English Reasons for Colonization

During the long reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) England was on the sidelines of the European rush to colonize the New World Christopher Columbus had encountered in 1492. Spain created an empire of profitable colonies in South America and the Caribbean Sea (among their settlements was a military base in St. Augustine, Florida). Ships from Spain’s colonies laden with gold and silver made Spain the envy of other European nations. Portugal established a colony in what is now Brazil. France sent explorers up the St. Croix River in an effort to find a trade route to Asia, established fur trading posts, and laid claims to much of North America. England sponsored several exploring expeditions, but its colonizing efforts were limited to small summer fishing settlements off the coast of North America and failed attempts at colonizing Newfoundland in 1583 and Roanoke Island off what is now North Carolina in 1587.

A growing number of Englishmen began to promote the idea that England needed to establish colonies in the New World to enrich the nation and to compete with the colonizing efforts of Spain and other nations. The writings of two such promoters, who share the name of Richard Hakluyt, appear below. The first part of the following two-part viewpoint is by Richard Hakluyt the younger, and Anglican minister and geographer who compiled and wrote several volumes on voyages to the new lands in the Western Hemisphere in an effort to encourage English settlement. His first compilation was Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America, published in 1582. In the dedication, excerpted here, Hakluyt writes to courtier and poet Philip Sidney, bringing out several reasons why colonizing America would be beneficial for England. One of the reasons Hakluyt mentions is the search for a trade route (the fabled Northwest Passage) to the Pacific Ocean and to Asia.

Additional reasons for colonization are given in the second part, excerpted from a treatise by Richard Hakluyt the elder, a lawyer, author, and cousin to his namesake. In 1585 he wrote “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended toward Virginia,” listing 31 reasons why England should begin colonizing efforts in the New World. Although he, like his cousin, mentions spread of Protestant Christianity as a reason for English settlement, many of his arguments dwell on practical and economic benefits for England to catch up with Spain and other countries in the race to exploit the new lands.

The first two lasting English settlements in what is now the United States were at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. The Jamestown settlement was sponsored by the Virginia Company of London, a joint-stock corporation whose investors (some of whom settled in Jamestown) hoped to make a quick profit from the colony. The Pilgrims who arrived in Massachusetts in 1620, and the Puritans who followed them in subsequent years, had different motives.

The Puritans and the Pilgrims were religious people who were dissatisfied with the pace of Protestant reform in the Church of England, the official established church that all English people were obligated to support. Under Queen Elizabeth I and her successor, King James I, the Church of England was closely linked to the royal government. Many Puritans came to America to avoid being persecuted for their beliefs, and to create a new society that harmonized with their conceptions of true Christianity. A passionate summary of Puritan motivations comes from the second viewpoint, excerpted from a 1629 pamphlet by John Winthrop. Winthrop, one of the wealthiest and most distinguished of the Puritan settlers, served as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for thirteen of his nineteen years in America following his migration in 1630. In his 1629 pamphlet he argues that the true Christian church is hopelessly corrupted in England and that the faith can be preserved only by creating a new society in America. In part he echoes practical reasons given by the two Richard Hakluyts and others. The settlers of the Puritan colonies, however, were not to be adventurers seeking their fortune or the desperately poor and unemployed, but rather people inspired by

---

God to practice their faith free from the limits of the Church of England.

---

**National and Economic Reasons to Colonize America (1582 and 1585)**

Richard Hakluyt the younger (1552-1616) and Richard Hakluyt the elder (dates unknown)

To the right worshipful and most virtuous gentleman, Master Philip Sidney, Esquire

I marvel not a little (Right Worshipful) that since the first discovery of America (which is now full fourscore and ten years), after so great conquest and plantings of the Spaniards and Portugals there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertile and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed by them. But, again, when I consider that there is a time for all men, and see the Portugals’ time to be out of date, and that the nakedness of the Spaniards and their long-hidden secrets are now at length espied, whereby they went about to delude the world, I conceive great hope that the time approacheth and now is that we of England may share and part stakes (if we will ourselves) both with the Spaniard and the Portugal in part of America and other regions as yet undiscovered.

