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**The generall historie of Virginia, New England &
the Summer Isles, together with The true travels,
adventures and observations, and A sea grammar -
Volume 1**

The Travels of Captaine John Smith In Two Volumes

Volume I

MCMVII

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The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & The Summer Isles

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Together with The True Travels, Adventures and Observations, and A Sea Grammar

By CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH Sometyes Governour in those Countryes and Admirall of
New England

VOLUME I

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

John Smith 'was borne in Willoughby in Lincolneshire, and a Scholler in the two Free-schools of Alford and Louth.' His father, George Smith, 'anciently descended from the

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ancient Smiths of Crudley in Lancashire,' was a farmer-tenant of Lord Willoughby, to whom he bequeathed as a token of his 'dewtifull good will the best of my two yeares old colts.' John, the eldest son, was baptised in the Parish Church of Willoughby, on the 6th January, 1579. 'His parents dying when he was about thirteene yeeres of age, left him a competent meanes, which hee not being capable to manage, little regarded; his minde being even then set upon brave adventures, sould his Satchell, bookes, and all he had intending secretly to get to Sea, but that his fathers death stayed him.' About the age of fifteen he was bound apprentice to 'Master Thomas Sendell of Linne the greatest Merchant of all those parts; but because hee would not presently send him to Sea, he never saw his master in eight yeeres after.' At length he succeeded in attending Peregrine Bertie, second son of Lord Willoughby, to France, but in a few weeks he was sent back to England 'his service being needlesse.' Unwelcome at home, his friends 'liberally gave him (but out of his owne estate) ten shillings to be rid of xviii him.' With this he made his way to Paris and made friends with 'one Master David Hume, who making some use of his purse, gave him Letters to his friends in Scotland to preferre him to King James.' Smith, however, having spent nearly all his money in Rouen, went to Havre where 'he first began to learne the life of a souldier.' He next served two or three years in the Low Countries. Thence proceeding to Scotland (being shipwrecked on the Holy Island on the way) he delivered his letters, but 'After much kinde usage amongst those honest Scots,' finding he had 'neither money nor means to make him a Courtier' he returned to Willoughby. Here he retired to the woods, built himself a 'Pavillion of boughs' and lived chiefly on venison, 'his exercise a good horse, with his lance and Ring,' his books Macchiavelli's 'Art of War' and Marcus Aurelius. Tiring of this life after a short time he returned to the Low Countries and began the adventurous career of which he gives such an enthralling description in his 'True Travels, Adventures and Observations.

In 1605 he returned to England, and the next year prepared to join an expedition to Guiana but the scheme was frustrated by the death of the intended leader, Charles Lee. On 19th December 1606 he sailed from Blackwall with the Colonists for Virginia. For the next three

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years he was busily employed, as his 'Generall Historie of Virginia' witnesses, in founding the Colony; in September 1609 he narrowly escaped death by the accidental explosion of a bag of gunpowder, and left for England to recruit his health. He did not return to Virginia, but for the next few xix years was engaged in encouraging the colonisation of New England, and in 1614 he sailed thither on a voyage of exploration. On his return he presented to Prince Charles the first accurate map of the New England coast. In 1615 he made two attempts to revisit New England: the first failed through his ship being dismasted in a storm; in the second he was captured by a French ship of war, but after serving with his captors against the Spaniards he was set free. In 1617 he made another attempt, but the ships were storm-stayed in port and the expedition was abandoned. Thereafter he remained in London where he employed himself in encouraging American colonisation by the production of maps and pamphlets. He died in London in June 1631, and was buried in St. Sepulchre's Church.

Of Smith's works, here reprinted, 'The Generall Historie of Virginia New England and the Summer Isles with the names of the Adventurers, Planters and Governours from their first beginning An^o 1584 to this present 1624' was published in London by Michael Sparkes in the latter year. The editions of 1626, 1627 and 1632 differ only from that of 1624 in the date on the title page. From a copy of the prospectus of the work in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London we learn that Smith intended to insert only three maps instead of the six which subsequently appeared, and that these three maps would cost nearly 'an hundred pounds, which summe I cannot disburse.' From the dedication it is clear that but for the help of the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox the book would not have been published, at all events xx in its original shape, and it is probable that her liberality enabled Smith to increase the number of maps and add the portraits of the Duchess herself and Pocahontas. In the original editions pages 97 to 104 are invariably missing, and it was for long thought that they had been suppressed. The late Mr. Henry Stevens, F.S.A., however, showed from comparison of the types and ornaments that the book had been handed to two printers to be set up simultaneously, and that the hiatus

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was caused by the first portion of the work not occupying in print the number of pages assigned to it, the second portion meanwhile having been partly printed off. This theory is corroborated by the title page, which bears the imprint, 'Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes.'

'A Sea Grammar, with the Plaine Exposition of Smith's Accidence for young Sea-men enlarged' was 'Printed by John Haviland' in 1627 in London. It is the enlarged edition of the 'Accidence for young Seamen' which Smith promised in his preface to the 'Accidence,' where he states, 'For this Small Pamphlet, if I find you kindly and friendly accept it, I meane ere long, more largely to explaine the particulers.' In the preface to the 'True Travels' Smith explicitly claims the authorship of the 'Sea Grammar' and gives its success as one of the reasons for printing the 'True Travels.'

'The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629' was printed by 'J. H. for Thomas Slater, and are to bee sold at the Blew Bible in Greene Arbour, 1630.' The book was compiled at the instance of Sir Robert Cotton, 'that

Printed by I.D. and I.H. for *Michael Sparkes. 1624.*

most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie.' The question as to the truth of the adventures recorded in this book has given rise to heated and prolonged controversy.

Smith was a prolific writer of tracts and pamphlets on the colonisation of Virginia and New England, but the substance of them is contained in 'The Generall Historie' and 'The True Travels.'

In accordance with the scheme of this series, the edition here presented is an exact reprint of the Original Editions except that the letters i, j, u and v have been altered to conform to modern usage, and obvious printers' errors, both of spelling and punctuation, have been

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corrected. References to the pages of the original editions are given in the margin, and a full index has been added.

Glasgow, February, 1907.

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TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST NOBLE PRINCESSE, THE LADY FRANCIS, Duchesse of Richmond and Lenox.

MAy it please your Grace,

This History, as for the raritie and varietie of the subject, so much more for the judicious Eyes it is like to undergoe, and most of all for that great Name, whereof it dareth implore Protection, might and ought to have beene clad in better robes then my rude military hand can cut out in Paper Ornaments. But because, of the most things therein, I am no Compiler by hearsay, but have beene a reall Actor; I take my selfe to have a propertie in them: and therefore have beene bold to challenge them to come under the reach of my owne rough Pen. That, which hath beene indured and passed through with hardship and danger, is thereby sweetned to the Actor, when he becometh the Relator. I have deeply hazarded my selfe in doing and suffering, and why should I sticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come short, or fayle in one of them. Where shall we looke to finde a Julius Cæsar, whose atchievments shine as cleare in his owne Commentaries, as they did in the field? I confesse, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a Pen among so many Judicious: especially xxiv when I am so bold as to call so piercing, and so glorious an Eye, as your Grace, to view these poore ragged lines.

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous Ladies, and comparable but amongst themselves, have offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts, I have felt reliefe from that sex. The beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda, when I was a slave to the Turkes, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the

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Bashaw of Nalbrits in Tartaria, the charitable Lady Callamata supplied my necessities. In the utmost of many extremities, that blessed Pokahontas, the great Kings daughter of Virginia, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in France, the good Lady Madam Chanoyes, bountifully assisted me.

And so verily these my adventures have tasted the same influence from your Gracious hand, which hath given birth to the publication of this Narration. If therefore your Grace shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your owne Bountie (without which it had dyed in the wombe) then my imperfections, which have no helpe but the shrine of your glorious Name to be sheltered from censorious condemnation. Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable aspect, to accept these my labours; to protect them under the shadow of your excellent Name: which will inable them to be presented to the Kings royall Majestie, the most admired Prince Charles, and the Queene of Bohemia: your sweet Recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endeavours are their due tribute: so this Page shall record to posteritie, that my service shall be to pray to God, that you may still continue the renowned of your sexe, the most honored of men, and the highly blessed of God.

Your Graces faithfull and devoted servant, JOHN SMITH.

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¶ A Preface of foure Poynts.

I.

THis plaine History humbly sheweth the truth; that our most royall King James hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient Dominions without wronging any; (which is a condition most agreeable to his most just and pious resolutions:) and the Prince his Highness may see where to plant new Colonies. The gaining Provinces addeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to civilitie and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heaven. If his Princely wisdom and powerfull hand,

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renowned through the world for admirable government, please but to set these new Estates into order; their composure will be singular: the counsell of divers is confused; the generall Stocke is consumed; nothing but the touch of the Kings sacred hand can erect a Monarchy.

II.

Most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your Honors that have imployed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beene buried under ground, yet some thing hath sprung up, and given you a taste of your adventures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Country: and the issue may well reimburse you your summes expended. Our practices have hitherto beene but assayes, and are still to be amended. Let your bountie supply the necessities of weake beginnings, and your excellent judgements rectifie the proceedings; the returne cannot choose in the end but bring you good Commodities, and good contentments, xxvi by your advancing shipping and fishing so usefull unto our Nation.

III.

Yee valiant and generous spirits, personall possessors of these new-found Territories, banish from among you Cowardise, covetousnes, jealousies, and idlenes, enemies to the raising your honours and fortunes; vertue, industry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits live to ensuing Ages. You that in contempt of necessities, hazard your lives and estates, imploying your studies and labours in these faire endeavours, live and prosper as I desire my soule should prosper.

IIII.

For my selfe let emulation and envie cease, I ever intended my actions should be upright: now my care hath beene that my Relations should give every man they concerne, their due. But had I not discovered and lived in the most of those parts, I could not possibly have collected the substantiall truth from such a number of variable Relations, that would have made a Volume at least of a thousand sheets. Though the beginning may seeme

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harsh in regard of the Antiquities, brevitie, and names; a pleasanter Discourse ensues. The stile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honest and justifiable; so I desire all my friends and well-wishers to excuse and accept it, and if any be so noble as to respect it, he that brought New England to light, though long since brought in obscuritie, he is againe to be found a true servant to all good designes.

So I ever rest yours to command, JOHN SMITH.

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PANEGYRICK VERSES.

A Gentleman desirous to be unknowne, yet a great Benefactor to Virginia, his love to the Author, the Company, and History.

STay, reade, behold, skill, courage, knowledge, Arts; Wonder of Nature: Mirror of our Clime. Mars, Vulcan, Neptune strive to have their parts, Rare Ornaments, rich honours of our time.

From far fetcht Indies, and Virginia's soyle, Here Smith is come to shew his Art and skill: He was the Smith that hammered famins foyle, And on Powhatan's Emperour had his will.

Though first Columbus, Indies true Christofer; Cabots, brave Florida, much admirer; Meta Incognita, rare Martin Forbisher; Gilberts brave Humphery, Neptunes devourer;

Captaine Amadis, Raleighs discoverer; Sir Richard Grenvill, Zealands brave coaster: Drake, doomes, drowne, death, Spaines scorner; Gosnolds Relates, Pring prime observer.

Though these be gone, and left behinde a name, Yet Smith is here to Anvile out a peece To after Ages, and eternall Fame, That we may have the golden Jasons fleece.

He Vulcan like did forge a true Plantation, And chain'd their Kings, to his immortall glory; Restoring peace and plentie to the Nation, Regaining honour to this worthy Story.

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By him the Infidels had due correction, He blew the bellows still of peace and plentie: He made the Indians bow unto subjection, And Planters ne're return'd to Albion empty.

The Colonies pin'd, starv'd, staring, bones so feeble, By his brave projects, proved strong againe: The Souldiers' lowance he did seeke to treble, And made the Salvage in uncouth place remaine.

He left the Countrey in prosperous happie state, And plenty stood with peace at each mans doore: Regarding not the Salvage love nor hate: Themselves grew well, the Indians wondrous poore.

This there he did and now is home return'd, To shew us all that never thither goe: That in his heart, he deepely oft hath mourn'd, Because the Action goeth on so slow.

Wise, Rich, grave, prize Brave, Benefactors, Replant, want, continue still good Actors. finde, and bring kinde, eyes Be to blind; By Gods great might, give Indians light.

Bloud, money, to doe Spend that good, That may give Indians heav'nly food.

no lesse, God you And still shall blesse; Both you and yours the Lands possesse.

S. M.

See here behold as in a Glasse, All that is, or is and was.

T. T. 1624.

The portraiture of the illustreous Princesse Frances Duchess of Richmond and Lenox daughter of Thomas LD. Howard of Bindon sonne of Thomas Duke of Norfok. whose mother was Elisabeth daughter of Edward Duke of Buckingham. Anno 1623 infulptum a Guilh: Passco Londinum.

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Samuel Purchas of his friend Captaine John Smith, and his Virginia.

