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

John Smith, Captain & Admiral

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BECAUSE THE BOOKE WAS PRINTED ERE the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new.

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<td>Boston</td>
<td>Pennobscot</td>
<td>Aborden</td>
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<td>Sassanowes Mount</td>
<td>Snodon hill</td>
<td>Nusket</td>
<td>Lowmonds</td>
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A DESCRIPTION
of New England:

OR

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

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

At LONDON
Printed by Humfrey Lownes, for Robert Clerke; and
are to be sould at his house called the Lodge,
in Chancery lane, ouer against Lin-
colnes Inne. 1616.
TO THE HIGH
HOPEFVL CHARLES,
Prince of Great Britaine.

SIR:

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

Your Highnesse true
and faithfull seruant,
John Smith.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE and worthy Lords,
Knights, & Gentlemen, of his Majesties Councell, for all Plantations and discoveries; especially, of New England.

Eeing the deedes of the most iust, and the writings of the most wise, not onely of men, but of God himselfe, haue beene diversely traduced by variable judgements of the Times opinionists; what shall such an ignorant as I expect? Yet reposing my selfe on your fauours, I present this rude discourse, to the worldes construction; though I am perswaded, that few do think there may be had from New England Staple commodities, well worth 3 or 40000 pound a yeare, with so small charge, and such facilitie, as this discourse will acquaint you. But, lest your Honours, that know mee not, should thinke I ge by hearsay or affection; I intreat your pardons to say thus much of my selfe: Neere twice nine yeares, I haue beene taught by lamentable experience, as well in Europe and Asia, as Affrick, and America, such honest aventures
as the chance of warre doth cast upon poore Souldiers. So that, if I bee not able to judge of what I have seen, continued, and done; it is not the fault either of my eyes, or four quarters. And these nine yeares, I have bent my endeavours to finde a sure foundation to begin these ensuing projects: which though I never so plainly and seriously propound; yet it resteth in God, and you, still to dispose of: Not doubting but your goodnesse will pardon my rudenesse, and ponder errors in the balance of good will; No more: but sacring all my best abilities to the good of my Prince, and Countrey, and submitting myselfe to the exquisit iudgements of your renowned vertue, I ever rest

Your Honours, in all honest service,

I. S.

To the right Worshipfull Adventurers for the Countrey of New England, in the Cities of London, Bristow, Exeter, Plimouth, Dartmouth, Bastable, Totneys, 
&c. and in all other Cities and Ports, in the Kingdome of England.

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

I am not the first hath beene betrayed by Pirats: And foure men of warre, prouided as they were, had beene sufficient to haue taken Sampson, Hercules, and Alexander the great, no other way fur-nisht then I was. I knowe not what assurance any haue do passe the Seas, Not to bee subject to casualty as well as my selfe: but least this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill will (by rumour) the behoofefull worke I pretend; I haue writ this little: which I did thinke to have concealed from any publike use, till I had made my returns speake as much, as my pen now doth.

But because I speake so much of fishing, if any take mee for such a deuote fisher, as I dreame of nought else, they mistake mee. I know a ring of golde from a graine of barley, aswell as a golde-smith: and nothing is there to bee had which fishing doth hinder, but furder vs to obtaine. Now for that I haue made knowne vnto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Pat-ent and Commission; hauing also receuied meanes, power, and authority by your directions, to plant there a Colony, and make further search, and discovery in those parts there yet vnknowne: Considering, withall, first those of his Maisties Coun-seill, then those Cities aboue named, and diuerse others that haue beene moued to lend their as-sistance to so great a worke, doe expect (espe-cially the adventurers) the true relation or event of my proceedings which I heare are so abused; I am inforced for all these respects, rather to expose my imbecillitie to contempt, by the testimonie of these rude lines, then all should condemme me for so bad a Factor, as could neither giue reason nor account of my actions and designes.

Yours to command,

Iohn Smith.
In the deserved Honour of the Author, Captaine John Smith, and his Worke.

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

Io: Danies, Heref:

To his worthy Captaine the Author.

Hat which wee call the subject of all Storie, Is Truth, which in this Worke of thine giues glorie To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight Of Enuiie; which doth no mans merits right. My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more Can doe, but this; I’aue said enough before. Your sometime soouldier, I. Codrinton, now Templer.

To my Worthy friend and Cosen, Captaine John Smith.

It over-iyes my heart, when as thy Words Of these designs, with deeds I doe compare. Heere is a Booke, such worthy truth affords, None should the due desert thereof impare; Sith thou, the man, deseruing of these Ages, Much paine hast ta’en for this our Kingdoms good, In Climes unknoune, Mongst Turk’s and Saluages, T’ enlarg our bounds; though with thy lose of blood. Hence damn’d Detraction: stand not in our way. Enuiie, it selfe, will not the Truth gaiensay.

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

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

R: Gunnell.

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

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

For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more Then what o're-filles, and surfets vs in store, To order Nature's fruitfulnesse a while In that rude Garden, you New England stile; With present good, ther's hope in after-daies Thence to repaire what Time and Pride decaies In this rich kingdome. And the spacious West Beeing still more with English blood possesst, The Proud Iberians shall not rule those Seas, To checke our ships from sayling where they please; Nor future times make any forraine power Become so great to force a bound to Our. Much good my minde fore-tels would follow hence With little labour, and with lesse expence. Thrive therefore thy Designe, who ere envie: England may ioy in England's Colony, Virginie seeke her Virgine sisters good, Be blessed in such happie neighbourhhood: Or, what-soere Fate pleaseth to permit, Be thou still honor'd for first mooving it.

George Wither, è societate Lincol.
In the desired honour of my honest and worthie Captaine, John Smith, and his Worke.

"Aptaine and friends when I peruse thy booke (With Judgements eyes) into thy heart I looke: And there I finde (what sometimes-Albyon knew) A Souldier, to his Countries-honour, true. Some fight for wealth; and some for emptie praise; But thou alone thy Countries Fame to raise. With due discretion, and vndanted heart, I oft so well have seene thee act thy Part In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie, As forc't the troupes of proudest foes to flie. Though men of greater Ranke and lesse desert Would Pish-away thy Praise, it can not start From the true Owner: for, all good-mens tongues Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs. If, then, Wit, Courage, and Successe should get Thee Fame; the Muse for that is in thy debt: A part whereof (least able though I bee) Thus here I doe disburse, to honor Thee."

Rawly Croshaw.

Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, & Richard Wiffing, Gentlemen, and Souldiers under Captaine Smiths Command: In his desired honor for his Worke, and worth.

