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 1.2

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.
Forthcoming British Virginia editions

Elizabeth Jacqueline Ambler Letters, 1780-1826, edited by Sarah Hand Meacham

The Verse Miscellany of Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor of Virginia, edited by Joshua Eckhardt

Forthcoming editions in the Virginia Company Sermons subseries, edited by Joshua Eckhardt

Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609)

William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lavvarre* (1610)

Patrick Copland, *Virginia’s God Be Thanked* (1622)

John Donne, *A Sermon upon the VIII. verse of the I. Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles* (1622)

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

Starting a digital academic publisher has required the help of several people. No single person has provided more help in establishing British Virginia and producing this edition than Neal Wyatt, the project’s first graduate research assistant. With her expertise in library science, Neal has worked with VCU Libraries to develop the publication scheme and cataloguing protocols, and with me to help me understand them; arranged for ISBN numbers and Creative Commons licenses; taught herself InDesign to help replicate the layout of the Symonds quarto; measured and remeasured the original book for accuracy; and engaged the full range of her work with great enthusiasm and dedication. Neal’s help has come with the support of Dr. Eric Garberson who, as director of the Media, Art, and Text Ph.D. program, arranged for her assistantship. Dr. Garberson subsequently provided an additional assistantship for Lauren Boasso, who transcribed several forthcoming Virginia Company sermons.

At VCU Libraries, Dr. Kevin Farley has endorsed British Virginia from the moment Dr. Sarah Meacham and I met with him to introduce it. He promoted the project at the library, accepted an invitation to the advisory board, and agreed to assist with the blind peer review process. His colleagues John Duke, Jimmy Ghaphery, and Sam Byrd effectively built the publication platform on the VCU Libraries website, using Dspace. Among other trials, this involved negotiating with the editor on how to pre-catalogue a title from a publisher that did not yet exist. All of this support came with that of University Librarian John Ulmschneider.

In her former role as associate dean of the College of Humanities and Sciences, Dr. Catherine Ingrassia encouraged me to start this project much sooner than I had imagined, and to apply for internal funding. She located matching funds, work space, and furniture. She arranged for additional funds to purchase ISBN numbers, thanks to Dr. Timothy Hulsey and the VCU Honors College’s support for humanities programs. She also accepted an invitation to the advisory board. Since this, Tim
Hulsey has also worked with Dean James Coleman to donate Honors College funds for peer review honoraria.

The Presidential Research Incentive Program, initiated by Dr. Michael Rao, provided British Virginia with financial support, research time, and computer equipment. Without this research fund, the project would not have started for several more years, if at all. Dr. Francis Macrina, Vice President for Research, and Michael Newsome, Assistant Vice President and Director of Finance, administered the funds. Margret Vopel Schluer, English Department Business and Personnel Manager, arranged for their use.

Before any of this, Dr. Meacham graciously fielded a Renaissance literary critic’s excited questions about her field, and agreed to support the project as co-editor and contributor. Sarah also found two excellent, anonymous peer reviewers. These readers, too, deserve our gratitude. Dr. Terry Oggel, Chair of the English Department, and Dr. Bernard Moitt, Chair of the History Department, supported our joint application for funding, and then worked to accommodate the resultant course releases—an effort that, in English, required the work of Dr. David Latané, Associate Chair, as well as Margret Schluer. Former Dean Fred Hawkridge also supported our proposal, as did a number of anonymous evaluators and voters.

Several of the same people worked to fund a week at Harris Manchester College, Oxford, which became part of a month in England, devoted to comparing editions of the sermons and preparing future British Virginia editions. For their lavish hospitality at Harris Manchester, I thank Principal Revd. Dr. Ralph Waller; Fellow Librarian Sue Killoran; Library Assistant Katrina Malone; and Steward Nick Jefferies. Prof. Peter McCullough at Lincoln College, Oxford, supported this trip and the sermon series, graciously welcoming me not only to the college but also to the study of early modern English sermons. His colleague at Lincoln and on The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Dr. Sebastiaan Verweij, joined the effort, checked Lincoln’s copy of the Symonds sermon after I had left Oxford, and set the bar for textual collation too high for this subseries to 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.

Thanks also to Susan Glover for checking the Boston Public Library’s copy for me.

At the Virginia Historical Society, Chief Librarian Frances Pollard welcomed work on the VHS copies of the Virginia Company sermons. She and her colleagues Amber Jones (whom I met in a Renaissance literature course at VCU) and Brenna McHenry hosted me on a sometimes daily basis, always with courtesy and generosity. Frances Pollard also brokered the deal with E. Lee Shepard, Vice President of Collections and Sallie and William B. Thalhimer III Senior Archivist, and Jamie Davis, Visual Resources Manager and Exhibits Preparator, that enables British Virginia to produce searchable, color photographic facsimiles of the Virginia Company Sermons.

At the Library of Virginia, Brent Tarter offered early and continuous encouragement, which Dr. Sandra Treadway, the Librarian of Virginia, later seconded. At VCU, Dr. John Kneebone has given us a sense of the importance, and scope, of the work that British Virginia could take on. Finally, the Fall-Line Early Americanists graciously devoted one of their monthly meetings to reading, appreciating, and improving this edition. In addition to Dr. Mathias Bergmann, for arranging the meeting, and Brent Tarter, for hosting it, I thank especially Drs. Mark Valeri, Woody Linwood Holton III, Marion Nelson, Terri Halperin, Robin Lind, Ryan Smith, Brooke Newman, and of course Sarah Meacham, for their encouraging and helpful suggestions. Despite his inability to attend the meeting, Dr. Peter Kaufman took up the draft with enthusiasm and responded with excellent advice. Any failure to take advantage of the FLEAs’ suggestions for improvement is entirely my own.

14 March 2012 / 24 April 2013
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”!

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.2

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)

---

1 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 appertaining 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 betwene the same fower and thirtie and five and fourtie degrees, and the ilandes thereunto adiacente 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.

2 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 W’bore”—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 Jesus.” 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 Dedicatory,” 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 govermente

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,

---

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.4

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.”5 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-interest 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.6

---

6 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 several 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.

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 de-emphasize 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. 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. 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.

---

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. 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 statements 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


12 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.13 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.14 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

---

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


15 William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable Lord Lavvarre, Lord Gouernour and Captaine General of Virginia* (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.

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 here might we have proceeded to the next point, were it not for one scruple, which some, that thinke themeselues 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
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 arraigned, 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 obiecters 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 subiect 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 crowne-lesse, 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] crownelas, 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 objecter, 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 wrongdoing 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 injustice” 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 “bloody invasion” but a “peaceable Colony.”

And if these objecters had any braines in their head, but those which are sicke, they could easily finde a difference between a bloody invasion, and the planting of a peaceable Colony (15)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Symonds insisted that the Virginia colony would involve no “bloody invasion.” 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 diuerse 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 anything may bee hoped for after the death of their parents” (19). Such settlers could lose their inheritance in Virginia. Others “objcet 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 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. (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 live; 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 judgement, whose trumpet is euer sounding in our eares: Arise from the dead and come to judgement. (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 judgement.”

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. 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 subsseries will show, Gray added over two more pages to the effort to defeat “[t]he first obiection...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.”

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

16 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 lawfulness.” 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 lawfulness 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 resolued in conscience, to be lawfull and warrantable in it selfe.17

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 lawfulness 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 “resolued 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 lawfulness 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.18 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.19 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.20

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

---

17 Crashaw, A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable Lord Lavvarre, sig. D3r.
18 Richard Crakanthorpe. A sermon at the solemnizing of the bapptie 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”).
19 Robert Tynley. Two Learned Sermons. The one, of the mischievous subtillitie, 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 November, 1608. The other at the Spittle the 17. of April, 1609. (London: by W. Hall for Thomas Adams, 1609; STC 24472), pp. 67-68; Parker, “Religion and the Virginia Colony,” 260.
20 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.
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. 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 advance and spread the kingdom of God, and the knowledge of the truth, among so many millions of men and women, savage and blind, that never yet saw the true light shine before their eyes, to enlighten their minds and comfort their souls.