LOe here Smiths Forge, where Forgery's Roague-branded, True Pegasus is shoo'd,
fettters are forged For Silke-sotts, Milk-sops, base Sloth, farre hence landed, (Soile-
chang'd,* Soule-soil'd still) Englands dregs, discharged, To plant (supplant!) Virginia,
home-disgorged: Where, vertues, praise, frames, good men Stories armour 'Gainst
Time, Achilles-like, with best Arts charged; Pallas, all-arm'd, all-learn'd, can teach Sword-
Grammer, Can Pens of Pikes; Armes t' Arts; to Scholar, Souldier, hammer:

* *Cælumnon animum mutant.*

Can Pilgrim make a Maker; all so well Hath taught Smith scoure my rustie out-worne
Muse, And so conjur'd her in Virginian Cell, That things unlearned long by want of use,
Shee fresh areeds me read, without abuse By fabling. Arthurs great Acts little made By
greater lies she saith; seales Faith excuse a T' Island, Groonland, Estotiland to wade After
lie-legends; Malgo, Brandon, are Wares braide.

a These are said a thousand yeares agoe to have beene in the North parts of America.

The Fryer of Linneb frights her with his black Art; Nor Brittish Bards can tell where Madocc
planted. Cabots, Thorns, Elyots truth have wonne her heart, Eldest discov'ers of New
Worlds Cont'nent (granted So had just Fates.) Colon and Vespuce panted; This got the
name,d last, least of Three; the Other New Worlds Isles found first: Cabot is most chanted
In Three-Mens-song; did more New World discover Then both, then any; an hundred
degrees coasted over.

b He is said to discover the Pole 1360.

c Madoc ap Owen Planted some remote Westernparts. 1170.

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d America named of Americus Vesputius which discovered les then Colon or Sir Sebastian Cabot, and the Continent later. Colon first found the Isles 1492. the Continent 1498. Above a yeare after Cabot had don it. He was set forth by Henry 7. and after by Hen. 8. Knighted, and made grand Pilot of England by Ed. 6 Under whom he procured the sending of Sir Hugh Willoughby, & discovery of Greenland and Russia: having by himself discovered on America from 67 North lat. to neere 40 South.

xxx

Haile Sir Sebastian, Englands Northern Pole, Virginia's finder; Virgin Eliza nam'd it, Gave 't Raleigh. (Rut, Prat, Hore, I not enrole) Amadas rites to English right first fram'd it. Lane planted, return'd, nor had English tam'd it: Greenviles and Whites men all slaine; New Plantation James founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction sham'd it: Smiths Forge mends all, makes chaines for Savage Nation, And feeds the rest; the rest reade in his Bookes Relation.

Thomas Macarresse to his worthy friend and Countryman, Captaine John Smith.

WHO loves to live at home, yet looke abroad, And know both passen and unpassen road, The prime Plantation of an unknowne shore, The men, the manners, fruitfulnessse, and store: Read but this little Booke, and then confesse, The lesse thou lik'st and lov'st, thou liv'st the lesse.

He writ it with great labour, for thy good, Twice over, now in paper, 'fore in blood; It cost him deare, both paines, without an ayme Of private profit, for thy publicke gaine. That thou mightst read and know and safely see, What he by practice, thou by Theoree.

Commend him for his loyall loving heart, Or else come mend him, and take thou his part.

To his friend Captaine John Smith, and his Worke.

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I Know not how Desert more great can rise, Then out of Danger t'ane for good mens Good; Nor who doth better winne th' Olympian prize, Than he whose Countryes Honor stirres his bloud; Private respects have private expectation, Publicke designes, should publish reputation.

xxxi

This Gentleman whose Volumne heere is stoard With strange discoverie of Gods strangest Creatures, Gives us full view, how he hath Sayl'd, and Oar'd, And Marcht, full many myles, whose rough defeatures, Hath beene as bold, as puissant, up to binde Their barbarous strength's, to follow him dog-linde.

But wit, nor valour, now adayes payes scores For estimation; all goes now by wealth, Or friends; tush! thrust the beggar out of dores That is not Purse-lyn'd; those which live by stealth Shall have their haunts; no matter what's the guest In many places; monies well come best.

But those who well discern, esteeme not so: Nor I of thee brave Smith, that hast beat out Thy Iron thus; though I but little know To what t' hast seene; yet I in this am stout: My thoughts, maps to my minde some accidents, That makes mee see thy greater presidents.

Jo: Done.

To my worthy friend Captaine John Smith.

HOw great a part of knowledge had wee lost, Both of Virginia and the Summer Isles, Had not thy carefull diligence and cost Inform'd us thus, with thy industrious stile! Like Cæsar now thou writ'st what thou hast done, These acts, this Booke will live while ther's a Sunne.

Edw: Worseley.

To his much respected friend Captaine John Smith.

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ENvie avant. For Smith, whose Anvill was Experience, Could take his heat, knew how and when to Strike, Wrought well this Peece; till After-negligence Mistaking temper, Cold, or Scorch'd; or like xxxii Unskilfull workmen, that can never Fyle Nor Polish it, that takes in Forge such toyle: Heere Noble Smith, thou shewest the Temper true, Which other Tampring-Tempres never knew.

Ro: Norton.

To his loving friend Captaine John Smith.

WHere actions speake the praises of a man, There, Pennes that use to flatter silent be, Or if they speake, it is to scorne or scanne; For such with vertue seldome doe agree.

When I looke backe on all thy labours past, Thy travels, perils, losses oft sustaind By Sea and Land; and (which is worst and last) Neglect or small reward, so dearely gaind,

I doe admire thy still undanted spirit; unwearied yet to worke thy Countries good. This be thy praise then, due unto thy merit; For it th' hast venter'd life; and lost thy blood.

1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3. Truth, travayle, and Neglect, pure, painefull, most unkinde, 1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3. Doth prove, consume, dismay, the soule, the corps, the minde.

Edw: Ingham.

To my deare friend by true Vertue ennobled Captaine John Smith.

MOre then enough I cannot thee commend: Whose both abilities and Love doe tend So to advance the good of that Estate, By English charge, and Planters propagate Through heapes of painfull hazards; in the first Of which, that Colony thy Care hath nurst. And often that effected but with ten That after thee, and now, three hundred men xxxiii Have faild in, 'mong the Salvages; who shake At bruit of Thee, as Spaine at Name of Drake. Which well appears; considering the while Thou governedst, nor force of theirs, ne guile Lessend

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a man of thine; but since (I rue) In Brittish blood they deeply did imbrue Their Heathen hands. And (truth to say) we see, Our selves wee lost, untimely leaving Thee. Nor yet perceive I any got betweene Thee and thy merit; which hath better beene In prayse; or profit much; if counted just; Free from the Weales abuse, or wronged trust. Some few particulars perhaps have sped; But wherein hath the publicke prospered? Or is there more of those Vast Countries knowne, Then by thy Labours and Relations showne First, best? And shall we love Thee now the lesse? Farre be it! fit condignely to expresse Thankes, by new Charge, or recompence; by whom, Such past good hath, such future good may come.

David Wiffin.

Noble Captaine Smith, my worthy Friend.

NOt like the Age wherein thou liv'st, to lie Buried in basenesse, sloth, or Ribaldrie (For most doe thus) hast thou thy selfe applide; But, in faire Actions, Merits height descride: Which (like foure Theaters to set thee forth) The worlds foure Quarters testifie thy worth. The last whereof (America) best showes Thy paines, and prayse; and what to thee shee owes, (Although thy Sommer shone on th' Elder Three, In as great Deeds as great varietie) For opening to Her Selfe Her Selfe, in Two* Of Her large Members; Now Ours, to our view. Thereby endearing us to thy desart, That doubly dost them to our hands impart;

* *Virginia now inhabited, and New-England.*

There by thy Worke, Heere by thy Workes; By each Maist thou Fames lasting Wreath (for guerdon) reach. And so become, in after Times t' ensue, A President for others, So to do.

William Grent.

To his worthily affected Friend, Captaine John Smith.

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AMongst so many that by learned skill, Have given just praise to thee, and to thy Booke,
Deare friend receive this pledge of my good will, Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke,
And thinke it worthie, ranke amongst the rest: Use thy discretion, I have done my best.

THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINING THE First Five Bookes of the Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and The Summer Isles

1 [I. I.]

How Ancient Authors Report, the New-World, Now called America, was discovered: and part thereof, first Planted by the English, called Virginia, with the Accidents and Proceedings of the same.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

FOr the Stories of Arthur, Malgo, and Brandon, that say a thousand yeares agoe they were in the North of America; or the Fryer of Linn that by his blacke Art went to the North pole in the yeare 1360. in that I know them not, let this suffice.

1170.

The Chronicles of Wales report, that Madock, sonne to Owen Quineth, Prince of Wales seeing his two brethren at debate who should inherit, prepared certaine Ships, with men and munition, and left his Country to seeke adventures by Sea: leaving Ireland North he sayled west till he came to a Land unknowne. Returning home and relating what pleasant and fruitfull Countries he had seene without Inhabitants, and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murther one another, he provided a number of Ships, and got with him such men A 2 and women as were desirous to live in quietnesse, that arrived with him in this new Land in the yeare 1170: Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no History can show.

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The Spanyards say Hanno a Prince of Carthage was the first: and the next Christopher Cullumbus, a Genoesiar, whom they sent to discover those unknowne parts, 1492.

1492. 1497.

But we finde by Records, Cullumbus offered his service in the yeare 1488. to King Henry the seaventh; and by accident undertooke it for the Spanyards. In the Interim King Henry gave a Commission to John Cabot, and his three sonnes, Sebastian, Lewis, and Sautius. John and Sebastian well provided, setting sayle, ranged a great part of this unknowne world, in the yeare 1497. For though Cullumbus had found certaine Iles, it was 1498. ere he saw the Continent, which was a yeare after Cabot. Now Americus came a long time after, though the whole Continent to this day is called America after his name, yet Sebastian Cabot discovered much more then them all, for he sayled to about forty degrees Southward of the lyne, and to sixty-seaven towards the North: for which King Henry the eight Knighted him and made him grand Pilate of England. Being very aged King Edward the sixt gave him a Pention of 1661. 13S. 4d. yearely. By his directions Sir Hugh Willowby was sent to finde out the Country of Russia, but the next yeare he was found frozen to death in his Ship, and all his Company.

1576.

Mr. Martin Frobisher was sent in the yeare 1576. by our most gracious Queene Elizabeth, to search for the Northwest passage, and Meta incognita: for which he was Knighted, honored, and well rewarded.

1583.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert a worthy Knight attempted a Plantation in some of those parts: and obtained Letters Pattents to his desire: but with this Proviso, He should maintaine possession in some of those vast Countries within the tearme of sixe yeares. Yet when he was [I. 2.] 3 provided with a Navy able to incounter a Kings power, even here at home they fell in divisions, and so into confusion, that they gave over the Designe ere it was begun, notwithstanding all this losse, his undanted spirit began againe, but his Fleet fell with New-

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foundland, and he perished in his returne, as at large you may read in the third Volume of the English Voyages, written by Mr. Hackluit.

Upon all those Relations and inducements, Sir Walter Raleigh, a noble Gentleman, and then in great esteeme, undertooke to send to discover to the Southward. And though his occasions and other imployments were such he could not goe himselfe, yet he procured her Majesties Letters Pattents, and perswaded many worthy Knights and Gentlemen to adventure with him to finde a place fit for a Plantation. Their Proceedings followeth.

1584.

The most famous, renowned, and ever worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, judgement, and vertue, Queene Elizabeth, granted her Letters Patents to Sir Walter Raleigh for the discovering and planting new Lands & Countries, not actually possessed by any Christians. This Patenty got to be his assistants Sir Richard Grenvell the valiant, Mr. William Sanderson a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other Gentlemen and Marchants, who with all speede provided two small Barkes well furnished with all necessaries, under the command of Captaine Philip Amidas and Captaine Barlow. The 27. of Aprill they set sayle from the Thames, the tenth of May passed the Canaries, and the tenth of June the West Indies: which unneedfull Southerly course, (but then no better was knowne) occasioned them in that season much sicknesse.

Their arrivall.

The second of July they fell with the coast of Florida in shoule water, where they felt a most dilicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied, thinking it the Continent: an hundred and twenty myles they sayled not finding any harbor. The first that appeared, with much difficulty they entred, and 4 *Abundance of Grapes.* anchored, and after thanks to God they went to view the next Land adjoining to take possession of it for the Queenes most excellent Majestie: which done, they found their first landing place very sandy and low, but so full of grapes that the very surge of the Sea sometimes overflowed them: of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the greene

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soyle and hils, as in the plaines as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high Cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance.

The Ile Wokokon. In Lybanus are not many.

We passed by the Sea-side towards the tops of the next hills being not high: from whence we might see of the Sea on both sides, and found it an Ile of twentie myles in length, and six in breadth, the vallyes replenished with goodly tall Cedars, Discharging our Muskets, such a flocke of Cranes, the most white, arose by us, with such a cry as if an Army of men had shouted altogether. This Ile hath many goodly Woods, and Deere, Conies, and Foule in incredible abundance, and using the Authors owne phrase, the Woods are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercinia, barren and fruitlesse, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, bettering them of the Assores, Indies, or Libanus: Pynes, Cypres, Saxefras, the Lentisk that beareth Mastick, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little Boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shore, to whom wee rowed, and he attended us without any signe of feare; after he had spoke much though we understood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboard us, we gave him a shirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and us, he went away in his owne Boat, and within a quarter of a myle of us in halfe an houre, had loaden his Boat with fish, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and there derided it in two parts, poynting one part to the Ship, the other to the Pinnace, and so departed.