"W" Hy may not we in this Worke haue our Mite, That had our share in each black day and night, When thou Virginia foild'st, yet kept'st vnstain'd; And held'st the King of Paspeheh enchain'd. Thou all alone this Salvage stern didst take. Pamunkes king wee saw thee captiue make Among seaun hundred of his stoutest men, To murther thee and vs resolved; when Fast by the hand thou led'st this Salvage grim, Thy Pistoll at his breast to gouerne him: Which did infuse such awe in all the rest (Sith their drad Soueraigne thou bad'st so distrest) That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd Into our helplesse ships. Thou (thus admir'd) Didst make proud Powhatan, his subjectts send To James his Towne, thy censure to attend: And all Virginia's Lords, and pettie Kings, Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene: And yet a heart more milde is seldom seene; So, making Valour Vertue, really; Who hast nought in thee counterfet, or slie;"
If in the sleight bee not the truest art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.
Who saith of thee, this savors of vaine-glorie,
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true storie.
If it bee ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is it ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first bee well done; it is well,
To say it doth (if so it doth) excell!
Praise is the guerdon of each deere desert,
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours Spurre is Praise;
Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decays.
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of this rare Worke (New England) which may bring
Praise to thy God, and profit to thy King.

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

In the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from London, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arrive in New-England, a parte of Ameryca, at the Ile of Monahiggen, in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make our selues sauers howsoever: we found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any. They beeing a kinde of Inbarates, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that projected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish & Furres was now our guard: & by our late arrival, and long lingering about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it; we thinking that their seasons serued at all times: but wee found it otherwise; for, by the midst of Iune, the fishing failed. Yet in Iuly and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

Notes of Florida.

Notes of Virginia.

great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40,000. of Cor fish about 7,000. Whilst the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them might best bee spared; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skinnes, 100 Martins, and neer as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the Coast both East and West much furder; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against us in the Main was a Ship of Sir Frances Popphames, that had there such acquaintance, hauing many yeares used onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade, during the time wee tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Saluages habitation. With these Furres, the Traine, and Cor-fish I returned for England in the Bark: where within six months after our departure from the Downs, we safe arrivied back. The best of this fish was solde for fiue pound the hundreth, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings. The other Ship staied to fit herselfe for Spaine with the dry fish which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls the quintall, each hundred weighing two quintalls and a halfe.

New England is that part of America in the Ocean Sea opposite to Nova Albyon in the South Sea; discouered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled New England, beeing in the same latitude. New France, off it, is Northward: Southwardes is Virginia, and all the adioyning Continent, with New Granado, New Spain, New An-ndolosia and the West Indies. Now because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long vnknown, or nor possessed by the Spaniard, and many such like demands; I intreat your pardons, if I chance to be too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

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

Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to Florida; whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his Maistie hath granted his Letters patents, the Coast extending South-west and North-east aboute 1500 miles; but to follow it aboard, the shore may well be 2000. at the least: of which, 20. miles is the most gi-ues entrance into the Bay of Chisapeak, where is the London plantation: within which is a Country (as you may perceiue by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discouered) may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit. And Southward adioyneth that part discouered at the charge of Sir Wal-ter Rawley, by Sir Ralph Lane, and that learned Mathe-matician Mr. Thomas Heryot. Northward six or seauen degrees is the Riuer Sagadahock, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of ver-tue Sir John Poppham Lord chief Iustice of England. Ther is also a relation printed by Captaine Bartholomew Gos-nould, of Elizabeths Iles: and an other by Captaine Way-
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

moth, of Pemmaquid. From all these diligent observers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for divers others that long before and since have ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place some in another, I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or never well observed, or died with the Authors: so that the Coast is yet still but even as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscovered. I have had six or seaven seuerall plots of those Northren parts, so vnlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceived as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselves as I did, I have drawn a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, & Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to bee observed which the haste of other affaires did cause me omit: for, being sent more to get present commodities, then knowledge by discoveries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would: yet it will serue to direct any shall goe that waies, to safe Harbours and the Salvages habitations: What marchandize and commodities for their labour they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose: no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discovered. As for the goodnes and true substances of the Land, we are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it bee those parts about the Bay of Chiapeack and Sagadahock: but onely here and there wee touched or have scene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themelues into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles; whereof we can yet no more judge, then a stranger that sailth betwixt England and France can describe the Harbors and dangers by landing here or there in some River or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substances of Spaine, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Hungaria & the rest. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think every one with hath bin at Virginia understandeth or knowes what Virginia is: Or that the Spaniards know one halfe quarter of those Territories they possesse; no, not so much as the true circumference of Terra Incognita, whose large dominions may equalize the greatnesse and goodnes of America, for any thing yet known. It is strange with what small power hee hath raigned in the East Indes: and few will understand the truth of his strength in America: where hee having so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they neede not greatly feare his furie, in the Bermudas, Virginia, New France, or New England; beyond whose bounds America doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof one Master Hutsen an English Mariner did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I knowe of, where he vnfortunately died. For Africa, had not the industrious Portugales ranged her vnknowne parts, who would have sought for wealth among those fryed Regions of blacke brutish Negers, where notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable adventures & endeavours more then 140 yeares, they knowe not one third of those blacke habitations. But it is not a worke for every one, to manage such an affaire as makes a discouerie, and plants a Colony: It
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

requires all the best parts of Art, Judgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing then another; and therein are to be employed: and nothing breeds more confusion then misplacing and misemploying men in their undertakings. Columbus, Cortez, Pizzara, Soto, Magellanes, and the rest served more then a prentiship to learn how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies: which to the wonder of all ages successfully they effected, when many hundreds of others were above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and courageous. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keep vs back from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruities of their labours, his greatest glory, power and renowne.

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

The principall habituation Northward we were at, was Pennobscot: Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers we found Metacomet, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nassencus, Kenebeck, Sagadahock, and Aumoughkawyen; And to those Countries belong the people of Segatago, Paghbatchanuck, Pacopassum, Taughtanakagnet, Warbigganus, Nassaque, Masheroquee, Warwigweck, Moshouken, Wakogoe, Passharanack, &c. To these are allied the Countries of Aucocisco, Acominticus, Pasataquack, Aggawom, & Naemkeck: all these, I could perceive, differ most in language, fashion, or government: though most be Lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Pennobscot, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remembre by name are Mattahunts; two pleasant Iles of groues, gardens and corne fields a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then Totant, Massachusetts, Pocapawmet, Quonahassit, Sagoquas, Nahapassumkeck, Topeent, Seccasaw, Toteet, Nasnocomacack, Acomack, Chawum; Then Cape Cod by which is Pawmet and the Ile Narraret, of the language, & alliance of them of Chawum: The others are called Massachusetts; of another language, humor and condition: For their trade and merchandize; to each of their habitations they have diverse Townes and people belonging; and by their relations and descriptions, more then 20 severall Habitations and Riuers that stretch themselves farre vp into the Country, even to the borders of diverse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Beuers and Otters. From Pennobscot to Sagadahock this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but ouergrownen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much foule, and sundry sorts of good fruittes for mans vse.
Betwixt *Sagadabock* and *Sowocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especially the Coast of the *Massachusetts* is so indifferently mixed with high clajie or sandy cliffs in one place, & then tracts of large long ledges of divers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of divers colours: as, Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Forncaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conveniently to melt in them: but the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Devonshire*, I thinke most of the cliffs would make such lime-stone: If they be not of these qualities, they are so like, they may deceive a better judgement then mine; all which are so neere adioyning to those other advantages I observed in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good iron & steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrie, I dare engage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to have all things belonging to the building and the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good marchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 or 14 leagues: and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to prooue it in a lesse limitation.