Yet he knew that his audience would have doubts about this new religious claim on behalf of the company. He admitted that “some object” that he and the company were “being led on by our own private ends”; 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 “object” 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 themselves (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:

> 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:

---

21 Daniel Price, *Savls Prohibition Staide. Or The Apprehension, and Examination of Savle. And the Inditement of all that persecute Christ, with a reproove 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.


23 Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (London: from Samwel 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 condition, to a farre better. First, in regard of God the Creator; and of Iesus Christ their Redeemer, if they will beleue 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 1609.24 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 well-connected 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


and sought to muzzle criticism of its own stewardship of the enterprise.”25 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, beginning with the present edition.

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 Tyn-ley, who merely mention Virginia.26 Editing the VHS copies acknowledges 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-

26 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 pulpit-babels, convincing their preachers of lying & rayling, to make the Church of Rome seeme mistyical 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 discouery of M. Crashawes spirit: and an answer to his Jesuites gospell. By I. R. Student in diuinity. ([St. Omer]: anno 1612; STC 1111; Rare Books BX3702.A2 f7).
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.

On the other flap is a manilla pocket enclosing a typescript 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: NEBEN-BOOKS.” 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


Windet, for Eleazar Edgar, and William Welby, 1609

* The first sermon preached before the Company of Adventurers to Virginia, suitably based on Genesis, 12, i-iii.
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.

VIRGINIA. | [rule] | A | SERMON | PREACHED AT | White-Chappell, In The | presence of many, Honourable and | Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Plan- | ters for Virginia. | 25. April. 1609. | PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT | And Vse Of The Colony, Planted, | And to bee Planted there, and for the Ad- | vancement of their Chris- | tian Purpose. | By William Simonds, Preacher at Saint | Saviors in Southwarke. | [rule] | Ivde. 22. 23. | Haue compassion of some, in putting of difference: | And other saue with fear, 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. | 4º, A-H4, (§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 GENTILIES, | the Adventurers 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: VIRGINIA | BRITANNIA. | A | SERMON PREACHED AT | WHITE CHAPPELL, IN THE | presence of many the Adventu- | ers, and Planters for | VIRGINIA. | [rule] | GENESIS 12.1.2.3. | For the Lord had said vnto Abram, Get thee out of the Coun- | try, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house, vn- | to the land that I will shew thee. | And I will make 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: VIRGINIA. | BRITANNIA., H4r-v [55-56] ruled blk. | Explicit: H3v FINIS.

Copies: Beinecke Library (Yale University) 2003 265; Birmingham Central Library [in ESTC] Bodleian Library (Oxford University) 4º 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;
Library of Congress Rare Book/Special Collections F229 .S98
   English Print;
Lincoln College, Oxford N .2.27 (item 4);
Newberry Library, Special Collections Vault Ayer 150.5 .V7 S9
   1609;
New York Public Library, Schwartzman Building, Rare Book
   Collection *KC 1609 (Symonds, W. Virginia)
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.
A SERMON
P R E A C H E D  A T
W H I T E - C H A P P E L ,  I N  T H E
presence of many, Honourable and
Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Plan-
ters for V I R G I N I A .
25. April. 1609.

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT
A N D  V I S E  O F  T H E  C O L O N Y ,  P L A N T E D ,
And to bee Planted there, and for the Ad-
V A N C E M E N T  O F  T H E I R  C H R I S -
tian Purpose.

B Y  W I L L I A M  S Y M O N D S ,  P r e c h e r  a t  S a i n t
S A V I O R S  i n  S o u t h w o r k e .

I V D E .  2 2 .  2 3 .
Hauve compass of some, in putting of difference:
And other hauve with fear, pulling them out of the fire.

L O N D O N
Printed by I. W I N D E T ,  f o r  E L E A Z A R  E D G A R ,  a n d
W I L L I A M  W E L B Y ,  a n d  a r e  t o  b e  s o l d  i n  P a u l e s  C h u r c h-
yard at the Signe of the Windmill.
1 6 0 9 .
TO THE RIGHT NOBLE, AND WORTHY,

RIGHT NOBLE and worthy,

VCH as doe prayse the worthies, do cloth them with the robes of others that haue gone before them in vertues of like nature. A thing which I cannot doe of your Plantation, seeing neither Testament (that I can find) dooth afford vs a Parallell in men of like qualitie. That great, and golden SENTENCE, The seede of the woman, shall breake,
THE EPISTLE

break the Serpents head, (the onely subiect of all ages) with a part of the wisedome that is folded therin, hisherto hath beautified the world with admirable and pleasant varieties; more rich and delightfull then all the ornaments of Princes palaces, or the Curtaines of Salomon. Here may we see the Flood, the burning of Sodom; the drowning of Pharoh; the subduing of the Cananites by David and his sons; the breaking of Monarchies into chaffe: the surpring & conquering of great Nations, by Fisher-men, with the sword of the spirit; the stamping of the Dragon (the Heathen Empire) into peeces by Constantine; the desolation, and nakednesse of Antichrist, 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 comparison of that which is in hand, and remaineth to be accomplished at the last judgement. Long since the Gospell of Christ did ride forth conquering that hee might overcome. And NOW, the hostes that are in heaven

DEDICATORIE.

uen doe follow him on white horses. NOW the Lord hath made bare his holy arme, in the sight of all the Gentiles; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvatiõ of our God. NOW many Mighty Kings haue set their Crownes vp on the head of Christ. The valiant souldier saith, The shields of the world belong to God. The true Nobilitie, haue vpon their horse bridles, Holinesse to the Lord. And now the wise and industrious Merchant, doth hold the riches of the Gentiles too base a freight for his shippes. He tradeth for his wisedome,that said: Surely the Isles wait for me (faith 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 blessed expedition? Surely, not any tribe, Prayse ye the Lord, for the people that offered themselves 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 Angell

Dan.2.35.
Ephe.6.17.
Euseb. de vita Constantini.

Ifai. 52.10.
Reuel. 19.12.
Psal. 47.9.

Reuel. 19.6.
Judg. 5.2.
The Epistle

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. 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. Our most sacred Soueraigne, in whom is the spirit of his great Ancestor Constantine, the pacifier of the world, and planter of the Gospell in places most remote, desirith to present this land a pure Virgine to Christ. Such as doe managge 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 marry this land, a pure Virgine to thy kingly Sonne Christ Iesus; so shall thy name bee magnified: and we shall haue a Virgin or Maidan 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 although I could not satisfie their request that

Dedicatore.

that would haue me goe; yet I could not omitt 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 lift to be curious, or contentionious, 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; even the God of Israel, which onely worketh great wonders, and hath put these blessed thoughts into your Christian hearts. And blessed 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.
VIRGINEA
BRITANNIA.

A SERMON PREACHED AT
WHITE CHAPPELL, IN THE
presence of many the Adventu-
ners, and Planters for
VIRGINIA.

GENESIS 12.1.2.3.
For the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy Coun-
trey, and from thy kinared, and from thy fathers house, un-
to the land that I will show 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 famillies of the earth be blessed.

His Booke of Genesis contei-
neth the story of the Creation
and Plantation of heauen and
earth, with convenient inhabi-
tants. The heauen hath An-
gels, the skie starres, the aire
foules, the water fishes, the
earth (furnished with plants and hearbes, and beasts) was provided for man a while to inhabit, who after was to be received into glory. Like unto 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 man, both male and female, After his owne image, that is, Jesus Christ; and gave them this blessing, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, etc. And howsoever this precept might seeme to finde interruption by the sinne of man, that had incurred 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 unto Noah hee renewed this precept after the flood.

