in Adam, that knew he was naked, where they know no God but the diuell, nor sacrifice, but to offer their
shed.	tainely our objecter was hatched of some popish	men and children vnto <i>Moloch</i> . Can it be a sinne
	egge; & it may be in a I E S V I T S vault, where they	in <i>Philip</i> , to ioyne himselfe to an Æthiopian charet?
	feede themselues fat, with tormenting innocents.	Is onely now the ancient planting of Colonies, so
See-white.	Why is there no remedie, but assoone as we come	highly praised among the Romans, and all other na-
The way to the Church.	on land, like Wolues, and Lyons, and Tygres,long	tions, so vile and odious among vs, that what is, and
die Grafen.	famished,we must teare in peeces,murther,and tor-	hath bene a vertue in all others, must be sinne in vs?
	ment the naturall inhabitants, with cruelties neuer	And if our objecter bee descended of the Noble
	read,nor heard of before? must we needs burne mil-	Saxons bloud, Let him take heede lest while he cast
	lions of them, and cast millions into the sea? must	a stone at vs,he wounds his father, that first brought
	we baite them with dogges, that shall eate vp the	him in his loynes from forreigne parts into this
	mothers with their children? let such be the practi-	happie Isle. But assuring my selfe that these obie-
	ses of the diuell, of <i>Abaddon the sonne of perdition</i> , of Antichrist and his frie, that is of purple Rome. As	cters speake that they thinke not, because they think that they should not, and if the tearmes of the per-
	for the professors of the Gospell, they know with	sons were changed, would praise other nations for
Gene.47.4. Only a soiour-	Iacob and his posteritie, to say to Pharaoh, To soiourne	that, which they dislike in vs : I leave them to trem-
ning.	in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pa-	ble before his glorious eyes, that all things are na-
Iudg.15.3. Warres onely	sture, &c. They can with Sampson live peaceably	ked and bare vnto, and my selfe will passe to en-
defensiue.	with the Philistims, till they bee constrained by in-	force the rest of our Text vpon the consciences of
	iustice,	such

15

Gene.41.25.38

Onely the Planting of a Peaceable Co-

lonie.

Gene.3.7,

Acts 8.29.

Dan.4.16.

16	Virginea.
	such, which I hope to bee the sonnes of <i>Abraham</i> according to promise.
ij°. His Countrey. Acts 7.2.	A Bram must get him out, from his country, his kind- red,& his fathers house. His Country was called Mesopotamia, the sweetest, and most fruitful soyle that was in the worlde. For it lieth betweene the two
Plin.Nat.Hist.	great riuers Euphrates and Tygris, which serued not, as other riuers do in other places, to bring fatnes into the country: but to sweepe away the ranknes, and foison of the earth, lest with the lustinesse of the ground, the fruit of the earth should rot, or be choked, or run vp to weed.
His kindred.	His kindred was euery way of the best, and noblest
Gene.9.26.	stocke of the sonnes of <i>Noah</i> ; namely the families of <i>Shem</i> , of whom God said, <i>Bleßed be the God of Shem</i> . So blessed were his tents, to wit the houses and families of his posterity, that, as of the most happie
27.	thing, it is saide; God perswade Iapheth, and his posteritie (of which we are a parte) to dwell in the tents of Shem. It seemeth then a matter of as great a perill,
Iohn 6.68.	to leaue that kindred, as to leaue the church, and so saluation it selfe. So saith <i>Peter to Christ: To whome</i>
His fathers house.	shall we goe, thou hast the words of eternall life.  His fathers house was worthy for him to have continued in. For though some interpreters think, that he was commanded to remove, because his Fathers house was idolatrous, it is not so, It is true indeed, that they were idolaters, because Iosuah doth say, to the children of Israell: your fathers dwelt because the first life time. The they were the say that they were they were the say that they were the say that they were they wer
Iosh.2.4.2.	yond the floud in olde time, Terah the Father of Abraham

# Britannia.

17

ha m, and the Father of Nachor, and serued other Gods. But what of this? Sure it was more through ignorance of the law, then through rebellion and rage. For when as Terah perceived, that God was with his sonne,he left all, without bidding, to go with his sonne, and had rather put himselfe in the tents of his sonne, then want the blessing of God. Heereby it appeareth, that they were a very louing people, one to the other, & soft harted to obey, when the Lord did commaund. His father also was very wealthy, having many possessions, much cattell, a numbersome and great family of seruants, All which is nothing obscurely implied in that which was spoken of Abram: Abram was verie rich in cattell,in siluer & in gold: and that when Abram heard that his brother was taken,he armed of them that were borne & brought vp in his howse, three hundred and eighteene. For it was not likely but that this wealth, and multitude, came to him from Father, yet all these must he forsake, and get him from them, vnlesse they would follow him and his fortunes (as they say) which they might if they wold. Othervvise if none vvould goe vvith him, but that he must be alone; yet must he still follovv the commandement of his God, that saith, Get thee out from among them.

The reason is given by Christ, that also called sonnes from their fathers, ovvners from their houses, and lands: brethren from their brethren: fathers, from their children: & husbands from their vviues, as he saith. He that loueth father or mother more then me, is not worthy of me. The commandement of God is

I.Reason. The commandement is of price, and must be obeyed. Matth.10.37.

Gene.13.2.

Gene.14.14.

the

D

10

18	Virginea.
Matth.13.44. Psal.119•72. 127.	the kingdome of heauen. It is a treasure hid in the field, a pearle of greate price, vvhich, if hee hath the heart of a man, that findeth, he vvill sell all that he hath, and buy
V S E. Go when God calleth.	it. Heere then vvee see that, vvhere God giueth a due vocation to spread abroad and inhabit the earth, neither the loue of the country,be it neuer so fruite-
	full; the loue of kindred, bee they neuer so noble and holy; the loue of a mans fathers house, be the family neuer so kinde, so rich, so numbersome: no nor the largenes of possession ought to be any impediment
	to keepe vs from obedience. Indeede it is true, that if any thing could affoord a man a sufficient excuse to deferre obedience vnto Gods commandement,
Luke 9.59.60.	of this kinde, it may be easilie found in one of these branches. But vvhat Christ saith to his followers, is to be repeated here: <i>Christ</i> saith to one <i>follow mee</i> ,
61.62.	and the same said, Lord suffer me first to goe and burie my father: but Christ endureth no delay, for hee presently subioineth a second commandement, Goe thou
01.02.	and preach the kingdome of God: Then another saide, I will follow thee Lord; but let me first goe, and bid them farewell, which are at mine house: And Iesus saide, No man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back,
	is apt to the kingdome of God: Then the commaundement of God must needes bee obeyed, whosoeuer else be neglected.
Reason of not going answered.  1.England,not	I am not ignorant, that many are not willing to goe abroade and spread the gospell, in this most honorable and christian voyage of the Plantation of <i>Virginia</i> . Their reasons are diuerse according to their
like Mesopo- tamia.	wits. One saith, <i>England</i> is a sweete country. True indeede

**T** 7

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indeede, and the God of glory be blessed, that wheras the country was as wilde a forrest, but nothing so fruitfull, as Virginia, and the people in their nakednes did arme themselues in a coate armor of Woad, fet- Com. Casoris. ching their Curets and Polderns, from a painters shop:by the ciuill care of conquerers and planters it is is now become a very paradise in comparison of that it was. But how sweete soeuer it be,I am sur, eit cannot compare with Mesopotamia, where Abram dwelt. O but, saith another, my kinidred would not be forsaken. Kindred? what kindred? Surely thy kindred is hardly so honourable and blessed, as the kindred of Abram was. And for any thing that I can see, since ATHEISTS and PAPISTS, haue gotten out of their serpents holes, and conuersed with men,they have sowed such cockell among our wheate, that in many places a man is in no such perill to be cheated and cosoned,if not murthered & poisoned, as among his own kindred that are affected that way. Some few, and those very few, are not willing to leave their fathers house, where any thing may bee hoped for after the death of their parents: but for the most part, the world perceiveth that excepte it be to ioyne in a deadly feude, or some peece of excellent villanie, the English Prouerbe is true, The farther from kinne, the neerer to friends. But look seriously into the land, and see whether there bee not iiust cause,if not a necessity to seek abroad. The people blessed be God, doe swarme in the land, as yong bees in a hiue in *Iune*; insomuch that there is very hardly roome for one man to liue by another. The

