

BRITISH VIRGINIA

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

VIRGINIA COMPANY SERMONS

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

Virginia: A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel Photographic facsimile edition

William Symonds
Joshua Eckhardt, editor

Virginia Company Sermons 1.2

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BRITISH VIRGINIA

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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.

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

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

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14 March 2012 / 24 April 2013

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

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

INTRODUCTION TO *BRITISH VIRGINIA*

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

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

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 *Whore*"—the whore of Babylon from the book of Revelation, which reformers routinely applied to the Roman Catholic Church. With this, Symonds broke off and began to pray the words reproduced here as the epigraph, asking the Lord to "marry this land, a pure Virgine to thy kingly sonne Christ Iesus." Still praying, Symonds declared that, as a result, "we shall haue a Virgin or Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition to our Great Britaine."

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

INTRODUCTION TO "VIRGINIA COMPANY SERMONS"

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

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

hereafter tende to the glorie of His Divine Majestie in propagating of Christian religion to suche people as yet live in darknesse and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worshippe of God and may in tyme bring the infidels and salvages living in those parts to humane civilitie and to a settled and quiet goverment³

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,

³ Bemiss, *Three Charters*, 2.

given the colony's failure to produce anything that would turn a quick profit, required appealing to non-commercial motivations, such as the religious ones that the company had done little or nothing to confirm publicly before the 1609 Virginia Company sermons. As this introductory essay will show, within weeks after the first two of these sermons helped to introduce its new missionary motive, the company received a second charter that ends by placing the religious conversion of natives as its highest possible goal. Read in isolation from the sermons, the brief references to religion in the first two charters may not seem to differ substantially. Yet considered together, the second charter and the early 1609 sermons appear to have supported an unprecedented campaign (a “media blitz” even) to save Virginia by promising to offer salvation to its native inhabitants.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-interested traders, and at other times appears to be a trading company that could not make money for anyone until independent farmers discovered tobacco. Yet the main reason for this confusion has been that modern readers cannot help but see colonial Virginia as something of a birthplace for the United States, even though the colony's founders could have hardly imagined, and could not have condoned, this fate. Writing over a hundred years ago, Susan Kingsbury, the great authority on the records of the Virginia Company, attempted to turn attention away from its role in colonial history and, instead, toward its relationship to dozens of contemporary trading companies. In Kingsbury's words, the typical supporter of the Virginia Company “was a trader first, a colonizer afterwards”:

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

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

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

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 the members of several of other trading companies.

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

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

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

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

7 Quinn, ed., *New American World*, 5:233; Fitzmaurice, 65.

promising the religious conversion of natives fostered misperceptions.

Fortunately, colonial historians' focus on Virginia as a place in the new world, to the relative exclusion to its role in London sermons, did not deter John Parker from writing, for a festschrift dedicated to Quinn, an article that may still serve as the best survey of the Virginia Company literature that appealed to potential investors and settlers on religious grounds in 1609 and '10.⁸ Just as fortunately, scholarly interests have changed since Quinn compiled his collection in the late 1970s, effectively a generation ago (when the general editors of *British Virginia* were indeed small children). Colonial historians, most notably Edward Bond, have since taken the religion of early Virginia much more seriously.⁹ Simultaneously, scholars of early modern English literature and history—including Lori Anne Ferrell, Jeanne Shami, Peter McCullough, and VCU's own Boyd Berry—have demonstrated the importance of English sermons, especially those of John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes.¹⁰ The "Virginia Company Sermons" occupy the intersection of these two scholarly interests, inviting students of English sermons to consider the view from Virginia, and colonial historians that from English pulpits.

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

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

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

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

Although the Virginia Company sermons include state-

ments that some readers will find typical of Christian missionaries, Parker offered (and may have overstated) one reason why people would not have found them typical at the time: according to him, the 1609-10 company literature constitutes “the first serious proposal to carry England’s religion to a non-Christian people abroad.”¹² 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Symonds took nearly six pages to dismiss just this first objection, before proceeding to devote the majority of his sermon to arguing against several other ones. He did so first by reminding his opponents of the long list of esteemed conquerors who would now suffer dishonor, if Jacobean Londoners suddenly decided to consider conquest shameful. He summoned the "great Princes, and Monarkes, of Assyria, Persia, Media, Greece and Rome" to tell them that their accomplishments, so long admired, "are now 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 obiectioners 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 obiectioners, that come dropping out of some Anabaptists Spicery: whether (if it be vnlawfull to conquere) the crowne sit well on the head of our most sacred soueraigne? (*whose dayes be as the dayes of heauen O Lord*) For by this obiection they shew, that had they power to vntwist that, which in so many ages hath beene well spunne, they would write him crownelesse, as farre as hee hath his title from the conqueror. (13)

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

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

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

Symonds imagined that the objectors would object to this charge of treason as well: "O but God forbid, saith the obiecter, that wee should doe any wrong at all, no not to the diuell" (13). The company's opponents so resisted conflict, in Symonds' caricature, that they feared wronging even the devil, or disciplining even a child: "our obiecter 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 needs be much lamentable effusion of blood" (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 Gospel" would follow the example of Jacob and his progeny when they merely "*soiourne[d]*" in the land of Pharaoh, and of Samson who lived "peaceably" with the Philistines until he was "constrained by iniustice" to defend himself (this latter example especially unconvincing) (14-15). They could even "instruct the barbarous princes," as did Joseph and Daniel (15). Despite his defense of conquest, Symonds insisted that Virginia would constitute not a "bloody inuasion" but a "peaceable Colony."

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

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

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

And if our obiecter bee descended of the Noble Saxons blood, 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 leaue their fathers house, where any thing may bee hoped for after the death of their parents" (19). Such settlers could lose their inheritance in Virginia. Others "obiect 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 liue; then if I were long laide in my graue at home" (31-32). Other potential settlers feared the malice of Catholics: "The perill, say the obiecters, is great by the Papists

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

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

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

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

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

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 resollued 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 “resollued in conscience” that the venture was “lawfull and warrantable in it selfe.” Crashaw thus found some of the company’s critics sincere, even if ultimately misguided. He did the best he could to set them right, before referring them back to “M. Symonds his Sermon”:

And this may suffice for the lawfulness of the action, especially seeing whosoeuer would be satisfied more particularly, may haue 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

¹⁷ Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable Lord Lavvarre*, sig. D3r.

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 “leau to examine the lying speeches that

¹⁸ Richard Crakanthorpe. *A sermon at the solemnizing of the happie inauguration of our most gracious and religious King James* (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 mischieuous subtiltie, and barbarous crueltie, the other of the false Doctrine, and refined Hæresis of the Romish Synagogue. Preached, the one at Paules Crosse the 5. of Nouember, 1608. The other at the Spittle the 17. of Aprill, 1609.* (London: by W. Hall for Thomas Adams, 1609; STC 24472), pp. 67-68; Parker, “Religion and the Virginia Colony,” 260.

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.

haue iniuriously vilified and traduced...the *Plantation* of VIRGINIA.” He rebuked “those scandalous and slanderous Detractors of the most Noble *Voyage*.”²¹ And he explained why these detractors should stop traducing it:

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

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

A few other texts, in other genres, can help make sense of the spurt of sermons that defended the Virginia Company from detractors, especially in April and May of 1609. Robert Johnson, chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, introduced the Virginia Company’s newfound religious purpose, and started the task of defending it from critics, in the quarto tract *Nova Britannia*, which Samuel Macham entered into the stationers’ register on 18 February 1608/9.²² After more than two years of

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

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

Yet he knew that his audience would have doubts about this new religious claim on behalf of the company. He admitted that “some obiect” that he and the company were “being led on by our owne priuate endes”; moreover, they asked “how we can warrant a supplantation of those Indians, or an inuasion 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 “inuasion into their right and possession.” Johnson defended the company by insisting that it intended not to supplant, but to benefit, native peoples:

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

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

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

22 Arber, *Transcript*, vol. III, f. 179v.

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

not to supplant and roote them out, but to bring them from their base condicion, to a farre better. First, in regard of God the Creator; and of Iesus Christ their Redeemer, if they will 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

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

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

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

and sought to muzzle criticism of its own stewardship of the enterprise.”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 Tynley, 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 mysticall babell. Particlarly confuting VV. Crashawes sermon at the crosse, printed as the patterne to iustify the rest. VVith a preface to the gentlemen of the Innes of court, shewing what vse may be made of this treatise. Togeather with a discovery of M. Crashawes spirit: and an answer to his Iesuites ghospell. By I. R. Student in diuinity.* ([St. Omer]: anno 1612; STC 1111; Rare Books BX3702.A2 F7).

tors.