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, 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 overthrow of their ambition, who fought a great name: but also to deprive them of his spiritual grace of saluation, one being not able to understand the other: And so of the sones of Noah, were the Nations diuided after the flood.

Among whome the blessed line of Shem is not onely plentifully remembred; but also commended, as obedient vnto that first and great Law of God: 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 reaon why Terah, and his family removed, is recorded in these three verses; and, in a word, is the calling of Abram by the Lord to remoue. In the storie whereof, are these two points: First the vocation of Abram, in these three verses, and then his obedience vnto this heavenly calling, in the fourth verse. His vocation hath first the commandement of the Lord; and then the reasons and arguments, by which God doeth induce him thereunto. The commandement is to take a journey; in which we must consider the places from whence, and whither he was to goe. The place from whence, is not described Cosmographically, but Morally, containing three important reasons, in all good sort, to reft him where he was. The first is his Country, which was pleasante, and fruitful: The second his kindred, which was holy and blessed: The third, his fathers house, which was louing and rich. Hence must hee goe, and leave 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 show him: a place utterly unknowne vnto him, so that from thence he had no argument, to quicken him to that voyage.

The arguments which the Lord doth use to perswade Abram, to this iourney are all taken from the promises of God; a stronger reaon then the very sweetness of Paradise could be vnto a faithful man.
These promises do partly concerne Abraham himselfe, partly those among whom he shall liue. For himselfe the Lord doeth promise four things: First that, whereas himselfe was childlesse, He would make of him a great nation. A thing which the builders of Babel drifted but were disappointed of by the judgement of God. The second promise is, that God will bleisse him, by giving 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. The third thing is, that the Lord will make him a great name, with much honour, and good report; which the confounded builders of Babel sought, and missed, because of their sinne. The fourth promise is, that he shall be a blessing: That is, such a one as men shall be the better where hee commeth; and so thinke themselves, 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 concern 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 dispose of, as they dispose themselues towards Abram: For the Lord will bleisse them, and cause them to prosper, that seek 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 curse thee: So that nothing they haue shall prosper, vntill they be gracious and favorale to Abram. That which concerneth their Spirituall estate, is, indeede an argument to a faithful 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 bleisse. The meanes, is Abram and his seede Jesus Christ: in these words in thee. The persons, to receive benefit by him, are infinite; even all the families of Noah, by whom the nations of all the earth were diuided; 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.

The Lord called Abraham to goe into another Countrey. There is no doubt, but that there is a double manner of calling; the one ordinary, by some knowne precept of the word of God: the other extraordinary when as by dreame, or by vision, God requireth any duetie to be done. Now if it be demanded how Abraham was called, to goe into another Countrey: the answer 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, that
that man should spread abroad, &c. and inhabit the earth, and fill it. Hitherto belongeth that, which God said; Let us make man in our image, and let them rule over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowles of the Heauen, and over the Beastes, and over A L the earth. Then must he replenish the earth, else can hee not rule over A L the earth. 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 alter 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 abroad, 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 (till 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 upon him to spread further: for in this Chapter, by reason of a famine, he was constrained to soiourne in Egypt: God did also tell him before hand, 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 themselves so confined to their owne land, that they were as loth to forgoe their inheritance, as from the Sacrament of their saluation; witnesses be Naboth, that answered the King; The Lord keepe me from giuing the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. And yet, when God would haue it so, as when there was famine, Elimelech and his Familie goe to soiourne among the Gentiles. In time of warre David tooke his father and mother, and carrie them to soiourne with the King of Moab. And when as we reade that there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Iewes of euery nation under heauen; it is plaine, that the Iewes did spread abroad, not onely to soiourne for a time, and then to come againe; but to inhabit and replenish the whole earth. Paul was also an Iew, borne in Cilicia, euin in a Romane Colone.

The reason why God will haue his to fill the earth is, because the Lord would haue his works to be knowne. Now in diuers Countries God hath his diuers worke, of hearbes, and trees, and beastes, and fishes, and fowles, and serpents, &c. which (if the people of God come not there) cannot praise the Creator. When David faith, All thy worke praise thee, O God, and thy Saints blesse thee; they shew the glory of thy kingdom, and speake of thy power; the implication is manifest, that his Saints must be witnesses of all his worke, in all Climates; for else they cannot blesse him in all his worke. 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; Have mercy.
**Virginea.**

mercier 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 unto vs; The meanes how, is this: That they may know thy way upon earth, and thy saving health among all nations; whereby he doth imply, that God hath with-held some mercy from vs, till all nations haue the meanes of salvation. This was a cause why God sent Abrahams posterity into Egypt, that by their meanes Pharaoh, whose heart was bigge, and would not acknowledge God, might be constrained to fall down, and say, I haue sinned against the Lord. The cause also of the captivity of the Iews in Babilon, in the secrete providence of God, was, that the Monarkes of the world, who thought there was no God could come neere them in greatness, might be as beastes before God, acknowledging, that it is God, that giueth Kingdomes to whom he will. And when the Lord had caused 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 upon them Gog and Magog, with their number of Armies: The reason is, that the Heathen may know the Lord: I wil be magnified, and sanctified, and knowne in the eyes of many Nations. Then here must wee know, that what inducement Abraham had, to goe out of his Countrie, by a generall calling, the fame doth binde all his sonnes, according to the faith, to goe likewise abroad, when God doth not other wise call.

**Britannia.**

call them to some speciall affaires: How euer, till they must haue a longing, and a liking to spread the Gospel abroad. And that this point may be evidently convicted into vs, Christ our Sauior hath, according to his infinite wisedome, reunied the olde law, of filling the earth, in a most excellent manner: Goe teach (faith he) all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. Gave hee this Commandement to his Apostles onely? haue not also the labours of godly Preachers, which they haue spread ouer the face of the whole earth, beeue bestowed by the power of this Commandement? And though the words, as they lie, doe binde the Ministers of the Word, to endeavour the propagation of the Gospell, with all their power; yet not onely them: For we reade, that poore Tent-makers and others, haue done much good in spreading the Gospell, according to their vocations: they also satisfying thus much of Christs precept. Neither can there be any doubt, but that the Lord that called Abraham into another Countrie, 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 thefe: Thus saith the Lord of boles, my cities shall yet be broken with plenty, the Lord shall yet comfort Zion. Unto whom agreeth the Prophet Isaiah: The children of thy barrenesse shall say againe, in thine eares, the place of thy returne is calld.
Objection.

Not to enter other Princes Territories.

1. Answer.

Conquest lawful.

Cartoon.