19

Kindred not like Abrams.

seeke abroad.

mightier

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mightier like old strong bees thrust the weaker, as younger,out of their hiues: Lords of Manors conuert towneships, in which were a hundreth or two hundreth communicants, to a shepheard & his dog. The true labouring husbandman, that susteineth the prince by the plow, who was wont to feede manie poore,to set many people on worke, and pay twice as much subsidie and fifteenes to the king, for his proportion of earth, as his Landlord did for tenne times as much; that was wont to furnish the church with Saints, the musters with able persons to fighte for their soueraigne, is now in many places turned labourer, and can hardly scape the statute of rogues and vagrants. The gentleman hath gotten most of the tillage in his hand; he hath rotten sheepe to sell at Michaelmas: his sommer fed oxen at Easter: asking no better price for hay,then his beasts,to keepe that till spring, that they got at grasse: by these meanes he can keepe his corne til the people sterue, alvvaies prouided that the poore husbandmen which are left, and the clothier must buy their seed, and wool at such a rate, that shall vveare them out in a very few yeeres. And were it not, that the honest and christian merchant doth often helpe, who putteth all his estate vpon the prouidence of God, which they call venturing, to bring corne into the land, for which he hath many a bitter curse of the cursed cornmongers, we should finde an extreame famine in the midst of our greatest plenty. The rich shop-keeper hath the good honest poore labourer at such aduantage, that he can grind his facewhen he pleaseth.

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pleaseth. The poore mettall man vvorketh his bones out, and swelteth himselfe in the fire, yet for all his labour, hauing charge of wife and children, hee can hardly keepe himselfe from the almes box. Alwaies prouided that his masters to whom he worketh, will giue neuer a penny towards his liuing; but they can tell of their owne knowledge, that if the poore man were a good husband, he might liue well : for he receiueth much money in the veere at their hands, very neere foure pence for euery sixe penny worth of work. The thoughtfull poore woman, that hath her small children standing at her knee, and hanging on her breast; she worketh with her needle and laboureth with her fingers, her candle goeth not out by night, she is often deluding the bitternes of her life with sweete songs, that she singeth to a heavy heart. Sometimes shee singeth: Haue mercie on mee Lorde, sometimes Helpe Lord, for good and godly men doe perish and decay: sometimes Iudge and reuenge my cause O Lord: and many such like: which when a man of vnderstanding doth heare; he doth with pittie praise God, that hath given such meanes to mocke hunger with, and to giue patience. I warrant you her songs want no passion; she neuer saith, O Lord, but a salte teare droppeth from her sorrowfull head,a deep sigh breatheth as a furnace from her aking hart, that weepeth vvith the head for company, vvith teares of svveetest bloud. And vvhen all the vveeke is ended, shee can hardly earne salt for her vvater gruell to feede on vpon the Sunday. Many such svveets are in England, which I know not how better to interpret D then

22	VIRGINEA.	Britannia.
	then to say the strong olde bees doe beate out the younger, to svvarme & hiue themselues elsevvhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers vvhich indeed bring all the hony to the hiue, God may so blesse you, that the prouerbe may be true of you, that A May swarme, is worth a kings ransome.	we are bound, if God commaund, to fe though blindfold. Againe, the Lord dot him whither he shall goe, to keepe him is that the obedience of faith may the more appeare. For if the Lord had enticed him ments taken from the opportunitie and of the place: how should it be knowen, we
iij°.	THE place whither Abram must goe, is to the land which the Lord will let him see. A commaundement fit for God, to perswade by no arguments taken from the sweetnes and fruitfulnesse of the place. Thus doth the Apostle to the Hebrewes, render this	went by the power of the promise of C some carnall inducement? We know the to God of Iob, Doth Iob feare God for thou not made a hedge about him & about his we also know what Christ saith to then
Heb.11.8.	place, By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyd God, togoe into a place, which afterwards he should receive for inheritance, and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. The like commandement did the Lord giue to the children of Israel, when they came out of Egipt: For they must not chuse their owne way, but follow the cloudie piller that led them. For at the com-	lowed him. Yee seeke me not, because yee so cles, that is, for any respect they had to his but because ye ate of the loanes and were filled.  From which imputation the Lord his seruant Abraham, whom hee purpose the Father of the faithfull, and give him ample to all posteritie. So dealt the L
Numb.9.23.	maundement of the Lord, they pitched, and at the commaundement of the Lord, they iourneyed,keeping the watch of the Lord, at the commaundement of the Lord. They iourneyed, sometimes where the waters were bitter, sometimes where there was no water, sometimes where the place was full of fierie Serpents, yet could they not be their own chusers,	wildernesse with the children of Israel: he see no possibilitie to liue in the world, but them by extraordinary miracle, giuing the and <i>Quailes</i> , that they might follow the stefather Abraham: and know, that man bread onely, but by enery word that proceedeth mouth of God, doth man line. Then here we
Rom.11.34.	but must follow, where the Lord went before. For God in his wayes can endure no counsellour. Hee	God doth commaund,, he is to be obey asking of any questions; Abraham mus
1.Reason. Contented to be Gods crea- tures.	will be the shepheard, we the sheepe of his pasture, He will be the potter, wee must content our selues with the condition of the potters vessell: wherefore we	land hee knoweth not whither, because haue it so. He must not say, A Lyon m street, lest he find A Serpent bite him at home

to follow him, doth not tell nim in suspense, more effectually ed him by arguand sweetnesse en, whether hee of God, or by the diuell saith for nought, hast out his house? And them that folyee saw the mirato his Godhead,

ord would free irposed to make him for an exne Lord in the el: hee let them d, but susteined ng them Manna ne steps of their man liueth not by Deut.8.3. leth out of the e we see, where obeyed, without must goe to a ecause God will yon may bee in the prou.26.13. home, as he lea-

II.

23

*Iob* 1.9.10.

Ioh. 6. 26.

V s e.

neth

	24	Virginea.
Na	umb.14.7.8. umb. 13.24. uut.1.24,	neth on the wall. How much more, when the land is discouered, to bee as much better then the place in which vve liue, as the land of Canaan, was better then the roaring wildernesse, ought vve to be vvilling to goe, vvhither God calleth? The children of Israell had vvord by their spies. The land which wee walked through to search it, is a very good land. If the Lord loue vs, he will bring vs to this land, and gine it vs, which is a land that floweth with milke and honie. Thence they brought a bunch of grapes, and loaded two men as they carried it on a barre vpon their shoulders: Sure if such motiues as these could not make
Ge	ene.26.12.	them readie to runne to the place, it appeared that they had neither the feare of God, that vvould not be perswaded by him; nor the vvits of reasonable men, that vvill not respect their owne benefit. What shall vvee say then to our people, vvhich haue in them so little edge to follov their owne thrift. The land, by the constant report of all that haue seene it, is a good land, with the fruitfulnesse vvhereof, and pleasure of the Climate, the plentie of Fish and Fowle, England, our mistresse, cannot compare, no not vvhen she is in her greatest pride. It is said of the land of Canaan, that Isaak sowed in that land, and found in the same yeere, an hundredfold, by estimation: and the text addeth, And so the Lord blessed him. But here is greater matter then so: For, if I count aright, this land giueth fiue hundred fold at one haruest. For the eares of Wheate, vvhich I haue seene, are ten in square, and fiftie long: and yet they say, that commonly this returne is little better then the third part,