The book stays in a modern clamshell box and four-flap folder of thin cardboard covered in blue, waxy cloth and, on the inside, light blue paper. This box and folder came from “the celebrated library” of Boies Penrose II (1902-1976), the nephew of Boies Penrose (1860-1921), the Senator from Pennsylvania. Pasted in the center of the left side flap is the bookplate of “Boies Penrose,” with an image of “*OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE*.” This is superimposed upon the earlier, partially-visible bookplate of “BOIES PENROSE II.” The book went up for auction with much of the rest of the younger Penrose’s library in 1971.²⁷

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

²⁷ Sotheby & Co., *The Celebrated Library of Boies Penrose ESQ FSA FRGS*, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby & Co, 1971), 78-79: 242 SYMONDS (WILLIAM) VIRGINIA. A sermon preached at White-chappel, in the presence of many, honourable and worshipfull, the Aduenturers and Planters for Virginia, FIRST EDITION, *most of last leaf, blank except for printer’s rules, torn away, inner margin with a little worming, but* A VERY FINE COPY, UNCUT, STITCHED IN THE ORIGINAL WHITE PAPER WRAPPER, *in a cloth wrapper and case* [STC 23594; Church 344]

small 4to I. Windet, for Eleazar Edgar, and William Welby, 1609

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

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

London, for Edgar & Welby, 1609

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

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

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

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

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

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-Chappel, In The | presence of many, Honourable and | Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Plan- | ters for Virginia. | 25. April. 1609. | PVBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT | And Vse Of The Colony, Planted, | And to bee Planted there, and for the Ad- | uancement of their Chris- | tian Purpose. | By Wil- liam Symonds, Preacher at Saint | Savors *in Southwarke*. | [rule] | Ivde. 22. 23. | Haue compassion of some, in putting of differ- ence : | And other saue with feare, pulling them out of the fire. | [rule] | London | Printed by I. Windet, for Eleazar Edgar, and | *William Welby*, and are to be sold in Paules Church- | yard at the Signe of the Windmill. | 1609.

4°, A-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 GEN- TILES, | 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: VIRGINEA | BRI- TANNIA. | A | SERMON PREACHED AT | WHITE CHAPPELL, IN THE | presence of many the Adventu- | rers, and Planters for | VIRGINIA. | [rule] | GENESIS 12.1.2.3. | *For the Lord had said vnto Abram, Get thee out of the Coun- | trey, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house, vn- | to the land that I will shew thee. | And I will make of thee a great nation, and will blesse thee, and | make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing. | I will blesse them also that blesse thee, and curse them that curse | thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.* | [rule], B1v-H3v rt: VIRGINEA. | BRITANNIA., H4r-v [55-56] ruled blk.

Pagination: B1r-H3v paginated 1-54 without error.

Press-figures: none.

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

Explicit: H3v *FINIS*.

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

Folger Shakespeare Library STC 23594;
Huntington Library, Rare Books 3362;
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.

(Symonds)
CHURCH 344.

VIRGINIA.

A
SERMON
PREACHED AT

WHITE-CHAPPEL, IN THE
presence of many, Honourable and
Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Plan-
ters for VIRGINIA.

25. April. 1609.

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT
AND USE OF THE COLONY, PLANTED,
And to bee Planted there, and for the Ad-
uancement of their CHRIS-
TIAN Purpose.

By WILLIAM SYMONDS, Preacher at Saint
SAVIORS *in Southwarke.*

I V D E. 22. 23.

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

L O N D O N

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.

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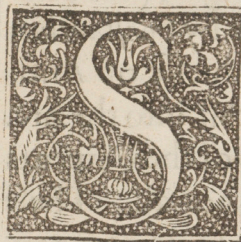
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TO THE RIGHT NO-
BLE, AND WORTHIE

ADVANCERS OF THE STANDART
of CHRIST, among the GENTILES,
the Adventurers for the Plantation of
VIRGINIA, W.S. prayeth
that Nations may blesse them,
and be blessed by
them.

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 quali-
tie. That great, and golden SEN-
TENCE, *The seede of the woman, shall*
A 2 breake,

Gene. 3.15-

THE EPISTLE

Dan. 2. 35.
Ephes. 6. 17.

Euseb. de Vita
Constantini.

Reue. 6. & 19.

break the Serpents head, (the onely subiect of all ages) with a part of the wisdom that is folded therein, hitherto 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 Pharaoh: the subduing of the Canaanites by David and his sonnes; the breaking of Monarchies into chaffe: the surprising & 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 iudgement. Long since the Gospell of Christ did ride forth conquering that hee might overcome. And NOW, the hostes that are in bea-

uen

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 saluatiō of our God. NOW many Mighty Kings haue set their Crownes vpon 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 wisdom, that said: Surely the Isles wait for me (saith the Lord) and the shippes of the Ocean most especially: namely to carry the Gospell abroad. The people in multitudes, like stronge thundrings, doe say Hallelu-iah. And who is wanting in this 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

A 3

Angell

Isai. 52. 10.

Reuel. 19. 12.

Psal. 47. 9.

Zach. 14. 20.

Isai. 60. 9.

Reuel. 19. 6.

Iudg. 5. 2.

THE EPISTLE

Judg. 5. 23.

Angell of the Lord curse the inhabitants thereof: because they came not forth to helpe the Lord.

*Euseb. de Vita
Constantin.*

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, *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. Such as doe mannage the expedition, are carefull to carry thither no Traitors, nor Papists that depend on the Great *Whore*. Lord finish this good worke thou hast begun; and marry this land, a pure Virgine to thy kingly sonne Christ Iesus; so shall thy name bee magnified: and we shall haue a Virgin or Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition to our Great Britaine.

And now Right Worthy, if any aske an account of my vocation, to write and Preach thus much; I answer: that although I could not satisfie their request that

DEDICATORIE.

that would haue me goe; yet I could not omit to shewe my zeale to the glory of God. If they aske account of my Dedication, I answer, your vertue hath exacted it. If any man list to be curious, or contentious, wee haue no such custome, nor the Churches of God. Hold on your blessed course, and you shall receiue blessings of Christ. *Blessed bee the Lord God; euen the God of Israell, 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.*

Psal. 72. 18. 19.

*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-

rers, and Planters for

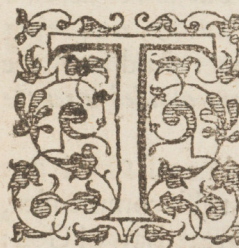
VIRGINIA.

GENESIS 12.1.2.3.

*For the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy Coun-
trei, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house, un-
to the land that I will shew thee.*

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

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



His Booke of Genesis contei-
neth the story of the Creation
and Plantation of heauen and
earth, with conuenient inhabi-
tants. The heauen hath An-
gels, the skie starres, the aire
foules, the water fishes, the

B

earth

2	VIRGINEA.
<p><i>Matth. 22. 30.</i></p> <p><i>2. Cor. 4. 4.</i></p> <p><i>Gen. 1. 26. 27. 28.</i></p> <p><i>Gen. 2. 17 & 3. 3.</i> <i>Isai. 45. 23.</i> <i>Gen. 9. 1, 2.</i></p> <p><i>Gen. 11. 1.</i></p> <p><i>Gen. 11. 7.</i></p> <p><i>Gen. 10. 32.</i></p> <p><i>Gen. 11. 10.</i></p>	<p>earth (furnished with plants and hearbes, and beasts) was provided for man a while to inhabite, who after was to be receiued into glory, <i>like vnto the Angels.</i> 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, <i>After his owne image,</i> that is, <i>Iesus Christ;</i> and gaue them this blessing, <i>Bring forth fruit and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it, &c.</i> And howsoever this precept might seeme to finde interruption by the sinne of man, that had incurred the curse <i>to die the death:</i> yet we see that God would not, for any thing, alter <i>his oath and word, that was gone out of his mouth;</i> for vnto <i>Noah</i> hee reuiued this precept after the flood.</p> <p>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 <i>building of a Citie, and Towne,</i> the better to continue together. For the subduing of which rebellion, <i>The Lord came downe, and confounded their languages, and scattered them abroad:</i> Not onely to the ouerthrow of their ambition, who sought a <i>great name;</i> but also to depriue them of his spirituall grace of saluation, one being not able to vnderstand the other: And so of the sonnes of <i>Noah,</i> <i>were the Nations divided after the flood.</i></p> <p>Among whome the blessed line of <i>Shem</i> is not onely plentifully remembred; but also commended, as obedient vnto that first and great Law of God:</p> <p>For</p>

BRITANNIA.	2
<p>For <i>Terah, the father of Abram,</i> with his family, are reported to be found in a Land not theirs, that they might fill the earth.</p> <p>The reason why <i>Terah,</i> and his family remoued, is recorded in these three verses; and, in a word, is the calling of <i>Abram</i> by the Lord to remooue. In the storie whereof, are these two points: First the vocation of <i>Abram,</i> 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 iourney; 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 rest him where hee was. The first is his <i>Country,</i> which was pleasant, and fruitfull: The second his kindred, which was holy and blessed: The third, <i>his fathers house,</i> which was louing and rich. Hence must hee goe, and leaue them all behind, if they would not goe with him. The place whither hee must goe is also very generally noted out: Namely, the place <i>which God would shew him:</i> a place vtterly vnknownen <i>vnto him,</i> so that from thence he had no argument, to quicken him to that voyage.</p> <p>The arguments which the Lord doth vse to perswade <i>Abram,</i> to this iourney are all taken from the promises of God; a stronger reason then the very sweetnesse of Paradise could be vnto a faithful man.</p>	<p>The context.</p> <p>Goe out of</p> <p>Thy Country.</p> <p>To the place which I shall shew thee.</p> <p>Arguments from promises.</p>
B 2	These

