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JANUARY, 1897.

No. 3

Attacks by the Dutch on the Virginia Fleet in Hampton Roads in 1667.

[FROM THE WINDER TRANSCRIPTS OF ENGLISH PUBLIC RECORDS
IN VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.]

[The years from 1665 to 1667 were a period of disgrace and disaster alike to England and the Colonies. The war with Holland, springing out of some petty commercial disputes, began in the former year, and in that and the next year, though all of the battles at sea (to which the fighting was confined) were closely contested, the general result was in favor of England; but in 1667 the utter incompetence and profligacy of the government paralyzed even the means of defensive warfare, and the Dutch fleet appeared at the Nore, advanced unopposed up the Thames to Gravesend, forced the boom which protected the Medway, and burnt three men-of-war in that river, including the vessel which had brought Charles to England at the Restoration, and withdrew, to remain for weeks masters of the Channel and to keep the Thames closely blockaded. Green, the historian, says: "The thunder of the Dutch guns in the Medway and the Thames woke England to a better sense of its degradation. The dream of loyalty was over." It may be that the same effect was produced in Virginia by the success of the Dutch fleet in Hampton Roads, and that the loyalty which had characterized the Colony was changed to a feeling which made Bacon's Rebellion possible nine years later. It is rather a curious coincidence that this period, which included, among other distresses, the plague and fire in London, also included the most violent and destructive tempest ever known in Virginia.]

A Court at James Citty the 12th of October, 1627, being present, Sr. George Yeardley, Knt., Govr. &c: Capt. West, Dr. Pott, Capt. Smyth, Capt. Mathews, Mr. Persey, Mr. Secretary, Capt. Tucker & Mr. Farrar.

The voiadge of going to Pamunky was taken into consideration.

It was the opinion of the Court that Capt. Mathews should doe his best endeavor to procure such a number of volunteers through the whole colony as may be sufficient to goe to Pamunky or uppon any other Indians or enemies: and after notice thereof by him given to ye court, there shall be a comission granted unto him to authorise him in the prosequation of that voidadge.

A Court at James Citty the 13th of October, 1627, being present S^r George Yeardley, Kⁿ, Gov. &c., Capt. West, Dr. Pott, Capt. Smyth, Capt. Mathews, Mr. Persey, Mr. Secretary, Capt. Tucker, & Mr. Farrar.

The Court being informed that divers planters at Accomacke doe intend at the Old plantation, Creeke and at Mayty Bay on that Shoare, to erect some new plantations & to seat themselves in such sort as may be both inconvenient & dangerous upon full and longe deliberation concerning the same, have resolved in noe sort to permit such their planting, but rather to keep them, as much as may be, seated closely together, & rather more especially to endeavour the full planting of ye forest then any other place.

A PERSWASIVE TO TOWNS AND COHAB- ITATION.

[At the instance of Mr. Barton H. Wise, a member of the Executive Committee, the Virginia Historical Society recently acquired a written copy of Makemie's "Plain and Friendly Perswasive," which we reprint. The following biographical note was prepared by Mr. Wise, who has collected much valuable material relating to the history of the Eastern Shore.]

Francis Makemie was born near Rathmelton, County Done-

gal, Ireland, during the seventeenth century, but the date of his birth is unknown. The place where he was educated is also involved in uncertainty, but he is thought to have attended one of the Scotch universities. During the year 1680, Judge Wm. Stevens, who was a member of Lord Baltimore's Council, is said to have written to the Irish Presbytery of Laggan, urging that ministers be sent to Maryland and Virginia. The year following Makemie was licensed to come, but went first to Barbadoes where he preached. About the year 1684, he arrived in Somerset county, Maryland, on the eastern shore, and here at Rehoboth, it is claimed, established the first regular Presbyterian church in this country. Later on, Makemie moved down the peninsular into Accomack county, Virginia, and made his home at Onancock, for a number of years. Here he had married Naomi Anderson, the daughter of Wm. Anderson, a wealthy merchant. Through his marriage Makemie acquired property, and was engaged himself in trade with the West Indies, which was actively carried on at that period between those islands and the eastern shore. Makemie was upon one occasion arrested by ministers of the established church for preaching without a license, and carried to Williamsburg, where he plead his own cause before the Governor and Burgesses. This he did so successfully that the Governor licensed his dwelling as a place of worship, and gave him a general license to preach anywhere in the Colony. It is claimed that the Act of Toleration, passed April 15th, 1699, was a further result of Makemie's convincing argument. During the year 1707, while passing through New York, *en route* to Boston, Makemie again became involved in trouble for the same offense, and was imprisoned for two months, but was acquitted at his trial. He published a "Narrative" of the affair, which is to be found in Force's "Tracts." Governor Cornbury who had him arrested, does not appear to have entertained a high regard for the parson, for he wrote in a letter to the Lords of Trade that Makemie was "a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counsellor at law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments."