Conference with a salvage. 5 [l. 3.] The Arrivall of the Kings brother.

The next day came divers Boats, and in one of them the Kings Brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behaviour very civill; his name was Granganamen, the King is called Wingina, the Country Wingandacoa. Leaving his Boats a little from our Ships, he came with his trayne to the poynt: where spreading a Matte he sat downe. Though we came to him well armed, he made signes to us to sit downe without any shew of feare, stroking his head and brest, and also ours, to expresse his love. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers toyes, which he kindly

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accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did sit, nor speake a word, but foure, on whom we bestowed presents also, but he tooke all from them, making signes all things did belong to him.

Trade with the Salvages.

The King himselfe in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and mortall enemy, was shot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recovered: whereby he lay at his chiefe towne six dayes journey from thence.

A day or two after shewing them what we had, Granganameo taking most liking to a Pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his necke for a brest-plate: for which he gave us twenty Deere skins, worth twenty Crownes; and for a Copper Kettell, fiftie skins, worth fiftie Crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboard, and did eate and drinke with us very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children, they were but of meane stature, but well favoured and very bashfull; she had a long coat of Leather, and about her privities a peece of the same, about her forehead a band of white Corral, and so had her husband, in her eares were bracelets of pearle, hanging downe to her middle, of the bignesse of great Pease; the rest of the women had Pendants of Copper, and the Noblemen five or sixe in an eare; his apparrell as his wives, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one; they are of colour 6 yellow, but their hayre is blacke, yet we saw children that had very fayre Chesnut coloured hayre.

After that these women had beene here with us, there came downe from all parts great store of people, with Leather, Corral, and divers kinde of dyes, but when Granganameo was present, none durst trade but himselfe, and them that wore red Copper on their heads, as he did. When ever he came, he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might know his strength. Their Boats are but one great tree, which is but burnt in the forme of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would have it. For an armour he would have ingaged us a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not

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regarding it, that wee might the better learn where it grew. He was very just of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keepe his word. He sent us commonly every day a brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and fish, sometimes Mellons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Pease, and divers rootes. This Author sayth, their corne groweth three times in five moneths; in May they sow, in July reape; in June they sow, in August reape; in July sow, in August reape. We put some of our Pease in the ground, which in ten dayes were 14. ynches high.

Note.

The soyle is most plentiful, sweete, wholesome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14. severall sorts of sweete swelling tymber trees: the most parts of the underwood, Bayes and such like: such Okes as we, but far greater and better. After this acquaintance, my selfe with seaven more went twenty myle into the River Occam, that runneth toward the Cittie Skicoack, and the evening following we came to an Ile called Roanoak, from the harbour where we entred 7. leagues; at the North end was 9 houses, builded with Cedar, fortified round with sharpe trees, and the entrance like a Turnpik. When we came towards it, the wife of Granganameo came running out to meete us, (her husband was absent) commanding her people to draw our Boat ashore for *The Ile Roanoak. The great courtesie of a Woman.* 7 [l. 4.] beating on the billowes, other she appoynted to carry us on their backes aland, others to bring our Ores into the house for stealing. When we came into the other roome, (for there was five in the house) she caused us to sit downe by a great fire; after tooke off our clothes and washed them, of some our stockings, and some our feete in warme water, and she her selfe tooke much paines to see all things well ordered, and to provide us victuall.

A banquet.

After we had thus dryed our selves, she brought us into an Inner roome, where she set on the bord standing a long the house somewhat like frumentie, sodden venison, and roasted fish; in like manner mellons raw, boyled rootes and fruites of divers kindes. There drinke is commonly water boyled with Ginger, sometimes with Saxefras, and wholsome herbes, but

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whilest the Grape lasteth they drinke wine. More love she could not expresse to entertaine us; they care but onely to defend themselves from the short winter, and feede on what they finde naturall in sommer. In this feasting house was their Idoll of whom they tould us incredible things. When we were at meate two or three of her men came amongst us with their Bowes and Arrowes, which caused us to take our armes in hand. She perceiving our distrust, caused their Bowes and Arrowes to be broken, and they beaten out of the gate: but the evening approaching we returned to our boate, where at she much grieving brought our supper halfe boyled, pots and all, but when she saw us, but put our boat a little off from the shoar and lye at Anchor, perceiving our Jelousie, she sent divers men & 30. women to sit al night on the shoare side against us, and sent us five Mats to cover us from the raine, doing all she could to perswade us to her house. Though there was no cause of doubt, we would not adventure: for on our safety depended the voyage: but a more kinde loving people cannot be. Beyond this Ile is the maine land and the great river Occam, on which standeth a Towne called Pomeiock, and six dayes higher, their City 8 *Skicoac a great towne*. Skicoak: those people never saw it, but say there fathers affirme it to be above two houres journey about. Into this river falleth an other called Cipo, where is found many Mustells wherein are Pearles: likewise another River called Nomapona, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanock, the Lord of the Country is not subject to Wingandacoa. Beyond him an other king they cal Menatonon. These 3. are in league each with other. Towards the south. 4. dayes journey is Sequotan, the southermost part of Wingandacoa.

Pomovik.

Adjoyning to Secotan beginneth the country Pomovik, belonging to the King called Piamacum, in the Country Nusiok upon the great river Neus. These have mortall warres with Wingina, King of Wingandacoa. Betwixt Piemacum and the Lord of Secotan, a peace was concluded: notwithstanding there is a mortall malice in the Secotans, because this Piemacum invited divers men, and 30. women to a feast, and when they were altogether merry before their Idoll, which is but a meere illusion of the Devill, they sudainly slew

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all the men of Secotan, and kept the women for their use. Beyond Roanoak are many Isles full of fruits and other Naturall increases, with many Townes a long the side of the Continent. Those Iles lye 200. myles in length, and betweene them and the mayne, a great long sea, in some places, 20. 40. or 50. myles broad, in other more, somewhere lesse. And in this sea are 100. Iles of divers bignesses, but to get into it, you have but 3. passages and they very dangerous. Though this you see for most part be but the relations of Salvages, because it is the first, I thought it not a misse to remember them as they are written by them that returned & arived in England about the middest of September the same yeare. This discovery was so welcome into England that it pleased her Majestie to call this Country of Wingandacoa, Virginia, by which name now you are to understand how it was planted, disolved, reuned, and enlarged,

How the Country was called Virginia. 9

The Performers of this voyage were these following.

Captaines

Philip Amadas.

Arthur Barlow.

Of the Companie.

William Grenvill.

John Wood.

James Browewich.

Henry Greene.

Benjamen Wood.

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Simon Ferdinando.

Nicholas Peryman.

John Hewes.

10 [1. 5.]

Sir Richard Grenvills voyage to Virginia, for Sir Walter Raleigh. 1585.

Sir Richard Grenvils, voyage. 1585.

The 9. of Aprill he departed from Plimouth with 7. sayle: the chiefe men with him in command, were Master Ralph Layne, Master Thomas Candish, Master John Arundel, Master Stukley, Master Bremige, Master Vincent, Master Heryot and Master John Clarke. The 14. day we fell with the Canaries, and the 7. of May with Dominico in the West Indies: we landed at Portorico, after with much a doe at Izabella on the north of Hispaniola, passing by many Iles. Upon the 20. we fell with the mayne of Florida, and were put in great danger upon Cape Fear. The 26. we Anchored at Wocokon, where the admiral had like to beene cast away, presently we sent to Wingina to Roanoak, and Master Arundell went to the mayne, with Manteo a salvage, and that day to Crooton. The 11. The Generall victualled for 8. dayes, with a selected company went to the maine, and discovered the Townes of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secotan, and the great Lake called Paquipe. At Aquascogoc the Indians stole a silver Cup, wherefore we burnt the Towne and spoyled their corne, so returned to our fleete at Tocokon. Whence we wayed for Hatorask, where we rested, and Granganimeo, King Wingina's brother with Manteo came aboard our Admirall, the Admirall went for Weapomeiok, & Master John Arundell for England. Our Generall in his way home tooke a rich loaden ship of 300. tunns, with which he arived at Plimouth the 18. of September, 1585.

These were left under the command of Master Ralph Layne to inhabite the Country, but they returned within a yeare.

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Philip Amidas Admirall.

Master Thomas Heryot.

Master Acton.

Master Stafford.

11

Master Thomas Luddington.

Master Marvyn.

Cap. Vaghan.

Master Kendall.

Master Gardiner.

Master Predeox.

Master Rogers.

Master Harvy.

Master Snelling.

Master Antony Russe.

Master Allen.

Master Michael Pollison.

Master Thomas Bockner.

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Master James Mason.

Master David Salter.

Master James Skinner.

With divers others to the number of 108.

Their first Plantation.

Touching the most remarkeable things of the Country and our proceeding from the 17. of August 1585. till the 18. of June 1586. we made Roanoack our habitation. The utmost of our discovery Southward was Secotan as we esteemed 80. leagues from Roanoacke. The passage from thence was thought a broad sound within the maine, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and shoulds that our Pinnasse could not passe, & we had but one boat with 4. ores, that would carry but 15. men with their provisions for 7. dayes: so that because the winter approached we left those discoveries till a stronger supply. To the Northward our farthest was to a Towne of the Chesapeacks, from Roanoack 130. myles. The passage is very shallow and dangerous by reason of the breadth of the sound and the little succour for a storme, but this teritory being 15. myle from the shoare, for pleasantnest of seate, for temperature of climate, fertility of soyle and comoditie of the Sea, besides beares, good woods, Saxefras, Walnuts &c. is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry other Kings they call Weroances as the Mangoacks, Trypaniks, and Opposians, which came to visit us.

Chawonoack. [l. 6.]

To the northwest our farthest was Chawonock from Roanoack 130. myles our passage lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channell Navigable for a Ship, but out of it full of shoules.

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The townes by the way by the water, are Passaquenock 12 the womens towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok; from Muscamunge wee enter the river and jurisdiction of Chawonock, there it beginneth to straiten, and at Chawonock it is as Thames at Lambeth: betwixt them as we passed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a towne called Ohanock, where is a great corne field, it is subject to Chawonock, which is the greatest Province upon the river, and the Towne it selfe can put seven hundred men into the field, besides the forces of the rest. The King is lame, but hath more understanding then all the rest.

Chawonock. 700. men. Menatonon his Relations of the Ile of Pearle, and a rich Mine, & the Sea by it.

The river of Moratoc is more famous then all the rest, and openeth into the sound of Weapomeiok, and where there is but a very small currant in Chawonock, it hath so strong a currant from the Southwest, as we doubted how to row against it. Strange things they report of the head of this river, and of Moratoc it selfe, a principall towne on it, & is thirtie or fortie dayes Journey to the head. This lame King is called Menatonon. When I had him prisoner two dayes, he told mee that 3. dayes Journey in a Canow up the river Chawonock, then landing & going foure dayes Journey Northeast, there is a King whose Country lyeth on the Sea, but his best place of strength is an Iland in a Bay invironed with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onely his skins, and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished therewith. This king was at Chawonock two yeares agoe to trade with blacke pearle, his worst sort whereof I had a rope, but they were naught; but that King he sayth hath store of white, and had trafficke with white men, for whom he reserved them; he promised me guides to him, but advised me to goe strong, for he was unwilling strangers should come in his Country, for his Country is populous and valiant men. If a supply had come in Aprill, I resolved to have sent a small Barke to the Northward to have found it, whilst I with small Boates and 200. men would have gone to the head of the river Chawonock, with sufficient guides 13 by land,

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inskonsing my selfe every two dayes, where I would leave Garrisons for my retreat till I came to this Bay.

Very neare unto it is the river of Moratoc, directly from the West, the head of it springeth out of a mayne Rocke, which standeth so neare the Sea, that in stormes the Sea beats over it into this fresh spring, that of it selfe at the surse is a violent streame. I intended with two Wherries and fortie persons to have Menatonons sonne for guide, to try this presently, till I could meete with some of the Moratocks, or Mangoaks, but hoping of getting more victuall from the Salvages, we as narrowly escaped starving in that Discovery as ever men did.

Pemissapan his trechery. The discovery of the river Moratoc.

For Pemissapan who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganameo, had given both the Chawonests, and Mangoaks word of my purpose: also he told me the Chawonocks had assembled two or three thousand to assault me at Roanok, urging me daily to goe against them, and them against us; a great assembly I found at my comming thether, which suddaine approach did so dismay them, that we had the better of them: & this confederacy against us was procured by Pemissapan himselfe our chiefe friend we trusted; he sent word also to the Moratoks and the Mangoaks, I came to invade them, that they all fled up into the high Country, so that where I assured my selfe both of succour and provision, I found all abandoned. But being thus farre on my journey 160. myles from home, and but victuals for two dayes, besides the casualties of crosse winds, stormes, and the Salvages trechery, though we intended no hurt to any: I gave my Company to understand we were onely drawne forth upon these vaine hopes by the Salvages to bring us to confusion: a Councell we held, to goe forward or returne, but they all were absolutely resolved but three, that whilst there was but one pynt of Corne for a man, they would not leave the search of that river; for they had two Mastive Dogs, which boyled with Saxefras leaves *A noble resolution.* 14 [1. 7.] (if the worst fell out) upon them and the pottage they would live two dayes, which would bring them to the sound, where they should finde fish for two dayes more to passe it to Roanock, which two dayes they

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had rather fast then goe backe a foote, till they had seene the Mangoaks either as friends or foes.