1. A great Nation.

2. Blesse thee.

3. A great name.

4. A blessing.

These promises doe partly concerne *Abram* himselfe, partly those among whom he shall liue. For himselfe the Lord doeth promise foure 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 iudgement of God. The second promise is, that *God will blesse him*, by giuing him the good things of this present world, and that which is to come: A thing which the builders of Babel lost, by transgressing Gods commandement of replenishing the earth. 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 concerne other men, are of two sorts; the one is their Temporall estate; the other their Spirituall. Concerning the Temporall estate of those amongst whom hee liueth, God will dispose of, as they dispose themselves towards *Abram*: For the Lord *will blesse them*, and cause them to prosper, that seeke the *blessing* and prosperitie of *Abram*. And againe, if they stand otherwise affected towards *Abram*, then will the Lord also set his face against them, in these words: *And I will curse them*
that

1. Blesse them that blesse thee.

2. Curse them that curse thee.

that curse thee: So that nothing they haue shall prosper, vntill they be gracious and fauorable to *Abram*. That which concerneth their Spirituall estate, is, indeede an argument to a faithfull man, stronger then chaines of Adamant; Namely, that by this meanes, the people all abroad shall receiue the grace of saluation. The thing he promiseth is saluation by the Gospel, in this word, *I will blesse*. The meanes, is *Abram* and his seede *I E S V S C H R I S T*: in these words *in thee*. The persons, to receiue benefit by him, are infinite; euen 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.

3. All Nations blessed.

DOCTRINES.

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 demaunded how *Abraham* was called, to goe into another Countrey: the answere is, both ordinarily and extraordinarily. It was a knowne rule of the word of God, concluded, and pronounced before the Creation, and often repeated afterwards,
that

3^o. Abraham called.Mat. 1. 20.
Num. 12. 6.

Gen. 1. 26.

Genes. 3. 23.

Gen. 9. 2, 7.

Gen. 12. 10. 13.

Gen. 15. 13.

that man should spread abroad, &c. *and inhabite the earth, and fill it.* Hitherto belongeth that, which God said; *Let vs make man in our image, and let them rule ouer the Fish of the Sea, and ouer the Fowles of the Heauen, and ouer the Beastes, and ouer ALL the earth.* Then must he replenish the earth, else can hee not rule ouer ALL. To the same effect is that spoken of *Adam*, after his fall, that *God sent him forth of the Garden of Eden to till the earth:* so that the fall of *Adam* did not, in the least thing, cause the Lord to 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* a-broade, by a general Vocation. But when he is called to a certaine place, and vnder certaine conditions, it is also plaine, that withall, he had a special and extraordinary calling, either by dreame or by vision, or by some such extraordinary meane, which (til the Canon of the Scripture came fully in) was to be obeyed as the written word of God. Yet still wee must remember that this speciall calling was subiect 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 necessity vpon him to spread further: for in this Chapter, by reason of a famine, hee was constrained to sojourn 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

land, that they were as loth to forgoe their inheritance, as from the Sacrament of their saluation: witness be *Naboth*, that answered the King; *The Lord keepe me from giuing the inheritance of my fathers vnto thee.* And yet, when God would haue it so, as when there was famine, *Elimelech* and his Familie goe to sojourn among the Gentiles. In time of warre *Dauid* tooke his father and mother, and carried them to sojourn with the King of Moab. And when as we reade that there were dwelling at *Ierusalem*, Iewes of euery nation vnder heauen; it is plaine, that the Iewes did spread abroad, not onely to sojourn for a time, and then to come againe; but to inhabite and replenish the whole earth. *Paul* was also a Iew, borne in Cilicia, euen in a Roman Colonie.

The reason why God will haue his to fill the earth is, because the Lord would haue his workes to be knowne. Now in diuers Countries God hath his diuers workes, 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 *Dauid* saith, *All thy workes praise thee, O God, and thy Saints blesse thee; they shew the glory of thy kingdome, and speake of thy power:* the implication is manifest, that his Saints must be witnesses of all his workes, in all Climates; for else they cannot blesse him in all his workes. Another reason is, that one that hath the knowledge of the feare of God, should communicate it to others: Hereupon is it that *Dauid* doeth teach vs to pray thus; *Hanc*
mercic

1. King. 21. 3.

Ruth. 1. 1. 2.

1. Sam. 22. 3.

Act. 1. 5.

Act. 22. 3.

1. Reason.
To knowe
Gods workes.

Psal. 145. 10. 11.

II.
Spreading of
knowledge.

Psal. 67. 1. 2.

Exod. 11. 9.

Exod. 10. 15.

Dan. 4. 20. 21.
17. 29.

Ezek. 38. 16. 23

V S E. I.

mercic on vs Lord, and blesse vs, and cause thy face to shine among vs, Selah. Marke this, that he biddeth vs pray, *God be mercifull vnto vs*; The meanes how, is this: *That they may know thy way upon earth, and thy sauing health among all nations*; whereby he doth imply, that God hath with-held some mercy from vs, till all nations haue the meanes of saluation. 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 contrained to fall down, and say, *I haue sinned against the Lord.* The cause also of the captiuitie of the Iewes in Babilon, in the secrete prouidence of God, was, that the Monarkes of the world, who thought there was no God. could come neere them in greatnes, might be as beastes before God, acknowledging, that it is God, that giueth Kingdomes to whom he will. And when the Lord had 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 vpon them *Gog and Magog*, with their numbersoine Armies: The reason is, that *the Heathen may knowe the Lord: I wil be magnified, and sanctified, and knowne in the eyes of many Nations.* Then here must wee know, that what inducement *Abraham* had, to goe out of his Countrey, by a generall calling, the same doth binde all his sonnes, according to the faith, to goe likewise abroad, when God doth not otherwise call

call them to some speciall affaires: How euer, still they must haue a longing, and a liking to spread the Gospel abroad. And that this point may be euidently conuicted vnto vs, Christ our Sauour hath, according to his infinite wisdom, reuiued the olde law, of filling the earth, in a most excellent manner: *Goe teach (saith he) all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.* Gaue hee this Commaundement to his Apostles onely? haue not also the labours of godly Preachers, which they haue spread ouer the face of the whole earth, beene bestowed by the power of this Commandement? And though the words, as they lie, doe binde the Ministers of the Word, to endeuour the propagation of the Gospel, with all their power; yet not onely them: For we reade, that poore Tent-makers and others, haue done much good in spreading the Gospel, 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 Countrey, doeth also by the same holy hand, call you to goe and carry the Gospel to a Nation that neuer heard of Christ. The Prophet *Zachary*, speaking of the daies of the Gospel, doth shew, that it is a good Vocation for men to goe abroad, when the number of the children of God doe excede; his wordes are these: *Thus saith the Lord of hostes, my cities shall yet be broken with plenty, the Lord shall yet comfort Zion.* Vnto whom agreeth the Prophet *Isaiah*: *The children of thy barrennesse shall say againe, in thine eares, the place*

Matth. 28. 19.

Apost. 13. 26.

II.

Zach. 1. 17.

Isa. 49. 20.

C

is

Obiection.
Nort to enter
other Princes
Territories.

1. Answer.
Conquest law-
full.

CARTON.

is too strait for me, giue me place, that I may dwell. Wherefore seeing that, thanks be to God, we are thronged with multitude; the Lord of hostes him- selfe hath giuen vs the calling of his children to seeke for roome, and place to dwell in. And heere might we haue proceeded to the next point, were it not for one scruple, which some, that thinke them- selues 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 in- heritances? For answer to this obiection: first it is plaine, that the obiecter supposeth it not lawfull to inuade the territories of other princes, by force of sword. This proposition I confesse I neuer was willing to examine, considering my vocation is pri- uate. And if *Sigismund*, the Emperour, said well, that he merueiled euery man auoided all labors and difficulties, but onely to rule, which is the most diffi- cult of all other labours; then to giue sentence of that, which in ruling is the most waightie, namely, warres, which are done with the greatest counsell, must needs bee a labour too heauie for a priuate mans shoulders. And because my selfe am but weake eyed in so great a mysterie; Come forth ye great Princes, and Monarkes, of Assyria, Persia, Me- dia, Greece and Rome, with your grauest counsel- lours, and answere for your facts, in conquering and subduing nations. For your stories, that were wont to be read with singular admiration of your forti- tude,

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

Isay 45. 1. 2. 3. 4

Gene. 48. 22.