Among the published writings of Makemie were: "Truths in a New Light" (Edinburgh, 1699), "Letter to Lord Cornbury" (Boston, 1707), and "A Plain and Friendly Perswasive to the

Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland" (London, 1705), the reprint of which is given in this number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

It is stated, upon competent authority, that there is but one volume of this work extant—that in the library of Harvard University, from which the manuscript, now published, is copied. Two letters of Makemie, written to Increase Mather in 1684 and 1685, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Makemie is reported to have been a deeply pious man, and a shrewd trader as well. He possessed an excellent law library, and in addition what a modern lawyer terms the "proper spirit of litigation." His will is recorded in the county court of Accomack. Makemie died in Virginia, during the summer of 1708, and the writer has visited the spot now pointed out as his grave, on Holston creek, near Jenkin's Bridge, in Accomack county. No stone marks his burial place, and the exact locality is probably a matter of conjecture. A most interesting book, concerning the old Scotch-Irish preacher, was published a few years since by the Rev. L. P. Bowen. It is entitled the "Days of Makemie," and unites the charms of a romance, with the carefully compiled knowledge of a painstaking and accurate historian. It is a valuable contribution concerning the early history of the sea girt peninsula, about which "Gath" has written—

"And when we thread in quaint intrigue
Onancock Creek and Pungoteague,
The world and wars behind us stop
On God's frontiers we seem to be
As at Rehoboth wharf we drop,
And see the kirk of Makemie:
The first he was to teach the creed
The rugged Scotch will ne'er revoke;
His slaves he made to work and read,
Nor powers Episcopal to heed,
That held the glebes on Pocomoke."

A Plain & Friendly PERSWASIVE to the INHABITANTS of VIRGINIA and MARYLAND For Promoting Towns & Cohabitation.

BY A WELL-WISHER TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS.

London:

Printed by John Humfreys, in Bartholamew Lane, 1705.

DEDICATED TO HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR EDWARD NOTT,
HER MAJESTYS GOVERNOR OF THE ANCIENT
DOMINION OF VIRGINIA.

May it Please Your Excellency:

There is nothing more reasonable for Allaying the Heats, and curing the Animosities both in the Ecclesiastical and Political Body of the present Constitution of Virginia (whereby the Conduct of publick Affairs there have been greatly detarded of late, and a great deal of time, and many opportunities lost of advancing and improving a noble country), than a new Governor invested with so large a stock of Temper, and unbyassed Interest, as your Excellency, by an Universal Character, is represented to be.

As Queen Elizabeth was the Original Discoverer and Founder of this most Ancient and Noble Colony of Virginia, from whom it derives its name, so it is to be hoped Our present Majesty will be the Founder of Posts, Towns and Cohabitation, by recommending the same to Your Excellency's Care and Conduct, in promoting that which will be the Glory, and only Improvement of that Country; and if accomplished, will be a perpetual Monument to the Praise of Your Excellency, in Conquering all such difficulties as have been too mighty for former Governor* whose Attempts of this nature have proved ineffectual and abortive.

As our Plantations abroad, and especially Virginia, has long groaned under, perhaps, a worse Character than now it deserves, which creates no small Prejudice and Aversion in the Breasts of many, against Transportation to those Colonies, so nothing

would more effectually wipe off such Scandalous Imputations, than by promoting and encouraging Education and Virtue, Checking and discountenancing Vice and Immorality in all, from the Highest to the Lowest, by the Example of a severe and Virtuous Conversation, In Governors and Counsellors, and promoting a Reformation of Manners, in putting all our Penal Laws in due Execution, Encouraging the Strictest Justice in all our Judicatures, and in propagating the true Knowledge of the Christian Religion to all Pagans, whether Indians or Negroes: All which has been lamentably neglected, even by such as have pretended to the highest pitch of zeal.

Your Excellency has a fair opportunity put into your hands, laying such Obligations on the Inhabitants of Virginia, as they have not yet had Experience of, and advancing the Honour and Interest of our present Sovereign, and laying a lasting Foundation, for promoting and facilitating the Trade of England to that Colony, and giving a copy to all our Neighbor Plantations: And that this may be the real effects of Your Excellency's Government, is and shall be the unfeigned Desire and Prayer of,

your most Humble and Most Obedient servant

FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

A PLAIN AND FRIENDLY PERSWASIVE TO THE INHABITANTS
OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND, FOR PROMOTING
TOWNS AND COHABITATION.