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part, euery stalke bearing, ordinarily three such eares of Wheate. As for the opportunitie of the place, I leaue it to the graue Polititian : and for the commodities, let the industrious Merchant speake: but for foode and raiment, here is inough to be had, for the labour of mastring and subduing the soile. The children of Israell that were in the wildernesse, readie to perish, if God vvithdrew his miraculous hand, like a stiffenecked people as they were, refused to goe, fell into a mutiny, and made a commotion, vpon the newes that the Land had fenced cities, and walled townes exceeding great. And because there were the sonnes of Anak: mightie Giants that were armed in Brasse, & their speare like a Weauers cloth beam. For they forgat the God that brought them out of Egypt, and that made the raging waves of the sea to stand in heapes, and take the office of strong walles, that they might easily march through vpon drie land. They forgat that God was the creator of the mountaines, whereof one of the least, is stronger then all the sonnes of Anak. They forgat that God putteth away all the vngodly of the earth like drosse. But wee should be worse then mad, to bee discouraged by any such imaginations of this place. There are but poore Arbors for Castles , base and homely sheds for vvalled townes. A Mat is their strongest Portcullis, a naked brest their Target ofbest proofe: an arrow of reede, on which is no iron, their most fearefull vveapon of offence, heere is no feare of nine hundreth iron charets. Their God is the enemie of mankind that seeketh whom hee may deuoure.

Num.13.29.

25

*Iudg.* 4.13. 1.*Pet.* 5.8.

Е

26	Virginea.
Iohn 8.44.  Zach.12.8.  1.Sam. 18. 7.  Isay. 37. 36.	A murtherer from the beginning, that laboureth the destructio of those that serue him most deuoutly. Heere that Scripture hath a full accomplishment; In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Ierusalem, and he that is feeble among them shall bee as Danid, that slew his ten thousand: And the house of Danid as Gods, as the Angel of the Lord before them, that destroyed the most puissant Armie of the Assyrians, that came against Ierusalem. Wherefore seeing we are contented, when the King doth presse vs out to warre, to go we know not whither, nor vnder whom, and can propose no thing vnto vs but to fight vvith a mightie enemie: Let vs bee cheerefull to goe to the place, that God will shew vs
111j°. Deut. 28 1. Leuit. 26. 3.	to possesse in peace and plentie,a Land more like the garden of Eden: which the Lord planted, then any part else of all the earth.  The Lord doth promise to enrich him with many blessings, if he be obedient to his calling. An example of that sweete sanction of the law, vvhen the Lord doth allure men to keepe it,by the abundance
A great Nation.	of his blessings. In this place, the Lord doth promise vnto <i>Abraham</i> , foure most excellent mercies, of all men of vnderstanding most earnestly desired. The first thing he promiseth vnto him, is, that <i>The Lord will make him a great Nation</i> . A thing which in the beginning of the Plantation of the vvorld,by all men, vvas principally desired, vvith the greatest longing. Out of this desire, arose the taking of many
Mal. 2. 15.	vviues, vvhereas God did make but one. Hence also rose

rose a reproch vnto the barren, though the Lord had shut vp the wombe. This appeareth by Leah, who said when she bare a sonne, Now therefore my husband will love me. And againe, Now will my husband keepe me companie, because I haue borne him three sonnes. It appeareth also by the storie of Hannah, of whom it is said, her adversary vexed her sore, which was her husbands other wife, for she vpraided her, because the Lord had made her barren. It appeareth also, that even to the time of the Gospel, it was a reproch to a woman if she were barren, as Elizabeth said when shee conceiued with child. Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the dayes when he looked on mee, to take from me my rebuke among men. Yea it was in those dayes a speech, Cursed bee the barren that beareth not, and the breasts that give not sucke. No maruaile then,if it were an argument very powerfull to perswade Abraham to goe vnder this condition: Especially when Abraham was full of yeeres, elder Gene. 12.4. then his father was, when he begat him. And also his wife was well stroken in yeeres, in so much, that it ceased to be with her after the manner of vvomen. And to let it appeare that hee vvas exceedingly affected vvith a desire to multiplie and encrease, when God came to him and comforted him, Thus, Feare not Abraham, I am thy buckler, and thine exceeding great reward; he maketh this answere to God: What wilt thou give me (for the Text doth say hee was exceeding rich) seeing I goe childlesse: As if he had said, that he preferred the blessing of multiplication before all the vvorld beside. Now heere dooth God promise E 2

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Gene 29. 32. 1.Sam.1. 6.

Luke 1.26.

Gene. 18.11.

Gene. 15.1.2.

28	V IRGINEA.
Gene.17.20.	promise him, vpon his obedience, not only to give him a child, or that he shall beget twelve princes, as it is said of Ismael; but he will make him a great Nation;
Gene.13.16. Gene.15.5. Heb.11.12.	a Nation, that, not man, but God calleth Great: that is, exceeding great. For imprinting of vvhich promise in the heart of <i>Abraham</i> , he calleth him to see the innumerable starres of the skie, the infinite sands by the sea, and the motes of the dust of the
Answere to the Obiection of being ex- tinguished.	earth, which hee will make fit comparisons to expresse the greatnesse of this nation. Then seeing, whatsoeuer was promised to <i>Abraham</i> ; is also promised to all that are ofhis faith and obedience; here is an answere to such, as object they are loth to goe from home; because they know not what shall become of them. For if they once get into an other Countrey, they thinke there is an end of them, and all theirs. This the Lord answereth; Not so, but obey the commandement, <i>And God will open the</i>
Psal. 113. 9.	barren wombe, and make her to dwell with a family, and to be a joyfull mother of children. Prayse the Lord.
Gene. 32. 10.	Iacob thus prayeth God, with my staffe came I ouer
God will blesse him.	this Iorden, and now have I gotten two bands.  The second thing vvhich the Lord doth promise vnto Abram, is, that He will blesse him, Him I say and
Gene. 27. 28.	the nation that shal come of him. What is meant by this blessing the Patriarke <i>Isake</i> doth, in part, make plaine, vvhen hee disposeth of this blessing to <i>Iacob</i> vvhich his Father <i>Abram</i> had of God, and left to him. His vvords are these. <i>God give thee of the dew of heauen, and the fatnes of the earth, and plenty of wheat and wine, Let people be thy servants; and nations bow vnto thee,</i>

thee, be thou Lord ouer thy brethren, and let thy mothers children honor thee. In summe he blesseth him vvith plenty and authoritie. Hovvbeit these things vvere but a parte of the blessing; the remainder of this blessing vvhich indeede is most excellent, nneth the substance, vvhereofthose temporall blessings vvere but the type and shadovy, and as it vvere the Sacraments. When Moses doth say, My doctrine shall droppe as the rai ne, and my speech shall still as the dew, as the showers vpon the hearbs, and as the greate raine vpon the grasse. It is plaine that the devv is but the type of the vvorde of God and his gratious spirit, that doth accompanye it, as all the promises vvhich vvere deliuered in a temporall Phrase had a spirituall sence, To which purpose is that in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, By faith Abraham abode in the Heb.11.9 10.16 land of promise, as in a strange countreye, for hee looked for a City having a foundation, whose builder and maker is God, that is an heavenly one, In this blessing then are there all good things, having the promise of the life present, and of that which is to come, for this is the profit, is got by godlines. So vvhen then children of Israell came out of Egypt they came forth riche, vvith siluer and golde; and vvith greate substance, as the Lord had shevved vnto Abram before. But that vvas not all, for the Lord sent his angell to accompany them, raysed them vp Prophets of their brethren, erected his tabernacle among them, yea saith saint Paule They dranke of the spirituall rocke that followed them, and the rock was Chrsit.