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffs and cliffs of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corn fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish and the moderate temper of the ayre (for of twenty fife, not any was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approoue this a most excellent place, both for health & fertility?

And of all the foure parts of the world that I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather live here then any where: and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which however it may seeme a mean and a base commoditie: yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequel, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great adventures the hopes of setting forth men of war to rob the industrious innocent, would procure; or such massie promises in grosse: though more are choked then well fedde with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made so mighty, strong and rich, as no State but *Venice*, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, & that aboundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Silver, Pearles, Diamonds, Precious stones, Silkes, Velvets, and Cloth of golde; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse commodities? What Voyages and Discoveries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land, haue they long maintaine in despite of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And neuer could the Spaniard with all his Mynes of golde and Silver, pay
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

his debts, his friends, & army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders still have done by this contemptible trade of fish. Divers (I know) may allledge, many other assistances: But this is their Mynne; and the Sea the source of those siluered streams of all their virtue; which hath made them now the very miracle of industrie, the pattern of perfection for these affairs: and the benefit of fishing is that Primum mobile that turnes all their Spheres to this height of plentie, strength, honour and admiration.

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

Hamborough, & the East Countries, for Sturgion and Cauiare, gets many thousands of pounds from England, and the Straites: Portugale, the Biskaines, and the Spaniards, make 40 or 50 Saile yearly to Cape-blank, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and make Puttardo: and New found Land, doth yearly fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish, which at least yearly amounts to 3 or 400000 pound. If from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of fish, and by them hath neither meate, drinke, nor clothes, wood, iron, nor steele, pitch, tarre, nets, leades, salt, hookes, nor lines, for shipping, fishing, nor provision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many severall parts of the world ere they come together to be vsed in this voyage: If these I say can gaine, and the Saylers liue going for shares, lesse then the third part of their labours, and yet spend as much time in going and coming, as in staying there, so short is the season of fishing; why should wee more doubt, then Holland, Portugale, Spaniard, French, or other, but to doe much better then they, where there is victual to feede vs, wood of all sorts, to build Boats, Ships, or Barks; the fish at our doores, pitch, tarre, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries onely for making? And here are no hard Landlords to rackets vs with high rents, or extorted fines to consume vs, no tedious pleas in law to consume vs with their many years disputations for Justice: no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God & his Maiestie bestowed those blessings on the that will attempt to obtaine them, as here every man may be master and owner of his owne labour and land; or the greatest part in a small time. If hee haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp this trade; and by industrie quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time well, wch in England we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill. Here is ground also as good as any lyeth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate and as fruitfull as any other parallell in the world. As for example, on this side the line West of it in the South Sea, is Nova Albion, discouered as is said, by Sir Francis Drake. East from it, is the most temperate part of Portugale, the ancient kingdomes of Galazia, Biskey, Nauarre, Arragon,
Catalonia, Castilia the olde, and the most moderatet of Castilia the new, and Valen ty, which is the greatest part of Spain: which if the Spanish Histories bee true, in the Romanes time abounded no lesse with golde and siluer Mines, then now the West Indies: The Romanes then vsing the Spaniards to work in those Mines, as now the Spaniards doth the Indians.

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

And whereas it is said, the Hollanderers serue the Easterlings themselves, and other parts that want, with Her ring, Ling, and wet Cod; The Easterlings, a great part of Europe, with Sturgion and Cauiare; Cape-blanke, Spaine, Portugale, and the Leuant, with Mullet, and Puttargo; New found Land, all Europe, with a thin Poore Iohn: yet all is so ouerlaide with fishers, as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to returne with a small fraught. Norway, and Polonia, Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Yardes; Sweathland, and Russia Iron, and Ropes; France, and Spaine, Canuas, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oyle; Italy and Greece, Silks, and Fruites. I dare boldly say, because I haue seen naturally growing, or breeding in those parts the same materialls that all those are made of, they may as well be had here, or the most part of them, within the distance of 70 leagues for some few ages, as from all those parts; vseing but the same meanes to have them that they doe, & with all those advantages.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits, or Seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions afore named: But it may be, not euer kinde to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarie, because the

The par- ticular staple commodities that may be had.

The nature of ground approoued.
Summer is not so hot, and the winter is more colde in those parts we haue yet tryed neere the Sea side, then we finde in the same height in Europe or Asia; Yet I made a Garden vp on the top of a Rockie Ile in 43° ½, 4 leagues from the Maine, in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for sallets in June and July. All sorts of cattell may here be bred and feed in the Iles, or Peninsulaes, securely for nothing. In the Interim till they encrease if need be (observing the seasons) I durst vndertake to haue corne enough from the Saluages for 300 men, for a few trifles; and if they should bee vntoward (as it is most certaine they are) thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision; if they understand what they doe: 200 whereof may nine monethes in the yeare be imploied in making march-andable fish, till the rest prouide other necessaries, fit to furnish vs with other commodities.

In March, April, May, and halfe June, here is Cod in abundance; in May, June, July, and August Mullet and Sturgeon; whose roes doe make Caviare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Saluages compare their store in the Sea, to the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and November, you haue Cod againe, to make Cor fish, or Poore Iohn: and each hundred is as good as two or three hundred in the New-found Land. So that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning, is saued: and you may have your fish at what Market you will, before they can haue any in New-found Land; where their fishing is chiefly but in June and July: whereas it is heere in March, April, May, September, October, and November, as is said. So that by reason of this plantation, the Marchants may haue fraught both out and home: which yeelds an advantage worth consideration.

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

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

Now, young boyes and girles Saluages, or any other, be they never such idlers, may turne, carry, and returne fish, without either shame, or any great paine: hee is very idle that is past twelve yeares of age and cannot doe so much: and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thred to make engines to catch them.

For their transportation, the ships that go there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must doe in the New-found Land, to get their fraught; but one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn: notwithstanding, they must haue meate, drinke, clothes, & passage, as well as the rest. Now all I desire, is but this: That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choise they can, or
accept such as are presented them, to serve them at that rate: and their ships returning leave such with me, with the value of that they should receive coming home, in such provisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and such like as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returns may keepe their boats and doe them many other profitable offices: provided I have men of ability to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon an occasion; because of the abuses which haue beene offered the poore Saltagers, and the liberty both French, or any that will, hath to deal with them as they please: whose disorders will be hard to reforme; and the longer the worse. Now such order with facility might be taken, with every port Towne or City, to observe but this order, With free power to convert the benefits of their freights to what advantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion; who ever as they are able to subsist of themselves, may beginne the new Townes in New England in memory of their olde: which freedome being confined but to the necessity of the general good, the event (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

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

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

Of the Musk Rat may bee well raised gains, well worth their labour, that will endeavor to make tryall of their goodness.