**Advancing the Honour of England**

And surely, if there were in us that desire to advance the honour of our country which ought to be in every good man, we would not all this while have forslown [delayed] the possessing of those lands which of equity and right appertain unto us, as by the discourses that follow shall appear most plainly. Yea, if we would behold with the eye of pity how all our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, some twenty at a clap out of one jail (as was seen at the last assizes at Rochester), we would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America, which, being within six weeks’ sailing of England, are yet unpossessed by any Christians and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto Her Majesty’s dominions than to any other part of Europe.

We read that the bees, when they grow to be too many in their own hive at home, are wont to be led out by their captains to swarm abroad and seek themselves a new dwelling place. If the examples of the Grecians and Carthaginians of old time and the practice of our age may not move us, yet let us learn wisdom of these small, weak, and unreasonable creatures.

It chanced very lately that upon occasion I had great conference in matters of cosmography with an excellent learned man of Portugal [possibly Don Antonio de Castilio], most privy to all the discoveries of his nation, who wondered that those blessed countries from the point of Florida northward were all this while unplanted by Christians, protesting with great affection and zeal that if he were now as young as I (for at this present he is threescore years of age) he would sell all he had (being a man of no small wealth and honour) to furnish a convenient number of ships to sea for the inhabiting of those countries and reducing those gentle people to Christianity. Moreover, he added that John Barros, their chief cosmographer, being moved with the like desire, was the cause that Brasilia was first inhabited by the Portugals: where they have nine baronies or lordships, and thirty engenhos or sugar mills, two or three hundred slaves belonging to each mill, with a judge and other officers and a church; so that every mill is as it were a little commonwealth; and that the country was first planted by such men as for small offences were saved from the rope. This spake he, not only unto me and in my hearing, but also in the presence of a friend of mine, a man of great skill in the mathematics. If this man’s desire might be executed, we might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also in short space by God’s grace find out that short and easy

---

2 From The Original Writing and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluts, edited by E.G.R. Taylor (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935).
passage by the north-west, which we have hitherto so long desired and whereof we have made many good and more than probable conjectures.

And here to conclude and shut up this matter, I have heard myself, of merchants of credit that have lived long in Spain, that King Philip hath made a law of late that none of his subjects shall discover to the northwards of five-and-forty degrees of America; which may be thought to proceed chiefly of two causes: the one, lest passing to the north they shall discover the open passage from the South Sea to our North Sea; the other because they have not people enough to possess and keep that passage but rather thereby should open a gap for other nations to pass that way. Certes [certainly], if hitherto in our own discoveries we had not been led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gain than God's glory, I assure myself that our labours had taken far better effect. But we forgot that godliness is great riches, and that if we first seek the kingdom of God, all other things will be given unto us, and that as the light accompanyeth the sun and the heat the fire, so lasting riches do wait upon them that are jealous for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ and the enlargement of His glorious Gospel; as it is said, 'I will honour them that honour me.' I trust that now, being taught by their manifold losses, our men will take a more godly course and use some part of their goods to His glory; if not, He will turn even their covetousness to serve Him, as He hath done the pride and avarice of the Spaniards and Portugals, who, pretending in glorious words that they made their discoveries chiefly to convert infidels to our most holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth sought not them but their goods and riches.

Here I cease, craving pardon for my own boldness, trusting also that Your Worship will continue and increase your accustomed favour towards these godly and honourable discoveries.

II

Reasons for Colonization

1. The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels.

2. The increase of the force of the Christians.

3. The possibility of the enlarging of the dominions of the Queens Most Excellent Majesty, and consequently of her honour, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.

4. An ample vent in time to come of the woollen cloths of England, especially those of the coarsest sorts, to the maintenance of our poor, that else starve or become burdensome to the realm; and vent also of sundry our commodities upon the tract of that firm land, and possibly in other regions from the northern side of that main.