*Psal. 18. 2.
Iosb. 10. 24.*

I. S. 177. 11. 9.

Psal. 45. 2. 4. 5

Psal. 72. 8.

burnt : and thou must bee condemned for thy vnlawfull conquest. Worthy *Ioshuah*, & most worthy *Dauid*, with thy cloud of worthies, who hanged vp so many shields in the house of God, and who sweetly singeth, that *God was his fortitude and buckler*, must incur the note of iniustice. *Ioshuah*, where is thy vertue, to set thy feet vpon the neckes of princes, in their owne kingdomes, and call of the meanest of the people to be thy partners in that indignitie? *Dauid*, how wilt thou answere for the blood thy sword hath shed? which thou vvaist vront to praise, *There is none to it*. Nay thou glory of men, and true type of Christ, King *Salomon*, whose wisdom was like vnto the wisdom of God : teach vs to say somewhat in thy defence. (For one graine of thy wisdom is of more worth then a talent of their leaden wits, that we are constrained to answere.) Giue an account of his innocencie that said vnto thee : *Girde thee with thy sworde vpon thy thigh, O thou most mightie, - Thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things, - The people shall fall vnder thee*. Thy father, the sonne of *Ishai*, made a sinfull prayer for thee (as our obiection blasphemeth) when he said, 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 haue thee too rigid, when he saith, *That thine enemies should lick the dust*. Sure I am persvaded that at the onely naming of so mightie Monarches, and holy conquerors, our obiection out of their modestie will with some distinction qualifie their proposition, and say that it is not lawfull

lawfull, by force to inuade the Territories of other Princes, that are in quiet possession, in some sort, and in some cases. I know that the diuell himselfe, 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. But he that will set open his schoole in the fantastical shop of his addle imagination, (for he will be hissed out of the Vniuersities) and take vpon him to nurture princes, as petties: telling them that they must not make offensive warres, if it were to gaine the whole world to Christ, shall neuer be bidders of guests to *the marriage of the kings sonne*, who are required to compell them to *come in*. And if I might be so bold, I would faine aske one question of these obiectioners, that come dropping out of some Anabaptists Spicery: whether (if it be vnlawfull to conquere) the crowne fit 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 bene well spunne, they would write him crownelesse, as farre as hee hath his title from the conqueror.

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

C 3

stones,

*Matth. 22. 2.
Luke 14. 23.*

*2. No wrong
to bring in
the Gospel.
Matth. 7. 5.*

Iohn 8.7.

stones, *Let him beginne first, that is without sinne.* But to the point: our obiecter would not whip a child to teach him learning and vertue, for feare of doing wrong. 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. If your mouth be so foule, to charge them with wrong, *as the Gentiles did*, we haue more neede to provide you a medicine for a cankered mouth, and a stincking breath, then to make you any answere at all.

Tertu. Apol.
contra Gentes.3. No blood
ment to bee
shed.See-white.
The way to
the Church.Gene. 47. 1.
Only a sojour-
ning.
Iudg. 13. 2.
Warres onely
defensue.

O but, in entring of other countries, there must needes be much lamentable effusion of blood. Certainly our obiecter was hatched of some popish egges; & it may be in a I E S V I T S vault, where they feede themselves fat, with tormenting innocents. Why is there no remedie, but assoone as we come on land, like Volues, and Lyons, and Tygres, long famished, we must teare in peeces, murder, and torment the naturall inhabitants, with cruelties neuer read, nor heard of before? must we needs burie 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 professors of the Gospell, they know with *Iacob* and his posteritie, to say to *Pharaoh*, *To sojourne in the land are we come; for thy seruants haue no pasture, &c.* They can with *Sampson* liue peaceably with the Philistims, till they bee constrained by iniustice,

iustice, to stand vpon their defence. They can instruct the barbarous princes, as *Ioseph* did *Pharaoh* and his Senators; and as *Daniel* did *Nabuchadnezer, &c.* And if these obiecters had any braines in their head, but those which are sicke, they could easily finde a difference betweene a bloody inuasion, and the planting of a peaceable Colony, in a waste country, where the people doe liue but like Deere in heards, and (no not in this stouping age, of the gray headed world, ful of yeres and experience) haue not as yet attained vnto the first modestie that was in *Adam*, that knew he was naked, where they know no God but the diuell, nor sacrifice, but to offer their men and children vnto *Moloch*. Can it be a sinne in *Philip*, to ioyn himselfe to an *Aethiopian* charet? Is onely now the ancient planting of Colonies, so highly praised among the Romans, and all other nations, so vile and odious among vs, that what is, and hath bene a vertue in all others, must be sinne in vs? And if our obiecter bee descended of the Noble Saxons blood, 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. But assuring my selfe that these obiecters speake that they thinke not, because they think that they should not, and if the tearmes of the persons were changed, would praise other nations for that, which they dislike in vs: I leaue them to tremble before his glorious eyes, that all things are naked and bare vnto, and my selfe will passe to enforce the rest of our Text vpon the consciences of such

Gene. 41. 25. 38

Dan. 4. 16.

Onely the
Planting of a
Peaceable Co-
lonie.

Gene. 3. 7.

Acts 8. 19.

16	VIRGINEA.
	such, which I hope to bee the sonnes of <i>Abraham</i> according to promise.
110. His Countrey. <i>Ab. 7. 2.</i>	A <i>Bram must get him out, from his country, his kind red, & his fathers house.</i> His Country was called <i>Mesopotamia</i> , the sweetest, and most fruitful soyle that was in the worlde. For it lieth betweene the two great riuers <i>Euphrates</i> and <i>Tygris</i> , which serued not, as other riuers do in other places, to bring fatnes in- to 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 cho- ked, or run vp to weed.
His kindred. <i>Gene. 9. 26.</i>	His kindred was euery way of the best, and noblest stocke of the sonnes of <i>Noah</i> ; namely the families of <i>Shem</i> , of whom God said, <i>Blessed be the God of Shem.</i> So blessed were his tents, to wit the houses and families of his posterity, that, as of the most happie thing, it is saide; <i>God perswade Iapheth</i> , and his posteritie (of which we are a parte) to <i>dwell in the tents of Shem.</i> It seemeth then a matter of as greate a perill, to leaue that kindred, as to leaue the church, and so saluation it selfe. So saith <i>Peter to Christ: To whome shall we goe, thou hast the words of eternall life.</i>
27. <i>Iohn 6. 68.</i>	
His fathers house.	His fathers house was worthy for him to haue continued in. For though some interpreters think, that he was commanded to remoue, because his Fa- thers house was idolatrous, it is not so, It is true in- deed, that they were idolaters, because <i>Iosuah</i> doth say, to the children of <i>Israell: your fathers dwelt be- yond the flood in olde time, Terah the Father of Abra- ham</i>
<i>Ios. 2. 4. 2.</i>	

BRITANNIA.	17
<i>ham, and the Father of Nachor, and serued other Gods.</i> But what of this? Sure it was more through igno- rance of the law, then through rebellion and rage. For when as <i>Terah</i> perceiued, that God was with his sonne, he left all, without bidding, to go with his sonne, and had rather put himselfe in the tents of his sonne, then want the blessing of God. Heereby it appeareth, that they were a very louing people, one to the other, & soft harted to obey, when the Lord did commaund. His father also was very wealthy, hauing many possessions, much cattell, a number- some and great family of seruants, All which is no- thing obscurely implied in that which was spoken of <i>Abram: Abram was verie rich in cattell, in silver & in gold: and that when Abram heard that his brother was taken, he armed of them that were borne & brought vp in his house, three hundred and eightene.</i> For it was not likely but that this wealth, and multitude, came to him from his Father, yet all these must he forsake, and get him from them, vnlesse they would follow him and his fortunes (as they say) which they might if they wold. Otherwise if none would goe vvith him, but that he must be alone; yet must he still fol- lowv the commandement of his God, that saith, <i>Get thee out from among them.</i>	
The reason is giuen by Christ, that also called sonnes from their fathers, ovvners from their hou- ses, and lands: brethren from their brethren: fathers, from their children: & husbands from their vvives, as he saith. <i>He that loneth father or mother more then me, is not worthy of me.</i> The commandement of God is	
D	the

*Gene. 13. 2.
Gene. 14. 14.*

*1. Reason.
The coman-
dement is of
price, and
must be o-
beyed.
Matth. 10. 37.*

Matth. 13. 44.
Psal. 119. 72.
127.

V S E.
Go when God
calleth.

Luke 9. 59. 60.

61. 62.