Virginea.

is too strict for me, give me place, that I may dwell. Wherefore seeing that, thanks be to God, we are thronged with multitude; the Lord of hosts himself hath given vs the calling of his children to seek for roome, and place to dwell in. And herewith we have proceeded to the next point, were it not for one scruple, which none, that think 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 govern it in their owne right: then with what confidence, and equity can we offer to thrust them, by violence, out of their inheritances? For answer to this objection: first it is plain, that the objecter supposeth it not lawful to invade the territories of other princes, by force of sword. This proposition I confess I never was willing to examine, considering my vocation is private. And if Sigismund, the Emperor, said well, that he meruell'd every man avoided all labors and difficulties, but only to rule, which is the most difficult of all other labours; then to give sentence of that, which in ruling is the most weighty, namely, warres, which are done with the greatest counsell, must needs bee a labour too heauie for a private mans shoulders. And because I myself am but weak eyed in so great a mysterie; Come foorth ye great Princes, and Monarkes, of Assyria, Persia, Media, Greece and Rome, with your gravest counsellours, and answer for your facts, in conquering and subduing nations. For your stories, that were wont to be read with singular admiration of your fortitude,
burnt: and thou must bee condemned for thy vnlawfull conquest. Worthy toshuah, & most worthy David, with thy cloud of worthies, who hanged vp so many shields in the houfe of God, and who sweetly singeth, that God was his fortitude and buckler, must incure the note of injustice. toshuah, where is thy vertue, to set thy feete upon the neckes of princes, in their owne kingdomes, and call of the meanest of the people to be thy partners in that indignitie? David, how wilt thou answere for the blood thy word hath shed? which thou wouldest vnto praise, There is none to it. Nay thou glory of men, and true type of Christ, King Solomon, whose wisedome vs was like unto the vnsedome of God: teach vs to say somevwhat 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 answere.) Give an account of his innocencie that faid vnto thee: Gird vs with thy swords upon thy thigh, O thou most mightie, -Thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things, -The people shall fall under thee. Thy father, the sonne of Ishai, made a finfull prayer for thee (as our obiecters blaspheme) when he faid, thou shouldest so enlarge thy borders, that Thy dominion should be from sea to sea, and from the riuer to the end of the land. He would have thee too rigid, when he faid, That thine enemies should lick the dust. Sure I am perverted that at the onely naming of so mightie Monarches, and holy conquerors, our obiecters out of their modestie vulling with some dillinctio qualifie their proposition, and say that it is not lawfull.

12

PSAL. 18. 2. 

Britannia. 

lawfull, by force to invade the Territories of other Princes, that are in quiet posseffion, in some sort, and in some cases. 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 Jesuits his truflie secretaries to keepe them:) I say none of them all can arme a subiect a-against his prince without 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 Universities) and take vpon him to nurture princes, as petties: telling them that they must not make offen- siue warres, if it were to gaine the whole world to Christ, shall neuer be bidders of guests to the marri- age 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 obiecters, that come dropping out of some Anabaptists Spicery: whether (if it be vnlawfull to conquer) 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 ob- siection 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 obiecter, that wee should doe any wrong at all, no not to the diuell. The rule of Christ is excellent; Cast out the beam of thine owne eye, so shalt thou see clearly, to cast the mote out of thy brothers eye. If you will needs bee casting stones.
Virginea. Britanniæ.


3. No blood to be shed. See-white. The way to the Church.

Gen. 47.4. Only a sojourning. 

Warres only defensive.

Choose a stone, let him begin his first, that is without sin. But to the point: our objecter would not whip a child to teach him learning and vertue, for fear of doing wrong. What wrong I pray you did the Apostles in going about to alter the lawes of nations, even against the express commandement of the princes, and to set vp the throne of Christ. If your mouth be so foule, to charge them with wrong, as the Gentiles did, we have more need to provide you a medicine for a cankred mouth, and a stinking breath, then to make you any answere at all.

O but, in entring of other countries, there must needs be much lamentable effusion of blood. Certainly our objecter was hatched of some popish egges; & it may be in a lusty vault, where they feede themselves fat, with tormenting innocents. Why is there no remedie, but as soon as we come on land, like Wolves, and Lyons, and Tygres, long famished, we must tearre in pieces, murder, and torment the natural inhabitants, with cruelties never read, nor heard of before? must we needs burne millions of them, and cast millions into the sea? must we baite them with dogges, that shall eate vp the mothers with their children? let such be the practises of the diuell, of Abaddon the sonne of perdition, of Antichrist and his frie, that is of purple Rome. As for the profectors of the Gospell, they know with Jacob and his posterity, to say to Pharaoh, To soiourne in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture, &c. They can with Sampson live peaceably with the Philistims, till they bee constrained by injustice.


Gene. 3.7. Tertu. Apol. contra Gentes.

No blood to be shed. The way to the Church.
such, which I hope to bee the sonnes of Abraham according to promise.

Bram must get him out, from his country, his kindred, & 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 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 choaked, or run vp to weed.

His kindred was euery way of the best, and noblest stocke of the sonnes of Noah; namely the families of Shem, of whom God said, Blessed be the God of Shem. So blessed were his tents, to wit the houses and families of his posterity, that, as of the most happie thing, it is saide; God perswade Iapheth, and his posterity (of which we are a parte) to dwell in the tents of Shem. It seemeth then a matter of as great a peril, to leave that kindred, as to leave the church, and to salvation it selfe. So saith Peter to Christ: To whom shall wee 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 sojourn doth lay, to the children of Israel: your fathers dwelt beyond the land in olden time, Terah the Father of Abraham.

Matth.10.37. 

The Reason is giuen by Christ, that also called sonnes from their fathers, owners from their houses, and lands: brethren from their brethren; fathers, from their children; husbands from their wives, as he faith. He that loseth father or mother more then me, is not worthy of me. The commandement of God is the commandement of price, and must be obeyed.
indeed, and the God of glory be blessed, that whereas the country was as wilde a forrest, but nothing so fruitful, as Virginia, and the people in their nakednes did arm themselves in a coat armor of Woad, fetching their Curets and Polderns, from a painters shop: by the civill care of conquerers and planters it is now become a very paradise in comparison of that it was. But how sweeter soever it be, I am sure, it 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, have gotten out of their serpents holes, and converted 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 confused, if not murthered & poisoned, as among his own kindred that are affeced that way. Some few, and those very few, are not willing to leaue their fathers house, where anything may bee hoped for after the death of their parents: but for the most part, the world perceieth that excepte it be to ioyne in a deadly feude, or some piece of excellent villainie, the English Proverbe is true, The farther from kinne, the nearer to friends. But look seriously into the land, and see whether there bee not just cause, if not a necessity to seek abroad. The people blessed be God, doe swarme in the land, as yong bees in a huie in June, insomuch that there is very hardly roome for one man to live by another. The
mightier like old strong bees thrust the weaker, as younger, out of their hives: Lords of Manors convert townships, in which were a hundred or two hundredth communicants, to a shepherds & his dog. The true labouring husbandman, that suiteth 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 mensters with able persons to fight 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, than his beasts, to keepe that till spring, that they got at grasse: by these meanes he can keepe his corne til the people sterue, alwaies prouided that the poore husbandmen which are left, and the clothier must buy their seed, and wool at such a rate, that shall wear them out in a very few yeeres. And were it not, that the honnest 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 extreme famine in the midst of our greatest plenty. The rich shop-keeper hath the good honnest poore labourer at such aduantage, that he can grind his face when he pleaseth. The poore mettall man worketh his bones out, and sweeth himselfe in the fire, yet for all his labour, having charge of wife and children, he 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 receiued much money in the yeere at their hands, very neere foure pence for every fixe penny worth of work. The thoughtfull poore woman, that hath small children standing at her knee, and hanging on her breast; she worketh with her needle and labouret 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 heauy heart. Sometimes she singeth: Haue mercie on mee Lorde, sometimes Helpe Lord, for good and godly men doe perish and decay; sometimes judge and revenge my cause, O Lord: and many such like: which when a man of understandeing doth heares; he doth with pittie praise God, that hath giuen such meanes to mocke hunger with, and to giue patience. I warrant you her fongs want no passion; shee 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 sweetest bloud. And when all the weeke is ended, shee can hardly earne salt for her water gruell to feede upon the Sunday. Many such sweetes are in England, which I know not how better to interpret then
then to say the strong olde bees doe beate out the younger, to svvarme & hiue themselves elsewhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers which indeede bring all the hony to the hiue, God may to blesse you, that the prouerbe may be true of you, that A May swarme, is worth a kings ransome.