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

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

Of woods seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boats, buy wood at so great a price, as it is in England, Spain, France, Italy, and Holland, and all other provisions for the nourishing of mans life; live well by their trade: when labour is all required to take those necessaries without any other tax; what hazard will be here, but doe much better? And what commoditie in Europe doth more decay then wood? For the goodness of the ground, let vs take it fertill, or barren, or as it is: seeing it is certaine it beares fruites, to nour-
ish and feed man and beast, as well as England, and the Sea those severall sorts of fish I have related. Thus seeing all good provisions for mans sustenance, may with this facility be had, by a little extraordinarie labour, till that transported be increased; and all necessaries for shipping, onely for labour: to which may bee added the assistance of the Salvages, which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kindes; towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods. What gains might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses, dwelling there, you may serve all Europe better and farre cheaper, then can the Ireland fishers, or the Hollanders, Cape blank, or New found Land: who must be at as much more charge, then you) may easily be conjectured by this example.

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

But, to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my projects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Ayre, the Land, the Fruites, the Rocks, the People, the Government, Religion, Territories, and Limitations, Friends, and Foes: but, as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language to my understanding, during the time I ranged those Countries &c. The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of Pennobscot, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the River ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing among the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods, for Deer and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Ilands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length, which divides it into many faire and excellent good harbours. On the East of it, are the Tarrantines, their mortall en-
enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report that live with those people, as one nation or family. And Northwest of Pennobscot is Metaddacut, at the foot of a high mountain, a kind of fortress against the Tarrantines, adjoyning to the high mountaines of Pennobscot, against whose feet doth beat the Sea: But ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them sixteene or eighteen leagues from their situation. Segocket is the next; then Nusconcus, Pennmaquid, and Sagadabock. Up this River where was the Westerne plantation are Aumuckawgen, Kinnebeck, and divers others, where there is planted some corne fields. Along this River 40 or 50 miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffe of barren Rocks, ouergrown with wood: but where the Saluages dwelt there the ground is exceeding fat & fertile. Westward of this River, is the Countrey of Auwocica, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which divides it into many good harbours. Sowocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay, which hath many Rocks and Iles, but few good harbours, but for Barks, I yet know. But all this Coast to Pennobscot, and as farre I could see Eastward, is nothing but such high craggie Cliffs as one I know not: and this place might content a right curious judgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbor: and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles, and on their tops and descents many corne fields, and delightfull groues. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grass fit for pasture, with many faire high groves of mulberrie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe harbor. Naimkeck though it be more rockie ground (for Angoam is sandie) not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor any thing I could perceiue, but the multitude of people. From hence doth streche into the Sea the faire headland Tragabigzanda, fronted with three Iles called the three Turks heads: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields: they report a great River, and at least thirtie habitations, doo possesse this Countrie. But because the French had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it. The Iles of Mattahunts are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the Countrie of the Massachusets, which is the Paradise of all those parts: for, here are many Iles all planted with corne; groves, saluage gardens, and good harbors: the Coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere sixe wekees,
left nothing, for vs to take occasion to examine the
inhabitants relations, viz. if there be neer three thousand
people vpon these Iles; and that the Riner doth pearce
many daies journies the intralles of that Country. We
found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their
furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell wee had with
one of them, hee onely with three others crossed the
harbor of Quonahassit to certaine rocks whereby wee
must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot,
till we were out of danger.

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

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

The remarkeablest Iles & mountains for Landmarkes
are these; The highest Ile is Sorico, in the Bay of Pen-
noskot: but the three Iles and a rock of Matinnack are
much furder in the Sea; Metinicus is also three plaine
Iles & a rock, betwixt it & Monahigan: Monahigan is a
rounde high Ile; and close by it Monanis, betwixt which
is a small harbor where we ride. In Damerils Iles is such
another: Sagadahock is knowne by Satquin, and foure or
five Iles in the mouth. Smyths Iles are a heape together,
one neere them, against Acominticus. The three Turks
heads are three Iles seen far to Sea-ward in regard of
the headland.

The cheefe headlands are onely Cape Tragabigzanda
and Cape Cod.
The chief mountaines, them of Pennobscot: the twinkling mountaines of Aucocisco; the greate mountaines of Sasunon; and the high mountaines of Massachusit: each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude. The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrals of rockie mountaines; the hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kinde: as alkermes, currans, or a fruit like currans, mulberries, vines, respices, goosberries, plummets, walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts, &c. pumpkins, gourds, strawberries, beans, pease, and mayze; a kinde or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities.

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

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

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

Moos, a beast bigger then a Stagge; deere, red, and Fallow; Beuers, Wolues, Foxes, both blacke and other; Aroughconds, Wild-cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, & diverse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not. All these and diverse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, & decrease with little diminution, whereby they growe to that abundance. You shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore, or Coue of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places lode your boat if you please; Nor Iles where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskles, or all of them, for taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cunners, and Pinacks, and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more then sixe or tenne can eate in a daie; but with a casting-net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerell, Scate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And, in diverse sandy Bayes, a man may draw with a net great store of Mullets, Bases, and diverse other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore: no Rivery where there is not plentie of Sturgeon, or Salmon, or both; all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmas to gather Cherries in Kent, he may be deceived: though there be plentie in Summer: so, heere these plenties have each their seasons, as I have expressed. We for the most part had little but bread and vineyer: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decayed they wrought all day, laie abroade in the Iles all night, and liued on what they found, yet were not sicke: But I would wish none put himself long to such plunges; except necessitie constraine it: yet worthy is that person to stanne that heere cannot line; if he have sense, strength and health: for, there is no such penity of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their provisions for a day: and hee that hath experience to mannage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subject
the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish, and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: provided that they haue engins, that be proper for their purposes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing & his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If hee have any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to convert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vnjust, teaching virtue; & gaine to our Nation-countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians, and Romans, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: Rome, What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the justice and judgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excess of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their undeserved honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust jealosies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocritickall seeming goodnesse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pains & vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaves to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the use of Armes in the field, & on the monuments of stones; the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, justice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would live at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to live) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthy? Or by vsing that miserly, that maintained vertue honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or (to maintaine a silly shewe of brauery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, & dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceive thy friends, by faire promises, and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with excess, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despare in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea even thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to have their estates? though thou
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

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

May not the miserable ruine of Constantinople, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures last taken by the Turk (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember vs, of the effects of priuate couetousnesse? at which time the good Emperour held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subjects, so for-mall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacie, and prodigalitie. His pouertie when the Turk besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiuing the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the Emp. so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodainly he, they, and their citie were all a prey to the deuouring Turk. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who adventured their liues to defend them, did serve onely their enemies to torment them, their friends, and coun-
trey, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to robbe you) not grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that haue little, yet willing to learne how to defend you: for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing. The Romanes estate hath beeone worse then this: for, the meere couetousnesse and extortio of a few of them, so moooued the rest, that not hauing any employment, but contemplation; their great judgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselves by faction: Let this mooue you to embrace employment, for those whose educations, spirits, and judgements, want but your purses; not onely to prevent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you have. And you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couetous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligentlie carelessse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they growe your masters; or become so basely vnkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts growe dissolute: and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound a yeer; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in adventure with them, to obtenue an estate, which in a small time but with a little assistance of your prudence, might bee better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, that any place yet vnknowne can afford such fortunes; you would not beleuee him, no more then Columbus was beleueed there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding America; much lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in America, as in Africa, and Asia, and Terra incognita; where were courses

An example of secure couetous-ness.
The description of New England, by Captaine Iohn Smith.

for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more
suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes
generous disposition, the labours of his subiects, and
the very marrow of his maintenance.