The strange Mine of Chaunis Temoatan.

Though I did forsee the danger and misery, yet the desire I had to see the Mangoaks was, for that there is a province called Chaunis Temoatan, frequented by them and well knowne to all those Countries, where is a mine of Copper they call Wassador; they say they take it out of a river that falleth swiftly from high rocks in shallow water, in great Bowles, covered with leather, leaving a part open to receive the mettall, which by the change of the colour of the water where the spout falleth, they suddainly chop downe, and have the Bowle full, which they cast into the fire, it presently melteth, and doth yeeld in five parts at the first melting two parts mettall for three of Ore. The Mangoaks have such plenty of it, they beautifie their houses with great plates thereof: this the Salvages report; and young Skiko the King of Chawonnocks sonne my prisoner, that had beene prisoner among the Mangoaks, but never at Chaunis Temoatan, for he sayd that was twentie dayes journey overland from the Mangoaks.

Menatonon also confirmed all this, and promised me guides to this mettall Country; by Land to the Mangoaks is but one dayes journey, but seaven by water, which, made me so willing to have met them for some assay of this metall: but when we came there we found no creature, onely we might see where had beene their fires. After our two dayes journey, and our victuals spent, in the evening we heard some call as we thought Manteo, who was with me in the boat; this made us glad, he made them a friendly answer, which they answered with a song we thought for welcome, but he told us they came to fight. Presently they did let flie their Arrowes about the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat scouring 15
The great currant of the river Moratoc. the shore we landed: but they all were fled, and how to finde them wee knew not. So the next morning we returned to the mouth of the river, that cost us foure dayes rowing up, and here our dogs pottage stood us in good stead, for we had nothing els: the next day we fasted being windbound, and could not passe the sound, but the day following we came to Chippanum, where the people were

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fled, but their wires afforded us fish: thus being neare spent, the next day God brought us to Roanocke. I conclude a good Mine, or the South sea will make this Country quickly inhabited, and so for pleasure and profit comparable with any in the world: otherwise there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which must be Northward if there be any. Master Vaughan, no lesse hoped of the goodnesse of the Mine, then Master Heriot that the river Moratocks head, either riseth by the Bay of Mexico, or very neare the South Sea, or some part that openeth neare the same, which cannot with that facilitie be done as from the Bay of Pearles, by insconsing foure dayes journey to the Chawonoks, Mangoaks, and Moratocks, &c.

The conspiracy of Pemissapan; the Discovery of it; and our returne for England with Sir Francis Drake.

ENsenore a Salvage, father to Pemissapan, the best friend we had after the death of Granganimeo, when I was in those Discoveries, could not prevaile any thing with the King from destroying us, that all this time God had preserved, by his good counsell to the King to be friendly unto us. Pemissapan thinking as the brute was in this last journey we were slaine and starved, began *The Conspiracy of Pemissapan*. 16 [l. 8.] to blaspheme our God that would suffer it, and not defend us, so that old Ensenore, had no more credit for us: for he began by all the devises he could to invade us. But in the beginning of this brute, when they saw us all returne, the report false, and had Manteo, and three Salvages more with us, how little we esteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greatest Kings sonne prisoner with us to Roanock: it a little asswaged all his devises, and brought Ensenore in respect againe, that our God was good, and wee their friends, and our foes should perish, for we could doe them more hurt being dead, then living, and that being an hundred myles from them, shot, and strucke them sicke to death, and that when we die it is but for a time, then we returne againe. But that which wrought the most feare among them was the handy-worke of Almightye God. For certaine dayes after my returne, Menatonon sent messengers to me with Pearle, and Okisco King of Weopomeoke, to yeeld himselfe servant to the Queene of England. Okisco

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with twenty-foure of his principall men came to Pemissapan to acknowledge this dutie and subjection, and would performe it. All which so changed the heart of Pemissapan, that upon the advise of Ensenore, when we were ready to famish they came and made us wires, and planted their fields they intended to abandon (we not having one corne till the next harvest to sustaine us). This being done our old friend Ensenore dyed the twenty of Aprill, then all our enemies wrought with Pemissapan to put in practise his devises, which he easily imbraced, though they had planted corne by us, and at Dasamonpeack two leagues from us. Yet they got Okisco our tributary to get seven or eight hundred (and the Mandoages with the Chisapeans should doe the like) to meete (as their custome is) to solemnize the Funerall of Ensenore. Halfe of whom should lye hid, to cut off the straglers, seeking crabs and provision: the rest come out of the mayne upon the Signall by fire. Twenty of the principall of *The death of a most rare Salvage*. 17 Pemissapans men had charge in the night to beset my house, put fire in the Reeds that covered it, which might cause me run out so naked and amazed, they might without danger knocke out my braines. The same order for Mr. Heriots, and the rest: for all should have beene fired at an instant. In the meane time they should sell us nothing, and in the night spoyle our wires, to make necessitie disperse us. For if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with us. So our famine increased, I was forced to send Captaine Stafford to Croatan, with twentie to feed himselfe, and see if he could espie any sayle passe the coast; Mr. Predeox with ten to Hatarask upon the same occasion: and other small parties to the Mayne to live upon rootes and Oysters.

Pemissapan sequestering himselfe, I should not importune him for victuall, and to draw his troupes, found not the Chawonests so forward as he expected, being a people more faithfull and powerfull, and desired our friendships, and was offended with him for raising such tales, and all his projects were revealed to me by Skico my prisoner; who finding himselfe as well used by me, as Pemissapan tould me all. These troubles caused me send to Pemissapan, to put suspicion in his head, I was to goe presently to Croatan to meete a Fleete came to me, though I knew no such matter: and that he would lend me men to fish

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and hunt. He sent me word he would come himselfe to Roanock; but delaying time eight dayes that all his men were there to be assembled, not liking so much company, I resolved the next day to goe visit him, but first to give them in the Ile a Canvisado, and at an instant to seaze on all their Canows about the Ile. But the towne tooke the Alarum before I ment it. For when I sent to take the Canows, he met one going from the shore, overthrew her and cut off two Salvages heads; whereupon the cry arose, being by their spyes perceived: for they kept as good watch over us, as we of them. Upon this they to their Bowes, and we to our Armes: three or foure of them at the first were slaine, the rest B *A slaughter of two Salvages*. 18 fled into the woods. The next morning I went to Dassamonpeack, and sent Pemissapan word I was going to Croatan, and tooke him in my way to complaine Osocon would have stole my prisoner Skico. Hereupon he did abide my comming, & being among eight of the principallest, I gave the watchword to my men, and immediatly they had that they purposed for us. Himselfe being shot through with a Pistoll fell downe as dead, but presently start up and ran away from them all, till an Irish Boy shot him over the buttocks, where they tooke him and cut off his head.

[I. 9.] *Pemissapan slaine and 8. others. A most generous courtesie of Sir Francis Drake.*

Seaven dayes after Captaine Stafforton sent to me he descryed twentie-three Sayle. The next day came to me himselfe (of whom I must say this, from the first to the last, he neither spared labour, or perill by land or sea, fayre weather, or foule, to performe any serious service committed to him.) He brought me a letter from Sir Francis Drake, whose generous mind offered to supply all my defects, of shipping, boats, munition, victuall, clothes, and men to further this action: and upon good consultation and deliberation, he appointed me a ship of 70. tuns, with an hundred men, and foure moneths victuals, two Pinnaces, foure small Boats, with two sufficient Masters, with sufficient Gangs. All this being made ready for me, suddenly arose such a storme for foure dayes, that had like to have driven the whole Fleete on shore: many of them were forced to the Sea, whereof my ship so lately given me was one, with all my provision and Company appoynted.

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Notwithstanding, the storme ceasing, the Generall appointed me a ship of 170. tuns, with all provisions as before, to carry me into England the next August, or when I had performed such Discoveries as I thought fit. Yet they durst not undertake to bring her into the harbour, but she must ride in the road, leaving the care of the rest to my selfe, advising me to consider with my Company what was fittest, and with my best speed returne him answer.

19 *Virginia abandoned.*

Hereupon calling my Company together, who were all as privy of the Generals offer as my selfe; their whole request was, (in regard of all those former miseries, and no hope of the returne of Sir Richard Grenvill,) and with a generall consent, they desired me to urge him, we might all goe with him for England in his Fleete; for whose reliefe in that storme he had sustained more perill of wrack, then in all his honorable actions against his enemies. So with prayes to God we set sayle in June 1586. and arrived in Portsmouth the 27. of July the same yeare: Leaving this remembrance to posteritie.

To reason lend me thine attentive eares, Exempt thy selfe from mind-distracting cares:
Least that's here thus projected for thy good; By thee rejected be, ere understood.

Written by Mr. Ralph Layne, Governour.

The Observations of Mr. Thomas Heriot in this Voyage.

For Merchandize and Victualls.

Comodities.

WHAT before is writ, is also confirmed by that learned Mathematician Mr. Thomas Heriot, with them in the Country, whose particular Relation of all the Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, Fruites, and Rootes, and how they may be usefull; because I have writ it before for the most part in the Discourse of Captaine Amidas, and Captaine Layne, except Silk grasse, Worme silke, Flax like Hempe, Allum, Wapeith, or Terra sigillata, Tar, Rosen, &

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Turpentine, Civet-cats, Iron ore, Copper that held Silver, Coprose and Pearle: Let those briefes suffice, because I would not trouble you with one thing twice.

Dyes.

Dyes.

For Dyes, Showmack, the herbe Wasebur, little rootes called Chapacor, and the barke of a tree called by the Inhabitants Tangomockonominge, which are for divers sorts of Reds.

20 A strange Salt. [l. 10.]

What more then is related is an herbe in Dutch called Melden, described like an Orange, growing foure foote high; the seede will make good broth, and the stalke burnt to ashes makes a kinde of Salt: other Salt they know not, and we used of it for Pot-herbs. Of their Tobacco we found plenty, which they esteeme their chiefe Physicke.

Rootes.

Ground nuts, Tiswaw we call China roots; they grow in clusters, and bring forth a bryer stalke, but the leafe is far unlike, which will climbe up to the top of the highest tree: the use knowne is to cut it in small peeces, then stampe & straine it with water, and boyled makes a gelly good to eate. Cassavia growes in Marishes, which the Indians oft use for bread and broth. Habascon is like a Parsnip, naught of it selfe, except compounded: and their Leekes like those in England.

Fruits thats strange.

Sequenumener, a kinde of Berry like Capers, and three kinde of Berries like Acornes, called Sagatamenor, Osamenor, and Pummuckoner.

Beasts extraordinary.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinde of beasts, greater then Conies, and very good meate; in some places such plenty of gray Conies, like hayres, that all the people make them mantels of their skins. I have the names of 28. severall sorts that are dispersed in

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the Country: of which 12. kindes we have discovered and good to eate; but the Salvages sometimes kill a Lyon and eate him.

Fish.

There is plentie of Sturgeon in February, March, Aprill, and May; all Herings in abundance; some such as ours, but the most part of 18. 20. or 24. ynches long, and more. Trouts, Porpisses, Rayes, Mulletts, Old-wives, Plaice, Tortoises both by Sea and Land: Crabs, Oysters, Mussels, Scalops, Periwinkles, Crevises, Secanank: we have the Pictures of 12. sorts more, but their names we know not.

Foules.

Turkyes, Stockdoves, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, Swans, Geese, Parrots, Faulcons, Merlins. I have the names in their language of 86. severall sorts. Their 21 woods are such as ours in England for the most part, except Rakeock, a great sweet tree, whereof they make their Canowes: and Ascopo, a kinde of tree like Lowrell, and Saxefras.

Their Natures and Manners.

Their Clothing, Townes, Houses, Warres, Arts, Toolles, handy crafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of Virginia we now inhabite: which at large you may reade in the Description thereof. But the relation of their Religion is strange, as this Author reporteth.

Their Religion.

Some Religion they have, which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is there is hope it may be the easier reformed. They beleeve there are many gods which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees. Also that there is one chiefe God that hath beene from all eternitie, who as they say when he purposed first to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as instruments to be used in the Creation and government to follow: And after the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as pettie gods; and the

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instruments of the other order more principall. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods were made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

How the world was made. How man was made.

For mankinde they say a Woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods conceived and brought forth children; and so they had their beginning, but how many yeares or ages since they know not; having no Records but onely Tradition from Father to sonne.

How they use their gods.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore represent them by Images in the formes of men; which they call Kewasowok: one alone is called Kewasa; them they place in their Temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings. The common sort thinke them also gods.

Whether they goe after death.

They beleeeve the immortalitie of the Soule, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad 22 workes it hath done, it is carried up to the Tabernacles of the gods, to perpetuall happinesse, or to Popogusso, a great pit: which they thinke to be at the furthest parts of the world, where the Sunne sets, and there burne continually.