Reason of not
going answe-
red.
1. England, not
like Mesopo-
tamia.

the kingdome of heauen. it is a treasure hid in the field, a pearle of greate price, vvhich, if hee hath the heart of a man, that findeth, he vwill sell all that he hath, and buy it. Heere then vvee see that, vvhether God giueth a due vocation to spread abroad and inhabit the earth, neither the loue of the country, be it neuer so fruitefull; the loue of kindred, bee they neuer so noble and holy; the loue of a mans fathers house, be the family neuer so kinde, so rich, so number some: no nor the largenes of possession ought to be any impediment to keepe vs from obedience. Indeeede it is true, that if any thing could affoord a man a sufficient excuse to deferre obedience vnto Gods commandement, of this kinde, it may bee easilie found in one of these branches. But vvhether Christ saith to his follovers, is to be repeated here: *Christ saith to one follow mee, and the same said, Lord suffer me first to goe and burie my father: but Christ endureth no delay, for hee presently subioineth a second commandement, Goe thou and preach the kingdome of God: Then another saide, I will follow thee Lord; but let me first goe, and bid them farewell, which are at mine house: And Iesus saide, No man that putteih his hand to the plough and looketh back, is apt to the kingdome of God: Then the commaundment of God must needes bee obeyed, whosoever else be neglected.*

I am not ignorant, that many are not willing to goe abroad and spread the gospel, in this most honorable and christian voyage of the Plantation of *Virginia*. Their reasons are diuerse according to their wits. One saith, *England* is a sweete country. True indeede

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

om. *Casoris*.

Kindred not
like Abrams.

Causes to
seeke abroad.

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

pleaseth. The poore mettall man vworketh his bones out, and swelteth himselfe in the fire, yet for all his labour, hauing charge of wife and children, hee can hardly keepe himselfe from the almes box. Alwaies provided 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 receiue much money in the yeere at their hands, verie neere foure pence for euery sixe penny worth of work. The thoughtfull poore woman, that hath her small children standing at her knee, and hanging on her breast; she worketh with her needle and labourer 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 shee singeth: *Haue mercie on mee Lorde*, sometimes *Helpe Lord, for good and godly men doe perish and decay*: sometimes *Iudge and reuenge my cause O Lord*: and many such like: which when a man of vnderstanding doth heare; he doth with pittie praise God, that hath giuen such meanes to mocke hunger with, and to giue patience. I warrant you her songs want no passion; she neuer saith, *O Lord*, but a salte teare droppeth from her sorrowfull head, a deep sigh breathieth as a furnace from her aking hart, that weepeth vvith the head for company, vvith teares of svveetest blood. And vvhen all the vveeke is ended, shee can hardly earne salt for her vvater gruell to feede on vpon the Sunday. Many such svveets are in *England*, vvich I know not how better to interpret

D 3 then

then to say the strong olde bees doe beate out the younger, to svvarme & hiue themselues elſevvhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers vvvhich indeede bring all the hony to the hiue, God may ſo bleſſe you, that the prouerbe may be true of you, that *A May ſwarme, is worth a kings ranſome.*

iiij^o.

THE place whither Abram muſt goe, is to the land which the Lord will let him ſee. A commaundement fit for God, to perſwade by no arguments taken from the ſweetnes and fruitfulneſſe of the place. Thus doth the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes, render this place, *By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyd God, to goe into a place, which afterwards he ſhould receiue for inheritance, and he went out, not knowing whither hee went.* The like commaundement 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 commaundement of the Lord, they pitched, and at the commaundement of the Lord, they iourneyed, keeping the watch of the Lord, at the commaundement of the Lord. They iourneyed, ſometimes where the waters were bitter, ſometimes where there was no water, ſometimes where the place was full of fierie Serpents, yet could they not be their own chuſers, but muſt follow, where the Lord went before. For God in his wayes can endure no counſellour. Hee will be the ſhepherd, 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

Heb. 11. 8.

Numb. 9. 23.

Rom. 11. 34.

i. Reaſon.
Contented to
be Gods crea-
tures.

II.

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 ſweetneſſe of the place: how ſhould it be knowen, whether hee went by the power of the promiſe of God, or by ſome carnall inducement? We know the diuell faith to God of Iob, *Doth Iob 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 miracle;* that is, for any reſpect they had to his Godhead, *but becauſe ye ate of the leaues and were filled.*

Iob 1. 9. 10.

Iob. 6. 26.

From which imputation the Lord would free his ſeruant Abraham, whom hee purpoſed to make the Father of the faithfull, and giue 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 ſuſtained 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 liue.* Then here we ſee, where God doth commaund, 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 lea-
neth*

Deut. 8. 3.

V S E.

Prou. 26. 13.

Numb. 14. 7. 8.

Numb. 13. 24.
Deut. 1. 24.

Gene. 26. 12.

meth on the wall. How much more, when the land is discovered, to bee as much better then the place in which vve liue, as the land of Canaan, was better then the roaring wildernesse, ought vve to be vvil-
 ling to goe, vvhither God calleth? The children of Israell had vvord by their spies. *The land which wee walked through to search it, is a very good land. If the Lord loue vs, he will bring vs to this land, and giue it vs, which is a land that floweth with milke and honie.*
 Thence they brought a bunch of grapes, and loaded two men as they carried it on a barre vpon their shoulders: Sure if such motiues as these could not make them readie to runne to the place, it appeared that they had neither the feare of God, that vvould not be perswaded by him; nor the vvits of reasonable men, that vvill not respect their owne benefit. What shall vvee say then to our people, vvich haue in them so little edge to follovv their ownethrift. The land, by the constant report of all that haue seene it, is a good land, with the fruitfulnessse vvhereof, and pleasure of the Climate, the plentie of Fish and Fowle, England, our mistresse, cannot compare, no not vvhen she is in her greatest pride. It is said of the land of Canaan, that *Isaack sowed in that land, and found in the same yeere, an hundred fold, 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 siue hundred fold at one haruest. For the *eares of Wheate*, vvich 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,

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

Numb. 13. 29.

Indg. 4. 3.
1. Pet. 5. 8.

E

A

Iohn 8. 44.

Zach. 12. 8.

1. Sam. 18. 7.

Isay. 37. 36.

iiiij^o.

Deut. 28. 1.

Leuit. 26. 3.

A great Nation.

Mal. 2. 15.

A murderer from the beginning, that laboureth the destru^{cti}o of those that serue him most deuoutly. Heere that Scripture hath a full accomplishment; *In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Ierusalem, and he that is feeble among them shall bee as David*, that slew his ten thousand: *And the house of David as Gods, as the Angel of the Lord before them*, that destroyed the most puissant Armie of the Assyrians, that came against Ierusalem. Wherefore seeing we are contented, when the King doth presse vs out to warre, to go we know not whither, nor vnder whom, and can propose no thing vnto vs but to fight vvith a mightie enemy: Let vs bee cheerefull to goe to the place, that God will shew vs to possesse in peace and plentie, a Land more like the garden of Eden: vvhich the Lord planted, then any part else of all the earth.

THE Lord doth promise to enrich him with many blessings, if he be obedient to his calling. An example of that sweete sanction of the law, vvhen the Lord doth allure men to keepe it, by the abundance of his blessings. In this place, the Lord doth promise vnto *Abraham*, foure most excellent mercies, of all men of vnderstanding most earnestly desired. The first thing he promiseth vnto him, is, that *The Lord will make him a great Nation*. A thing which in the beginning of the Plantation of the vvorld, by all men, vvvas principally desired, vvith the greatest longing. Out of this desire, arose the taking of many vvives, vvhereas God did make but one. Hence also

rose

rose a reproch vnto the barren, though the Lord had shut vp the wombe. This appeareth by *Leah*, who said when she bare a sonne, *Now therefore my husband will loue me*. And againe, *Now will my husband keepe me companie, because I haue borne him three sonnes*. It appeareth also by the storie of *Hannah*, of whom it is said, *her aduersary vexed her sore*, which was her husbands other wife, *for she upbraided her, because the Lord had made her barren*. It appeareth also, that euen to the time of the Gospel, it was a reproch to a woman if she were barren, as *Elizabeth* said when shee conceiued with child. *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the dayes when he looked on mee, to take from me my rebuke among men*. Yea it was in those dayes a speech, *Cursed bee the barren that beareth not, and the breasts that 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 vvomen. And to let it appeare that hee vvvas exceedingly affected vvith a desire to multiplie and encrease, when God came to him and comforted him, Thus, *Feare not Abraham, I am thy buckler, and thine exceeding great reward*; he maketh this answere to God: *What wilt thou 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 vvorld beside. Now heere dooth God

E 2

promise

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

Luke 1. 26.

Gene. 12. 4.

Gene. 18. 11.

Gene. 15. 1. 2.

Gene. 17. 10.

Gene. 17. 16.
Gene. 15. 5.
Heb. 11. 12.Answer to
the Obiection
of being ex-
tinguished.

Psal. 113. 9.

Gene. 32. 10.

God will
blesse him.