I haue not beene so ill bred, but I haue tasted of
Plenty and Pleasure, as well as Want and Miserie: nor doth
necessity yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to
these endeavours: nor am I ignorant what small thanke
I shall haue for my paines; or that many would haue the
World imagine them to be of great judgement, that can
but blemish these my designes, by their witty objections
and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds,
will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imploy-
ment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his
owne senselesnesse, & incredulity; Hoping that gaine
will make them affect that, which Religion, Charity,
and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore
device in me, To deceive my selfe; much more the King,
& State, my Friends, and Country, with these induce-
ments: which, seeing his Maiestie hath giuen permis-
sion, I wish all sorts of worthie, honest, industrious
spirits, would understand: and if they desire any further
satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it: Not to per-
swade them to goe onely; but goe with them: Not leave
them there; but live with them there. I will not say,
but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses
may be taken, may make vs miserable enough: But if
I may haue the execution of what I have projected; if
they want to eate, let them eate or neuer digest Me. If
I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of
the gains may sute my paines, quality, and condition.
And if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for
satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeares end, depay-
ing their charge, by my consent they should freely re-
turne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it
but knowne what I know of those Countries; & by the
profe of that wealth I hope yearely to returne, if God
please to blesse me from such accidents, as are beyond
my power in reason to prevent: For, I am not so sim-
pel, to thinke, that euer any other motiue then wealth,
will euer erect there a Commonweale; or draw com-
panie from their ease and humours at home, to stay in
New England to effect my purposes. And lest any should
thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these
things may be had by labour, and diligence: I assure my
selfe there are who delight extremly in vaine pleasure,
that take much more paines in England, to enjoy it, then
I should doe heere to gaine wealth sufficient: and yet I
thinne they should not have halfe such sweet content:
for, our pleasure here is still gaine; in England charges
and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords vs that freely,
which in England we want, or it costeth vs dearly. What
pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occa-
sion a-shore) in planting Vines, Fruts, or Hearbs, in
contriving their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their
owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Build-
ings, Ships, and other works, &c. to recreate themselves
before their owne doores, in their owne boates vpon the
Sea, where man woman and childe, with a small hooke
and line, by angling, may take diverse sorts of excellent
fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull
up two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you
can hale and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher, can-
not kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or
three hundred Cod: which dressed and dried, if they
be sold there for ten shillings the hundred, though in
England they will giue more then twenty; may not both
the servant, the master, and marchant, be well con-
tent with this gaine? If a man worke but three dayes in seauen, he may get more then hee can spend, vnlesse he will be excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a prettie recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke? or if they will not eate it, because there is so much better chose; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or marchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, over the silent streames of a calme Sea? wherein the most curious may finde pleasure, profit, and content. Thus, though all men be not fishers: yet all men, whatsoeuer, may in other matters doe as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a Commonwealth, and each in their severall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

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

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

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents; men from their wives; nor seruants from their masters: onely, such as with free consent may be spared: But that each parish, or village, in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children, of thirteene or fourteen years of age, or young maried people, that have small wealth to live on; heere by their labour may liue exceeding well: provided alwaies that first there bee a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, meanes to defend them, and meet provisions for them; for, any place may bee overlaid: and it is most necessarie to haue a forresse (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, Carpenteres, Masons, Fishers, Fowlers, Gardiners, Husbandmen, Sowyers, Smiths, Spinsters, Taylors, Weaveres, and such like) to take ten, twelve, or twentie, or as ther is occasion, for Apprenticees. The Masters by this may quicklie growe rich; these may learne their trades themselves, to doe the like; to a generall and an incredible benefit, for King, and Countrey, Master, and Seruant.

It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the Spanyards, and Portugals, their affronts, and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honour and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they have attempted and indured in their discoueries & plantations, as may well condemne vs, of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and neg-
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

ligence: yet the Authors of those new inventions, were held as ridiculous, for a long time, as now are others, that doe but seek to imitate their unparalled virtues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprung from the plants of their generous ieadvous) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleue nothing; or so curiously contest, to prevent wee knowe not what future euent; that wee either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; & building vpon faire sand, rather then rough rockes, judge that wee knowe not, gouerne that wee have not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their wills to be idle or as ill. And who is he hath judgement, courage, and any industrie or qualitie with understanding, will leave his Countrie, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, & the preferment sweete England doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by injoying his deserts? whose prosperitie once appearing, will incourage others: till it bee able to creepe, to stand, and doe, yet time enough to kepe it from running, for there is no feare it wil grow too fast, or euer to any thing; except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the planters of those affaires, in devotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaves, and honest men turne knaues: which hath euer bin the ruine of the most popular common-weales; and is verie unlikelie euer well to begin in a new.

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

The blisse of Spaine
The description of New England, by Captaine John Smith.

Native soile, of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this have troubled their neighbours, or have eaten the pride of Spain it selfe.

Now he knowes little, that knowes not England may well spare many more people then Spain, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they have, they cease not still to search for that they have not, and know not; It is strange we should so dull, as not maintaine that which wee have, and pursue that wee knowe. Surely I am sure many would taste it ill, to bee abridged of the titles and honours of their predecessors; when if but truely they would judge themselves; looke how inferior they are to their noble vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honours and litings: which never were ordained for showes and shadowes, to maintaine idleness & vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by heroycall deeds of action, judgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it, They would not doe both in purse and person, for the good of the Commonwealth? which might moue them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designes. Religion, aboue all things, should moue vs (especially the Clergie) if wee were religious, to shew our faith by our worke; in converting those poore salvages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the Spaniards take to bring them to their adulterated faith. Honor might moue the Gentrie, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all; if wee were that we would seeme, and be accounted. Or be we so far inferior to other nations, or our spirits so far delected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to servce the Portugall, Spanyard, Dutch, French, or Turke (as to the cost of Europe, too many doe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, & our selves? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of employment; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discoverying these North parts of America.