Gentlemen:

I need not inform you, what an excellent and desirable Country you inhabit, not inferiour to any Colonies in the *English America*, situate in a moderate Climate, and Northern Latitude, suitable and agreeable to European Bodies, being in 37, 38 & 39 Degrees, the same with the Miditeranean, supplied with the spacious Bay of *Chiesapeake*, which runs thorow, and divides first Virginia, next Maryland, running N. & by E. nearest, about eight Leagues in breadth, capable of receiving vast Fleets of Ships, without skilful Pylots, not to be affrighted with dangerous Rocks, and dismal Sands; a Bay in most respects scarcer to be outdone by the Universe, having so many large and

spacious Rivers, branching and running on both sides: These on the West running N. W. 'nearest, and on the East, N. E. nearest; And each of these Rivers richly supplied, and subdivided into sundry smaller Rivers, spreading themselves both on the North and South sides, to innumerable creeks and coves, admirably carved out, and contrived by the Omnipotent Hand of our wise Creator, for the Advantage and Conveniency of its Inhabitants, and that far beyond the Publick Accounts, and best Draughts, that are yet extant of that Country, I ever saw; so that I have oft, with no small Admiration, compared the many Rivers, Creeks, and Rivulets of Water, in those Colonies, to veins in humane Bodies. Here we have a clear and serene Air, a long and hot summer, a Short and Sharp Winter, a free and fertile Soil; and I dare assure you, here is Country Capable of a superlative Improvement, beyond many Countries in the World. Here are Vast quantities of Timber for Shipping, Trade and Architecture, Our Country being generally woody, but as far as we have cleared for particular Settlements. Here are in most places Bricks to be made at every man's Door, for Building; a soil suitable for producing anything agreeable for a Northern Latitude, and with as little Labour and Expense as any Place in the World; Spacious and flourishing Orchards, replenished with fair and pleasant Fruits, and will afford pleasant Gardens, by much less Labour and Expense than in Europe, furnished with whatever Herbs, Flowers, and Plants, you are pleased to put into the Ground. Here are stocks of all sorts raised, and maintained with little Industry, and by better Husbandry might be improved to a high degree: Here are all Advantages, imaginable for Trade by Water, Conveniences for Travel and Transportation; Commodious, Easie and pleasant Roads: Here is a Country Capable of producing sundry Staples, as Hemp, Flax, Wooll, Silk, Cotton, and Wine too, and still overdo the Tobacco Trade.

And I assure you, Gentlemen, the best, richest and most healthy part of your Country is yet to be inhabited, above the Falls of every River, to the Mountains, where are severall advantages not yet generally known, as sea coal, lately discovered near the French Settlement, above the Falls of James River: and also some Mines, of which have been made some Experiences.

And no way so effectual for promoting and advancing your

Country, and improving it, for the Good of your Posterity, as to promote Towns, Cohabitations, and Trade; and the Advancement of Coin, and Education, would natively follow; whereby all Countries in the World have been advanced, and become great; and whereby your Infant and Neighbor Colonies out-vie and out-strip you, in many degrees, and in divers respects. Must I expostulate with and entreat you, in a matter of so great Concern, wherein the Happiness of you, and your Posterity, does so evidently Consist, and that after so long and unaccountable a neglect of your greatest Interest, for which the Eyes and Censures of the World have been upon you; That now at length you would put on a publick Spirit, Combine with harmonious and united Counsels, avoiding Partiality, Waving Self-Interest, or Causing it Truckle to the Common Good, Arm yourselves against all dividing Debates, and smother or stifle all Heats in your Publick Consultations; and look upon this as the happy Juncture and Period, for Commencing the Happiness of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, if you are not wanting to yourselves, for all the Jarring parts of your former Managements and Conduct, which have influenced and effected all your Publick Designs and Undertakings seem now to concur, and be harmonious, for the trading Part of *England*, of whom you have had a former Jealousy and suspicion, of their Aversion to Towns, are now for them: The Government of *England* recommends it to your Determination, and as advantageous steps towards it, our most Gracious Queen has already demonstrated, in putting a value upon coin, and reducing it to one Standard in all her *American* Plantations, which some of your leading men have hitherto opposed.

Shall any in these Colonies, especially in your Assembly*, after a serious Consideration of this Perswasive, and not consulting their own Interest, let those silly and groundless Inconveniences prevail, to the influencing of their Representatives, to Clog their Counsels and Designs to obstruct and discourage Towns and Cohabitation, I must send them for a pattern to the whole World; yea, and to be upbraided by the Heathen Nations, who generally do Cohabit. Let the Brute Beasts Check them, who generally resort together in Drovers; I'll send them to the Fishes of the Sea, who swim together in shoals; The very fowls of the Air do flock together: All these concur to upraid our

Folly, and ruining singularity in our manner of living, and scattered Habitations.

Peruse, consider, and weigh impartially this plain Perswasive, from a sincere Well-Wisher, who shall rejoice to enjoy with you, and yours, the singular Advantages and universal Benefits, which will soon flow to us from Towns and Cohabitations, and you shall find its design is not to impose upon, or dictate to our Legislators, or set any limits to the Counsels of Government, but humbly to address, and lay before you, the Advantages others do enjoy, and we have not yet tasted of, by Towns and Cohabitation.