Gene. 27. 28.

promise him, vpon his obedience, not only to giue him a child, or that *he shall beget twelue princes*, as it is said of *Ismael*; but he *will make him a great Nation*; a Nation, that, not man, but God calleth Great: that is, exceeding great. For imprinting of vvhich promise in the heart of *Abraham*, he calleth him to see the innumerable starres of the skie, the infinite sands by the sea, and the motes of the dust of the earth, which hee will make fit comparisons to expresse the greatnesse of this nation. Then seeing, whatsoeuer was promised to *Abraham*; is also promised to all that are of his faith and obedience; here is an answer to such, as obiect they are loth to goe from home; because they know not what shall become of them. For if they once get into an other Countrey, they thinke there is an end of them, and all theirs. This the Lord answereth; Not so, but obey the commandement, *And God will open the barren wombe, and make her to dwell with a family, and to be a toyfull mother of children. Prayse the Lord.* *Iacob* thus prayseth God, *with my staffe came I ouer this Iorden, and now haue I gotten two bands.*

The second thing vvhich the Lord doth promise vnto *Abram*, is, that *He will blesse him, Him I say* and the nation that shal come of him. What is meant by this blessing the Patriarke *Isake* doth, in part, make plaine, vvhhen hee disposeth of this blessing to *Iacob* vvhich his Father *Abram* had of God, and left to him. His vvords are these. *God giue thee of the dew of heauen, and the fatnes of the earth, and plenty of wheat and wine, Let people be thy seruants; and nations bow vnto thee,*

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

And heere is an answer to a second obiection, of

E 3

such

Deut. 32. 2.

Heb. 11. 9 10. 16

1. Tim. 4. 8.

Exod. 12. 35.

Gene. 15. 14.

Deut. 18. 15.

Num 11. 26 27

1. Cor. 10. 4.

Answer to
the Obiection
of loosing the
blessing of
God.

1. Chron. 28.9.

Dan. 3. 25.

Dan. 6. 16.

A great name.

such as will not goe abroad, for feare of loosing the blessing of God, diuers are the difficulties into which a man is cast when hee liueth among barbarous people. Sure hee cannot haue the blessing of God, that is mingled among the heathen. Hee must lose the preaching of the word of God, and the purity of the Sacraments, thus is he vndone in bodie & soule. To this the Lord replieth, that to him that doth wilfully with the breach of Gods commandement run into tentation, the Lord doth bring vpon him the curse that *Dauid* forewarneth his sonne of, *If thou forsake him, hee will cast thee off for euer.* But if a man leaue his Country at Gods commandment, the blessing of the Lord shall euer waite vpon him to feede his body and sanctifie his soule. The trueth is; that none doe so shine in pietie as those that feare God & are out of their Countrey. We neuer read of such a blessing of men, with constancie and deliuerance, in their owne Countrey, 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 *Babylonians*? 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 redoubled vpon you more, being in a strange Contry, 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,

kinde, as men are exceedingly ambitious of. No meruaile, when God and man doth commend it vnto the world, as a thing of price; *A good name, (saith Salomon) is better then a costly oyntment, and is to bee chosen aboue great riches.* Hereupon the Scripture hath recorded good men; and the Epistle to the *Hebrews* giueth the reason of it, which it rendreth thus, *All these, through faith, obtained a good report.* 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 blessed thing, which Christ himselfe delighted in, His fame was spread abroad throughout all the land: and of the fame of the Apostles and such as preached the word of God, *Dauid* saith, which also *S. Paul* doth cite and thus render to their praise. *Their sound went out through all the earth; and their words into the ends of the world.* This swift flying and loud sounding fame, doeth the Lord promise shall bee spread abroad of *Abram*, if hee will obey God and forsake his country. A thing which proued true: for all the rest of the Scriptures, to the end of the Bible hath this onely subiect, namely the praise of *Abraham*. It is certaine that a godly man hath neuer that great name at home, as abroad. Christ saith truely in the Particular of a Prophet, which is also true of euery vertuous man, *A Prophet is not without honour, saue in his owne Country, and in his owne house.* And so here is an answer to a third obiection, which some doe make: What should a man do abroad? A man would willing

Eccles. 7. 3.
Prou. 22. 1.Heb. 11. 39.
1. Chron. 11.Psal. 19. 7.
Rom. 10. 18.

Matth. 13. 57.

Answer to
the Obiection,
of losse of me-
morie.

willingly keepe the poore reputation and respect he hath. If I go out of my Country, I shall be but swallowed vp among strangers, my memorie will bee sooner rotten abroad, though I liue; then if I were long laide in my graue at home. The Lord answereth this obiection thus. Feare not *Abram*, *I will bee thine exceeding great reward*, I will by thee doe so greate things in a strange place, that thy name shall be remembred, as my name, which I will put vpon thee. Sure it is very true, that manie a man, while he staieth at home, liueth in obscuritie, as in the darkest night, though his vertues and worth deserue better respect. For at home what can bee a mans regarde, where there be millions of his rank, though not better deseruing, yet better fauoured. Get abroad where vertue is skant, and there, by the aduancing of thy wisdom 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 abroade it is magnified, At home bee thou a right good man, thou canst not be seene, for thou art either ouertopt, or so many waies equalled, that thou art like Gold in *Salomons* time, vvhich vvas esteemed no better then stones, or like Cedars that vvere but like vvild figge trees. Thy vvay then to make the vvorld ring of thy vertue, to thy praise among the good, and to the terror of those that are euill, is to go abroad vvhen God calleth thee.

1. King. 10. 27.

A blessing.

The fourth blessing is that he shall be *A blessing*. This speech hath relation to the esteeme that other men giue; For so doe wee often reade the phrase in the

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

Isai. 19. 24.

Zach. 8. 13.

Acts 17. 30.

Matth. 5. 45.

Zach. 4. 12.

Answer of being abhorred.

F

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Gene. 26. 28.

Gene. 41. 38.
and 40.

Rom. 4. 23.

the heart of thy strangers so to respect thee, that they shall holde thee to bee the onely blessing that euer came among them, because thou shalt verie sensibly bring many blessings vnto them. When *Isack* the sonne of *Abram*, came to *Abimelech*, though the *Philistines* enuied him for his wealth: yet *Abimelech* the King came to him with his friends and captaines of his armye, and said, *Wee haue certainly seene that the Lord is with thee: and we thought, let there now be an oath betweene vs, and let vs make a couenant with thee, Thou now the blessed of the Lord, do this. Pharaoh, King of Egypt, said to his seruants of Ioseph, can we find such a man as this, in whom is the spirit of God. He said also to Ioseph, Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and at thy word shall all my people bee armed. Thus Abraham was knowen to be a blessing. Now what the Lord promised to Abraham, was also promised to al those that are of the same faith and obedience with him. Then this blessing, of being a blessing, belongeth vnto 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*

knowledged to haue an Angels face, for winking at his brother; that windeth himselfe out of his companie as cleanly as hee can. But when a man cometh abroad, where the word of God and his feare is precious, then euery vertue of worth shall haue this Respond of the *Idiots and Barbarians*, out of question God is in these men. Then can there no blessing fall extraordinarily, but all men know for whose sake it is, namely for such as God hath made a 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 grcate nation. Then must *Abrams* posteritie keepe them to themselues. They may not marry nor giue in marriage to the heathen, that are vncircumcised. And this is so plaine, that out of this foundation arose the law of marriage among themselues. The breaking of this rule, may breake the neck of all good successe of this voyage, whereas by keeping the feare of God, the Planters in shorte time, by the blessing 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, namely, 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 sore charge: and they blaspheme they

1. Cor. 14. 25.

V s e I.

Marrie not
with Infidels.

II.

A great Nation
on Gods blessing.

Par. V. Berg.

know not what, that wish God had their children, for they could spare them well enough. But especially *the sonne of perdition*, that body of Poperie is by this Text made abhominable, that once wrote to the Lords of the Counsell of this Land, that Poperie would much profit the Land, because by the single life of Priests and Nunnes, and Monkes, and Friars, 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 fishponde, a thousand yeares agoe, could affoorde more then sixe thousand infants heads, so long before *the abstruse studies* came from hell into the hands of *lesuites*, what shall wee thinke of these latter daies? But to rake no further into that 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.

III.

Blesse his
Iourney.

Iohn 8. 56.

Iosb. 1. 5.

Whereas God doeth promise to blesse him in his Iourney, as hee did indeede, giuing 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 Sauour of his soule; here may such as transplant at Gods commandement, bee assured of that promise of God, *I will not leaue thee, nor forsake thee*; but as God saith to *Ioshuah*, as I was with *Moses* so will I be with thee: so God saith 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

and of the kingdome of heauen.

But further if you will haue *Abrams* blessing, you must doe your diligence to walke in those wayes, by which the Lord doeth giue his blessings. You must not with Idleness, inforce God to worke myracles of mercie on the wilfully sinfull. You must bee diligent to heare the word of God, reuerent in beleauing and receiuing of it, fruitfull in the Christian practise of it, that the blessing of God may come vpon you. God can raise children vnto *Abraham* of *the very stones*, and cast you away if you cast him off.

Math. 3. 9.

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 continuall expectation of some honorable 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.

V.

A good Name

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 dayes are euill*. The dayes are euill indeede, in that continent.

VI.

Ephe. 5. 15. 16.