Then the place whither Abram must goe, is to the land which the Lord will let him see. A commandement fit for God, to perswade by no arguments taken from the sweetnes and fruitfulnes of the place. Thus doth the Apostle to the Hebrewes, render this place, By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed God, and went out, not knowing whither he went. The like commandement did the Lord giue to the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt: For they must not chuse their owne way, but follow the cloudie piller that led them. For at the commandement of the Lord, they pitched, and at the commandement of the Lord, they journeyed, keeping the watch of the Lord, at the commandement of the Lord. They journeyed, 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, but must follow, where the Lord went before. For God in his wayes can endure no counsellour. He 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 are bound, if God commaund, to follow him, though blindfold. Againe, the Lord doth not tell him whither he shall goe, to keepe him in suspense, that the obedience of faith may the more effectually appeare. For if the Lord had enticed him by arguments taken from the opportunitie and sweetnes of the place: how should it be known, whether he went by the power of the promise of God, or by some carnall inducement? We know the ditell faith to God of Job, Doth Job feare God for nought, hast thou not made a hedge about him & about his house? And we also know what Christ faith to them that followed him. Yee seek me not, because yee saw the miracles, that is, for any respect they had to his Godhead, but because yee ate of the loaves and were filled. From which imputation the Lord would free his feruant Abraham, whom hee purposed to make the Father of the faithfull, and give him for an example to all posteritie. So dealt the Lord in the wildernesse with the children of Israel: hee let them see no possibilitie to liue in the world, but susteined them by extraordinary miracle, giuing them Manna and Quailes, that they might follow the steps of their father Abraham: and know, that man liueth not by bread onely, but by euery word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, doth man liuе. Then here we see, where God doth command, he is to be obeyed, without asking of any questions: Abraham must goe to a land hee knoweth not whither, because God will haue it so. He must not say, A Lyon may bee in the street, lest he find A Serpent bite him at home, as he leaugh
Virginea.

Virth on the wall. How much more, when the land is discovered, to bee as much better then the place in which we live, as the land of Canaan, was better then the roaring wilderness, ought we to be willing to goe, vvhether God calleth? The children of Israel had word by their spies. The land which wee walked through to search it, is a very good land. If the Lord love us, he will bring us to this land, and give 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 shoul-ders: Sure if such motiues as these could not make them readie to runne to the place, it appeared that they had neither the feare of God, that would not be perswaded by him; nor the wits of reasonable men,that will not respect their owne benefit. What shall we say then to our people, which have in them so little edge to follovv their owne thrift. The land, by the constant report of all that haue seene it, is a good land, with the fruitfulnesse whereof, 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 Isaac 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 a-right, this land giueth fiue hundred fold at one harvest. 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.

Britannia.

part, every stalke bearing, ordinarily three such eares of Wheate. As for the opportunitie of the place, I leaue it to the grave Polititian: and for the commodities, let the industrious Merchant speake: but for foode and raiment, here is enough to be had,for the labour of mastring and subduing the foile. The children of Israel that were in the wilderness, readie to perith, if God withdrew 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 fented cities, and walled townes exceeding great: And because there were the sons of Anak: mightie Giants that were armed in Brasse, & their speare like a Weavers cloth beam. For they forgot the God that brought them out of Egypt, and that made the raging waues of the sea to stand in heapes, and take the office of strong walles, that they might easily march through vpon drie land. They forget that God was the creator of the mountaines, whereof one of the least, is stronger then all the sons of Anak. They forget that God putteth away all the ungodly of the earth like drosse. But wee should be worse then mad, to be discouraged by any such imaginations of this place. There are but poore Arbors for Castles, base and homely sheds for walled townes. A Mat is their strongest Portcullis, a naked brest their Target of best proofe: an arrow of reede, on which is no iron, their most fearefull weapon of offence, heere is no feare of nine hundreth iron charrets. Their God is the enemie of mankind that seeketh whom hee may devoure.
A murtherer from the beginning, that laboureth the destruction of those that serve him most devoutly. Here that Scripture hath a full accomplishment; In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them shall be as David, that slew his ten thousand: And the house of David as God's, as the Angel of the Lord before them, that destroyed the most puissant Army of the Assyrians, that came against Jerusalem. Wherefore seeing we are contented, when the King doth press us out to warre, to go we know not whither, nor under whom, and can propose no thing unto us but to fight with a mightie enemie: Let us be cheerful to goe to the place, that God will shew vs to possesse in peace and plenty, 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, when the Lord doth allure men to keep it, by the abundance of his blessings. In this place, the Lord doth promise unto Abraham, foure most excellent mercies, of all men of understanding most earnestly desired. The first thing he promiseth unto him, is, that The Lord will make him a great Nation. A thing which in the beginning of the Plantation of the world, by all men, was principally desired, with the greatest longing. Out of this desire arose the taking of many virgins, whereas God did make but one. Hence also rose a reproch unto the barren, though the Lord had that up 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 have borne him three sonnes. It appeareth also by the story of Hannah, of whom it is said, her adversary vexed her sore, which was her husbands other wife, for she upbraided her, because the Lord had made her barren. It appeareth also, that euem to the time of the Gospel, it was a reproch to a woman if she were barren, as Elizabeth said when she conceived with child. Thus bath the Lord dealt with me, in the days when he looked on mee, to take from mee my rebuke among men. Yea it was in those days a speech, Cursed bee the barren that beareth not, and the breasts that giue 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 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 women. And to let it appeare that hee was exceedingly affected with a desire to multiplie and encrease, when God came to him and comforted him, Thus, Feare not Abraham, I am thy buckler, and shone exceeding great reward; he maketh this answere to God: What wilt thou giue 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 world beside. Now heere dooth God promise.
promise him, upon 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; a Nation, that is, not man, but God calleth Great: that is, exceeding great. For imprinting of which promise in the heart of Abraham, he calleth him to see the innumerable stars of the sky, the infinite sands by the sea, and the motes of the dust of the earth, which he will make fit comparisons to express the greatnesse of this nation. Then seeing, whatsoever was promised to Abraham, is also promised to all that are of his faith and obedience; here is an answer to such, as object they are loth to go 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, and God will open the barren wombe, and make her to dwell with a family, and to be a ioyfull mother of children. Praise the Lord.

Iacob thus prayeth God, with my staffe came I ouer this Iorden, and now haue I gotten two bands. The second thing which the Lord doth promise vnto Abram, is, that He will blese him, Him I say and the nation that shall come of him. What is meant by this blesting the Patriarke Iake doth, in part, make plaine, when hee disposed of this blesting to Jacob which his Father Abram had of God, and left to him. His words are these: God giue thee of the dew of heaven, and the former of the earth, and plenty of wheat and wine, Let people be thy servants, and nations bow vnto thee.
such as will not go abroad, for fear of losing the blessing of God, divers are the difficulties into which a man is cast when he liueth among barbarous people. Sure he cannot have the blessing of God that is mingled among the heathen. He must lose the preaching of the word of God, and the purity of the Sacraments, thus is he vndone in body & soule. To this the Lord replieth, that to him that doth willingly with the breach of Gods commandement run into tentation, the Lord doth bring vpon him the curse that Dauid forewarneth his sonne of, If thou forsake him hee will cast thee off for euer. But if a man leave 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, in their owne Countrie, as we find of some abroad. Where did Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago, stand for their faith and were deliuered out of the fierie Ouen into which they were cast, because they would not offend God, but among the Babilonians? Where did Daniel 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 redoubbed vpon you more, being in a strange Countrie, then you were able to discerne at home.