But in general, I hope it will be no offence to beg of you, to avoid everything that may Clog or impede such a good Design; Give all Encouragement to Trades and Strangers, especially to such as settle in Towns; lay no uneasie Burdens upon Trade, be the Fore-runners and Patterns to your People, in complying with your own Laws; Let our poorer sort of Inhabitants be left to follow the example of those of greater ability, and not imposed on beyond their Strength; And beware of over-doing at first, but make a Beginning; for by aiming to do all at once, you may do nothing at all. Let all gentlemen of Estates be expeditious in building Dwelling-houses, and stores, both for merchants Goods and Tobacco, that the Trading Part of *England* may not Complain for want of conveniences at your Towns. Let a sufficient number of craft, as Sloops and Flotts, be provided for Transportation of all Tobacco to each Town, and at moderate Prices, which will soon refund your charge.

Gentlemen, If you agree, and concur in your publick Counsels, I assure myself, you have Governors, whose declared zeal for the good of your Country has brought them under a solemn obligation for the Advancement of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, which cannot be promoted but by Towns and Cohabitation; Especially when recommended to their and your Conduct and Determination by our present Majesty; and I heartily wish you all success and Prosperity in laying the Foundation, for the Happiness of you and your Posterity.

When I have considered the Antiquity of Towns and Cities, known to as many as are conversant with Sacred and Profane History, and the Universal Copy cast us by the whole Christian

and Pagan World, I have been justly amazed to see the unaccountable Humour and Singularity of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, who have so patiently, and for so long a time, sat down with a kind of stupid satisfaction under those pressing and Innumerable Disadvantages both they and their Posterity must still endure, by their scattered and remote Settlements, without Towns and Cohabitations; and it is more to be admired, from what Narrow and Inconsiderate Policy, some unthinking Inhabitants have been abusing, and exposing their small stock of Reason, in Multiplying Arguments against their own Felicity, upon this present Theme.

A Perswasive of this nature would appear to most Rationals a superfluous Undertaking, if from many years Experience in *America*, and particularly in *Virginia* and *Maryland*. I had not been an Eye and Ear Witness to sundry Designs and Attempts this way, that have still hitherto proved abortive, and to avoid all manner of Reflection, and prevent Humour and Prejudice, I shall designedly bury in silence the Culpable, designing and impeding Causes, tho such as have undermined our Designs should be exposed, and recorded as Enemies to our Country: But shall only address you that are our Legislators, and must be accountable for your Conduct and Management of that Trust reposed in you, as Representatives of the People, with all that Candor and Sincerity that can drop from the Pen of a cordial well-wisher to both Governments, as I boldly profess myself to be.

Therefore the principal Topicks, from whence I derive my Perswasive, shall be the chief and principal Advantages that shall and do attend the Inhabitants of a Country, from Towns and Cohabitations: Next the Disadvantages and Inconveniences we labour and groan under, and that only from want of Towns and Cohabitations. And lastly, I shall endeavour to remove by Confutation, those usual and inconsequential Reasonings, partly of Ignorant and unthinking Men, partly of some designing Persons who would smile at our Calamity, and please themselves by our Disappointments, by filling our Counsels, and Clogging our Designs, with impracticable Inconveniences, of purpose to undermine all attempts of this nature.

I might enlarge upon every Particular, but that would no way

suit with the Design of this Perswasive, which is only to furnish the Legislators of our Country with a foundation and Theme, to improve and enlarge their Thoughts upon this Subject, and facilitate the undertaking, and obviate some of those Difficulties, as have hitherto disappointed all Designs of this Nature.

I shall first begin with the Advantages which will highly promote our Interest, and the Interest of all Traders to those Parts, the great prevailing Topick in the World, that sways most men in all their Designs; and Towns or Cohabitation would soon be attended with these Advantages.

1. It would soon add a worth and value upon our whole Country, and all that is in it, which now is but mean and low, our Land would soon increase its Value, our Woods and Timber, that are at present of little or no value to us, would be a commodity for many uses, as building Houses for Habitations, Stores, and other services; the worst thereof would be bought and transported for Fire-wood; for building all sorts of Vessels, from Ships to Boats, for Coopers, Carpenters, Joyners, Turners; and also to all the Trading Ships, one sort or other would be acceptable: Also all the Product of our Plantations, as Fruit of all sorts, Roots, Herbs, and all Provisions that we can spare, and make no use of our-selves, should have a ready market at those Towns; so great Encouragement would be given thereby for raising and producing much more. And yet by the multitude of sellers, many things would be sold at easier rates than generally now they are in many places, where no Towns are; This is verified in part in the three beginnings of Towns, at *Williamsburg*, *Hampton* and *Norfolk*, where you may frequently buy many things, which Strangers have no opportunity of having elsewhere, at any rate; and at more moderate Prices than are exacted at Private Plantations: so also our Fishing would be advanced and improved highly, by encourageing many poor Men to follow that Calling, and sundry sorts which are now slighted, would be fit for a Town Market, as Sturgeon, Thornback, and Catfish, and our vast plenty of oysters, would make a beneficial Trade, both with the Town and Foreign Traders; Beleiving we have the best Oysters for Pickling and Transportation, if Carefully and skilfully managed. So that it is not to be doubted, but if Towns were promoted, many poor People would produce more, by selling sundry things

which now turn to little account, than they now make of whole Tobacco Crops.