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

- Thomas Dirmir
- Edward Stalings
- Francis Abbot
- John Gosling
- Thomas Digbie
- Daniel Baker
- Adam Smith

I confesse, I could have wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions bin in like proportion: nor would I have had so fewe, could I have had meanes for more: yet (would God have pleased wee had safely arrived) I never had the like authoritie, freedom, and prouision, to doe so well. The maine assistance next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the Salvages; especially, with Dohannida, one of their greatest Lords; who had liued long in England. By the meanes of this proud Salvage, I did not doubt but quickly to have gotte that credit with the rest of his friends, and alliants, to haue had as many of them, as I desired in any designe I intended, and

My second voyage to New England.
that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange of their Countrie commodities; which both with ease & securitie in their seasons may be vsed. With him and diverse others, I had concluded to inhabit, and defend them against the Terentynese; with a better power then the French did them; whose tyranny did inforce them to imbrace my offer, with no small devotion. And though many may thinke me more bolde then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treacherie, and inconstancie, hauing so desperately assaulted & betrayed many others: I say but this (because with so many, I have many times done much more in Virginia, then I intended heere, when I wanted that experience Virginia taught me) that to mee it seems no daunger more then ordinarie. And though I know my selfe the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensive inspection can Pearce beyond the boundes of my habilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreate such give me leave to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eight yeares which I have been conversant with these affairs, I have not learned there is a great difference, betwixt the directions and judgement of experimental knowledge, and the superficiall conjecture of variable relation: wherein rumor, humor, or misprision haue such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twenty, but twenty not sufficient to keep one from being deceived. Therefore I know no reason but to beleue my own eies, before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne projects, and indeavourous. But I honor, with all affection, the counsell and instructions of judicall directions, or any other honest advertisement; so farre to obserue, as they tie mee not to the crueltie of vnknowne events.

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imployments, and spend my time and best abilities in these adventures. Wherein, though I haue had many discouragements by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friendes, the trechery of cowards, and slownesse of adventurers; but chiefly by one Hunt, who was Master of the ship, with whom oft arguing these projects, for a plantation, however hee seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots, and observations: and so left mee alone in a desolate Ile, to the fury of famine, and all other extremities (lest I should haue acquainted Sir Thomas Smith, my Honourable good friend, & the Councell of Virginia to the end, he and his associates, might secretly incrosse it, ere it were knowne to the State: Yet that God that alway hath kept me from the worst of such practices, delivered me from the worst of his dissimulations. Notwithstanding after my departure, hee abused the Saluages where hee came, and betrayed twenty seaven of these poore innocent soules, which hee sold in Spaine for slaues, to mooue their hate against our Nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult.

Now, returning in the Bark, in the fift of August, I arriued at Plimouth: where imparting those my purposes to my honourable friende Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and some others; I was so incouraged, and assured to haue the managing their authoritie in those parts, during my life, that I engaged my selfe to vndertake it for them. Arriuing at London, I found also many promise me such assistance, that I entertained Michaell Cooper the Master, who returned with mee, and others of the company. How hee dealt with others, or others with him I
know not: But my publike proceeding gaue such encour-
agement, that it became so well apprehended by some
fewe of the Southren Company, as these proiects were
liked, & he furnished from London with foure ships
at Sea, before they at Plimouth had made any pro-
vision at all, but onely a ship cheefely set out by sir Ferdi-
nando Gorge; which vpon Hunts late trecherie among the
Saluages, returned as shee went, and did little or noth-
ing, but lost her time. I must confesse I was beholde to
the setters forth of the foure ships that went with Cooper;
in that they offered mee that imploiment if I would ac-
cept it: and I finde, my refusall hath incurred some of
their displeasures, whose favor and loue I exceedingly
desire, if I may honestly injoy it. And though they doe
censure me as opposite to their proceedings; they shall
yet still in all my words and deedes finde, it is their
error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike: for hauing
ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrie;
I had beene verie dishonest to haue broke my promise;
nor will I spend more time in discouerie, or fishing, till
I may goe with a companie for plantation: for, I know
my grounds. Yet euerie one that reads this booke can
not put it in practice; though it may helpe any that haue
scene those parts. And though they endeavoure to worke
me euene out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy
their fortunes: but, I would bee sory, their intruding ig-
norance should, by their defeailments, bring those cer-
tainties to doubtfulness: So that the businesse prosper,
I haue my desire; be it by Londoner, Scot, Welch, or Eng-
lish, that are true subjects to our King and Countrey:
the good of my Countrey is that I seeke; and there is
more then enough for all, if they could bee content but
to proceed.

At last it pleased Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and Master
Doctor Sutcliffe Deane of Exceter, to concee so well of
these proiects, and my former imployments, as induced
them to make a new adventure with me in those parts,
whither they haue so often sent to their co-tinuall
losse. By whose example, many inhabitants of the west
Cou-try, made promises of much more then was looked
for, but their prinate emulations quickly qualified that
heat in the greater number; so that the burden lay prin-
cipally on them, and some few Gentlemen my friends,
in London. In the end I was furnished with a Ship of
200, and another of 50. But ere I had sayled 120 leagues,
shee broke all her masts; pumping each watch 5 or 6000
strokes: onely her spret saile remayned to spoon before
the wind, till we had reaccommodated a Jury mast, &
the rest, to returne for Plimouth. My Vice-admirall bee-
ing lost, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage:
Now with the remainder of those provisions, I got out
again in a small Barke of 60 tuns with 30 men (for this
of 200 and provision for 70) which were the 16 before
named, and 14 other saylors for the ship. With those I
set saile againe the 24 of Iune: where what befell me
(because my actions and writings are so publiec to the
world, enuy still seeking to scandalize my indeauours,
& seeing no power but death, can stop the chat of ill
tongues, nor imagination of mens minds) lest my owne
relations of those hard events, might by some construc-
tors, be made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to in-
sert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by
Sir Lewis Stukley a worthie Knight, and Viceadmirall of
Devonshire; which were as followeth.
The examination of Daniel Baker, late Steward to Captain John Smith in the returne of Plimouth; taken before Sir Lewis Stukley Knight, the eight of December 1615.

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

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

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

At Flowers, wee were chased by foure French men of warre; all with their close fights afore and after. And this examinants Captaine hauing provided for our defence, Chambers, Minter, Digby, and some others, againe importuned him to yeeld to the favour of those, against whom there was nothing but ruine by fighting: But if he would goe aboard them, in that hee could speake French, by curtesie hee might goe cleere; seeing they offered him such faire quarter, & vowed they were Protestants, and all of Rochell, and had the Kings commission only to take Spaniards, Portugales, and Pirats; which at last hee did: but they kept this examinates Captaine and some other of his company with him. The next day the French men of warre went aboard vs, and tooke what they listed, and divided the company into their severall ships, and manned this examinates ship with the Frenchmen; and chased with her all the shippes they saw: until about five or six dayes after vpon better consideration, they surrendered the ship, and victualls, with the most part of our prouision, but not our weapons.

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

Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, Gentlemen; Walter Chisell, David Cooper, Robert Miller, and John Partridge, being examined, doe acknowledge and confesse, that Daniel Baker his examination aboue writen is true.