5. A great possibility of further discoveries of other regions from the north part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable honour and benefit that may rise upon the same by the trades to ensue in Japan, China, and Cathay, etc.

6. By return thence, this realm shall receive (by Reason of the situation of the climate, and by reason of the excellent soil) woad, oil, wines, hops, salt, and most or all the commodities that we receive from the best parts of Europe, and we shall receive the same better cheap than now we receive them, as we may use the matter.

7. Receiving the same thence, the navy, the human strength of this realm, our merchants and their goods, shall not be subject to arrest of ancient enemies and doubtful friends as of late years they have been.

8. If our nation do not make any conquest there but only use traffic and change of commodities, yet, by means the country is not very mighty but divided into petty kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.

9. Whatsoever commodities we receive by the Steelyard Merchants, or by our own merchants from Eastland, be it flax, hemp, pitch, tar, masts, clapboard, wainscot, or such-like; the like goods may we receive from the north and north-east part of that country near unto Cape Breton, in return for our coarse woollen cloths, flannels, and rugs fit for those colder regions.

10. The passage to and fro is through the main ocean sea, so as we are not in danger of any enemy's coast.

Trade Opportunities
11. In the voyage we are not to cross the burnt zone, nor to pass through frozen seas encumbered with ice and fogs, but in temperate climate at all times of the year; and it requireth not, as the East Indies voyage doth, the taking in of water in divers places, by reason that it is to be sailed in five or six weeks; and by the shortness the merchant may yearly make two returns (a factory [trade center] once being erected there), a matter in trade of great moment.

12. In this trade by the way, in our pass to and fro, we have in tempests and other haps all the ports of Ireland to our aid and no near coast of any enemy.

13. By this ordinary trade we may annoy the enemies to Ireland and succour the Queen’s Majesty’s friends there, and in time we may from Virginia yield them whatsoever commodity they now receive from the Spaniard; and so the Spaniards shall want the ordinary victual that heretofore they received yearly from thence, and so they shall not continue trade, nor fall so aptly in practice against this government as now by their trade thither they may.

14. We shall, as it is thought, enjoy in this voyage either some small islands to settle on or some one place or other on the firm land to fortify for the safety of our ships, our men, and our goods, the like whereof we have not in any foreign place of our traffic, in which respect we may be in degree of more safety and more quiet.

15. The great plenty of buff hides and of many other sundry lands of hides there now presently to be had, the trade of whale and seal fishing and of divers other fishings in the great rivers, great bays, and seas there, shall presently defray the charge in good part or in all of the first enterprise, and so we shall be in better case than our men were in Russia, where many years were spent and great sums of money consumed before gain was found.

16. The great broad rivers of that main that we are to enter into, so many leagues navigable or portable into the mainland, lying so long a tract with so excellent and so fertile a soil on both sides, do seem to promise all things that the life of man doth require and whatsoever men may wish that are to plant upon the same or to traffic in the same.

17. And whatsoever notable commodity the soil within or without doth yield in so long a tract, that is to be carried out from thence to England, the same rivers so great and deep do yield no small benefit for the sure, safe, easy, and cheap carriage of the same to shipboard, be it of great bulk or of great weight.

18. And in like sort whatsoever commodity of England the inland people there shall need, the same rivers do work the like effect in benefit for the incarriage of the same aptly, easily, and cheaply.

19. If we find the country populous and desirous to expel us and injuriously to offend us, that seek but just and lawful traffic, then, by reason that we are lords of navigation and they not so, we are the better able to defend ourselves by reason of those great rivers and to annoy them in many places.

20. Where there be many petty kings or lords planted on the rivers’ sides, and [who] by all likelihood maintain the frontiers of their several territories by wars, we may by the aid of this river join with this king here, or with that king there-at our pleasure, and may so with a few men be revenged of any wrong offered by any of them; or may, if we will proceed with extremity, conquer, fortify, and plant in soils most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subjection and to civility.

21. The known abundance of fresh fish in the rivers, and the known plenty of fish on the sea-coast there, may assure us of sufficient victual in spite of the people, if we will use salt and industry.