2. Towns, and nothing but Cohabitation, would soon fill our Country with people of all sorts, and so add to our strength, and render us more formidable against all Enimies which we lie naked unto; and would inhabit and cultivate, or plant those Lands, which now are Waste and useless: These Considerations should engage us to promote Cohabitation; when not only we, but *England*, may reflect upon the feeble circumstances we are under to make any Defence against the smallest Invasion, which might overrun our Country before we could have any Relief from *England*; Especially when we consider the Policy, Diligence, and Expence of *France*, in making *Canada*, by all Warlike Instruments and Engines from *Europe*; formidable; and influencing, by Jesuitical Tools, all the *Indian* Nations, in the Bowels of *America*, from *Canada* to the River *Mesashippi*, and to the Bay of *Mexico*, to which he is almost advanced, by as many small Settlements and Fortifications as he thinks expedient, to engage these *Indian* Nations entirely to a *French* Interest; and this is further confirmed, by supplying those Parts yearly with a fresh Recruit of Missionaries; Witness the 12 lately taken in the Prize by the *Virginia* Convoy; so that from that Enemy, not only *New York*, as was lately suggested, but all the Plantations, are Frontiers, and consequently more in danger; besides that, he wants nothing more in *America* than a Tobacco Country; which is too evident, in bending so much of his strength at this juncture against *Virginia* Fleets, and his Orders to ransom no Tobacco Ships.

How large a share of our Country lies waste, and unmanured, and many possessed of larger Tracts than they are capable of Improving; but by a Confluence of People, which would resort to these Colonies from all Parts, Tracts of Land would be divided and sold, and a part then would yield as much as the whole, if sold now. And I assure you, as nothing will engage Inhabitants of *Virginia* and *Maryland* to continue their abode, or return, than Cohabitation; for many of late have removed, and are removing to Cohabiting Countries, and others talk of following; so nothing will be a stronger Attractive, to engage Inhabitants to those Colonies, and nothing has been a greater Discour-

agement, than want of Towns and Conversation. For is it not a melancholy and unaccountable Consideration, that too Ancient Settlements, and excellent Countries, from a modest Computation, should not have so many People as are in the Parishes in *London*, while yearly free Passengers and Tradesmen are imported into *Pensilvania* and other Colonies. And besides all, would it not highly add to the Honour and Greatness of the Crowned Heads of *England*, to be the Kings and Queens of a mighty, potent, and formidable People, in a capacity to defend themselves, without an Excessive Expence to *England*, at so great a distance, both of Money and Blood.

3. Towns and Cohabitations would render Trade universally more easie, and less expensive, especially to the Trading Part of *England*, whether Fraughters or Purchasers, for by our remote and scattered Trade, they are at a great expensive and uncertain Charge, in keeping stores at other Men's Houses, at so great and inconvenient a distance from their Vessels, by receiving, collecting, and transporting Tobacco, and other Commodities, from remote and inconvenient places; and perhaps lie 4, 5 or 6 months, and all upon charge, doing what may be done in one month, if our Trade were reduced and contracted to particular places, which the Inhabitants can more easily and effectually do than Strangers, and at their own time, and perhaps before the arrival of Ships; and I am confident it would be the great advantage of all Merchants and Traders, to allow the Planters a considerable advancement of price for Transportation, and not half the Charge they are now at, for want of Towns and Cohabitation; so that all parties would have soon a sensible Benefit, in promoting so good a Design.

4. Towns and Cohabitation would effectually prevent, and soon regulate a great many Frauds, Irregularities, Abuses, and Imposition on Trade and Trades; and however it might lessen the quantity in general, yet I am confident it would be much bettered, for Quality, and Weight of Hogsheads, which are the two things complained of, as chiefly wanting; for the charge of transporting a light and bad Hogshead, will be the same charge of a heavy and good one. And I can not imagine, that if all Tobacco, and other Commodities, were brought to public, there would be a general Emulation to out vie one another, especially in Quality,

and the different Prices that would follow, would presently encourage thereunto. And I am perswaded, that many who now carry on Fraud against Strangers, by trading in a corner, at private Plantations, would soon be ashamed of such things at a publick Market; and Trades would have a Vanity and choice at Towns, and so under no necessity to be imposed on, as now they are.