[l. 11.] *Two men risen from death.*

To confirme this they told me of two men that had beene lately dead, and revived againe; the one hapned but few yeares before our comming into the country; of a bad man, which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being seene to move, was taken up, who told them his soule was very neare entering into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saved him and gave him leave to returne againe, to teach his friends what they should doe to avoyd such torment. The other hapned the same yeare we were there, but sixtie myles from us, which they told me for news, that one being dead, buried, & taken up as the first, shewed, that although his body had layne dead in the grave, yet his soule lived, and had travailed far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew more sweet,

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fayre, and delicate trees and fruits, then ever he had seene before; at length he came to most brave and fayre houses, neare which he met his Father, that was dead long agoe, who gave him charge to goe backe, to shew his friends what good there was to doe, to enjoy the pleasures of that place; which when hee had done hee should come againe.

The subtiltie of their Priests.

What subtiltie so ever be in the Weroances, and Priests; this opinion worketh so much in the common sort, that they have great respect to their Governours: and as great care to avoyde torment after death, and to enjoy blisse. Yet they have divers sorts of punishments according to the offence, according to the greatnesse of the fact. And this is the sum of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with their Priests, wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit, but through conversing with us, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours: of which 23 many desired to learne more then we had meanes for want of utterance in their Language to expresse.

Their simplicitie.

Most things they saw with us as Mathematicall Instruments, Sea-Compasses; the vertue of the Loadstone, Perspective Glasses, burning Glasses: Clocks to goe of themselves; Bookes, writing, Guns, and such like; so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men; or at least the gods had taught us how to make them, which loved us so much better then them; & caused many of them give credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my best to make his immortall glory knowne. And I told them, although the Bible I shewed them, contained all; yet of it selfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and imbrace it, to hold it to their breasts, and heads, and stroke all their body over with it.

Their desire of salvation.

The King Wingina where we dwelt, would oft be with us at Prayer. Twice he was exceeding sicke and like to dye. And doubting of any helpe from his Priests, thinking

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he was in such danger for offending us and our God, sent for some of us to pray, and be a meanes to our God, he might live with him after death. And so did many other in the like case. One other strange Accident (leaving others) will I mention before I end, which mooved the whole Country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderfull admiration.

A wonderfull Accident.

There was no Towne where they had practised any villany against us (we leaving it unpunished, because we sought by all possible meanes to winne them by gentlenes) but within a few dayes after our departure, they began to dye; in some Townes twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in respect of their numbers. And this hapned in no place (we could learn) where we had bin, but where they had used some practise to betray us. And this disease was so strange, they neither knew what it was, 24 [l. 12.] nor how to cure it; nor had they knowne the like time out of minde; a thing specially observed by us, as also by themselves, in so much that some of them who were our friends, especially Wingina, had observed such effects in foure or five Townes, that they were perswaded it was the worke of God through our meanes: and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would, without weapons, and not come neare them. And thereupon, when they had any understanding, that any of their enemies abused us in our Journeyes, they would intreat us, we would be a meanes to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with us, might dye in like sort: although we shewed them their requests were ungodly; and that our God would not subject himselfe to any such requests of men, but all things as he pleased came to passe: and that we to shew our selves his true servants, ought rather to pray for the contrary: yet because the effect fell out so suddenly after, according to their desires, they thought it came to passe by our meanes, and would come give us thankes in their manner, that though we satisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their desires.

Their strange opinions.

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This marveilous Accident in all the Country wrought so strange opinions of us, that they could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men. And the rather that all the space of their sicknesse, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or much sicke. They noted also we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs: some therefore thought we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that we were men of an old generation many yeares past, & risen againe from immortalitie. Some would Prophetise there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Those that were to come after us they imagined to be in the ayre, yet invisible and without bodies: and that they by our intreaties, for love of us, did make the people die as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this, their Physicians to excuse their Ignorance in curing the disease, would make the simple people beleeeve, that the strings of bloud they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherein the invisible bullets were tyed, and cast. Some thought we shot them our selves from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended us, as we listed, how farre distant soever. And others said it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we had cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary; especially some Astrologers by the eclipse of the Sunne we saw that yeare before our Voyage, and by a Comet which began to appeare but a few dayes before the sicknesse began: but to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an Accident, there are farther reasons then I thinke fit to present or alledge.

These their opinions I have set downe, that you may see there is hope to imbrace the truth, and honor, obey, feare and love us, by good dealing and government: though some of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir Francis Drake shewed themselves too furious, in slaying some of the people in some Townes, upon causes that on our part might have bin borne with more mildnesse; notwithstanding they justly had deserved it. The best neverthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is

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to be indevoured and hoped; and of the worst that may happen, notice to be taken with consideration; and as much as may be eschewed; the better to allure them hereafter to Civilitie and Christianitie.

Palling.

Thus you may see, How Nature her selfe delights her selfe in sundry Instruments, That sundry things be done to decke the earth with Ornaments; Nor suffers she her servants all should runne one race, But wills the walke of every one frame in a divers pace; That divers wayes and divers workes, the world might better grace.

Written by Thomas Heriot, one of the Voyage.

26

How Sir Richard Grenvill went to relieve them.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1586. Sir Walter Raleigh and his Associates prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraughted plentifully of all things necessary: but before they set sayle from England it was Easter. And arriving at Hatorask, they after some time spent in seeking the Collony up in the Country, and not finding them, returned with all the provision againe to England.

[I. 13.]

About 14. or 15. dayes after, Sir Richard Grenvill accompanied with three ships well appoynted, arrived there. Who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of the Collony there seated, and left by him as is said 1585. travailing up and downe to seeke them, but when he could heare no newes of them, and found their habitation abandoned, unwilling to lose the possession of the Country, after good deliberation he landed fiftie men in the Ile of Roanoak, plentifully furnished with all manner of provision for two yeares: and so returned for England.

Sir Richard Grenvill left fiftie men.

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Where many began strangely to discant of those crosse beginnings, and him; which caused me remember an old saying of Euripides.

Who broacheth ought thats new, to fooles untaught, Himselfe shall judged be unwise, and good for naught.

Three Ships more sent to relieve them by Mr. White.

Master White his Voyages. 1587.

WE went the old course by the west Indies, and Simon Ferdinando our continuall Pilot mistaking Virginia for Cape Fear, we sayled not much to have beene cast away, upon the conceit of our all-knowing Ferdinando, had it not beene prevented by the vigilancy of Captaine Stafford. We came to Hatorask the 22. of July, and with fortie of our best men, intending at Roanoack to find the 50 men left by Sir Richard Grenvill. But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where 27 the Plantation had beene, the houses unhurt, but overgrowne with weeds, and the Fort defaced, which much perplexed us.

One of the Councell slaine.

By the History it seemes Simon Ferdinando did what he could to bring this voyage to confusion; but yet they all arrived at Hatorask. They repayred the old houses at Roanock, and Master George How, one of the Councell, stragling abroad, was slaine by the Salvages. Not long after Master Stafford with 20. men went to Croatan with Manteo, whose friends dwelled there: of whom we thought to have some newes of our 50 men. They at first made shew to fight, but when they heard Manteo, they threw away their Armes, and were friends, and desired there might be a token given to be knowne by, least we might hurt them by misprision, as the yeare before one had bin by Master Layne, that was ever their friend, and there present yet lame.

How the fiftie men were slaine.

The next day we had conference with them concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatan to see if they would accept friendship,

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and renew our old acquaintance: which they willingly imbraced, and promised to bring their King and Governours to Roanoak, to confirme it. We also understood that Master Howe was slaine by the men of Wingina, of Dassamonpeack: and by them of Roanoack, that the fiftie men left by Sir Richard Grenvill, were suddainly set upon by three hundred of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and men were Dassamonpeack. First they intruded themselves among slaine. II of them by friendship, one they slew, the rest retyring to their houses, they set them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were forced to make their passage among them; where one of them was shot in the mouth, and presently dyed, and a Salvage slaine by him. On both sides more were hurt; but our men retyring to the water side, got their boat, & ere they had rowed a quarter of a myle towards Hatorask, they tooke up foure of their fellowes, gathering Crabs and Oysters: at last they landed on a little Ile by Hatorask, where they remained a while, 28 [l. 14.] but after departed they knew not whether. So taking our leaves of the Croatans, we came to our Fleet at Hatorask.

The Governour having long expected the King and Governours of Pomeiok, Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Dassamonpeack, and the 7. dayes expired, and no newes of them, being also informed by those of Croatan, that they of Dassamonpeack slew Master How, and were at the driving our men from Roanoack he thought no longer to deferre the revenge. Wherefore about midnight, with Captaine Stafford, and twentie-foure men, whereof Manteo was one, for our guide, (that behaved himselfe towards us as a most faithfull English man) he set forward.

An ill misprision.

The next day by breake of day we landed, and got misprision. beyond their houses, where seeing them sit by the fire we assaulted them. The miserable soules amazed fled into the Reeds, where one was shot through, and we thought to have beene fully revenged, but we were deceived, for they were our friends come from Croatan to gather their corne, because they understood our enemies were fled after the death of Master How, and left all behinde them for the birds. But they had like to have payd too deare for it, had we not chanced upon a Weroances wife, with a childe at her backe, and a Salvage that knew

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Captaine Stafford, that ran to him calling him by his name. Being thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered the fruit we found ripe, left the rest unspoyled, and tooke Menatonon his wife with her childe, and the rest with us to Roanoak. Though this mistake grieved Manteo, yet he imputed it to their own folly, because they had not kept promise to come to the governor at the day appointed. The 13. of August our Salvage Manteo was Christened, and called Lord of Dassamonpeack, in reward of his faithfulness. And the 18th, Ellinor the Governours daughter, and wife to Ananias Dare, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak; in which being the first Christian there borne, was called Virginia.

A child borne in Virginia. 29 A controversie who to send for Factor to England.

Our ships being ready to depart, such a storme arose, as the Admirall was forced to cut her Cables: and it was six dayes ere she could recover the shore, that made us doubt she had beene lost, because the most of her best men were on shore. At this time Controversies did grow betwixt our Governour and the Assistants, about choosing one of them 12. to goe as Factor for them all to England; for all refused save one, whom all men thought most insufficient: the Conclusion was by a generall consent, they would have the Governour goe himselfe, for that they thought none would so truly procure there supplies as he. Which though he did what he could to excuse it, yet their importunitie would not cease till he undertooke it, and had it under all their hands how unwilling he was, but that necessity and reason did doubly constraîne him. At their setting sayle for England, waighing Anchor, twelve of the men in the flyboat were throwne from the Capstern, by the breaking of a barre, and most of them so hurt, that some never recovered it. The second time they had the like fortune, being but 15. they cut the Cable and kept company with their Admirall to Flowres and Corvos; the Admirall stayed there looking for purchase: but the flyboats men grew so weake they were driven to Smerwick in the West of Ireland. The Governour went for England; and Simon Ferdinando with much adoe at last arrived at Portsmouth. 1587.

The Names of those were landed in this Plantation were,

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John White, Governour.

Roger Bayley.

Ananias Dare.

Simon Ferdinando.

Christopher Couper.

Thomas Stevens.

John Samson.

Thomas Smith.

Dionis Harvie.

Roger Prat.

George How.

Antony Cage.

With divers others to the number of about 115.

30 [l. 15.]

The fift Voyage to Virginia; undertaken by Mr. John White. 1589.

1589. *Master White his returne to Virginia.*

THE 20. of March three ships went from Plimouth, passed betwixt Barbary and Mogadoro to his returne to Dominico in the West Indies. After we had done some Virginia. exploitys in those parts, the third of August wee fell with the low sandy Iles westward of Wokokon. But by reason of ill weather it was the II. ere we could Anchor there; and on the 12. we came

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to Croatan, where is a great breach in 35 degrees and a halfe, in the Northeast poynt of the Ile. The 15. we came to Hatorask in 36. degrees & a terse, at 4. fadom, 3 leagues from shore: where we might perceive a smoake at the place where I left the Colony, 1587. The next morning Captaine Cooke, Captaine Spicer, & their companies, with two boats left our ships, and discharged some Ordnance to give them notice of our comming, but when we came there, we found no man, nor signe of any that had beene there lately: and so returned to our Boats. The next morning we prepared againe for Roanoack. Captaine Spicer had then sent his Boat ashore for water, so it was ten of the Clocke ere we put from the ships, which rode two myles from the shore. The Admirals boat, being a myle before the other, as she passed the bar, a sea broke into the boat and filled her halfe full of water: but by Gods good will, and the carefull stearage of Captaine Cook, though our provisions were much wet we safe escaped, the wind blew hard at Northeast, which caused so great a current and a breach upon the barre; Captaine Spicer passed halfe over, but by the indiscreet steering of Ralph Skinner, their boat was overset, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next sea cast her on ground, where some let goe their hold to wade to shore, but the sea beat Captaine them downe. The boat thus tossed up and downe Spicer and Skinner hung there till they were but 4. that could swim a little, kept themselves drowned. in deeper water, were saved by the meanes of Captaine *Captaine Spicer and seaven others drowned.* 31 Cook, that presently upon the oversetting of their boat, shipped himselfe to save what he could. Thus of eleven, seven of the chiefest were drowned. This so discomfited all the Saylers, we had much to do to get them any more to seeke further for the Planters, but by their Captaines forwardnes at last they fitted themselves againe for Hatorask in 2 boats, with 19 persons. It was late ere we arrived, but seeing a fire through the woods, we sounded a Trumpet, but no answer could we heare. The next morning we went to it, but could see nothing but the grasse, and some rotten trees burning. We went up and downe the Ile, and at last found three faire Romane Letters carved. C.R.O. which presently we knew to signifie the place where I should find them, according to a secret note betweene them & me: which was to write the name of the place they would be in, upon some tree, dore, or post: and if they had beene in any distresse, to

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signifie it by making a crosse over it. For at my departure they intended to goe fiftie myles into the mayne. But we found no signe of distresse; then we went to a place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found them all taken downe, and the place strongly inclosed with a high Palizado, very Fortlike; and in one of the chiefe Posts carved in fayre capitall Letters CROATAN, without any signe of distresse, and many barres of Iron, two pigs of Lead, foure Fowlers, Iron shot, and such their like heavie things throwne here and there, overgrowne with grasse and weeds. We went by the shore to seeke for their boats but could find none, nor any of the Ordnance I left them. At last some of the Sailers found divers Chists had beene hidden and digged up againe, and much of the goods spoyled, and scattered up and downe, which when I saw, I knew three of them to be my owne; but bookes, pictures, and all things els were spoyled. Though it much grieved me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at Croatan; so we returned to our Ships, but had like to have bin cast away by a great storme that continued all that night.