And heere is an answer to a second objection, of

Е such 29

1. Tim. 4. 8.

Exod.12.3 5.

Gene. 15.14.

Deut. 18.15.

Num 11, 26 27 1. Cor. 10.4. Answere to the Objection of loosing the blessing of

God.

30	Virginea.
1.Chron. 28.9.	such as vvill not goe abroad, for feare ofloosing the blessing of God, diuers are the difficulties into which a man is cast when hee liueth among barbarous people. Sure hee cannot haue the blessing of God, that is mingled among the heathen. Hee must lose the preaching of the word of God, and the purity of the Sacraments, thus is he vndone in bodie & soule. To this the Lord replieth, that to him that doth wilfully with the breach of Gods commandement run into tentation, the Lord doth bring vpon him the curse that Danid forewarneth his sonne of, If thou forsake him, hee will cast thee off for euer. But if a man leaue his Country at Gods commandment, the blessing of the Lord shall euer waite vpon him to feede his body and sanctifie his soule. The trueth is; that none doe so shine in pietie as those that feare God & are out of their Countrie. We neuer read of such a blessing of men, with constancie and deliuerance,
Dan.21.25.	in their owne Countrie, as we find ofsome abroad. Where did <i>Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago,</i> stand for their faith and were deliuered out of the fierie
Dan. 6.16.	Ouen into which they were cast, because they would not offend God, but among the <i>Babilonians?</i> Where did <i>Daniel</i> shew his constancie in prayer, and found deliuerance from the Lyons denne, but among the Gentiles? Stand fast then in the Faith, and you shal see the blessings of God redoubled vpon you more, being in a strange Contry, then you were able to discerne at home.
A great name.	The third blessing vpon Abraham, is, that God will make him a great name. This is a blessing of that kinde,

kinde, as men are exceedingly ambitious of. No meruaile, when God and man doth commend it vnto the world, as a thing of price; A good name (saith Salomon)is better then a costly oyntment, and is to bee chosen aboue great riches. Hereupon the Scripture hath recorded good men; and the Epistle to the Hebrews giueth the reason of it, which it rendreth | Heb.11.39. thus, All these, through faith, obtained a good re port. So is David registred for a worthie, and so are all his worthies recorded by the holy Ghost, to stirre vp other ages to imitate their vertues, that they may inherit their prayses, For praise for vertue is a blessed thing, which Christ himselfe delighted in, His fame was spread abroad throughout all the land: and of the fame of the Apostles and such as prea ched the word of God, Dauid saith, which also S. Paul doth cite and thus render to their praise. Their sound went out through all the earth; and their words into the ends of the world. This swift flying and loud sounding fame, doeth the Lord promise shall bee spread abroad of Abram, if hee will obey God and forsake his country. A thing which proued true: for all the rest of the Scriptures, to the end of the Bible hath this onely subject, namely the praise of Abram. It is certaine that a godly man hath neuer that great name at home, as abroad. Christ saith truely in the Particular of a Prophet, which is also true of euery vertuous man, A Prophet is not without honour, saue in his owne Country, and in his owne house. And so here is an answere to a third objection, which some doe make:What should a man do abroad? A man would

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Eccles. 7.3. Prou.22.1.

1. Chron. 11.

Psal. 19.3. Rom.10.18.

Matth. 13. 57

Answere to the Objection oflosse of me morie.

willing

32	V IRGINEA.
	willingly keepe the poore reputation and respect he hath. If I go out of my Country, I shall be but swallowed vp among strangers, my memories will bee sooner rotten abroad, though I liue; then if I were long laide in my graue at home. The Lord answereth this objection thus. Feare not Abram, I will bee thine exceeding great rewarde, I will by thee doe so greate things in a strange place, that thy name shall be remembred, as my name, which I will put vpon thee. Sure it is very true, that manie a man, while he staieth at home, liueth in obscuritie, as in the darkest night, though his vertues and worth deserue better respect. For at home what can bee a mans regarde, where there be millions of his rank, though not better deseruing, yet better fauoured. Get abroad where vertue is skant, and there, by the aduancing of thy wisdome and vertue, thou shalt bee more eminent and famous in a yeare, then at home halfe of thy ranke shall bee all their daies: hidden vertue is neg-
1.King.10.27.	lected, but abroade it is magnified, At home bee thou a right good man, thou canst not be seene, for thou art either ouertopt,or so many waies equalled, that thou art like Gold in <i>Salomons</i> time, vvhich vvas esteemed no better then stones, or like Cedars that vvere but like vvild figge trees. Thy vvay then to makethe vvorld ring of they vertue, to thy praise among the good,and to the terror of those that are
A blessing.	among the good, and to the terror of those that are euill, is to go abroad vvhen God calleth thee.  The fourth blessing is that he shall be <i>A blessing</i> .  The speech hath relation to the esteeme that other men giue; For so doe wee often reade the phrase in the

the Scripture, where it euer doth import so good a reputation among others, that they hold themselues blessed for his company. In that sense the prophet Isaiah vseth the worde in this sentence: In that day shall Israell be a third with Egypt and Ashur, euen a blessing in the mids of the land. And the Prophet Zacharie thus, It shall come to passe, that as yee were a curse among the heathen, O house of Iudah, and house of Israel, so will I deliner you, and ye shall bee a blessing. But the speech hath more in it then so; namely that whereas, The time of ignorance God regarded not: but that he bestowed those blessings vpon the barbarons people, by the hand of that generall prouidence whereby he maketh his Sunne to shine on the euill, & the good, and sendeth raine on the iust and vniust: now the Lord shall bestow all his blessings vpon the land through Abram: as if the Olive trees of Gods graces did drop through him, as through a golden pipe, vpon them. A greate blessing to Abram Zach. 4.12. who herein should be a type of Christ. For as of his fullnes all receive, so of Abram, the nations should receiue grace for grace. And so heere is an answer to a fourth objection of them that say, what should a man do out of his country? He shall bee but a hissing and a gasing stocke, and a curse to those among whom he is a stranger. Besides if hee will have any good, he must seeke for pearles in a dunghill, hee must lick his hony off from the thorne, and worke his butter out of the fire. Vnto this objection the Lord answereth; Abram feare not, for none of these things shall befall. For on the contrary I wil encline F the

33

Isai. 19.24.

Zach. 8. 13.

Acts 17.30.

Matth. 5.45.

Answere of being abhorred.

34	Virginea.
Gene. 26.28.	the heart of thy strangers so to respect thee, that they shall holde thee to bee the onely blessing that euer came among them, because thou shalt verie sensibly bring many blessings vnto them. When Isack the sonne of Abram, came to Abimelech, though the Philistines enuied him for his wealth: yet Abimelech the King came to him with his friends and captaines of his armye, and said, Wee have certainely seene that the Lord is with thee: and we thought, let there
Gene.41.3 8. and 40.	nowbe an oath between vs, and let vs make a couenant with thee, Thou now the blessed of the Lord, do this. Pharaoh, King of Egypt, said to his servants of Ioseph, can we find such a man as this, in whom is the spirit of God. He said also to Iospeh, Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people bee armed. Thus Abraham was knowen to be a blessing. Now what the Lord
Rom.4.23.	promised to Abraham, was also promised to al those that are of the same faith and obedience with him. Then this blessing, of being a blessing, belongeth vnthose which at Gods commandement doe Get them out of their Country. When a man of worth is among many men of like worth, he is accounted rather a curse then a blessing, such is the corruption of flesh and bloud, infected with enuy and with pride. If any good come to any land by reason of any good man, yet is there such wrestling for the garland, that he that hath the most friends, will set the better leg before, and not onely get the thanks that is due to another; but also, as Iacob got the start of Esan, in vertue, so will Esan trip vp the heeles of Iacob by his power, if God keepe him not. Nay Esan must be acknown