22. The known plenty and variety of flesh of divers kinds of beasts at land there may seem to say to us that we may cheaply victual our navies to England for our returns, which benefit everywhere is not found of merchants.

23. The practice of the people of the East Indies, when the Portugals came thither first, was to cut from the Portugals their lading of spice; and hereby they thought to overthrow their purposed trade. If these people shall practise the like, by not suffering us to have any commodity of theirs without conquest (which requireth some time), yet may we maintain our first voyage thither till our purpose come to effect by the sea-fishing on the coasts there and by dragging for pearls, which are said to be on
those parts; and by return of those commodities the charges in part shall be defrayed: which is a matter of consideration in enterprises of charge.

**Employing England’s Poor**

24. If this realm shall abound too much with youth, in the mines there of gold (as that of Chisca and Saguenay), of silver, copper, iron, etc., may be an employment to the benefit of this realm: in tilling of the rich soil there for grain and in planting of vines there for wine or dressing of those vines which grow there naturally in great abundance: olives for oil: orange trees, lemons, figs and almonds for fruit: woad, saffron, and madder for dyers: hops for brewers: hemp, flax: and in many such other things, by employment of the soil, our people void of sufficient trades may be honestly employed, that else may become hurtful at home.

25. The navigating of the seas in the voyage, and of the great rivers there, will breed many mariners for service and maintain much navigation.

26. The number of raw hides there of divers lands of beasts, if we shall possess some island there or settle on the firm, may presently employ many of our idle people in divers several dressings of the same, and so we may return them to the people that cannot dress them so well, or into this realm, where the same are good merchandise, or to Flanders, etc., which present gain at the first raiseth great encouragement presently to the enterprise.

27. Since great waste woods be there of oak, cedar, pine, walnuts, and sundry other sorts, many of our waste people may be employed in making of ships, hoys, busses [types of ships], and boats, and in making of rosin, pitch, and tar, the trees natural for the same being certainly known to be near Cape Breton and the Bay of Menan, and in many other places thereabout.

28. If mines of white or grey marble, jet, or other rich stone be found there, our idle people may be employed in the mines of the same and in preparing the same to shape, and, so shaped, they may be carried into this realm as good ballast for our ships and after serve for noble buildings.

29. Sugar-canes may be planted as well as they are now in the South of Spain, and besides the employment of our idle people, we may receive the commodity cheaper and not enrich infidels or our doubtful friends, of whom now we receive that commodity.

30. The daily great increase of wools in Spain, and the like in the West Indies, and the great employment of the same into cloth in both places, may move us to endeavour, for vent of our cloth, new discoveries of peopled regions where hope of sale may arise; otherwise in short time many inconveniences may possibly ensue.

**Incredible Things May Follow**

31. This land that we purpose to direct our course to, lying in part in the 40th degree of latitude, being in like heat as Lisbon in Portugal doth, and in the more southerly part, as the most southerly coast of Spain doth, may by our diligence yield unto us, besides wines and oils and sugars, oranges, lemons, figs, raisins, almonds, pomegranates, rice, raw silks such as come from Granada, and divers commodities for dyers, as anil and cochineal, and sundry other colours and materials. Moreover, we shall not only receive many precious commodities besides from thence, but also shall in time find ample vent of the labour of our poor people at home, by sale of hats, bonnets, knives, fish-hooks, copper kettles, beads, looking-glasses, bugles, and a thousand kinds of other wrought wares that in short time may be brought in use among the people of that country, to the great relief of the multitude of our poor people and to the wonderful enriching of this realm. And in time, such league and intercourse may arise between our stapling seats there, and other ports of our Northern America, and of the islands of the same, that incredible things, and by few as yet dreamed of, may speedily follow, tending to the impeachment of our mighty enemies and to the common good of this noble government.

The ends of this voyage are these:
1. To plant Christian religion.
2. To traffic.
3. To conquer.