5. Cohabitation would not only employ thousands of people that plant little or no Tobacco, but also many who have poor Land, and not convenient Housing, to make Tobacco Crops, as we have many such among us, who at present help to ruin the Tobacco Trade, rather than promote it. Such would be soon taken off, and employed otherwise, as in transporting Tobacco, Provisions and Timber, for Various uses, others employed in promoting Gardens and Orchards to furnish those Towns with Fruits, Herbs, Roots, and Melons of all sorts; others would be employed in Hunting, Fishing and Fouling, and the more diligently if assured of a publick Market. And Tradesmen that a half Tradesmen half Planters would altogether follow their Trades, and raise many Apprentices, which they are now discouraged to do, for want of a full employ, and from the badness of our Pay, and all for want of Towns.

6. Towns and Cohabitations would highly advance Religion, which flourishes most in Cohabitations: for in remote and scattered settlements we can never enjoy so fully, frequently, and certainly, those Priviledges and Opportunities as are to be had in all Christian Towns and Cities; for by reason of bad weather, or other accidents, Ministers are prevented, and people are hindered to attend, and so disapoint one another: But in Towns Congregations are never wanting, and children and servants never are without opportunity of hearing, who cannot travel many miles to hear, and be catechised; therefore the Society for Propogation of Religion in *America*, if they intend to promote Religion in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, where is as much need as in any Plantations, should recommend Towns and Cohabitation, and Reformation of Manners, to be advanced and encouraged by the Government there, for it is a melancholy Consideration how many came very ignorant of Religion to the Plantations, and by removing to remote Settlements, have been neglected by

others, and careless of themselves, continue grossly ignorant of many necessary parts of the Christian Religion; and many natives born in ignorant Families; and by distance seldom hear a sermon, which would be more common, and frequently attended, if we had Towns and Cohabitation.

7. Cohabitation would highly advance Learning and School-Education: for this flourishes only in such places, for the smallest and meanest of schools cannot be maintained without a competent number of Scholars, which has been our great Discouragement in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, where the number to be entertained together are too few to maintain any master or mistress, who are necessitated to shift from place to place, untill they cannot live at all by that Calling: so that in many remote corners many families never had opportunities of schools, and therefore remain without all knowledge of Letters, which we have no hopes of regulating or preventing, without Towns and Cohabitation: Therefore it was supposed our *Virginia* Colledge must languish and decline, without a Town or Middle Plantation to revive and support it, which was the motive and Attractive for translating *James Town* to *Williamsburgh*, tho it is still to be feared, it cannot flourish and prosper without particular schools, over the Government, to prepare students for the Colledge; which can never be expected without Townes and Cohabitation.

8. Towns and Cohabitation would prevent many illegal Abuses and Frauds in Trade, and cure intolerable Irregularities in Officers of Navigation-Trade; for having offices, and officers to attend, at every Town or Port, would prevent a great deal of trouble, Expence of time and money too, and oft-times Disappointment in travelling 50, 60, or 70 miles before any Business can be done, or a Permit for loading one Tunn of Tobacco can be procured. And what Frauds in Trade can be committed in remote Corners where no officers are? And officers in remote Places have all opportunities, and are guilty of many Irregularities, by exacting exorbitant Fees, imposing, especially upon Strangers, to the great Discouragement of Trade, and oppression of the People, and whole Country.

These are some of the many advantages that attend Towns and Cohabitations; and all the Contrary Disadvantages we have, and do still labour under, and must endure, if we are not wise at

length, to throw off the Fetters of our self-destroying Folly: And to all those implied, in the former Advantages by Towns, add these following Disadvantages we only suffer for want of Towns and Cohabitation.

1. We are both in our selves, and by increasing the number of our servants and slaves, so growing a people, that our Planting or Tobacco-Trade of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, is overdone, and all markets cannot consume the quantity; so that Tobacco-Trade seems to be ruined, both as to the Planter, Purchaser, Adventurer, and Factor; Therefore an absolute necessity for falling off the excessive part of Tobacco-making, and falling upon something else; and the most effectual diversion, is to promote Towns and Cohabitation; which will employ many otherwise: our present War being such a bar to Trade; and if we should enjoy a Peace, know not how soon we may have another War, more injurious: Therefore high time to remedy this Excess of Tobacco.

2. For want of Towns and Cohabitation, our Neighboring Colonies, only by their Towns, out-strip us far, and drain from us the marrow of our Estates: For *Carolina*, *Barbadoes*, *Pensilvania*, *New-York*, and *New-England* carry from us the little scattered Corn we have among us, they buy up our old Iron, Brass, Copper, Pewter, Hides & Tallow, which we often want and might use our-selves. They carry away our wheat and return it again to us in Bread and Flower, and make us pay for transporting, grinding, boulding, and baking; but which is worst of all, they prey upon that little money we have in *England* by purchasing Bills of Exchange. All which Disadvantages, with many more, we could effectually prevent by Towns and Cohabitation; for this would of necessity prompt us to all manner of Industry, and engage us to make a Trade of every thing within ourselves, and improve all our Grain we have, and encourage to promote more, and need not be beholden to our neighbors for what we produce, or can procure by Trade as easily as others can do.