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

Being a Fleet of eight or nine sayle, we watched for the West Indies fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other 8. Still we spent our time about the Iles neere Fyll: where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I witt this discourse; thinking to haue sent it you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other: for I saw their purpose was to take all they could. At last we were chased by one Captain Barra, and English Pyrat, in a small ship, with some twelue peces of ordinance, about thirty men, and neer all starued. They sought by curtesie releefe of vs; who gau from them such faire promises, as at last wee betrayed Captaine Wolliston (his Lieftenant) and foure or five of their men aboard vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce. Now my part was to be prisoner in the gun-roum, & not to speake to any of them vpon my life: yet had Barra knowledge what I was. Then Barra perceiving well these French intents, made ready to fight, and Wolliston as resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused vs demurre vpon the matter longer, som sixteene houres; and then returned their prisoners, and some victualls also, vpon a small composition. The next wee tooke was a small English man of Poole from New found Land. The great caben at this present, was my prison; from whence I could see them pillage those poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish; when hee was gone, they sould his poore cloathes at the maine mast, by an outcry, which scarce gaue each man seaun pence a peece. Not long after, wee tooke a Scot fraught from Saint Michaels to Bristow: hee had better fortune then the other. For, hauing but taken a boats loading of suger, marmelade, suckets, and such like, we discied foure sayle, after whom we stood; who forling their maine sayles attended vs to fight. But our
French spirits were content only to perceive they were English red crosses. Within a very small time after, we chased four Spanish shippes came from the Indies: we fought with them foure or fivee houres, tore their sayles and sides; yet not daring to board them, we lost them. A poore Caruell of Brasile, was the next we chased: and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her, with 370 chests of sugar. The next was a West Indies man, of 160 tuns, with 1200 hides, 50 chests of cutchanell, 14 coffers of wedges of siluer, 8000 ryalls of 8, and six coffers of the King of Spaines treasure, besides the pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers. Two moneths they kept me in this manner to manage their fights against the Spaniards, and be a prisoner when they tooke any English. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me a-shore on the Iles, or the next ship be tooke; yet at last, he was intreated I should goe for France in the Caruell of sugar: himself resolved still to keepe the Seas. Within two dayes after, we were haled by two West Indy men: but when they saw us waue them for the King of France, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot through our mayne mast and so left vs. Having lived thus, neer three moneths among those French men of warre; with much ado, we arrived at the Gulion, not far from Rochel; where instead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction, and full content, they kept me and seaven leaues of that place, from whence I escaped alone, in the little boate, by the mercy of God; far beyond all mens reason, or my expectation. Arriving at Rochell, vpon my complaint to the Judge of the Admiralty, I founde many good words, and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, tolde mee the newes they heard of my owne death: these I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirm my complaint, it was held profe sufficient. All which being performed according to the order of justice, from vnder the judges hand; I presented it to the English Ambassador then at Burdeaux, where it was my chance to see the arriuall of the Kings great mariage brought from Spaine. Of the wrack of the rich prize some 36000. crownes worth of goods came a shore & was saued with the Caruell, which I did my best to arrest: the Judge did promise me I shold have
justice; what will be the conclusion as yet, I know not. But under the colour to take Pirates and West-Indie men (because the Spaniards will not suffer the French trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, though they take them upon the Coast of Spaine, are lawfull prize; or from any of his territories out of the limits of Europe.

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

Newfound-land at the first, I haue heard, was held as desperate a fishing, as this I proiect in New England. Placentia, & the Banke, were also as doubtfull to the French: But, for all the disasters happened mee, the businesse is the same it was: and the five ships (whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunes) went forward; & found fish so much, that neither Izeland-man, nor Newfound-land-man, I could heare of hath beene there, will goe any more to either place, if they may goe thither. So, that vpon the returne of my Viceadmirall that proceeded on her voyage when I spent my masts, from Plimouth this yeare are gone foure or fiue saile: and from London as many; onely to make voyages of profit: where the Englishmen haue yet beene, all their returnes together (except Sir Fr. Popphames) would scarce make one a sauer of neere a douzen I could nominate; though there be fish sufficient, as I perswade my selfe, to fraught yearely foure or fiue hundred saile, or as many as will goe. For, this fishing stretcheth along the Coast from Cape Cod to Newfound-land, which is seaen or eight hundred miles at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yeare long; keeping their hants and feedings as the beasts of the field, & the birds of the aire. But, all men are not such as they should bee, that haue vndertaken those voyages: and a man that hath but heard of an instrument, can hardly vs it so well, as hee that by vs hath contriued to make it. All the Romans were not Scipioes: nor all the Geneeweses, Columbus: nor all Spanyards, Cortes: had they diued no deeper in the secrets of their discoveries, then wee, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidental chances; they had never beene remembred as they are: yet had they no such certainties to begin as wee. But, to conclude, Adam and Eue did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posteritie; but not without labour, trouble & industrie. Noe, and his family, beganne againe the second plantation; and their seede as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one coutrie another: and so the world to that estate it is. But not without much hazard, travell, discontentes, and many disasters. Had those worthie Fathers & their memorable off-spring not beeene more diligent for vs now in these Ages, then wee are to plant that yet vnplanted, for the after liuers: Had the seede of Abraham, our Saviour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more daungers to
teach the Gospell, and the will of God then wee; Euen wee our selves, had at this present been as Saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage yet vncivilized. The Hebrewes, and Lacedæmonians, the Goths, the Grecians, the Romanes, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to inlarge their Territories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies & their vertues, were no siluered idle golden Pharises, but industrious iron-steeled Publicans: They regarded more prouisions, and necessaries for their people, then jewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselves. Riches were their seruants, not their Maisters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tyrantes) their people as children, not as slaves: there was no disaster, could discourage them; and let none thinke they encountered not with all manner of incumbrances. And what haue ever beene the workes of the greatest Princes of the earth, but planting of countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations, to civilitie and humanitie? whose eternall actions, fill our histories. Lastly, the Portugales, and Spanyards: whose euerliuing actions, before our eyes will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrie; and of want charity to those poore saluages, whose Countrie wee challenge, vse and possesse; except wee bee but made to vse, and marre what our Fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them, to prouide that doth maintaine vs? and basenesse for vs to doe the like for others? Surely no. Then seeing we are not borne for our selves, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: Seeing our good deede, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we have to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memorie of our life: and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities & glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors.

FINIS.
To his worthy Captaine,  
the Author.

O
ft thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere  
In bloodie wars, where thousands haue bin slaine.  
Then gie me leave, in this some part to beare;  
And as thy servant, heere to read my name.

Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine bee
In the fierce wars of Transilvania:  
Long ere that thou America hadst seen,
Or led wast captured in Virginia;

Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,  
And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause mee thinke
That thou haue seene so oft approv'd in dangers  
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valor still hath freed)
Art yet preserved, to convert those strangers:  
By God thy guide, I trust it is decreed.

For mee: I not commend, but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her.  
For it will praise it selfe in spight of me;  
Thou it, it thou, to all posteritie.

Your true friend,  
and souldier,  
Ed. Robinson.

To my honest Captaine,  
the Author.