Britannia.	35
knowledged to haue an Angels face, for winking at his brother; that windeth himselfe out of his companie as cleanly as hee can. But when a man commeth abroad, where the word of God and his feare is precious, then euery vertue of worth shall haue this Respond of the Idiots and Barbarians, out of question God is in these men. Then can there no blessing fall extraordinarily, but all men know for whose sake it is, namely for such as God hath made a bles-	1. <i>Cor.</i> 14.25.
sing. Out of these arguments , by which God inticed	Vse I.
Abram to goe out of his Country, such as goe to a Christian Plantation may gather many blessed lessons. God will make him a greate nation. Then must	Marrie not with Infidels.
Abrams posteritie keepe them to themselues. They may not marry nor giue in marriage to the heathen, that are vncircumcised. And this is so plaine, that out of this foundation arose the law of marriage a-	
among themselues. The breaking of this rule, may breake the neck of all good successe of this voyage, whereas by keeping the feare of God, the Planters	
in shorte time,by the blessing ofGod,may grow into a nation formidable to all the enemies of Christ, and bee the praise of that part of the world, for so	
strong a hand to bee ioyned with the people here that feare God.	
Another thing also is to bee marked out of this place, mamelie, that to grow into a great nation is a very great plessing of God. Then are they but A-	I I. A great Nati- on Gods bles- sing.

F 2

know

36	Virginea.	Britannia.	37
	knovv not what, that wish God had their children, for they could spare them well enough. But especially the sonne of perdition, that body of Poperie	and of the kingdome of heauen.  But further if you will haue <i>Abrams</i> blessing, you must doe your diligence to walke in those wayes,	IIII.
	is by this Text made abhominable, that once wrote to the Lords of the Counsell ofthis Land, that Po-	by which the Lord doeth giue his blessings. You must not with Idlenesse, inforce God to worke my-	
	perie would much profit the Land, because by the single life of Priests and Nunnes, and Monkes, and	racles of mercie on the wilfully sinfull. You must bee diligent to heare the word of God, reuerent in	
	Friers, the Common-wealth should not be so charged with multitude of children. They fitly say, not	beleeuing and receiuing of it, fruitfull in the Christian practice of it, that the blessing of God may come	
Par. Vrsperg.	charged;but they say not,that lesse children shallbe gotten. For when as one fishponde, a thousand	vpon you. God can raise children vnto Abraham of the very stones, and cast you away if you cast him off.	Matth.3.9.
	yeares agoe, could affoorde more then sixe thousand	In that the Lord doeth promise Abraham to make	V.
	infants heads, so long before the abstruse studies came	him a great Name, know that it is a blessed thing to	A good Name
	from hell into the hands of <i>Iesuites</i> , what shall wee thinke of these latter daies? But to rake no further	be well spoken of. This will God bring vpon the obedient. But if you disobey, you will but make	
	into the stinking kennell, I must tell them to their	the eares of them to tingle, that heare of you. And	
	teeth, that when they say the kingdome is better for	as we are in continuall expectation of some honou-	
	the smallnes of the number of the subjects, or is not	rable effect, if you continue in the faith : so will you	
	the better for being a great nation, that they doe like	bring a confusion vpon your selues, and a shame	
	their father the diuell, giue God the lie.	vpon your Nation, if you sticke not fast to God,and	
III.	Whereas God doeth promise to blesse him in	his blessed commaundements.	
Blesse his Iourney.	his Iourney, as hee did indeede, giuing him the gift	And lastly , whereas God doth promise, that A-	V I.
ŕ	of a Prophet to teach, of a Priest to pray, of a King	bram shall be a blessing, you must know it you du-	Ephe.5.15.16
	to rule, of plentie in his Temporall estate, and Ioye	tie to walke wisely towards those that are without,re-	
Iohn 8.56.	in seeing Christ the Sauiour of his soule; here may	deeming the time, because the dayes are euill. The dayes	
	such as transplant at Gods commandement, bee as-	are euill indeed, in that continent.	
	sured of that promse of God, I will not leave thee, nor	Then how tender ought your care to be, to gaine	
<i>Iosh.</i> 1.5.	forsake thee; but as God saith to Ioshuah, as I was with Moses so will I be with thee: so God saith to	the reputation of a blessing among this people. Let them see,that he that came before, was but Satan	
103//. 1.J.	them, as I was with <i>Abraham</i> , so will I be with you.	whom they themselues doe serue, that had transfor-	
	I will blesse you, to wit, with the blessings of this life	med himselfe into an Angell of light; and that they were	2.Cor 11.13.14
	and	F 3 Satans	

38	Virginea.
Rom.13.13. Matth.5.16. Gal 6.10. Ephe.4.27.	Satans ministers, that transformed themselues into the Apostles of Christ. But walke you honestly as in the day, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie you father which is in heaven. While we have time, let vs doe good to all men; yet give no place to the divell. So the blessing of God shall be vpon vs, and we shall be a blessing wheresoeuer we goe. And still remember that, as the divels children will needs be a curse, so the sonnes of Abraham will alwayes labour to be a sweete blessing, where ever they come. And these were the arguments that concerned Abraham and his people, wee must novv proceed also to speake of such arguments that concerned others.
V°.  Psal.122.6.  Matt.10.41.42	THE Lord doth deale wonderfully with him in respect of others, When he is departed from his owne Countrie. For first the Lord will blesse them that blesse him. To blesse, in this place, is by word and deed to seeke the prosperitie of any. The Lord then doth promise to make all his blessings goe before them, that doe, in any manner, make their blessings goe before his servants. To this purpose is it, which the Prophet David hath, Pray for the peace of Ierusalem, Let them prosper that love thee. And that of Christ. He that receiveth a Prophet, in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward; and hee that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive the reward of a righteous man. And whosoever shall give to one of these little ones, to drinke, a cup of cold water onely, in the name of a Disciple. Vere-

#### B RITANNIA. 39 ly I say unto you, he shall not loose his reward. Vpon this blessing of God was it that David said to his sonne Salomon. Shew kindnes vnto the sonnes of Barzillai the 1.King.2.7. Gileadite,- for so they came to me, when I fled fro Absolom thy brother. And as the Lord doth blesse them that loue his children, with his blessings of this life, so doth he blesse them at last with the kingdome of heauen. For thus doth our Sauiour Christ giue his sentence; Come ye blessed of my father, take the inheritance of the kingdome prepared for you, from the begin-Matth.25.34. ning of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gaue me meat, &c. Which afterwards he doth thus explaine, Verely I say vnto you, in as much as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it to me. But here we must vnderstand, that when he saith, I will blesse them that blesse thee, the word thee, did not signifie personall Abraham; but Abraham and all his posteritie, which were in his loynes, and were to be that great Nation, that the Lord promised to Num.24.5.3. make of him. And this, the Foxe Balam knew very well, when speaking of *Iacob*, and the habitation of Israel, He citeth this Text: Blessed is hee that blesseth Gene.30.27. thee. Laban was blessed for Iacobs sake, and the keeand 39 2 3. per of the prison, with his whole charge, was blessed because of *Ioseph*. The midwiues, that did spare Exod.1.17.20. the children of the Israelites, and did not kill them, according to the commaundement of Pharaoh the king, were also blessed: which the Scripture doth thus record, God therfore prospered the widowes. And

againe, And because the widowes feared God, therefore he made them houses. Rahab also, that harboured and