They finde where they had buried their provisions. 32 [l. 16]

The next morning we weighed Anchor for Croatan: having the Anchor a-pike, the Cable broke, by the meanes whereof we lost another: letting fall the third, the ship yet went so fast a drift, we fayled not much there to have split. But God bringing us into deeper water; considering we had but one Anchor, and our provision neare spent, we resolved to goe forthwith to S. Johns Ile, Hispaniola, or Trinidado, to refresh our selves and seeke for purchase that Winter, and the next Spring come againe to seeke our Country-men. But our Vice Admirall would not, but went directly for England, and we our course for Trinidado. But within two dayes after, the wind changing, we were constrained for the Westernne Iles to refresh our selves, where we met with many of the Queenes ships our owne consort, and divers others, the 23. of September 1590. And thus we left seeking our Colony, that was never any of them found, nor seene to this day 1622. And this was the conclusion of this Plantation, after so much time, labour, and charge consumed. Whereby we see;

The end of this Plantation.

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Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it beene, That God doth offer and confer his blessings upon men.

Written by Master John White.

33

A briefe Relation of the Description of Elizabeths 1602. Ile, and some others towards the North part of Virginia; and what els they discovered in the yeare 1602. by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, and Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert; and divers other Gentlemen their Associates.

12. *yeares it lay dead.*

ALL hopes of Virginia thus abandoned, it 12. yeares it lay dead and obscured from 1590. till this yeare 1602. that Captaine Gosnoll, with 32. and himselfe in a small Barke, set sayle from Dartmouth upon the 26. of March. Though the wind favoured us not at the first, but force us as far Southward as the Asores, which was not much out of our way; we ran directly west from thence, whereby we made our journey shorter then heretofore by 500. leagues: the weaknesse of our ship, the badnes of our saylers, and our ignorance of the coast, caused us carry but a low sayle, that made our passage longer then we expected.

On fryday the II. of May we made land, it was somewhat low, where appeared certaine hummocks or hills in it: the shore white sand, but very rockie, yet overgrowne with fayre trees. Comming to an Anchor, 8 Indians in a Baske shallop, with mast and sayle came boldly aboard us. It seemed by their signes & such things as they had, some Biskiners had fished there: being about the latitude of 43. But the harbour being naught, & doubting the weather, we went not ashore, but waighed, and stood to the Southward into the Sea. The next morning we found our selves imbayed with a mightie headland: within a league of the shore we anchored, and Captaine Gosnoll, my selfe, & three others went to it in our boat, being a white sand & a bold coast. Though the weather was hot, we marched to the highest hils we could see, where we perceived this headland part of the mayn, neare

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invironed C *Their first landing.* 34 with Ilands. As we were returning to our ship, a good proper, lusty young man came to us, with whom we had but small conference, and so we left him. Here in 5. or 6. houres we tooke more Cod then we knew what to doe with, which made us perswade our selves, there might be found a good fishing in March, Aprill, and May.

[I. 17.]

At length we came among these fayre Iles, some a *Martha's Vineyard.* league, 2. 3. 5. or 6. from the Mayne, by one of them Vineyard. we anchored. We found it foure myles in compasse, without house or inhabitant. In it is a lake neare a myle in circuit; the rest overgrowne with trees, which so well as the bushes, were so overgrowne with Vines, we could scarce passe them. And by the blossomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of Strawberries, Respises, Gousberries, and divers other fruits: besides, Deere and other Beasts we saw, and Cranes, Hernes, with divers other sorts of fowle; which made us call it Martha's Vineyard.

Elizabeths Island.

The rest of the Iles are replenished with such like; very rocky, and much tintured stone like Minerall. Though we met many Indians, yet we could not see their habitations: they gave us fish, Tobacco, and such things as they had. But the next Isle we arrived at was but two leagues from the Maine, & 16. myle about, invironed so with creekes and coves, it seemed like many Isles linked together by small passages like bridges. In it is many places of plaine grasse, and such other fruits, and berries as before were mentioned. In mid-May we did sow Wheat, Barley, Oates, & Pease, which in 14. dayes sprung up 9. inches. The soyle is fat and lusty: the crust thereof gray, a foot or lesse in depth. It is full of high timbred Okes, their leaves thrise so broad as ours: Cedar straight and tall, Beech, Holly, Walnut, Hazell, Cherry trees like ours, but the stalke beareth the blossom or fruit thereof like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fiftie in a bunch. There is a tree of Orange colour, whose barke in the filing is as smooth as Velvet. There is a lake of fresh water three myles in compasse, in the 35 midst an Isle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrowne with

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wood: here are many Tortoises, and abundance of all sorts of foules, whose young ones we tooke and eate at our pleasure. Grounds nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40. on a string, not two ynches under ground. All sorts of shell-fish, as Schalops, Mussels, Cockles, Crabs, Lobsters, Welks, Oysters, exceeding good and very great; but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath bestowed on those places, I refer you to the Authors owne writing at large. We called this Isle Elizabeths Isle, from whence we went right over to the mayne, where we stood a while as ravished at the beautie and dilicacy of the sweetnesse, besides divers cleare lakes, whereof we saw no end, & meadows very large and full of greene grasse, &c.

Here we espyed 7. Salvages, at first they expressed some feare, but by our courteous usage of them, they followed us to the necke of Land, which we thought had beene severed from the Mayne, but we found it otherwise. Here we imagined was a river, but because the day was farre spent, we left to discover it till better leasure. But of good Harbours, there is no doubt, considering the Land is all rocky and broken lands. The next day we determined to fortifie our selves in the Isle in the lake. Three weekes we spent in building us there a house. But the second day after our comming from the Mayne, II. Canows with neare 50. Salvages came towards us. Being unwilling they should see our building, we went to, & exchanged with them Knives, Hatchets, Beades, Bels, and such trifles, for some Bevers, Lyzards, Martins, Foxes, wilde Catte skinnes, and such like. We saw them have much red Copper, whereof they make chaines, collars, and drinking cups, which they so little esteemed they would give us for small toyes, & signified unto us they had it out of the earth in the Mayne: three dayes they stayed with us, but every night retyred two or three myle from us: after with many signes of love and friendship they departed, seaven of *A Copper Mine*. 36 [l. 18.] them staying behind, that did helpe us to dig and carry Saxafras, and doe any thing they could, being of a comely proportion and the best condition of any Salvages we had yet incountred. They have no Beards but counterfeits, as they did thinke ours also was: for which they would have changed with some of our men that had great beards. Some of the baser sort would steale; but

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the better sort, we found very civill and just. We saw but three of their women, and they were but of meane stature, attyred in skins like the men, but fat and well favoured. The wholesomenesse and temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be answerable to this Description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active, strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought may well testifie. For our selves, we found our selves rather increase in health and strength then otherwise; for all our toyle, bad dyet and lodging; yet not one of us was touched with any sicknesse. Twelve intended here a while to have stayed, but upon better consideration, how meanely we were provided, we left this Island (with as many true sorrowfull eyes as were before desirous to see it) the 18. of June, and arrived at Exmouth, the 23 of July.

Their return.

But yet mans minde doth such it selfe explay, As Gods great Will doth frame it every way.
And, Such thoughts men have, on earth that doe but live, As men may crave, but God doth onely give.

Written by John Brierton one of the Voyage.

37

A Voyage of Captaine Martin Pring, with two 1603. Barks from Bristow, for the North part of Virginia. 1603.

BY the inducements and perswasions of Mr. Richard Hackluite, Mr. John Whitson being Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen, & most of the Merchants of the Citie of Bristow, raised a stocke of 1000 l. to furnish out two Barkes, the one of 50. tuns, with 30. men and boyes, the other 26. tuns, with 13. men and boyes, having Martin Pring an understanding Gentleman, and a sufficient Mariner for Captaine, and Robert Salterne his Assistant, who had bin with Captaine Gosnoll there the yeare before for Pilot. Though they were much crossed by contrary windes upon the coast of England, and the death of that ever most memorable, miracle of the world, our most deare soveraigne Lady and Queene Elizabeth: yet at last they passed by the westerne Isles, and about the 7. of June, fell upon the north

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part of Virginia, about the degrees of fortie three. Where they found plentie of most sorts of fish, and saw a high country full of great woods of sundry sorts. As they ranged the coast at a place they named Whitson Bay, they were kindly used by the Natives, that came to them, in troupes, of tens, twenties, & thirties, and sometimes more. But because in this Voyage for most part they followed the course of Captaine Gosnoll, and have made no relation but to the same effect he writ before, we will thus conclude;

Lay hands unto this worke with all thy wit, But pray that God would speed and perfit it.

Robert Salterne.

38 1605.

A relation of a Discovery towards the Northward of Virginia, by Captaine George Waymouth 1605. imployed thether by the right Honorable Thomas Arundell, Baron of Warde, in the Raigne of our most royall King James.

[1. 19.] *Dangerous shoules.*

UPON tuesday the fift of March we set sayle from Ratcliffe, but by contrary winds we were forced into Dartmouth till the last of this moneth, then with 29. as good sea men, & all necessary provisions as could possibly be gotten, we put to sea; and the 24 of Aprill fell with Flowres and Corvos. We intended as we were directed towards the Southward of 39. But the winds so crossed us wee fell more Northwards about 41. and 20. minuits, we sounded at 100. fathom, & by that we had run 6 leagues we had but 5. yet saw no land; from the mayne top we descryed a whitish sandy clift, West North-west some 6. leagues from us, but ere we had run two leagues further we found many shoules and breaches, sometimes in 4. fadom and the next throw 15. or 18. Being thus imbayed among those shoules, we were constrained to put back againe, which we did with no small danger though both the winde and weather were as fayre as we could desire. Thus we parted from the Land, which we had not before so much desired, and at the first sight rejoyced, as now we all joyfully prayed God that he had delivered us from so eminent danger. Here we found excellent Cod, and saw many Whales as we had done 2. or 3. daies before.

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Being thus constrained to put to sea, the want of wood & water caused us take the best advantage of the winde, to fall with the shore wheresoever: but we found our Sea-cards most directly false. The 17. of May we made the Land againe, but it blew so hard, we durst not approach it. The next day it appeared to us a mayne high land, but we found it an Island of 6. myles in compasse: within a league of it we came to an anchor, and went on shore for wood & *Cod and Whales. Their first landing* 39 water, of which we found sufficient. The water gushing forth downe the rocky cliffs, in many places, which are all overgrown with Firre, Birch, Beech, & Oke, as the Verge is with Gousberries, Strawberries, wild Pease, and Rose bushes, and much foule of divers sorts that breed among the rockes: here as in all places els where we came, we found Cod enough.

Pentecost harbour.

From hence we might discern the mayne land and very high mountaines, the next day because we rode too open to the Sea, we waighed, and came to the Isles adjoining to the mayn: among which we found an excellent rode, defended from all windes, for ships of any burthen, in 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom upon a clay oze. This was upon a Whitsunday, wherefore we called it Pentecost Harbour. Here I cannot omit for foolish feare of imputation of flattery, the painfull industry of our Captaine, who as at Sea he was alwayes most carefull & vigilant, so at land he refused no paines: but his labour was ever as much or rather more then any mans; which not onely encouraged others with better content, but also effected much with great expedition. We digged a Garden the 22. of May, where among our garden-seeds we sowed Pease and Barley, which in 16. dayes grew up 8. ynches, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferiour to the mould we after found in the mayne.

The Captains diligence.