M
Alignant Times! What can be said or don,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!
This worthy Work, which thou hast bought so dear,
Ne thou nor it, Detractors neede to fear.

Thy words by deedes so long thou hast approv'd,
Of thousands knowe thee not thou art belou'd.

And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and beleu'd, than ere thou wert before.
I never knew a Warryer yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.

I call thee Warrier: and I make the bolder;
For, many a Captaine now, was neuer Souldier.
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue done like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend,  
somtimes your soldier,
Tho. Carlton.
Notes

3.2–3 Charles, Prince of Great Britaine.] (1600–1649) Younger son of James I, who became heir to the throne on the death of his brother Henry (b.1594) in 1612. He became king in 1625 and was deposed and executed in 1649.

6.4 foure quarters] Fore-quarters, i.e., upper limbs (arms).

6.10 sacring] Perhaps an error or an abbreviation for “sacrificing.”

11.9 I. Codrinton, now Templer.] John Codrington (c. 1580–c.1622) was a colonist at Jamestown in 1608; he was admitted to the Inner Temple (bar) in London in 1616.

11.22 N. Smith] Probably Nicholas Smyth of Theddlethorpe, brother of Robert Smyth, headmaster of the Free Grammar School attended by John Smith; he was a “relation,” though the exact degree is unknown.

12.8 Pelias] Uncle of Jason who sent him on the quest for the golden fleece, hoping he would not return.

12.14 R: Gunnell.] Richard Gunnell (c.1585–1634) was an actor, dramatist, and theater manager in London.

14.22 Rawly Croshaw] Colonist with Smith in Virginia

15.1–2 Michael Phettiplace . . . Wiffing] Brothers Michael and William Fettiplace were colonists and investors in Jamestown, as was Richard Wiffin.

15.12 Pamunkes king] The Pamunkey were an Algonkian nation of eastern Virginia; Powhatan was their king, and Pocahontas his daughter.

15.21 Powhatan] (c.1540–1618) Algonkian ruler of eastern Virginia

17.15 Iubartes] Baleen whale orrorqual; humpback whale.

18.2 Cor fish] Fish, usually cod, preserved in salt.

18.11 Sir Francis Popphamer] Sir Francis Popham (1573–1644) was a director of the Virginia Company and a promoter of his father’s settlement in Maine.

18.28 Nova Alleyn] The Pacific coast of North America

18.33 New Granado] Present-day Colombia

18.33 New Spain] Mexico

18.33–34 New Andolosia] Chile

19.28 Sir Ralph Lane] (d. 1603) He was recruited by Sir Walter Ralegh in 1585 to lead the colonizing enterprise in North America that settled at Roanoke. Lane explored the Chesapeake Bay before he and the unsuccessful colonists returned to England with Sir Francis Drake in 1586.


19.32 Sir John Poppham] Sir John Popham (c.1531–1607), chief justice of the king’s bench 1592–1607. He was a founder of the Virginia Company and investor in an unsuccessful colony in Maine in 1606–07.

19.33 Bartholomew Gosnould] An explorer of the New England coast in 1602, and sometime privateer. He is thought to be the recruiter who enlisted John Smith to go to Virginia in 1606.


25.19 Easterlings] Germans of the Baltic Sea coast

26.8 Primum mobile . . . Spheres] Reference to the outermost sphere of heaven, bearing the fixed stars, whose motion directed the movements of all other celestial bodies.
26.17–18 Busses ... Todes ] Types of fishing vessels
26.28 the Straites ] Gibraltar
26.29 Cape-blank ] Cap Blanc, on the west coast of Africa, between the Cape Verde and Canary Islands.
26.30 Puttardo ] Elsewhere “puttargo”—botargo (It. bottarga, bottarica; Sp. botarga; Fr. boutargue): a paste made of salted mullet or tuna roe, or a sausage or cake made from it.
26.32 Poore-Iohn ] Dried salted hake or small cod
33.1 Alkermes ] “The Kermes, or Scarlet Grain insect (the female of Coccus Illicis), formerly supposed to be a berry, and sometimes described erroneously as a ‘gall.’”—O.E.D.
34.26 Train ] Fish oil or seal oil
38.18 hurts ] Hurtleberries, or whortleberries; native blueberries, later known as huckleberries
40.8 respires ] Raspberries
40.19 Gripes ] Vultures
40.30 Aroughconds ] Raccoons
40.31 Fitches ] Fitchews; the European polecat (ancestor of the domestic ferret), from whence the North American fisher, a type of marten, derives its name.
53.26 Dohannida ] One of five Algonkians kidnapped by George Waymouth in 1605; he was returned in 1606 by Thomas Hanham.
55.7 Hunt ] Thomas Hunt, shipmaster on Smith’s 1614 voyage.
55.13 Sir Thomas Smith ] Sir Thomas Smyth (1558–1625), a London merchant, was governor of the East India Company and treasurer of the Virginia Company.
55.27 Sir Ferdinando Gorge ] Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1563–1647) of Plymouth was an active proponent of English colonization and sponsor of several commercial settlements in New England. He was appointed governor-general of New England in 1635, but was never able to assume duties there and his authority was opposed by the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plimouth, Connecticut, and New Haven.
57.2 Doctor Sutcliffe ] Matthew Sutcliffe (1550–1629), dean of Exeter and founder of Chelsea College. He was a member of the council for Virginia from 1607 until its dissolution in 1624.
58.5–6 (margin) murderers ] Mortars or small cannon.
58.22 Iles of Flowers ] Flores, in the Azores.
58.23 Fyall ] Fayal, in the Azores.
59.2 close fights ] These are identified in Smith’s Sea Grammar (1627) as fortifications on the ship’s deck.
61.32 suckets ] Succades: candied fruit or fruit peels preserved in sugar.
62.6 Caruell ] Caravel: a small ship, fast and maneuverable, up to 100 tons and 100 feet long.
62.10 cutchanell ] Cochineal: an expensive red dye made from dried insects (Dactylopius coccus) of Mexico and South America.
68.25 Ed. Robinson. ] He served with Smith in the Austrian army during the campaign in Transylvania in 1602.
69.21 THO. CARLTON. ] He also served with Smith in Transylvania.
John Smith’s *A Description of New England* was printed and published in London in 1616. Smith later incorporated many portions into *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624). The work was first reprinted in 1837 by the Massachusetts Historical Society (Collections, 3rd series, volume VI), again the same year in volume II of Peter Force’s *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America* (Washington, DC, 1837), and later in a separate edition by William Vezzie (Boston, 1865). It was included in Edward Arber’s edition of *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (Birmingham, 1884) and most recently in Philip Barbour’s edition of *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith* (Williamsburg & Chapel Hill, 1986). The two latter editions make editorial corrections and modernize the spelling and orthography of the work. The Barbour edition contains much useful information and scholarship on Smith’s life, writings, and associates, and it has been consulted in the preparation of this online electronic text and apparatus.

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

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

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

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Paul Royster
University of Nebraska-Lincoln
August 30, 2006