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 whom they themselues doe serue, *that had transformed himselfe in to an Angell of light*; and that they were

2. Cor 11. 13. 14.

Rom. 13. 11.
Matth. 5. 16.

Gal. 6. 10.
Ephe. 4. 27.

Satans ministers, that transformed themselves into the Apostles of Christ. But walke you honestly as in the day, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie you father which is in heauen. While we haue time, let vs doe good to all men; yet giue 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.

Vo.

THE Lord doth deale wonderfully with him in respect of others, When he is departed from his owne Countrey. For first the Lord will *blesse them that blesse him*. To blesse, in this place, is by word and deed to seeke the prosperitie of any. The Lord then doth promise to make all his blessings goe before them, that doe, in any manner, make their blessings goe before his seruants. To this purpose is it, which the Prophet David hath, *Pray for the peace of Ierusalem, Let them prosper that loue thee*. And that of Christ. *He that receiueth a Prophet, in the name of a Prophet, shall receiue a Prophets reward; and hee that receiueth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receiue the reward of a righteous man. And whosoever shall giue to one of these little ones, to drinke, a cup of cold water onely, in the name of a Disciple. Verely*

Psal. 122. 6.

Matth. 10. 41. 42

ly I say vnto you, he shall not loose his reward. Vpon this blessing of God was it that David said to his sonne Salomon. *Show kindness vnto the sonnes of Barzillai the Gileadite, for so they came to me, when I fled from Abolom 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 Sauour 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 meat, &c.* Which afterwards he doth thus explaine, *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 vnderstand, that when he saith, I will blesse them that blesse thee, the word *thee*, did not signifie personall Abraham; but Abraham and all his posteritie, which were in his loynes, and were to be that great Nation, that the Lord promised to 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 Ioseph. The midwiues, that did spare the children of the Israelites, and did not kill them, according to the commaundement of Pharaoh the king, were also blessed: which the Scripture doth thus record, *God therefore prospered the widowes*. And againe, *And because the widowes feared God, therefore he made them house*. Rahab also, that harboured and hid

1. King. 2. 7.

Matth. 25. 34.

Num. 24. 5. 7.

Gen. 30. 27.
and 39. 23.

Exod. 1. 17. 20.
21.

of. 2. 14. & 6.
25.
1st. 1. 5.

Deut. 28.
Leuit. 26.

Mat. 18. 6.

Gen. 12. 15. 12.
Gen. 20. 3. 18.
Gen. 19. 5. 12. 24.
Exod. 1. 10 &c.

Reason, com-
munion with
God.
Gen. 17. 10.

Zach. 2. 8.

hid the Lords spies, found the blessing that *Ioshuah* saved her, and her fathers household, and all that she had, and she dwelt in Israel, as it seemeth, married to *Salmon*. and so also from her came Christ.

To curse, in this place, doth signifie all kind of afflictions: as appeareth by the lawe of God. And so the meaning is, that the Lord will spend all his plagues vpon such as doe bring any affliction vpon *Abraham*, yea the Lord will reuenge them in his wrath. So saith the Lord Iesus Christ, *He that shall offend one of these little ones, that beleue 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 *Abrahams* wife into his house, The Text saith, *The Lord plagued Pharaoh with great plagues; because of Sarai Abrahams wife.* Let *Abimelech* tell, how much better he faired for the like prank. But *Sodom* will neuer 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 fearefull plagues, to spend vpon them that will deale craftily, and cruelly with his people; and not suffer them to serue 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 seede. And thus the Prophet *Zacharie* bringing foorth God expressing his meaning to be, that there is so strickt an Vnion, betweene God and his people, that what is done to his seruants, hee taketh as done to himselfe; His words be these, *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple*
of

of mine eye. To this purpose is that of our Sauour Christ, *He that receiueth you, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.* And againe, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* And now, seeing the respect of blessing or cursing, which falleth vpon *Abraham* and his posteritie, doth fall vpon God, then consider what God saith for himselfe. *Them that 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 vpright, thou wilt shew thy selfe vpright: with the pure, thou wilt shew thy selfe pure: and with the froward, thou wilt shew thy selfe froward.*

It is then to bee obserued, that godly men, that feare God, where euer they goe by Gods vocation, they shall find friends, and such as shall blesse them. He made *those that led them away captiue to pittie them.* *Ioseph*, and *Daniel* found more honour abroad, then their Princes had at home. *Ester* and *Mordecai*, found more fauour at *Shusan*, then many of their betters found at *Ierusalem*. Hee that railed 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 loue Gods people shall prosper; though they be but heathen. This may giue warrantie vnto our consciences, to accept of fauour and blessings, euen of the Gentiles: and also to hold a league and concurrence, euen with the well affected Heathen, that God hath stirred vp, to be the means of his Blessings

G

Vnto

Matth. 10.

Luke 10. 16.

1 Sam. 2. 30.

Psal. 18. 25. 26

V s r. I.
Godly men
find friends.

II.
The friends of
godly men
prosper.

Gen. 14.13.

vnto vs. So is it said to *Abram*, When he had occasion to rescue his brother *Lot* from *Chedor-Laomer*, *Then came one that escaped, and told Abram the Ebrew, which dwelt in the plaine of Mamre, the Amorite, brother to Eshcol, and brother to Aner, which were confederate with Abram.* And also we may secure our selues, in the association of such; that God will not kill vs for their sakes: but on the contrary, *God will blesse them* for our sakes.

III.

They must
looke for ene-
mies.

Isa 53.22.
Num. 22.6.

Gen 3.15.

Iohn 16.33.

Againe, this text doth teach vs thus much, that in a strange Countrey, we must looke for enemies; euen curling enemies, vnder whose tongues is the poyson of Aspes, 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 diuel will be spighting and biting, doe what a man can. This our Sauour foretellet to his holy Apostles, *In the world you shall haue trouble.* A thing which if the children of Israel had knowen as they ought, they would neuer haue refused to enter the land which God commanded them to possesse: because there were cursing and killing enemies, no better then Canibals. Bee not then discouraged, though you light on enemies: for that did God foretell vnto *Abram*, that hee and his seed must find. Rather bee strong, and of good courage: because the Lord is with you; and with them, but an arme of flesh.

IIII.

Their ene-
mies shall be
curfed.

Lastly, our text doth tell vs, that he will curse them that curse *Abram*, This the witch *Balaam* knew that if any would open his mouth to curse the people

ple of God, hee should bee cursed himselfe: for the curse should returne vnto him, as *Water into his bowell, and oyle into his bones.* And generally, they shall come vnto shame and confusion, as many as haue 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 selues to *Abrams* faith and obedience, God will bring a curse vpon all our enemies. The Prophet *Zacharie* hath many excellent speeches, to expresse this by: *The Lord, saith he, will make Ierusalem a cup of poyson, vnto all the people in the siege of Ierusalem. Ierusalem shall bee a heauie stone for all people: all that lift at it, shall be torne; though all the earth be gathered together against it.* Againe, *the princes of Iuda shall bee as coles of fire among wood, and like the firebrand in the sheafe, and they shall deuoure all people round about, on the right hand, and on the left.* These things spake the Prophet of these victorious dayes of the Gospell. I hope out of these words thus generally deliuered, euery true hearted Protestant, can frame out an answer vnto the obiection, that is thought much to impeach this Plantation in VIRGINIA. The perill, say the obiectors, is great by the Papists that shall come on the backe of vs. What Papists doe you feare? the Princes? Sure, such as are in aliance with our Nation, will thinke other thoughts, and take better aduice. But as for the popish Church, an vnruely beast,

Psal. 109.17.

Isa 53.22.

Zach. 12.2.
5c.

Prov. 30. 14. 15.

Reue. 18. 24.

Reue. 8. 13.

Exod. 9. 11.

Reue. 16. 2.

Job 1. 8.

Numb. 14. 9.

exempt from all good gouernment, Ciuill and Diuine, onely adoring him, that *hath exalted himselfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worshipped*, it may be they, like the daughters of *Salomons* horseleaches, will cry, *Giue, giue, more blood, and yet more blood.* And yet, a man would thinke, 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 vpon the earth.* But you will say, now they be so well fleshed, they will haue more blood. To this first our text answereth in general, neuer feare them: they come to curse with Bell, Booke and Candle, and the Diuell and all: but remember this, *God will curse them that curse Abram.* But say you, they are such terrible beasts, as that the professors of the Gospell must needes be afraid of them. Indeed their perill was great, while their *Inchauntments* were in force. *Iannes and Iambres withstood Moyses*, till the Plague of the *Scab* fell vpon them, and then they were able to stand before *Moyses* no longer. So they iuggled, and did many strange tricks, and much mischief, till the Plague of the *Scab* light vpon them at *Naples*, more then an hundred yeere agoe: but since, though their industrie hath bene nothing inferior to the diuels, that *came from compassing of the earth, to and fro*; yet they may cast a wofull accompt: For they find in the totall, how many Kingdomes they haue lost, and doe daily lose; how many battailes they haue fought, in all which to the Protestants, as the Cananites, would proue to the Isralites in *Ca-*

Aske

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

Reue. 14. 18

Reue. 19. 3.