After we had taken order for all our necessary businesses, we marched through two of these Isles. The biggest was 4. or 5. myles in compasse; we found here all sorts of ordinary trees, besides, Vines, Currants, Spruce, Yew, Angelica, and divers gummes: in so much many of our company wished themselves settled here. Upon the 30. our Captaine

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with 13. went to discover the mayne: we in the ship espyed 3. Canowes that came towards the ship. Which after they had well viewed, one of them came aboard with 3. men, and by our good usage of them not long after the rest, two dayes we had their companies, in all respects they are but like them at Elizabeths Isles, therefore this may suffice for their 40 *Trade with the Salvages.* description. In this time our Captain had discovered a fayre river, trending into the mayne 40 myles, and returned backe to bring in the ship. The Salvages also kept their words and brought us 40. Bever, Otter, and sable skins, for the value of 5. shillings in knives, glasses, combes, and such toyes, and thus we used them so kindly as we could, because we intended to inhabit in their Country, they lying aboard with us and we ashore with them; but it was but as changing man for man as hostages, and in this manner many times we had their companies.

[I. 20.] *Their trechery.*

At last they desired our Captaine to goe with them to the mayne to trade with their Bashabes, which is their chiefe Lord, which we did, our boat well manned with 14. yet would they row faster with 3. Ores in their Canowes then we with 8. but when we saw our old acquaintance, would not stay aboard us as before for hostage, but did what they could to draw us into a narrow cirke, we exchanged one Owen Griffin with them for a yong fellow of theirs, that he might see if he could discover any trechery, as he did, for he found there assembled 283. Salvages with bowes & arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended. These things considered, we conceited them to be but as all Salvages ever had beene, kinde till they found opportunitie to do mischief. Wherefore we determined to take some of them, before they should suspect we had discovered their plot, lest they should absent themselves from us, so the first that ever after came into the ship were three which we kept, and two we tooke on shore with much adoe, with two Canowes, their bowes and arrowes.

Five Salvages surprised.

Some time we spent in sounding all the Isles, channels, and inlets thereabouts, and we found 4. severall waies a ship might be brought into this Bay. In the interim there came 2.

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Canowes more boldly aboard us, signifying we should bring our ship to the place where he dwelt to trade. We excused our selves why we could not, but used them kindly, yet got them away with all the speed we could, that they should not be perceived by them in 41 *A description of the river*. the houle, then we went up the river 26. myles, of which I had rather not write, then by my relation detract from it, it is in breadth a myle, neare 40. myles; and a channell of 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom, & on both sides every halfe myle gallant Coves, to containe in many of them 100 sayle, where they may lye on Oze without Cable or Anchor, onely moored with a Hauser, and it floweth 18. foot, that you may make, docke, or carine ships with much facilitie: besides the land is most rich, trending all along on both sides in an equall plaine, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a greene border of grasse, doth make tender to the beholder her pleasant fertilitie, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow.

The woods are great, and tall, such as are spoken of in the Islands, and well watered with many fresh springs. Our men that had seene Oranoque so famous in the worlds eares, Reogrande, Loyer, & Slion, report, though they be great & goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it. Leaving our ship we went higher, till we were 7. myles higher then the salt water flowed; we marched towards the mountains we had seene, but the weather was so hot, & our labour so great, as our Captaine was contented to returne: after we had erected a crosse we left this faire land and river, in which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ship. By the way we met a Canow that much desired one of our men to go up to their Basshabes, but we knew their intents, and so turned them off; and though we had both time and provision to have discovered much more, and might have found peradventure good trade, yet because our company was but small, we would not hazzard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private, or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the intent of our adventurers so well as ours; returning by the Isles in the entry of the Sound we called them St. Georges Isles, & because on sunday we set 42 out of England, on sunday also the 16. of June we departed hence. When we had run

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30. leagues we had 40. fadom, then 70. then 100. After 2. or 3. watches more we were in 24. fadoms, where we tooke so much Cod as we did know what to doe with, and the 18. of July came to Dartmouth, and all our men as well God be thanked as when they went forth.

Thus may you see; God hath not all his gifts bestowed on all or any one, Words sweetest, and wits sharpest, courage, strength of bone; All rarities of minde and parts doe all concurre in none.

Written by James Rosier one of the Voyage.

43

THE SECOND BOOKE.

[II. 21.]

The Sixt Voyage. 1606.

To another part of Virginia, where now are Planted our English Colonies, Whom God increase and preserve: Discovered and Described by Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey.

1606. *The latitude.*

BY these former relations you may see what inconveniences still crossed those good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to finde but a Harbour, although there be so many. But this Virginia is a Country in America betweene the degrees of 34. and 45. of the North latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean: on the South lyeth Florida: on the North nova Francia: as for the West thereof, the limits are unknowne. Of all this Country we purpose not to speake, but onely of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606. And this is under the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this Country doth agree well with English constitutions, being once seasoned to the Country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes, and

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continued in health, though there were other 44 great causes, not onely to have made them sicke, but even to end their dayes, &c.

The temperature.

The Sommer is hot as in Spaine; the Winter cold as in France or England. The heat of sommer is in June, July, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the Proverbe is true, that no extreame long continueth.

In the yeare 1607. was an extraordinary frost in most of Europe, and this frost was found as extreame in Virginia. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. dayes of ill weather, other 14. dayes would be as Sommer.

The windes.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I have seldome either seene or heard in Europe. From the Southwest came the greatest gusts with thunder and heat. The North-west winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and Southeast as from the Barmudas, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not but that all the raritie of needfull fruits in Europe, may be there in great plentie, by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there Planted.

The entrances. Cape Henry.

There is but one entrance by Sea into this Country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, 18. or 20. myles broad. The cape on the South is called Cape Henry, in honour of our most noble Prince. The land white hilly sands like unto the Downes, and all along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. [II. 22.]

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The north Cape is called Cape Charles, in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke. The Isles before it, Smith's Isles, by the name of the discoverer. Within is a country that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, heaven & earth never agreed better to frame a place for 45 *The Country*. man's habitation; were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hills, plaines, valleyes, rivers, and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay, compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great & small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lyeth North and South, in which the water floweth neare 200. myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles, of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 myles. From the head of the Bay to the Northwest, the land is mountanous, and so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; so that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those mountaines. From which fall certaine brookes which after come to five principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 myles one of another.

The mountaines.

The mountaines are of divers natures: for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like Mill stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many peeces like Christall we found, as throwne downe by water from those mountaines. For in Winter they are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in some narrow valleyes, which is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures, that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, that better judgements then ours might have beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities. The vesture of the earth in most places doth manifestly prove the nature of the soyle to be lusty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth bole Armoniac, terra sigillata, and Lemnia, Fullers earth, Marle, and

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divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part *The soyle.* 46 it is a blacke sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c.

The valleyes. Plaines.

The Country is not mountanous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, & watered so conveniently with fresh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, then delight-some. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, containing some 20 some 100. some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees & weeds, being a plaine wilderness as God first made it.

The river Powhatan.

On the west side of the Bay, we sayd were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers. The first of those, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West Northwest. It is called Powhatan, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth upon it. The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neare the land, that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanke. It is navigable 150 myles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a Country inhabited by a nation they call Monacans. But where it commeth into our discovery it is Powhatan. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, shoules, &c. which makes, it past navigation any higher. Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs, that disperse themselves for best service, as do the veines of a mans body. From the South there fals into it: First, the pleasant river of Apamatuck. Next more to the East are two small rivers of Quiyoughcohanocke. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes & creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of Warraskoyac, then *The branches.* 47 [II. 23.] the river of Nandsamund, and lastly the brooke of Chisapeack. From the North side

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is the river of Chickahamania, the backe river of James Towne; another by the Cedar Isle, where we lived ten weekes upon Oysters, then a convenient harbour for Fisher boats at Kecoughtan, that so turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit; their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as Peninsulaes. The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers. They have also over those some Governour, as their King, which they call Werowances. In a Peninsula on the North side of this river are the English Planted in a place by them called James Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majestie.

James Towne. The severall Inhabitants.

The first and next the rivers mouth are the Kecoughtans, who besides their women & children, have not past 20. fighting men. The Paspaheghes (on whose land is seated James Towne, some 40 myles from the Bay) have not past 40. The river called Chickahamania neare 250. The Weanocks 100. The Arrowhatocks 30. The place called Powhatan, some 40. On the South side this river the Appamatucks have sixtie fighting men. The Quiyougcohanocks 25. The Nandsamunds 200. The Chesapeacks 100. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call Werowance, except the Chickahamanians, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called Caw-cawwassoughes. In sommer no place affordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in winter more abundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52. Sturgeons at a draught, at another 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of two foot, or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yards long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houres with one Net were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare 48 there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

R. Pamaunkee. The inhabitants.

Fourteene myles Northward from the river Powhatan, is the river Pamaunkee, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with Catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther. At

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the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South side inhabit the people of Youghtanund, who have about 60 men for warres. On the North branch Mattapament, who have 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called Pamaunkee, and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25. myles lower on the North side of this river is Werawocomoco, where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. Ten or twelve myles lower, on the South side of this river, is Chiskiack, which hath some 40 or 50 men. These, as also Apamatuck, Irrohatoock, and Powhatan are their great Kings chiefe alliance, and inhabitants. The rest his Conquests.

Payankatank, R.

Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (some 30 myles navigable) that commeth from the Inland, called Payankatanke, the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men.

Toppahanock, R. The inhabitants.

The third navigable river is called Toppahanock. (This is navigable some 130 myles) At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoacks amongst the mountaines, but they are above the place we described. Upon this river on the North side are the people Cuttatawomen, with 30 fighting men. Higher are the Moraughtacunds, with 80. Beyond them Rapahanock with 100. Far above is another Cuttatawomen with 20. On the South is the pleasant seat of Nantaughtacund having 150 men. The river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawormek, R.

The fourth river is called Patawomeke, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. It is navigable 140 myles, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from 49 *The inhabitants.* the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco & hath some 130 men, beyond them Sekacawone with 30. The Onawmanient with 100. And the

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Patawomekes more then 200. Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called Quiyough, trending Northwest, but the river it selfe turneth Northeast, and is still a navigable streame. On the Western side of this bought is Tauxenent with 40 men. On the North of this river is Secowocomoco with 40. Somewhat further Potapaco with 20. In the East part is Pamacaeack with 60. After Moyowance with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80. The river above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshadowed in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

[II. 24.] *Pawtuxunt, R.*

The fift river is called Pawtuxunt, of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fish more then elsewhere. Upon this river dwell the people called Acquintanacksuak, Pawtuxunt, and Mattapanient. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other we found most civill to give intertainment.

Bolus, R. The head of the Bay.

Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red clay resembling bole Armoniack we called it Bolus. At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides it selfe into 4. branches, the best commeth Northwest from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes journey or two up it, we could not get two myles up it with our boat for rockes. Upon it is seated the Sasquesahanocks, neare it North and by West runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Ebbe left us on shore, D *Sasquesahanock*. 50 where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some Salvages; (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not any, being a barren Country,) we went up another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the Massowomeks, with whom we had conference by signes, for we understood one

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another scarce a word: the next day we discovered the small river & people of Tockwhogh trending Eastward.

Having lost our Grapnell among the rocks of Sasquesahanocks, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but 12 men to performe this Discovery, wherein we lay above 12 weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed us, and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the Salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident, and Gods direction; nor had we a Mariner nor any had skill to trim the sayles but two saylers and my selfe, the rest being Gentlemen, or them were as ignorant in such toyle and labour. Yet necessitie in a short time by good words and examples made them doe that that caused them ever after to feare no colours. What I did with this small meanes I leave to the Reader to judge, and the Mapped I made of the Country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof. But to proceed, 60 of those Sasquesahanocks came to us with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language & attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolves, some *The description of a Sasquesahanough*. 51 have Cassacks made of Beares heads & skinnes, that a moans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastned to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleeves comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares, and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Jewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a Bird, a Deere, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones

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braines: with Bowes, Arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse. These are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefe Werowances came aboard us, and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mapped. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolves skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

[II. 25.] *Tockwhogh, R. Rapahanock, R.*

On the East side the Bay, is the river Tockwhogh, and upon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river: where they have a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is Ozinies with sixty men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river Rapahanock, neere unto which is the river Kuskarawaock, Upon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river *Kuskarawaock, R. 52 Wighcocomoco, R. Accomack, R.* Tants Wighcocomoco, & on it a people with 100 men. The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, & very rude. But they on the river Acohanock with 40 men, & they of Accomack 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of Powhatan, and speake his language, who over all those doth rule as King.

Chawoneck. The severall languages.

Southward we went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags to search for them left by Mr White. Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ Powhatans Territories. The Chawonockes, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Masawomekes, the Powhatans, the Sasquesahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuscarawaokes. All those not any

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one understandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places, and such like. In which Mappe observe this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places have beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions.

Thus have I walkt a wayless way, with uncouth pace, Which yet no Christian man did ever trace: But yet I know this not affects the minde, Which eares doth heare, as that which eyes doe finde.

Of such things which are naturally in Virginia, and how they use them.

Why there is little grasse.