3. Without Towns and Cohabitation we can never expect to be well furnished and supplied with Artists and good Tradesmen, for while without Towns, we give little encouragement from these Reasons. 1. Because our Employment is so scattered and re-

mote, that so great part of time is lost in attending a small piece of Improvement. 2. Our Pay at present very bad and uncertain, being in parcels of Tobacco, and scattered abroad of sundry years, before it amounts to a sum, and so are Discouraged to follow their Callings. 3. If some few stick to their trades, they demand extravagant Rates, and few employ them but out of pure necessity. 4. Our Tradesmen are none of the best, and seldom improve from the small encouragement they have. All which Discouragements would soon and effectually be removed by Towns and Cohabitation; for a great part of their small employment would be contracted to particular places, their Pay would be credit, or Tobacco once a year at these Towns, so would follow their Callings and leave of planting; the number would be increased and consequently through Emulation would court for Employment, improve and endeavour to out-do one another in Trades, and accountable for damages on bad and insufficient work, which they seldom now are: All which is evident in populous and great Cities.

4. Without Towns we can never to any purpose carry on Trade, whether a Foreign or Home-Trade. As to Foreign Trade, it is only carried on especially in the beginning by Partnership, which Men at a distance, who seldom meet to consult, form and contrive Designs, Cannot Conveniently do, for they entertain frequent jealousies of each other, and prove to over-reach one another; which has greatly obstructed the Navigation Trade of *Virginia*. And as to a Home-Trade, for want of Towns, Strangers eat the bread out of our mouths, as the Common saying is; for by Towns, all Plantations far or near, would have some Trade, less or more, to these Towns, and a frequent Trade, and Traffick, would soon grow and arise between the several Rivers and Towns, by Carrying and transporting Passengers and Goods to and fro; and supplying all Places with such Goods as they want most. Something of this we have some experience of already, and particularly in *Norfolk-Town* at *Elizabeth* River, who carry on a small Trade with the whole Bay; which Benefit would be more universal, if Towns were effectually promoted and encouraged. These with many more are the Disadvantages that Natively follow our want of Towns.

In the last place, I intend to conclude this Perswasive, in

answering what I have heard objected, both in *Europe* and *America*, in opposition to Towns and Cohabitation in *Virginia* and *Maryland*: And I confess I have been amazed, upon both hands, to hear both parties reasoning against themselves, not only their own Practice, but the Practice of the whole Christian, Jewish, Pagan and Mahomitan World, who all agree in the Common Good of Towns; but against their own Interest, which is clear from what is already said. And to hear the *Americans* themselves not only running the hazard of an unpleasant Dilemma, either to accuse themselves, or the whole World of Folly; but fighting against themselves, their own Interest, Felicity and Happiness, and so blind and stupid, as not to know it. But that I may bring their particular Reasonings to the test I shall produce what occurs to my mind, and fairly State what has been hitherto Cavilled against Towns in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, by precipant and prejudiced wits.

Object 1. If Towns are promoted in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, they will grow too rich and great, and soon cast off their Dependance on England, for supplies of Goods, and so the Trade and Tradesmen of England shall suffer by it.

Answer 1. This objection favours too much of Design to keep *Virginia* and *Maryland* poor and low, and should alarm all well-wishers to those Governments, to influence the Plantations to arm themselves against such designing Men. 2. The very enemies of *Virginia* acknowledge Towns would make them rich and great, which should move their Lovers and Friends to promote Towns the more, and consequently the first thing they should fall upon. 3. The richest of Nations have a dependance for supply on other Nations; and there is no fear of Tobacco Plantations growing too rich and great, while their chief staple meets with bad Markets in *Europe* to check their growing Greatness. 4. The greater and richer they grow, they will want and be capable of purchasing more Superfluities for maintaining their Extravagancy, as we see evident in all the other growing Plantations as *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Carolina*, *Pensilvania*, *New York* and *New England*; and why should it not be also with *Virginia* and *Maryland*? Lastly, why should such Reasonings be improved to the prejudicing these Colonies only, and was

never made use of against any other Plantations in the *East* and *West Indies*.