hid

40	Virginea.	Britannia.	41
Ios.2.14. & 6. 25. Mat.1.5.	hid the Lords spies, found the blessing that <i>Ioshuah</i> saued her, and her fathers houshold, and all that she had, and she dwelt in <i>Israel</i> , as it seemeth, married to <i>Salmon</i> , and so also from her came Christ.	of mine eye. To this purpose is that of our Sauiour Christ, He that receiveth you, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. And againe, He that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth	Matth.10.  Luke10.16.
Deut.28. Leuit.26.	To curse, in this place, doth signific all kind of af- flictions: as appeareth by the lawe of God. And so the meaning is, that the Lord will spend all his plagues vpon such as doe bring any affliction vpon	me, despiseth him that sent me. And now, seeing the respect of blessing or cursing, which falleth vpon Abraham and his posteritie, doth fall vpon God, then consider what God saith for himselfe. Them that ho-	1. <i>Sam.</i> 2.30.
Mat.18.6.	Abraham, yea the Lord will reuenge them in his wrath. So saith the Lord Iesus Christ, He that shall offend one of these little ones, that beleeve in me, it were better for him, that a milstone were hanged about his necke: and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.	nour me, I will honour: and they that despise me, shall be despised. And this doth Dauid acknowledge in God, With the godly, thou wilt shew thy selfe godly: with the vpright, thou wilt shew thy selfe vpright: with the pure, thou wilt shew thy selfe pure: and with the froward, thou	Psal.18.25.26
Gen.12 15.12. Gen.20.3.18. Ge.19.5.12.24.	Let <i>Pharaoh</i> tell how well he sped for taking <i>Abrahams wife into his house</i> , The Text saith, <i>The Lord plagued Pharaoh with great plagues</i> ; because of Sarai Abrahams wife. Let <i>Abimelech</i> tell, how much better he faired for the like pranke. But <i>Sodom</i> will neuer	wilt shew they selfe froward.  It is then to bee observed, that godly men, that feare God, where ever they goe by Gods vocation, they shall find friends, and such as shall blesse them. He made those that led them away captive to pitie them.	V S E. I. Godly men find friends.
Exod.1.&c.	be forgotten, that would abuse strangers. And E-gypt is hanged vp a table, in all mens eyes, to let them see, that the Lord hath innumerable fearefull plagues, to spend vpon them that will deale craftily, and cruelly with his people; and not suffer them to	Iospeh, and Daniel found more honour abroad, then their Princes had at home. Ester and Mordecai, found more fauour at Shusan, then many of their betters found at Ierusalem. Hee that raised vp those godly men friends abroad, will also prouide for you a-	
Reason, communion with God.  Gen.17.7.	serue the Lord. The reason hereof is, that God, to him that receiveth his covenant, doth bind himselfe to be his God, and the God of his seede. And thus the Prophet Zacharie bringing foorth - God expressing his meaning to be, that there is so strickt an Vnion, betweene God and his people, that what is done to	broad,if ye continue his faithfull seruants, as <i>Abram</i> did. And further, here wee see, that such as loue Gods people shall prosper; though they be but heathen. This may give warrantie vnto our consciences, to accept of fauour and blessings, even of the Gentiles: and also to hold a league and concur-	I I. The friends of godly men prosper.
Zach.2.8.	his seruants, hee taketh as done to himselfe; His words be these, He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of	rence, euen with the well affected Heathen, that God hath stirred vp,to be the means of his Blessings G vnto	

42	Virginea.
Gen.14.13.	vnto vs. So is it said to Abram, When he had occasion to rescue his brother Lot from Chedor-Laomer, Then came one that escaped, and told Abram the Ebrew, which dwelt in the plaine of Mamre, the Amorite, bro-
111.	ther to Eshcol, and brother to Aner, which were confederate with Abram. And also we may secure our selues, in the association of such; that God will not kill vs for their sakes: but on the contrary, God will blesse them for our sakes.
They must looke for enemies.	Againe, this text doth teach vs thus much, that in a strange Countrey, we must looke for enemies; euen cursing enemies, vnder whose tongues is the poyson of Aspes, and whose right hand is a right
Io sh 13 22. Num.22.6.	hand of iniquitie. <i>Balaam</i> , that had a witches tongue in his head,was sent for to curse Israel,by <i>Balak</i> , that
Gen 3.15.	knew he had a pestilent tongue. The seed of the diuel will be spighting and biting, doe what a man can.
Iohn 16.33.	This our Sauiour foretelleth to his holy Apostles, In the world you shall have trouble. A thing which if the children of Israel had knowen as they ought, they would neuer haue refused to enter the land which God commanded them to possesse: because there were cursing and killing enemies, no better then Canibals. Bee not then discouraged, though you light on enemies: for that did God foretell vnto Abram, that hee and his seed must find. Rather bee strong, and of good courage: because the Lord is
I I I I • Their enemies shall be cursed.	with you; and with them, but an arme of flesh.  Lastly, our text doth tell vs, that he will curse them that curse <i>Abram</i> , This the witch <i>Balaam</i> knew that if any would open his mouth to curse the people

ple of God, hee should bee cursed himselfe: for the curse should returne vnto him, as Water into his bowels, and oyle into his bones. And generally, they shall come vnto shame and confusion, as many as haue euill will at Ziion. Here then is a warrant that where godly men are constrained to encounter with cursers, such as are the Priests of the Gentiles; it is Gods ordinance to bring a curse vpon them, and to kill them: as the children of Israel did Balam. Here is also a promise, that, if we keepe our selues to Abrams faith and obedience, God will bring a curse vpon all our enemies. The Prophet Zacharie hath many excellent speeches, to expresse this by : The Lord, saith he, will make Ierusalem a cup of poyson, Zach.12.2. vnto all the people in the siege of Ierusalem. Ierusalem shall bee a heavie stone for all people: all that lift at it, shall be torne; though all the earth be gathered together against it. Againe, the princes of Iuda shall bee as coles of fire among wood, and like the firebrand in the sheafe, and they shall devoure all people round about, on the right hand, and on the left. These things spake the Prophet of these victorious dayes of the Gospell.I hope out of these words thus generally deliuered, euery true hearted Protestant, can frame out an answere vnto the objection, that is thought much to impeach this Plantation in V I R G I N I A. The perill, say the obiecters, is great by the Papists that shall come on the backe of vs. What Papists doe you feare? the Princes? Sure, such as are in aliance with our Nation, will thinke other thoughts, and take better aduice. But as for the popish Church, an vnruly beast, G 2 exempt

43

Psal.109.17.

	exempt from all good gouernment, Ciuill and Di- uine, onely adoring him, that hath exalted himselfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worshipped, it may be they, like the daughters of Salomons horsleaches,
1 14	
Prou.30.14.15.	will cry, Giue, giue, more blood, and yet more blood.
Rene.18.24.	And yet, a man would thinke, they were glutted be- fore this time of day, For in her may be found the blood of the Prophets and of the Saints, and of A L L that were
	slaine vpon the earth. But you will say, now they be so well fleshed, they will have more blood. To this first our text answereth in general, neuer feare them:
	they come to curse with Bell , Booke and Candle, and the Diuell and all : but remember this , <i>God will</i> curse them that curse Abram. But say you , they are
	such terrible beasts, as that the professors of the Gospell must needes be afraid of them. Indeed their
Exod.9.11.	perill was great, while their <i>Inchauntments</i> were in force. <i>Iannes and Iambres withstood Moyses</i> , till the Plague of the <i>Scab</i> fell vpon them, and then they
Rene.16.2.	were able to stand before <i>Møyses</i> no longer. So they juggled, and did many strange tricks, and much mischiefe, till the Plague of the <i>Scab</i> light vpon them at
Iob 1.8.	Naples, more then an hundred yeere agoe: but since, though their industrie hath bene nothing inferior to the diuels, that came from compassing of the earth, to and fro; yet they may cast a wofull accompt: For
	they find in the totall, how many Kingdomes they haue lost, and doe daily lose; how many battailes
Numb.14.9.	they haue fought,in all which to the Protestants, as the Cananites, would proue to the Isralites in <i>Callebs</i> iudgement,so haue they bene,euen <i>Bread for vs.</i> Aske