The third blessing vpon Abraham, is, that God will make him a great name. This is a blessing of that 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 than a costly oyntment, and is to be chosen above great riches. Hereupon the Scripture hath recorded good men; and the Epistle to the Hebrews giueth the reason of it, which it rendreth thus, All these, through faith, obtained a good re-
port. So is Dauid 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 bles-
sed 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 in to 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 forfa
tke his country. A thing which proued true: for all the rest of the Scriptures, to the end of the Bible hath this onely subiect, namely the praise of Abram. It is certaine that a godly man hath neuer that great name at home, as abroad. Christ faith truely in the Particular of a Prophet, which is also true of euery vertuous man, A Prophet is not without honour, save in his owne Country, and in his owne house. And fo here is an answere to a third obiection, which some do
doe make; What should a man do abroad? A man would willing


willingly keepe the poore reputation and respect he hath. If I go out of my Country, I shall be but swallowed up among strangers, my memorie will bee sooner rotten abroad, as my name, which I will put upon 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 regard, where there be millions of his rank, though not better fauoured, yet better fauoured.Get abroad where vertue is scant, and there, by the advancing 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 neglected, but abroad 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 Salomons time, which was esteemed no better then stones, or like Cedars that were but like wild figge trees. Thy way then to make the world ring of thy vertue, to thy praise among the good, and to the terror of those that are cuill, is to go abroad when God calleth thee.

The fourth blessing is that he shall be A blessing. This speech hath relation to the esteeme that other men give; For so doe wee often rede the phras in the
Virginea.

the heart of thy strangers so to respect thee, that they shall holde thee to bee the only: blessing that ever came among them, because thou haste very sensibly bring many blessings unto them. When Iacob the sonne of Abram, came to Abimelech, though the Philistines envied him for his wealth: yet Abimelech the King came to him with his friends and captains of his armie, and said, \textit{Wee have certainly seen that the Lord is with thee and we thought, let there now be an oath betwixt us, and let us make a covenant with thee; Thou now the blessed of the Lord do this. Philo.

Pharaoh, King of Egypt, said to his servants of Joseph, can we find such a man as this, in whom is the spirit of God. He said also to Joseph, Thou shalt be over mine house, and all thy word shall all my people bee armed. Thus Abram was known to be a blessing. Now what the Lord promised to Abram, was also promised to all those that are of the same faith and obedience with him. Then this blessing of being a blessing, belongeth unto those 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 blood, 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 Esau, in vertue, so will Esau trip vp the heeles of Iacob by his power, if God keepe him not. Nay Esau must be acknowledged to have an Angels face, for winking at his brother; that windeth himselfe out of his company as cleanly as hee can. But when a man commeth abroad, where the word of God and his feare is precious, then every 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 blessing.

Out of these arguments, by which God inticed Abram to goe out of his Country, such as goe to a Christian Plantation may gather many blessed lessons. God will make him a great nation. Then must Abrams posteritie keepe them to themselves. They may not marry nor giue in marriage to the heathen, that are uncircumcised. And this is so plain, that out of this foundation arose the law of marriage among themseleves. The breaking of this rule, may brake the neck of all good successe of this voyage, whereas by keeping the feare of God, the Planters in shorte time, by the blessing of God, 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, malelie, that to grow into a great nation is a very great blessing of God. Then are they but Atheists, that hold a great family of children to bee a heauie and fore charge: and they blaspheme they...
know not what, that with God had their children, for they could spare them well enough. But especially the *fomes of perdition*, that body of Popery is by this Text made abominable, that once wrote to the Lords of the Counsell of this Land, that Popery would much profit the Land, because by the single life of Priests and Nunnes, and Monkes, and Friers, the Common-wealth should not be so charged with multitude of children. They fitly say, not charged; but they say not, that lesse children shall be gotten. For when as one fithpond, a thousand years agoe, could afford more then sixe thousand infants heads, so long before the *abstruse studies* came from hell into the hands of Iesuites, what shall we think of these latter daies? But to rake no further into the stinking kennell, I must tell them to their teeth, that when they say the kingdome is better for the smallnes of the number of the subiects, or is not the better for being a great nation, that they doe like their father the diuell, giue God the lie. Whereas God doeth promise to blesse him in his Journey, as hee did indeede, giving him the gift of a Prophet to teach, of a Priest to pray, of a King to rule, of plentie in his Temporall estate, and Ioye in seeing Christ the Saviour of his soule; here may such as transplant at Gods commandement, bee as assured of that prome of God, as I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee; but as God faith to Iesu, as I was with Moses so will I be with thee: so God faith to them, as I was with Abraham, so will I be with you. I will blesse you, to wit, with the blessings of this life and

**Par. Vesberg.**

Blesse his Journey.

John 8.56.

Lxx. 5.

**Virginea.**

and of the kingdome of heauen.

But further if you will haue Abraham's blessing, you must doe your diligence to walke in those wayes, by which the Lord doeth giue his blessings. You must not with Idlenesse, force God to worke miracles of mercie on the willfully sinfull. You must bee diligent to heare the word of God, reverent in beleewing and receiuing of it, fruitfull in the Christian practice of it, that the blessing of God may come upon you. God can raise children vnto Abraham of the very stones, and cast you away if you cast him off.

In that the Lord doeth promise Abraham to make him a great Name, know that it is a blessed thing to be well spoken of. This will God bring vpon the obedient. But if you disobey, you will but make the eares of them to tingle, that heare of you. And as we are in continual expectation of some honourable effect, if you continue in the faith: so will you bring a confusion vpon your selues, and a shame vpon your Nation, if you sticke not fast to God, and his blessed commaundements.

And lastly, whereas God doth promise, that Abraham shall be a blessing, you must know it your dutie to walke wisely towards those that are without, redeeming the time, because the days are euill. The days are euill indeed, in that continent.

Then how tender ought your care to be, to gaine the reputation of a blessing among this people. Let them see, that he that came before, was but Satan from whom they then knewe doe issue, that had transformed himselfe into an Angell of light; and that they were

**Britannia.**

III.

Blesse his Journey.

Matt. 3.9.

A good Name

V.

A good Name

**I.**

Ephe. 11.15, 16.

VI.

2. Cor. 11.13, 14.
Satans ministers, that transformed themselves into the Apostles of Christ. But walk you honestly as in the day, let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie you father which is in heauen. While we have time, let us doo good to all men; yet give no place to the diuell. So the blessing of God shall be vpon vs, and we shall be a blessing wheresoeuer we goe. And still remember that, as the diuels children will needs be a curse, so the sonnes of Abraham will alwayes labour to be a sweete blessing, where euer they come. And these were the arguments that concerned Abraham and his people, wee must now proceed also to speake of such arguments that concerned others.

The Lord doth deale wonderfully with him in respect of others, When he is departed from his owne Countrie. For first the Lord will bless them that bless him. To bless, 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 seruants. To this purpose is it, which the Prophet Dauid hath, Pray for the peace of Ierusalem, Let them prosper that loue thee. And that of Christ. He that receiueth a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward; and hee that receiueth 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 only, in the name of a Disciple, Verely I say vnto you, he shall not loose his reward. Vpon this blessing of God was it that Dauid said to his sonne Salomon, Shew kindnes vnto the seruants of Barzillai the Gileadite, for so they came to me, when I fled fro Absalom 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 beginning of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gaue me to drinke, &c. Which afterwards he doth thus explyane, Verely I say vnto you, in as much as ye haue done it to one of the least of these my brethren ye haue done it to me. But here we must understand, that when he saith, I will bless them that bless 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 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 thee. Laban was blessed for Iacobs sake, and the keeper of the prison, with his whole charge, was blessed because of Joseph. The midwiues, that did spare the children of the Israelites, and did not kill them, according to the commandement of Pharaoh the king, were also blessed; which the Scripture doth thus record, God therefore prospered the widows. And againe, And because the widows feared God, therefore he made them bose. Rahab also, that harboured and hid
hid the Lords spies, found the blessing that Joshua sawed her, and her fathers household, and all that she had, and she dwelt in Israel, as it seemeth, married to Solomon, and so also from her came Christ.