Or, to do all three
A Puritan’s Reasons for Colonizing America (1629)
John Winthrop (1588-1649)3

Reasons to be considered for justifying the undertakers of the intended plantation in New England and for encouraging such whose hearts God shall move to join them in it.

1. It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the gospel into those parts of the world, to help on the coming of the fullness of the Gentiles, & to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of anti-Christ which the Jesuits labor to rear up in those parts.

2. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and our sins, for which the Lord begins already to frown upon us, do threaten us fearfully, and who knows but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the general calamity. And seeing the Church hath no place left to fly into but the wilderness, what better work can there be, then to go before provide tabernacles & food for her, against she cometh thither?

3. This Land grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man who is the most precious of all creatures is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us than a horse or a sheep; masters are forced by authority to entertain servants, parents to maintain their own children. All towns complain of the burthen of their poor, though we have taken up many unnecessary yea unlawful, trades to maintain them. And we use the authority of the law to hinder the increase of people, as urging the execution of the state against cottages and inmates, and thus it is come to pass that children, servants, and neighbors (especially if they be poor) are counted the greatest burthen, which if things were right would be the chiefest earthly blessing.

4. The whole earth is the Lord’s garden, and He hath given it to the sons of men with a general commission: Gen. 1:28, “Increase and multiply, replenish the earth and subdue it,” which was again renewed to Noah. The end is double moral and natural: that man might enjoy the fruits of the earth, and God might have his due glory from the creature. Why then should we stand here striving for places of habitation (many men spending as much labor and cost to recover or keep sometimes an acre or two of land as would procure them many hundred as good or better in another country) and in the meantime suffer a whole continent as fruitful and convenient for the use of man to lie waste without any improvement?

5. We are grown to that height of intemperance in all excess of riot, as no man’s estate almost will suffice to keep sail with his equals, and he who fails herein must live in scorn and contempt. Hence it comes that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful and unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good and upright man to maintain his charge and live comfortably in any of them.

6. The fountains of learning and religion are so corrupted (as besides the unsupportable charge of the education) most children (even the best wits and of fairest hopes) are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitude of evil examples and the licentious government of those seminaries, where men strain at gnats and swallow camels, use all severity for maintenance of capes and other complements, but suffer all ruffian-like fashion and disorder in manners to pass uncontrolled.

7. What can be a better work and more honorable and worthy a Christian than to help raise and support a particular Church while it is in the infancy, and to join his forces with such a company of faithful people as by a timely assistance may grow strong and prosper, and for want of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined.

8. If any such as are known to be Godly, and live in wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this to join themselves to this church, and to run an hazard with them of a hard and mean condition, it will be an example of great use both for removing the scandal of worldly and sinister respects which is cast upon the adventurers, to give more life to the

faith of God’s people in their prayers for the plantation, and to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.

9. It appears to be a work of God for the good of His church, in that He hath disposed the hearts of so many of His wise and faithful servants (both ministers and others) not only to approve of the enterprise but to interest themselves in it, some in their persons and estates, others by their serious advise and help otherwise. And all by their prayers for the welfare of it, Amos 3. The Lord revealeth his secret to his servants the prophets; it is likely He hath some great work in hand which he hath revealed to his prophets among us, whom He hath stirred up to encourage His servants to this plantation, for He doth not use to seduce His people by His own prophets but commits that office to the ministry of false prophets and lying spirits.

Divers objections which have been made against this plantation with their answers and resolutions.

Objection 1: We have no warrant to enter upon that land which hath been so long possessed by others.