Aske what is become of those imperial armies, that went into Boeme, against the Hussites, in the time of Sigismund the Emperour: and know, what is become of their Armour: whether it armed not the Hussites that wanted? Aske what is become of the many shippes that came into the Narrow seas in the yeere 1588? I am sure much of their Ordinance furnished the Netherlanders. Will they come to you? Sure GOD that made Israel rich of the spoiles of Egypt, can by his prouidence make them furnish you with shippes, with Munition, with Victuall, with money: let this be your hope. But feare not their feares. Babilon, saith the Angell, is fallen; neuer to rise againe : sing Hallelu-iah, and you shall see her smoake ascend for euermore. No, no, they shall preuaile no more, for their madnes is made euident. They have another chare to doe, I hope, will make them scratch where it itcheth not. Thinke ye that it is possible for Princes, whose treasure is exhausted, and honour impeached, by their inchaunments, not to require satisfaction for these wrongs? and, to that purpose, pull all their Mammon from vnder the Altars? I am perswaded,the Armour they have in the roufes of their Churches, will one day helpe to arme a company of good fellowes, that will come to Church,it may bee vnder pretence of hearing a Masse, but will depart with good luggage, of siluer and gold, and pearle, and such like, that is there ready gathered to their hands. Wherefore feare God, and of all others, there lieth the least feare to be looked for from them. The onely perill is in G 3 offen45

Reue.14.& 18

Reue.19.3.

1.*Tim*.3.8.

46	Virginea.	B RITANNIA.	47
	offendingGod,and taking of Papists in to your company: if once they come creeping into your houses, then looke for mischiefe: if treason or poyson bee of any force: know them all to be very Assasines, of	all the Gentiles be blessed. By blessing in this place, seeing the seed is Christ, and the word, Thee, did so far point out Abraham, as it had relation to Christ in his loynes, of force it must significe that blessednesse,	Gal.3.8.
	all men to be abhorred. But hope in God that hee, that hath sent you abroad, will also send you such gouernours, as will cast out the <i>leauen out of your houses</i> : to whom I need say little, because I know they need not be nurtured by me.	which Christ doth bring vnto men. Which the Angel and a multitude of heavenly souldiers, do comprehend in their sweete song of praising God, when they said. Glorie be to God on high, and Peace on earth, and towards men good will. Then the speech, all put together, is this, that Abraham must get him out of his	Luk.2.14.
Vj°·	I N Abram shall all the families of the earth bee blessed. By Abram, is ment, as before, Abraham, as in his loynes are many nations. For that which is heere spoken of Abram, is also spoken of Iacob, in this manner. In thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the	Countrie: that he may begin that, which God, by him and his seed, will accomplish in due time: namely that all nations may embrace the gospel of Christ vnto their saluation. An excellent argument, and of singular force, to perswade not only <i>Abram</i> , but all	
Gen.28.14.	earth be blessed. It is true that in Abraham and his Children, were many men blessed: as appeareth in the Scripture, where they have drawne many strangers to serve God. Howbeit the principall blessing is ascribed to Christ, who by excellencie is called Thy seede; as S. Paule doth very notably observe,	his Children according to the faith, to fly, if it were possible, ouer the moutaines, about so greate an errand. O with what Comfort may a man come before the Lord, with this account of his talent. Behold I am heere, the childre which God hath geuen me. It would neuer grieue S Paule to go from Cilicia, to	
Gal.3.16.	when he saith, Hee saith not, and to thy seedes, as speaking of many, but, And to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ. By the families of the earth are vnderstood all those nations, which arose from the families of	present a Church at <i>Corinth</i> , a pure Virgin to Christ.  But stay, saith one, you run too fast without good ground: you seeme to encline to the Millenaries, or such as looke for the gospell to be spread ouer all the	2.Cor.11.2. Obiection. The last iudgment at hand.
Gen.10.32.	the sonnes of Noah, after their generations among their people; for out of these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood: and that which is heere rendred families, afterward is called Nations in the speech of	world. You must know that is done manie a faire yeare agoe, that we need not looke for a new Re- uolution of that . It were safer to tremble at the last iudgement, whose trumpet is euer sounding in our	
Gen.18.18.&	the Lord of Abraham, All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. S. Paul rendreth it thus, in thee shall all	eares: Arise from the dead and come to indgement. To this I answere that no preiudicate opinion is a iust condem-	Answere.

48	Virginea.
Greg.lib. Dialo.	condemnation to the trueth, nor any doctrine out of Bookes that are <i>Apocripha</i> , can make a wise man depart from a doctrine of the <i>Canonicall Scriptures</i> . It is true that <i>Gregories</i> credit was wont to bee great in the times that men knew no better, who confidently affirmed the iudgement to bee at hand; but
Maluenda de Antichristo.	besides the confutation of a thousand yeares, which haue bin since hee so affirmed, the pregnant & cleere Scripture confoundeth the proud coniecture of him and his followers. And this doth also appeare by the Apostasie of some Papists that in their bookes lately Printed at <i>Rome</i> , haue departed from the sentence of so great a Pope, and graue Doctor of the Church, telling vs plainely that the gospell must be
	preached vniuersally through the world before the last Iudgement. But neither by their authority, nor arguments, but by the force of such Texts as cannot be deluded, do I affirme, <i>That all the Nations of the world shall be blessed in Christ.</i> They that mince and
Gene.34.25. Psal.19.3. Rom.10.18.	pare this Text, that they make it as sore as the <i>She-chamits</i> were with their circumcision, say, that, take away the ouerlashing hyperbole, and, <i>Their sound is gone out into all the world</i> , will serue the turne. A simple blessing God knoweth and little differeth from
2.Cor.2.16.	The sauor of death vnto death. If they receaue you not, (saith Christ,) shake off the dust of your feete. Truely, I say vnto yon, it shall be easier for the land of Sodom and
Matth.10.14.	Gomorrah in the day of Indgement, then for that Citie, howsoeuer they heard the sound of the worde of God. This stumbling blocke, fewe wise men will say was this Blessednesse promised to Abram.
	The

### Britannia.

The Iewes hunt counter as fast on the other side, For when as ,in the second Psalme, they reade of their Meßias, that he shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the vttermost parts of the earth for his posseßion: that he shall crush them with a scepter of yron, and breake them in peeces like a potters vessel, they affirme, that all the world must bee subdued by force and violence vnto Messiah, An opinion that preuailed much in the time of Christ, as appeareth not onely by diuerse others, but also by the Apostles, who encountred our Sauior Christ thus, before his ascension. Lord wilt thou at this time restore the kingdome to Israel. But they also make but an vncomfortable blessing of this blessednes of Abraham. The phrase is plaine, that in Abraham all the families of the earth shall be blessed. A blessednes then must the Gentiles trust to receive from Abraham. Particuly these things are deliuered in the Scripture, which, I thinke, no distinctions of *hyperbole*, nor *spiritually*, nor at the last indgement, can delude, which are the ordinary refuges of them that, out of prejudice, would faine put by the truth.

Daniell hath it thus, A stone was cut without hands, and smote the image vpon the feete, and brake them in peeces. Then was the yron, the clay the brasse, the silver, and gold broken together, and became like chaffe of the summer flowers, and the winde carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone, that smote the image, became a greate mountaine, and filled the whole earth.

Here,first,we plainly see,that Christ must destroy
H

Psal.2.8.9.

49

Acts 1.6.

Dan.2.35.