To curse, in this place, doth signify all kind of afflictions: as appeareth by the law of God. And so the meaning is, that the Lord will spend all his plagues upon such as doe bring any affliction upon Abraham, yea the Lord will revenge them in his wrath. So saith the Lord Jesus Christ, He that shall offend one of these little ones, that believe 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.

Let Pharaoh tell how well he sped for taking Abraham's wife into his house. The Text saith, The Lord plagued Pharaoh with great plagues; because of Sarah Abraham's wife. Let Abimelech tell, how much better he faired for the like pranke. But Sodom will never be forgotten, that would abuse strangers. And Egypt is hanged vp a table, in all mens eyes, to let them see, that the Lord hath innumerable fearful plagues, to spend upon them that will deal cruelly, and cruelly with his people; and not suffer them to serve the Lord. The reason hereof is, that God, to him that receiueth his covenant, doth bind himselfe to be his God, and the God of his seed. And thus the Prophet Zacharie bringing forth God expressing his meaning to be, that there is so strickt an Union, betweene God and his people, that what is done to his servants, he taketh as done to himselfe. His words are these, He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. To this purpose is that of our Saviour Christ, He that receiueth you, receiueth me; and he that receiueth me, receiueth him that sent me. And againe, He that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth him, despiseth him that sent me. And now, seeing the respect of blessing or cursing, which falleth upon Abraham and his posteritie, doth fall upon God, then consider what God faith for himselfe. Them that honour me, I will honour: and they that despise me, shall be despised. And this doth David acknowledge in God, With the godly, thou wilt shew thy selfe godly: with the upright, thou wilt shew thy selfe upright: with the pure, thou wilt shew thy selfe pure: and with the froward, thou wilt shew thy selfe froward.

It is then to bee obeyed, that godly men, that feare God, where euer they goe by Gods vocation, they shall find friends, and such as shall blefe them. He made those that led them away captiue to pitie them. Joseph, and Daniel found more honour abroad, then their Princes had at home. Esther and Mordecai found more fauour at Shusan, then many of their betters found at Jerusalem. Hee that raised vp those godly men friends abroad, will also prouide for you abroad, if ye continue his faithfull seruants, as Abram did. And further, here wee see, that such as love Gods people (hall prosper, though they be but heathen. This may giue warrantie unto our consciences, to accept of fauour and blessings, even of the Gentiles: and also to hold a league and concurrence, even with the well affected Heathen, that God hath stirred vp, to be the means of his Blessings.
VIRGINIA.


It is 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 plains of Mamre, the Amorite, brother to Eshcol, and brother to Aner, which were confederate with Abram. And also we may secure our selves, in the association of such, that God will not kill vs for their sakes; but on the contrary, God will bless them for our sakes.

III.

They must look for enemies.

I coulde teache you thus much, that in a strange Country, you must looke for enemies; even cursing enemies, under whose tongues is the poyson of Alpes, and whose right hand is a right hand of iniquitie. Balaam, that had a witches tongue in his head, was sent for to curse Israel, by Balak, that knew he had a pestilent tongue. The seed of the diuell will be spitting and biting, doe what a man can. This our Saviour foretelleth to his holy Apostles, In the world you shall have trouble. A thing which if the children of Israel had known as they ought, they would never have refus'd to enter the land which God commanded them to possess; 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 unto Abram, that hee and his seed must find. Rather bee strong, and of good courage: because the Lord is with you; and with them, but an arm of flesh.

Lastly, our text doth tell us, that he will curse them that curse Abram. This the witch Balaam knew that if any would open his mouth to curse the people of God, hee should bee cursed himselfe; for the curse should returne vnto him, as Water into his bowels, and oil into his bones. And generally, they shall come vnto shame and confusion, as many as have euill will at Zion. 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 selves to Abrams faith and obedience, God will bring a curse vpon all our enemies. The Prophet Zacharie hath many excellent speeches, to expressse this by:

The Lord, saith he, will make Jerusalem a cup of poysnon unto all the people in the siege of Jerusalem. Jerusalem shall bee a heavy stone for all people: all that lift at it shall be broken; though all the earth be gathered together against it. Again, the princes of Judah shall bee as coles of fire among wood, and like the firebrand in the sheafe, and they shall devour all people round about, on the right hand, and on the left. These things spake the Prophet of these victorious dayes of the Gospel. I hope out of these words thus generally delivered, every true hearted Protestant, can frame out an answer vnto the objection, that is thought much to impeach this Plantation in Virginia. The peril, say the objecters, 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 alliance with our Nation, will think other thoughts, and take better advice. But as for the popish Church, an vntruly beast, exempt...
Virginea.

exempt from all good government, Cuill and Divine, onely adoring him, that hath exalted himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, it may be they, like the daughters of Salomon's horseleaches, will cry, Give, give, more blood, and yet more blood. 

And yet, a man would think, they were glutted before this time of day. For in her may be found the blood of the Prophets and of the Saints, and of all that were slaine upon the earth. But you will say, they are such terrible beasts, as that the professors of the Gospell must needes be afraid of them. Indeed their peril was great, while their Inchauntments were in force. Iannes and Iambres withstood Moyses, till the Plague of the Scab fell upon them, and then they were able to stand before Moyses no longer. So they juggled, and did many strange tricks, and much mischief, till the Plague of the Scab light upon them at Naples, more then an hundred yeere agoe; but since, though their industriie hath bene nothing inferior to the duels, that came from compassing of the earth, to and fro, yet they may cast a wofull accompt: For they find in the total, how many Kingdomes they have loft, and doe daily lose; how many battailes they have fought, in all which to the Protestants, as the Cananites, would prove to the Israelites in Caleb's judgement, so haue they bene, even Bread for vs.

Aske

Britannia.

Aske what is become of those imperial armies, that went into Boeme, against the Hufsites, in the time of Sigismund the Emperour: and know, what is become of their Armour: whether it arm'd not the Hufsites 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 furnisht 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: lett this be your hope. But feare not their fears. Babilon, faith 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 madness is made evident. 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 inchauntments, not to require satisfaction for these wrongs? and, to that purpose, pull all their Mammon from under their Altars? I am perswaded, the Armour they haue 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 under 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 offen-
offending God, and taking of Papists in to your company; if once they come creeping into your houses, then look for mischief: if treason or poison bee of any force: know them all to be very Assasines, of all men to be abhorred. But hope in God that hee, that hath sent you abroad, will also fend you such governours, as will cast out the leaven out of your houses: to whom I need say little, because I know they need not be nurtured by me.

In 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 here spoked of Abram, is also spoked of Iacob, in this manner. In thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the earth be blessed. It is true that in Abraham and his Children, were many men blessed: as appeareth in the Scripture, where they haue drawn many strangers to serue God. Howbeit the principall blessing is ascribed to Christ, who by excellencie is called Thy seede; as S. Paule doth very notably obserue, when he saith, Hee saith not, and to thy seedes, as speaeking of many, but, And to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ. By the families of the earth are understood all those nations, which arose from the families of the sonses of Noah, after their generations among their people: for out of these were the nations divided in the earth after the floods: and that which is here rendred families, afterward is called Nations: in the speech of the Lord of Abrahams, All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. S. Paul ren dreth it thus, in thee shall 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 signifie that blessedness, which Christ doth bring vnto men. Which the Angel and a multitude of heavenly soldiers, do comprehend in their sweete song of praising God, when they saide, Glorie be to God on high, and Peace on earth, and towards men good will. Then the speech, all put together, is this, that Abr ham must get him out of his 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 Abraham, but all 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 present a Church at Corinth, a pure Virgin to Christ. But (say one) you run too fast without good ground: you seeeme 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 Revolution 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 iudgement. To this I answere that no preiudicate opinion is a juft condemn.
### VIRGINIEA.