1. Tim. 3. 8.

offending God, and taking of Papists in to your company: if once they come creeping into your houses, then looke for mischief: if treason or poyson 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 send you such gouernours, as will cast out the *leauen out of your houses*: to whom I need say little, because I know they need not be nurtured by me.

Vjo.

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 heere spoken of *Abram*, is also spoken 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 drawne 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 speaking of many, but, And to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.* By the families of the earth are vnderstood all those nations, which arose from the families of the sonnes of Noah, after their generations among their people; for out of these were the nations diuided in the earth after the flood: and that which is heere rendred families, afterward is called *Nations* in the speech of the Lord of *Abraham*, *All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him.* *S. Paul* rendreth it thus, in thee shall all

Gen. 28. 14.

Gal. 3. 16.

Gen. 10. 32.

Gen. 18. 18.
22. 18.

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 blessednesse, which Christ doth bring vnto men. Which the Angel and a multitude of beauenly souldiers, do comprehend in their sweete song of praising God, when they said, *Glorie be to God on high, and Peace on earth, and towards men good will.* Then the speech, all put together, is this, that *Abraham* must get him out of his Countrey: 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 *Abram*, but all his Children according to the faith, to fly, if it were possible, ouer the mountaines, 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 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 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 iust condem-

Gal. 3. 8.

Luk. 2. 14.

2. Cor. II. 2.
Obiection.
The last iudgment at hand.

Answer.

Greg. lib. Dialo.

Malucenda de
Antichristo.

Gene. 34. 25.

Psal. 19. 3.

Rom. 10. 18.

2. Cor. 2. 16.

Matth. 10. 14.

condemnation to the trueth, nor any doctrine out of Bookes that are *Apocripha*, can make a wise man depart from a doctrine of the *Canonicall Scriptures*. It is true that *Gregories* credit was wont to bee great in the times that men knew no better, who confidently affirmed the iudgement to bee at hand; but besides the confutation of a thousand yeares, which haue bin since hee so affirmed, the pregnant & cleere Scripture confoundeth the proud coniecture of him and his followers. And this doth also appeare by the Apostasie of some Papiſts that in their bookes lately Printed at *Rome*, haue departed from the sentence of ſo great a Pope, and graue Doctōr of the Church, telling vs plainly that the goſpell muſt be preached vniuerſally through the world before the laſt Iudgement. But neither by their authority, nor arguments, but by the force of ſuch Texts as cannot be deluded, do I affirme, *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 *Shechamits* were with their circumciſion, ſay, that, take away the ouerlaſhing hyperbole, and, *Their ſound is gone out into all the world*, will ſerue the turne. A ſimple bleſſing God knoweth and little differeth from *The ſauor of death vnto death*. If they receaue you not, (ſaith Chriſt,) *ſhake off the duſt of your ſete*. Truly, I ſay vnto you, it ſhall be eaſier for the land of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* in the day of Iudgement, then for that Citie, howſoeuer they heard the ſound of the worde of God. This ſtumbling blocke, fewe wiſe men will ſay was this *Bleſſedneſſe* promiſed to *Abram*.

The

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

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

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

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the

Pſal. 2. 8. 9.

Act. 1. 6.

Dan. 2. 35.

the Monarches that they be not found. And so much of this speech doth S. Paul interpret 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, vnder his feete: the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.* The other part of Daniels speech, David doth thus expresse in the Psalm. *Thou Lorde shalt inherit all nations.* And this point the Prophet Zachary doth render thus. *The Lord shall bee King ouer 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 lest any should vnderstand this point of the last iudgement, and so place earth in heauen; Daniell sheweth how the Lord shall be king, his words are these. *The kingdom and dominion, and greatnes of his kingdom vnder the whole heauen shall be giuen to the holy people of the most high, whose kingdom is an euerlasting kingdom, and all powers shall serue and obey him.* But what shal he abolish kings, and bring all to a Popularity? no such matter, *God is the author of order; and not of confusion. The kingdomes of this world shall bee our Lords, and his Christs, and hee shall raigne for euermore, by Kings conuerted 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 Queenes shall be thy nurses: they shall worship thee with their faces towards the earth, and licke vp the dust of thy feete.* But least any man should say, it may bee some, but what is that to the rest? David answereth thus, *The Kings*

1. Cor. 15. 21.
25. 25.

Psal. 3. 2. 6.

Zach. 1. 1. 2.

Dan. 7. 27.

1. Cor. 14. 33
Reuel. 1. 1. 5.

1. Chro. 30. 23
Psa. 93. 97.
99.

Isai. 49. 23.

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 serue him. And againe, *The Lord is high and terrible: A great King ouer all the earth.* And again in the same Psalm. *God is King ouer all the earth, sing praise; whoeuer hath vnderstanding. God reigneth ouer the heathen &c.* If any do yet think that they shall serue him as the Kings did Iosuah, when he set his feet on their necks: the blessed scripture saith no. For the Psalm hath it thus. *All Kings of the earth shall praise thee, O Lord, for they haue 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 David 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.* Isaiah hath it thus, *I haue sworne by my selfe, and the worde is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not returne: that euery knee shall bow vnto mee, and euery tongue shall sweare by mee.* Which Saint Paul expresseth thus, *God hath exalted Christ Iesus and giuen him a name above all names: that at the name of Iesus should euery knee bow, and that euery tongue should confesse that Iesus is the Lord, vnto the glory of God the Father.* Malachie yet goeth further thus: *From the rising of the Sun, to the going downe of the*

Psal. 72. 10. 11.

Psal. 47. 6.

Ios. 10. 24.

Psal. 138. 4.

Mat. 25. 45.

Psal. 97. 6.

Reuel. 15. 5.

Isai. 45. 23.

Phil. 2. 9. 10.

Mal. 1. 11.

Psalm. 47. 9.

Isai. 66. 23.

Ephc. 2. 1. &c.

Rom. 10. 12.

Reasons from
Gods attri-
butes.

Heb. 2.8.

the same, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in euery place incense shall be offred vnto thy name, and a pure offering. The Psalme saith also, The princes of the people are gathered vnto the people of the God of Abraham. To conclude this point the Prophet Isaiah saith From moneth to moneth, and from Saboth, to Saboth, shall all flesh come to worship me, saith the Lord.

The summe is, what blessing any Nation had by 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 be-
weene the Iew, and the Grecian. For he that is Lord o-
uer all, is rich vnto all, that call vpon him.* For it well be-
seemeth 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 di-
uell, and wicked men of all fortes) to exalte the Gos-
pell, *the wisdom of God*: As also his Power to bee
declared, when all his enemies had shewed their
force; and his Mercy to his Saints, after so great ex-
ercises of patience; and his iustice, to shewe his
iudgements, in condemning those that haue spoken
proud words, and done wicked deeds, to his ser-
uants. 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 vnto him.* It is true that ma-
ny

ny 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 coming.* But partly, for want of Grammer 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 ioints: which rightly vnderstood, haue a cleane other sense, then that for which they are alleadged: which neither this time nor place will giue me leaue to dispute. Wherefore standing to our owne first ground, learne first to bee sparing in abridging the glory of God; which made the world, that his Sonne might rule ouer all. For howsoeuer, 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 cline 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 bee made his footestoole*, and then shall come from thence to iudge the quick and the dead.

Againe, 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 seruices as this, that is intended. Sure it is greate shame vnto vs, of the ministry, that can be better content, to sit, and rest vs heere idle, then vndergoe so good a worke. Our pre-
H 3 tence

Luk. 18.8.

2. Thes. 2. 8.

V S E.
Be sparing in
shortning the
glory of God.

Psalm. 110.
I. Cor. 15.

II.

tence of zeale, is cleare discovered to be but hypocricie, when we rather choose to minde vnprofitable questions at home, then gaining soules abroad. It is a singular sin for men to be ouercome with euill, it is a shame that the Iesuites and Friers, that accompany euery ship, should be so diligent to destroy soules, and wee not seeke the tender lambes, nor bind vp that which is broken.

But go on couragiously, and notwithstanding the snorting idlenes of the ministry, suspect not the blessing of God. A captiue girle, brought *Naman* to the Prophet. A captiue woman, was the meanes of conuerting *Iberia*, now called *Georgia*. *Eedesius*, & *Fruementius*, two captiue youthes, were the meanes of bringing the gospel into *India*. God makes the weake thinges of the worlde confound the mighty, and getteth himselte praise by the mouth of Babes and sucklings. Be cheerfull then, and the Lord of all glory, glorifie his name by your happy spreading of the gospel, to your commendation, and his glory, that is Lord of all things, to whom be power and dominion for euer.

Hallelu-iah.

Ff Nf S.

2 King. 5. 2.

Ruffinus Eccle.

Hist. lib. 1. cap.

9. 10.

1. Cor. 1.