50	Virginea.
1. <i>Cor</i> ,15.24. 25.26.	the Monarches that they be not foud. And so much of this speech doth S. Paul interprete thus plainely. That Christ shall put downe all rule, and all authoritie, and power. For he must reigne, till hee hath put all his enemies, vnder his feete: the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. The other poets of Davids enough
Psal.82.6.	stroyed is death, The other part of Daniels speech, Danid doth thus expresse, in the Psalme. Thou Lorde shalt inherit all nations. And this point the Prophet
Zach.14.19.	Zachary doth render thus. The Lord shall bee King o- uer all the earth, In that day there shall be one Lord, and his name shall be one: so that no other God shall bee named in all the worlde. But lest any should vnder-
Dan.7.27.	stand this point of the last iudgement, and so place earth in heauen; Daniell sheweth how the Lord shall be king, his words are these. The kingdome and dominion, and greatnes of his kingdome vnder the whole heauen shall be given to the holy people of the most high, whose kingdome is an everlasting kingdome, and al powers shall serve and obey him. But what shal he abolish kings, and bring all to a Popularity? no such matter,
1.Cor.14.33 Reuel.11.15.	God is the author of order; and not of confusion. The kingdomes of this world shall bee our Lords, and his Christs, and hee shall raigne for euermore, by Kings
1 <i>Chro</i> .30.23 <i>Psa</i> .93.& 97. & 99.	converted to the Gospell. For godly Kings doe sit on the throne of the Lord, and by them the Lord reigneth. The beginning of this alteration Isaiah expresseth
Isai.49.23.	thus. Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queenes shall be thy nurses: they shall worship thee with their faces towards the earth, and licke vp the dust of thy feete. But least any man should say, it may bee some, but
	what is that to the rest? David answereth thus, The Kings

Britannia.	51
Kings of Tarshish, and of the Iles shall bring presents. The	Psal.72.10.11.
Kings of Sheba, and Seba, shall bring gifts, yea All Kings shall worship him, All nations shall serue him.	
And againe, The Lord is high and terrible: A great	
King ouer all the earth. And again in the same Psalme.	
God is King ouer all the earth, sing praises, whosoeuer	
hath vnderstanding. God reigneth ouer the heathen &c.	
If any do yet think that they shall serue him as the	1 110 24
Kings did <i>Iosuah</i> , when he set his feet on their necks:	10sn.10.24.
the blessed scripture saith no. For the <i>Psalme</i> hath it	
thus. All Kings of the earth shall praise thee,O Lord, for	Psal.138.4.
they have heard the words of thy mouth. A thing which they will not doe at the resurrection; when going	
to hell thy shall say: When saw we thee an hungred, or a	
thirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sicke or in prison &c?	Mat.25.45.
And as the scripture is very particular in setting	
down the state of the kings, how they shall stand af-	
fected to the Gospell, so doth it of the people. First	D 107 6
Dauid saith All the people shall see thy glory. But that is	Psal.9 / .6.
not sufficient, wherefore S. <i>Iohn</i> , in the Reuelation	
goeth farther thus. All nations shall come and worship	Reuel.15.5. Isai.45.23.
before thee,O Lord. Isaiah hath it thus,, I haue sworne	1344.13.23.
by my selfe, and the worde is gone out of my mouth in	
righteousnes, and shall not returne : that euery knee shall	
bow vnto mee, and euery tongue shall sweare by mee.	Phil.2.9.10.
Which Saint Paul expresseth thus. God hath exalted	
Christ Iesus and giuen him a name aboue all names:that	
at the name of Iesus should euery knee bow, and that eue-	
ry tongue should confesse that Iesus is the Lord, vnto the	
glory of God the Father. Malachie yet goeth further	Mala.1.11.
thus: From the rising of the Sun, to the going downe of	
H 2 the	

	52	Virginea.	В
	Psal.47.9.	the same, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in euery place incense shall be offred vnto thy name, and a pure offring. The Psalme saith also, The princes of the people are gathered vnto the people of the God of Abra-	ny obiections such places a shall he finde j the Lord shall
	Isai.66.23.	ham. To conclude this point the Prophet Isaiah saith From moneth to moneth, and from Saboth, to Saboth, shall all flesh come to worship me; saith the Lord. The summe is, what blessing any Nation had by	But partly, for the meaning of of Logick,to those Scriptus
		Christ, must be Communicated to all Nations: the office of his Prophecie to teach the ignorant; the office of his Priesthood, to give remission of sinnes to the sinnefull: the office of his kingdome,by word,	men out of haue a cleane are alleadged: giue me leau
	Ерhe.2.1.&с.	and Sacraments, and spirit, to rule the inordinate: that such as are dead in trespasses, may be made to sit together in heauenly places. For there is no difference be-	our owne firs abridging the that his Sonn
	Rom.10.12.	tweene the Iew, and the Grecian. For he that is Lord o-	for some goo
	Reasons from Gods attri- butes.	uer all, is rich vnto all, that call vpon him. For it well beseemeth the glory of God to triumph ouer his enemies: and the Wisdome of God(after the world hath had plentifull experience of the craft of the diuell, and wicked men of all sortes) to exalte the Gospell, the wisedome of God: As also his Power to bee declared, when all his enemies had shewed their force; and his Mercy to his Saints, after so great ex-	glorious at the glory of God tion of his clime to his be knowne: y right hand of footestoole, and the quick and
		ercises of patience; and his iustice, to shewe his iudgements, in condemning those that haue spoken proud words, and done wicked deeds, to his seruants. But especially to his Glory, in exalting his sonne, and crowning him with Glory, & Worship, that we may see that, which yet we see not: All	Againe, if shall be preact then ought n spread it abrointended. Sure nistery, that can
	Heb.2.8.	things be put in subjection vnto him. It is true that ma-	heere idle,the
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### 53 **3** RITANNIA. s are made against this doctrine, out of as this. When the sonne of man commeth, Luk.18.8. faith on the earth? And of Antichrist, whom 2. Thes. 2.8. ll abolish, by the brightnesse of his comming. for want of Grammer learning,to know of the word Come, and partly for want lay out those places to their due times: ures, and many more, are racked by such their ioints: which rightly vnderstood, e other sense, then that for which they d:which neither this time nor place will ue to dispute. Wherefore standing to rst grounde, learne first to bee sparing in V s e. glory of God; which made the world, Be sparing in nne might rule ouer all. For howsoeuer, shortning the od causes, God would not make himself glory of God. he first, but would seeme to hide the ed in the passion of his Sonne, and afflic-Saints; and permitting Antichrist to height, that those that are perfect may yet questionlesse, Christ must sit at the Psal.110.1. his Father, till all hi enemies bee made his 1.Cor.15. then shall come from thence to judge the dead. f it be Gods purpose, that the Gospell ached through the world for a witnesse, II. ministers to bee carefull and willing to road,in such good seruices as this, that is re it is great shame vnto vs, of the mican be better content, to sit, and rest vs en vndergoe so good a worke. Our pre-

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tence

Virginea. 54 tence of zeale, is cleare discouered to be but hypocrisie, when we rather choose to minde vnprofitable questions at home, then gaining soules abroad. It is a singular sin for men to be ouercome with euill, it is a shame that the Iesuites and Friers, that accompany euery ship, should be so diligent to destroy souls, and wee not seeke the tender lambes, nor bind vp that which is broken. But go on couragiously, and notwithstanding the snorting idlenes of the ministery, suspect not the 2 King.5.2. blessing of God. A captiue girle, brought Naman to the Prophet. A captiue woman, was the meanes of conuerting *Iberia*, now called *Georgia*. *Eedesius*, & Ruffinus Eccle. Frumentius, two captiue youthes, were the meanes Hist.lib.I.cap. 9.10. of bringing the gospell into India. God makes the 1.Cor.1. weake thinges of the worlde confound the mighty, and getteth himselfe praise by the mouth of Babes and sucklings. Be cheerfull then, and the Lord of all glory, glorifie his name by your happy spreading of the gospell, to your commendation, and his glory, that is Lord of all things,to whom be power and dominion for euer. Hallelu-iah. FINIS.