Condensation to the truth, nor any doctrine out of books that are Apocripha, can make a wise man depart from a doctrine of the Canonical Scriptures. It is true that Gregory's credit was wont to be great in the times that men knew no better, who confidently affirmed the judgment to be at hand; but besides the confutation of a thousand years, which have been since he so affirmed, the pregnant & clear Scripture confoundeth the proud conjecture of him and his followers. And this doth also appeare by the Apostasie of some Papists that in their books lately Printed at Rome, haue departed from the sentence of so great a Pope, and grave Doctor of the Church, telling vs plainly that the gospel must be preached univerally through the world before the last Judgement. But neither by their authority, nor arguments, but by the force of such Texts as cannot be deluded, do I affirm, That all the Nations of the world shall be blessed in Christ. They that mince and pare this Text, that they make it as sore as the Shechamites were with their circumcision, say, that, take away the outflashing hyperbole, and, Their sound is gone out into all the world, will serve the turne. A simple blessing God knoweth and little differeth from The favor of death unto death. If they receive you not, (faith Christ,) take off the dust of your feet. Truly, I say unto you, it shall be easier for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of Judgement, then for that City, howsoever they heard the sound of the words of God. This stumbling blocke, fewe wise men will say was this blessednesse promised to Abram.

### BRITANNIA.

The Jewes hunt counter as fast on the other side, For when as, in the second Psalm, they read of their Messiah, he shall haue the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession: that he shall crush them with a scepter of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel, they affirm, that all the world must bee subdued by force and violence unto Messiah. An opinion that prevailed much in the time of Christ, as appeareth not only by diverse others, but also by the Apostles, who encountred our Saviour Christ thus, before his ascension. Lord wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel. But they also make but an uncomfortable blessing of this blessednesse 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. Particularly these things are delivered in the Scripture, which, I thinke, no distinctions of hyperbole, nor spiritually, nor at the last judgement, can delude, which are the ordinary refuges of them that, out of prejudice, would faine put by the truth.

Daniel hath it thus, A stone was cut without hands, and smote the image upon the feete, and brake them in pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and gold broken together, and became like chaffe of the summer flowers, and the wind carrie them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountaine, and filled the whole earth.

Here, first, we plainly see, that Christ must destroy
the Monarches that they be not fou'd. And so much of this speech doth S. Paul interprete thus plainly. That Christ shall put downe all rule, and all authoritie, and power. For he must reigne, till hee hath put all his enemies, under his fete: the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. The other part of Daniel's speech, David doth thus expresse in the Psalme. Thou Lorde shalt inherit all nations. And this point the Prophet Zachary doth render thus. The Lord shall bee King over all the earth, In that day there shall be one Lord, and his name shall be one: so that no other God shall be named in all the worlde. But least any should understand this point of the last iudgement, and so place earth in heauen; Danieell sheweth how the Lord shall be king, his words are these. The kingdom and dominion, and greatness of his kingdom under the whole heauen, shall be given to the holy people of the most high, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all powers shall serve and obey him. But what shall he abolish kings, and bring all to a Popularity? no such matter, God is the author of order; and not of confusion. The kingdoms of this world shall be our Lords, and his Chrisits, and hee shall reigne for euermore, by Kings 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 thus. Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queens shall be thy nurses: they shall worship thee with their faces towards the earth, and liche the dust of thy fete. But leaft any man should say, it may bee some, but what is that to the rest? David answreteth thus. The Kings of Tarshish, and of the Iles shall bring presents. The Kings of Sheba, and Seba, shall bring gifts, yea All Kings shall worship him, All nations shall serve him. And againe, The Lord is high and terrible: A great King over all the earth. And again in the same Psalme, God is King over all the earth, sing praise, whose pure heart hath understanding. God reigneth over the heathen &c. If any do yet think that they shall serve him as the Kings did Isauah, when he sett his feet on their necks: the blessed scripture saith no. For the Psalme hath it thus. All Kings of the earth shall praise thee, O Lord, for 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? And as the scripture is very particular in setting down the state of the kings, how they shall stand affected to the Gospell, so doth it of the people. First Dauid saith All the people shall see thy glory. But that is not sufficient, wherefore S. Iohn, in the Reuelation goeth farther thus. All nations shall come and worship before thee, O Lord. Ifaiah hath it thus, I have harned by my selfe, and the words is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not returne: that every knee shall bow unto me, and every tongue shall saue my name. 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 every knee bow, and thuevery tongue should confess that Iesus is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. Malachie yet goeth further thus: From the rising of the Sun, to the going downe of the
the same, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto thy name, and a pure offering. The Psalm saith also, the princes of the people are gathered unto the people of the God of Abraham. To conclude this point the Prophet Isaiah saith:

From month to month, and from Sabboth, to Sabboth, shall all flesh come to worship me, saith the Lord.

The summe is, what blessing any Nation had by Christ, must be Communicated to all Nations: the office of his Prophecie to teach the ignorant; the office of his Priesthood, to giue remission of sinnes to the sinnefull: the office of his kingdome, by word, and Sacraments, and spirit, to rule the inordinate: that such as are dead in trespasses, may be made to sit together in heavenly places. For there is no difference betweene the Iew, and the Grecian. For he that is Lord over all, is rich unto all, that call upon 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 wisdome of God: As also his Power to be declared, when all his enemies had shewed their force; and his Mercy to his Saints, after to great exercises of patience; and his justice, to shewe his judgements, in condemning those that have spoken proud words, and done wicked deeds, to his servants. 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 things be put in subiection unto him. It is true that many objections are made against this doctrine, out of such places as this. When the sonne of man commeth, shall he finde faith on the earth? And of Antichrist, whom the Lord shall abolish, by the brightnesse of his comming. But partly, for want of Grammar learning, to know the meaning of the word Come, and partly for want of Logick, to lay out those places to their due times: those Scriptures, and many more, are racked by such men out of their joints: which rightly understood, have a cleane other sense, then that for which they are alleged: which neither this time nor place will give me leave to dispute. Wherefore standing to our owne first grounde, learne first to bee sparing in abridging the glory of God; which made the world, that his Sonne might rule ouer all. For howsoever, for some good causes, God would not make himself glorious at the first, but would seeme to hide the glory of God in the passion of his Sonne, and affliction of his Saints; and permitting Antichrist to clime to his height, that those that are perfect may be knowne: yet questionlesse, Christ must sit at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footstool, and then shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead. Again, if it be Gods purpose, that the Gospell shall be preached through the world for a witnesse, then ought ministers to bee carefull and willing to spread it abroad, in such good ferticises as this, that is intended. Sure it is great shame vnto vs, of the ministery, that can be better content, to sit, and rest vs here idle, then vndergoe so good a worke. Our presence would not be spared, to bee in the world, and search out the mind of the Church of Ierusalem: and how hath God brought to passe the things that are now performed, in the world? 

\begin{center}
\textbf{V S E.}
\end{center}
tence of zeale, is cleare discovered to be but hypocri-
sie, when we rather choose to minde unprofitable
questions at home, then gaining soules abroad. It is
a singular sin for men to be overcome with euill, it
is a shame that the Iesuites and Friers, that accompa-
ny euery ship, should be so diligent to destroy soules,
and wee not secke the tender lambes, nor bind vp
that which is broken.

But go on couragiously, and notwithstanding
the morting idlenes of the ministery, suspect not the
blessing of God. A captiue girle, brought Naman
to the Prophet. A captiue woman, was the meanes
of converting Iberia, now called Georgia. Eedesius,
& Frumentius, two captiue youthes, were the meanes
of bringing the gospell into India. God makes the
weake thinges of the worlde confound the mighty,
and getteh himselfe praise by the mouth of Babes
and sucklings. Be cheerfull then, and the Lord of
\[\text{FINIS} \]