Answer 1:
That which lies common and hath never been replenished or subdued is free to any that will possess and improve it, for God hath given to the sons of men a double right to the earth: there is a natural right and a civil right. The first right was natural when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and feeding where he pleased, and then as men and the cattle increased they appropriated certain parcels of ground by enclosing, and peculiar manurance, and this in time gave them a civil right. Such was the right which Ephron the Hittite had in the field of Machpelah, wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corpse without leave, though for the out parts of the country lay common he dwelt upon them and took the fruit of them at his pleasure. The like did Jacob have in his cattle. Men accounted nothing their own but that which they had appropriated by their own industry appears plainly by this: that Abimelech’s servants in their own country, when they oft contended with Isaac’s servants about wells which they had digged, yet never strove for the land wherein they were. So likewise between Jacob and Laban: he would not take a kid of Laban’s without his special contract, but he makes no bargain with him for the land where they feed, and it is very probably if the country had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetous wretch would have made his advantage of it and have upbraided Jacob with it, as he did with his cattle. And for the natives in New England, they enclose no land, neither have any settled habitation, nor any tame cattle to improve the land by, and so have no other but natural right to those countries. So as if we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest, there being more than enough for them and us.

Answer 2:
We shall come in with the good leave of the Natives, who find benefit already by our neighborhood and learn of us to improve part to more use than before they could do the whole. And by this means we come in by valuable purchase, for they have of us that which will yield them more benefit than all the land which we have from them.

Answer 3:
God hath consumed the Natives with a great plague in those parts so as there be few inhabitants left.

Objection 2: It will be a great wrong to our church to take away the good people, and we shall lay it the more open to the judgment feared.

Answer 1:
The departing of good people from a country doth not cause a judgment but foreshow it, which may occasion such as remain to turn from their evil ways that they may prevent it, or to take some other course that they may escape it.
Answer 2: Such as go away are of no observation in respects of those who remain, and they are likely to do more good there than here. And since Christ’s time, the church is to be considered as universal without distinction of countries, so as he who doeth good in any one place serves the church in all places in regard of the unity.

Answer 3: It is the revealed will of God that the gospel should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether those barbarians will receive it at first or not, yet it is a good work to serve God’s providence in offering it to them; and this is fittest to be done by God’s own servants, for God shall have glory by it though they refuse it, and there is good hope that the posterity shall by this means be gathered into Christ’s sheepfold.

Objection 3: We have feared a judgment a great while, but yet we are safe. It were better therefore to stay till it come, and either we may fly then, or if we be overtaken in it, we may well content ourselves to suffer with such a church as ours is.

Answer: It is likely this consideration made the churches beyond the seas, as the Palatinate, Rochelle, etc., to sit still at home and not look out for shelter while they might have found it. But the woeful spectacle of their ruin may teach us more wisdom, to avoid the plague when it is foreseen, and not to tarry as they did till it overtake us. If they were not at their former liberty, we might be sure they would take other courses for their safety, and though half of them had miscarried in their escape, yet had it not been so miserable to themselves nor scandalous to religion as this desperate backsliding, and abjuring the truth, which many of the ancient professors among them, and the whole posterity which remain, are now plagued into.

Objection 4: The ill success of other plantations may tell us what will become of this.

Answer 1: None of the former sustained any great damage but Virginia: which happened through their own sloth and security.

Answer 2: The argument is not good, for thus it stands: some plantations have miscarried, therefore we should not many any. It consists in particulars and so concludes nothing. We might was well reason thus: many houses have been burnt by kilns, therefore we should use none: many ships have been cast away, therefore we should content ourselves with our home commodities and not adventure men’s lives at sea for those things which we might live without; some men have been undone by being advanced to great places, therefore we should refuse our preferment, etc.

Answer 3: The fruit of any public design is not to be discerned by the immediate success; it may appear in time that former plantations were all to good use.

Answer 4: There were great and fundamental errors in the former which are like to be avoided in this, for first their main end was carnal and not religious: secondly, they used unfit instruments—a multitude of rude and misgoverned persons, the very scum of the people; thirdly, they did not establish a right form of government.

Objection 5: It is attended which many and great difficulties.

Answer: So is every good action. The heathen could say ardua virtutis via. And the way of God’s kingdom (the best way in the world) is accompanied with most difficulties. Straight is the gate,
and narrow is the way that leadeth to life. Again, the difficulties are no other than such as many daily meet with, and such as God hath brought others well through them.

Objection 6: It is a work above the power of the undertakers.