Object 2. *If they fall upon Towns they will in a great measure fall off from planting Tobacco, and this will be injurious to the Queens Revenue and Interest.*

Answer 1. Gentlemen, I hope this is already answered; This and other years, wherein you are perswaded, if ingenuos, the Tobacco Trade is overdone by Planting too much: And what would it have been, if some thousand Hogsheads left behind, besides what is gone to the bottom, and taken into France, had arrived safe this year. 2. Consider what a growing People we are in ourselves, and how greedily we increase the number of our servants and slaves, as fast as opportunity presents, and what will it be in a little time, if we are not diverted by something else. 3. Consider we have 1,000's of people not concerned in Planting Tobacco; and shall soon increase our number from all other Parts, if Towns flourish, and such may improve Towns and Manufactory, with many poor People, who have poor Land, and want Houses to cure Tobacco aright, and so ruin rather than help the Tobacco Trade.

But some will insist and say, *It is now, War, But when it is Peace, Trade will be open, and there will not be too much.*

Answ. 1. Our Peace is uncertain, and as uncertain how long we shall keep it, for a war with *Holland*, or some other Nation, would soon be a new bar. 2. You may assure yourselves, whatever Diversion from Planting we may meet with, from Towns, if you send ships enough, Goods enough, and allow encouraging Prices at home, you shall never want Tobacco enough to answer all your Markets at home and abroad: And in growing countries, tho' each Inhabitant make, our Majesty's Custom may be the same.

Object. 3. *In process of time they will cast off their Allegiance to England, and set up a Government of their own.*

Answ. 1. This is a great flight of Wit and Policy with some, but so silly, and from the same Mint with a great deal of this nature, has been improved to influence the Government against *Virginia*, that it scarce deserves an answer. 2. Such as know

the Constitution of these Colonies, can make no such objection, if they consider what a medley and mixture of Nations, opinions, and Humours they Consist of, that they can never be of one mind even in Smaller matters, that really concern their Advancement and Felicity, no not in one Country, and scarcely on one Bench, which has in some measure obstructed Towns hitherto. 3. Why should such a thought be improved only against us, and not against *Carolina*, Pensilvania, *New York*, and *New England*, who begun with Towns their original settlements. 4. Maintain and propagate distinct Governors, and Governments abroad, and Emulation, Division, Heats and Animosities, and separate Interests, backed with Pride and Envy, will keep them asunder from ever writing under a single Head, to the prejudice of *England*. 5. The greater they are in all the Plantations, it will still add to the Glory, Greatness, and Advancement of *England*, and they should rejoice to see all the Branches of the same stock prosper and flourish; for I am perswaded it is the Interest, and should be the Interest of *England*, to preserve and maintain a just Ballance of Power in *America*, as well as in *Europe*; for it must be expected, that Wars and Confederacies in *Europe*, will effect us more sensibly than now they do.

Object. 4. *But the Inhabitants themselves are against Towns, and judg it a hardship and invincible charge to bring their Commodities to Towns.*

Answ. 1. We are not the only People in the World that are enemies to ourselves, and see not our own Interest and Happiness. 2. I am sensible, they are the most irrational and unthinking part of the Inhabitants; for I am well assured, I never discoursed with any in both Governmēt upon this subject, but I soon reasoned them into a Belief and Concession of the Benefit and Advantage of Towns. 3. I presume and hope, after a serious consideration of this Perswasive, in all its parts, there are none of our Legislators, from the highest to the lowest, for whom it was designed, that shall ever open their mouth against Towns and Cohabitation. And if any should, he should have a mark fixed on him, as an Enemy to his Country.

4. All Commodities brought to a Market, and especially To-

bacco, pays its own charge, and more, in the advanced Price which the Merchant will freely pay.

5. All Virginia Commodities except Tobacco, is delivered at the store of the Purchaser, where ere it is, and perhaps much further than Towns shall be; and all Tobacco is brought to Landings or Rowling-Houses. 7. Let such obstinate Ignorance be their own Punishment, and so left to their Liberty, till Time and Experience teach them more Wit. But let wise men bring their Goods to a market, and reap the Benefit of it.

Object 5. But say some, *If we come to Towns to deal at stores, we shall spend all our Crops at Ordinaries; therefore better without Towns.*

Answ. 1. It is an objection of sots, therefore not to be regarded by any but such. 2. There is more danger of being drunk at our Common Stores, where you have liquor *gratis*, and so liable to be cheated by some designing Persons; for this Custom has propagated Drunkenness as much as any one thing in the Plantations. 3. I am perswaded that if every sot in *Virginia* and *Maryland* paid roundly, and made good pay for what they drink, it would be a means to remedy their Excess in a great measure. 4. I always judged such as are averse to Towns, to be three sorts of Persons: First, Fools, who cannot, neither will see their own Interest and Advantage in having Towns. Secondly, Knaves, who would still carry on Fraudulent Designs, and cheating Tricks, in a corner or secret Trade, afraid and ashamed of being exposed at a Publick Market. Thirdly, Sluggards, who rather than be at labour, and at any charge in transporting their Goods to Market, tho' idle at home, and lose double thereby rather than do it: To which I may add a fourth, which are Sots, who may be best Cured of their Disease by a pair of Stocks in Town.