Answer 1:
The welfare of anybody consists not so much in quantity as in due portion and disposition of parts, and we see other plantations have subsisted divers years and prospered from weak means.

Answer 2:
It is no wonder, for great things may arise from weak, contemptible beginnings; it hath been oft seen in kingdoms and states and may as well hold in towns and plantations. The Waldenses were scattered into the Alps and mountains of Piedmont by small companies, but they became famous churches whereof some remain to this day; and it is certain that the Turks, Venetians, and other states were very weak in their beginnings.

Objection 7: The country affords no natural fortifications.

Answer:
No more did Holland and many other places which had greater enemies and nearer at hand, and God doth use to place His people in the midst of perils that they may trust in Him and not in outward means and safety; so when He would choose a place to plant His beloved people in, He seateth them not in an island or other place fortified by nature, but in a plain country beset with potent and bitter enemies round about, yet so long as they served Him and trusted in His help they were safe. So the Apostle Paul saith of himself and his fellow laborers, that they were compassed with dangers on every side and were daily under the sentence of death that they might learn to trust in the living God.

Objection 8: The place affordeth no comfortable means to the first planters, and our breeding here at home have made us unfit for the hardships we are like to endure.

Answer 1:
No place of itself hath afforded sufficient to the first inhabitants; such things as we stand in need of are usually supplied by God's blessing upon the wisdom and industry of man, and whatsoever we stand in need of is treasured in the earth by the Creator and is to be fetched thence by the sweat of our brows.

Answer 2:
We must learn with Paul to want as well as to abound; if we have food and raiment (which are there to be had), we ought to be contented. The difference in quality may a little displease us, but it cannot hurt us.

Answer 3:
It may be by this means God will bring us to repent of our former intemperance, and so cure us of that disease which sends many amongst us untimely to their graves and others to hell; so He carried the Israelites into the wilderness and made them forget the flesh pots of Egypt, which was sorry pinch to them at first, but He disposed to their good in the end. Deut. 30: 3, 16.

Objection 9: We must look to be preserved by miracle if we subsist, and so we shall tempt God.

Answer 1:
They who walk under ordinary means of safety and supply do not tempt God, but such will be our condition in this plantation therefore, etc. The proposition cannot be denied: the assumption we prove thus: that place is as much secured from ordinary dangers as many hundred places in the civil parts of the world, and we shall have as much provision beforehand as such towns do use to provide against a siege or death, and sufficient means for raising a succeeding store
against that is spent. If it be denied that we shall be as secure as other places, we answer that many of our sea towns, and such as are upon the confines of enemies’ countries in the continent, lie more upon and nearest to danger than we shall. And though such towns have sometimes been burnt or spoiled, yet men tempt not God to dwell still in them, and though many houses in the country amongst us lie open to thieves and robbers (as many have found by sad experience), yet no man will say that those which dwell in such places must be preserved by miracle.

Answer 2:
Though miracles be now ceased, yet men may expect more than ordinary blessing from God upon all lawful means, where the work is the Lord’s and He is sought in it according to His will, for it is usual with Him to increase or weaken the strength of the means as He is pleased or displeased with the instruments and the action, else we must conclude that God hath left the government of the world and committed all power to the creature, that the success of all things should wholly depend upon the second causes.

Objection 10 — If it succeed ill, it will raise a scandal upon our profession (of our religion).

Answer:
It is no rule in philosophy, but much less in divinity, to judge the action by the success. The enterprise of the Israelites against Benjamin succeeded ill twice, yet the action was good and prospered in the end. The Counts of Beziers and Toulouse in France miscarried in the defense of a just cause of religion and hereditary right against the unjust violence of the Count of Montfort and the Pope’s Legate; the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave had ill success in their defense of the Gospel against Charles V, wherein the Duke and his children lost their whole inheritance to this day; the King of Denmark and other princes of this union had ill success in the defense of the Palatinate and the liberty of Germany, yet their profession suffered not with their persons, except it were with the adversaries of religion, and so it was no scandal.