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegetables, and living Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually 53 *Woods with their fruits. Elme.* turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the rancknes of the ground, which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall & straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whose barke is more white then the other, & somewhat sweetish, which being boyled, at last affords a sweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoint their heads and joynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise. There is also some Elme, some blacke Walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the Ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other. Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes; there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neare three fadome about at the foot, very straight,

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and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the Salvages are some great Mulberry trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groves. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Walnuts. Supposed Cypres. [Il. 26.] Mulberries. Chesnuts.

In some parts were found some Chesnuts, whose wild fruit equalize the best in France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy. Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plums, but the other which they call Putchamins, grow as high as a Palmeta: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe, it will draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricot.

Cherries.

They have Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. We saw some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Of 54 *Vines. Chechinquamins. Rawcomens. How they use their fruits.* vines great abundance in many parts that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but few grapes. Except by the rivers & savage habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge grapes we made neere twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French British wine, but certainly they would prove good were they well manured. There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call Messamins, they be fatte, and the juyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in wine. They have a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne. This they call Chechinquamins, which they esteeme a great daintie. They have a berry much like our Gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call Rawcomens, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they live a great part of the yeare, which they use in this manner; The Walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes,

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and Chechinquamins are dried to keepe. When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe upon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a mortar of wood, and beat it very small: that done they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call Pawcohiccora, and keepe it for their use. The fruit like Medlers they call Putchamins, they cast upon hurdles on a Mat, and preserve them as Pruines. Of their Chesnuts and Chechinquamins boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like unto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsom. There are also Cedars and Saxafras trees. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselves. Wee tryed conclusions to *Walnut milke. Gummes. Cedars. Saxafras trees.* 55 extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Berries.

In the watry valleyes groweth a Berry which they call Ocoughtanamnis very much like unto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they eat them they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. Mattoum groweth as our Bents.

Matoum.

The seed is not much unlike to Rie, though much smaller. This they use for a daintie bread buttered with deare suet.

Strawberries.

During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and June. Raspises, hurts; or a fruit that the inhabitants call Maracocks, which is a pleasant wholesome fruit much like a Lemond. Many herbes in the spring are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslain, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we used whose names we know not.

Hearbes. Rootes.

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The chiefe root they have for food is called Tockawhoughe. It groweth like a flagge in Marishes. In one day a Salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These roots are much of the greatnesse and taste of Potatoes. They use to cover a great many of them with Oke leaves and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Colepit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poyson, and being rosted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dryed in the Sunne, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreemely, and yet in sommer they use this ordinarily for bread.

[II. 27.] *Wighsacan a roote. Pacones a small roote.*

They have another roote which they call Wighsacan: as th'other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. Pocones is a small root that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red. And this they use for swellings, aches, annointing their joynts, painting their heads and garments. 56 *Musquaspen a roote.* They account it very precious, and of much worth. Musquaspen is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they use to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like.

Pellitory. Sasafrage.

There is also Pellitory of Spaine, Sasafrage, and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable.

Onyons.

In the low Marishes grow plots of Onyons, containing an Acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the toppe of ones Thumbe.

Their chiefe beasts are Deere. Aroughcun. Squirrels.

Of beasts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but amongst the rivers few. There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a badger, but useth to live on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels

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some are neare as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

Assapanick, a Squirrel flying. Opassom.

A small beast they have they call Assapanick, but we call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins, that they have beene seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An Opassom hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Under her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. A Mussascus is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske. Their Hares no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Mussascus. Beares. The Beaver.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding short. His forefeete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without haire, which to eat the Salvages esteeme a great delicate. They have many Otters, which as the Beavers they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and *Otters.* 57 *Utchunquoyes. Foxes. Dogges.* of all those beasts they use to feed when they catch them. An Utchunquoyes is like a wilde Cat. Their Foxes are like our silver haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. Their Dogges of that Country are like their Woolves; and cannot barke but howle, and the Woolves not much bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, Powlecats, Weesels, and Minkes we know they have, because we have seene many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them alive. But one thing is strange, that we could never perceive their Vermine destroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their flyes nor serpents any way pernicious, where in the South parts of America they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly.

Martins. Polcats. Weesels, and Minkes. Birds.

Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of divers sorts, as our Falconers called them: Sparrow-hawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons and Osperayes,

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but they all prey most upon fish. Their Partridges are little bigger then our Quailles. Wilde Turkeys are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a Wrenne, but few in Sommer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to us unknowne by name. But in Sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Fish. [II. 28.]

Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies, whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreys, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of three sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture of St. George his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings, and the Toadefish, which will swell 58 till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre.

The rockes.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners; for those that tooke upon them to have skill this way, tooke up the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselves in their owne vaine conceits to have beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proved as their arts and judgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeeve there are other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from Spar.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, and how they use them.

How they divide the yeare.

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They divide the yeare into five seasons. Their winter some call Popanow, the spring Cattapeuk, the sommer Cohattayough, the earing of their Corne Nepinough, the harvest and fall of leafe Taquitock. From September untill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts & sacrifice. Then have they plentie of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne, greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat.

How they prepare the ground.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the Country naturally is overgrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then doe they scotch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat up the weeds by the rootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of wheate and two of beanes. These holes they make foure foote one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant.

In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of June. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for June in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet juice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they call Assentamens, which are the same they call in Italy, Fagioli. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call Garnanses, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

How they use their Corne.

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Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a mortar of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaves of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserve that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare dish, they call Pausarowmena. Their old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a mortar. They use a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receive the flower in a platter made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water, eating the broth with the bread which they call Ponap. The groutes and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind away the branne, they boyle 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call Ustatahamen. [Il. 29.] 60 *How they use their fish and flesh.* But some more thirtie then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder, which they call Pungnough, mingling that in their meale, but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. Their fish & flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the Spanish fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it be as drie as their jerkin Beefe in the west Indies, that they may keepe it a moneth or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat.

Planted fruits.

In May also amongst their corne they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like unto a muske mellon, but lesse and worse, which they call Macocks. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue untill September. They plant also Maracocks a wild fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neare

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three parts of the yeare, they onely observe times and seasons, and live of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The Commodities in Virginia, or that may be had by Industrie.

A prooffe cattell will live well.

THE mildnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and use of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance, under that latitude or climat. Here will live any beasts, as horses, goats, sheepe, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and rivers have much marchantable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of Iron, &c.

61 *The Commodities.*

Muscovia and Polonia doe yearely receive many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope-ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like; also Swethland for Iron and Copper. France in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt. Spaine asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. Italy with Silkes and Velvets consumes our chiefe Commodities. Holland maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as uncertaine as peace or warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath Virginia the prerogative of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all those are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other Countries have it. So then here is a place, a nurse for souldiers, a practise for mariners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a

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businessse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

The numbers. [Il. 30.] *Seaven hundred men were the most were seene together when they thought to have surprised Captaine Smith.*

The land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 myles of James Towne, there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many together they have yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile. Six or seaven hundred have beene the most hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselves to have surprised mee at Pamaunkee, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their fury. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene 62 *A description of the people. The Barbers. The constitution. The disposition.* discovered, is in comparison of that yet unknowne: the people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great as the Sasquesahananocks; others very little, as the Wighcocomocoes: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their hayre is generally blacke, but few have any beards. The men weare halfe their beards shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they use their women, who with two shels will grate away the hayre, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions, agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods under a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommer. They are inconstant in every thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an injury: they seldome steale one from another, least their conjurers should reveale it,

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and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reveale their offences by conjuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leave of their husbands. Each houshold knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and most live of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are sometime covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better sort use large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakednesse, but with grasse, the leaves of trees, or such like. *The possessions. Their attire.* 63 *Their ornaments.* We have seene some use mantels made of Turkey feathers, so prettily wrought & woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shame-fast to be seene bare. They adorne themselves most with copper beads and paintings. Their women, some have their legs, hands, breasts and face cunningly imbrodered with divers workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they have 3 great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier, but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many have the whole skinne of a Hawke or some strange foule, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad Peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dried. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote Pocone brayed to powder, mixed with oyle, this they hold in sommer to preserve them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they use, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold.

Their buildings.

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Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors, of small young springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with Mats, or the barks of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine, or weather, they are as warme as stooves, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire.

[II. 31.]

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds 64 *Their lodgings. Their gardens.* covered with a Mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lie heads and points one by th'other against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house. Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groves of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder.

How they use their children.

Men, women, and children have their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of childe, yet doe they love children very dearely. To make them hardie, in the coldest mornings they them wash in the rivers, and by painting and oyntments so tanne their skinnes, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them.

The industrie of their women.

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such man-like exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman-like exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painefull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the rest of the worke.

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They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kind of burdens, and such like.

How they strike fire. The order of dyet.

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaves, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they live much upon their fishing wires; and feed on fish, Turkie, and Squirrels. In May and June they plant their fields, and live most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to amend their dyet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, 65 oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In June, July, and August, they feed upon the rootes of Tocknough berries, fish, and greene wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere & wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. Powhatan their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh upon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

How they make their bowes and arrowes. Their knives.

For fishing, hunting, and warres they use much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone, some 2 or 3 ynches long. These they use to shoot at Squirrels on trees. Another sort of arrowes they use made of Reeds. These are peece with wood, headed with splinters of christall, or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife he hath the splinter of a Reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will joynt a Deere, or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a jelly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water.

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Their Targets and Swords.

For their warres also they use Targets that are round and made of the barks of trees, and a sword of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they use for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long stone sharpned at both ends, used in the same manner. This they were wont to use also for hatchets, but now by trucking they have plentie of the same forme of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes. E

66 *Their Boats.* [II. 32.] *How they spin. Their fish-hookes.*

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they have made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignesse. In stead of Oares, they use Paddles and stickes, with which they will row faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women use to spin the barks of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kind of grasse they call Pemmenaw, of these they make a thread very even and readily. This thread serveth for many uses. As about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantitie as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fish-hooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bait. They use also long arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of Accawmack use staves like unto Javelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They have also many artificiall wires, in which they get abundance of fish.

How they hunt.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places

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most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries. At their huntings they leave their habitations, and reduce themselves into companies, as the Tartars doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling up towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth here which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these deserts, 67 some 3 or 4 dayes journey without habitation. Their hunting houses are like unto Arbours covered with Mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they use. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excellling in those qualities, they get their wives. Fortie yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, & betwixt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They use also to drive them into some narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage; and so force them into the river, where with their boats they have Ambuscadoes to kill them. When they have shot a Deere by land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud, and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these huntings they found me in the discovery of the head of the river of Chickahamania, where they slew my men, and tooke me prisoner in a Bogmire, where I saw those exercises, and gathered these Observations.

One Salvage hunting alone.

One Salvage hunting alone, useth the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne by stalking, he approacheth the Deere, creeping on

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the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or stand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot 68 him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

Their Consultations. [II. 33.] *Their enemies.*

When they intend any warres, the Werowances usually have the advice of their Priests and Conjurers, and their allies, and ancient friends, but chiefly the Priests determine their resolution. Every Werowance, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They have many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Rasauweak, unto whom the Mowhemenchughes, the Massinnacacks, the Monahassanughs, the Monasickapanoughs, and other nations pay tributes. Upon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributors the Tauxanias, the Shackaconias, the Ontponeas, the Tegninateos, the Whonkenteaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassianungaes, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for the most part of wild beasts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the Massawomekes, upon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of Cannada, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These Massawomekes are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those rivers, especially the Pattawomekes, the Pautuxuntes, the Sasquesahanocks, the Tockwoughes are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me, and my company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subjection. Which I concluded to effect. But the councill then present emulating my successe, would not thinke it fit to spare me fortie men

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Massawomekes. Their offer of subjection. 69 to be hazzarded in those unknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie. Seaven boats full of these Massawomekes wee encountred at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobacco pipes, Platters, Bowes, and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees, sowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated upon some great water.

Against all these enemies the Powhatans are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagemes, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the Werowances women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captives. They have a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it us, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient.

Their manner of Battell.

Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselves into two Companies, neare a hundred in a company. The one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So the Reare could shoot as conveniently as the Front. Having thus pitched the fields: from either part went a messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape upon their submission in two dayes after should live, but their wives and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Serjeant, and in the Reare an Officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they onely use in Warres. Upon the first flight of arrowes they gave such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall hell-hounds could not have made them 70 more terrible. When they had spent their arrowes, they joyned together prettily, charging and retyring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they

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caught their enemies by the hayre of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enemy with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish. The Monacans decreasing, the Powhatans charged them in the forme of a halfe Moone; they unwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their Ambuscadoes, on whom they led them very cunningly. The Monacans disperse themselves among the fresh men, whereupon the Powhatans retired, with all speed to their seconds; which the Monacans seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voyces, and gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

[II. 34.] *Their Musicke.*

For their Musicke they use a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they have a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat upon it as upon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattles made of small gourds, or Pumpeons shels. Of these they have Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. These mingled with their voyces sometimes twenty or thirtie together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man. If any great commander arrive at the habitation of Werowance, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit upon. Upon another right opposite they sit themselves. Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chieftest men make an Oration, testifying their love. Which they doe with such *Their entertainment.* 71 vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or stark mad. Such victuall as they have, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with Pocones and oyle, to be his bed-fellow.

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Their trade.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as skins, foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls are their chiefest riches.

Their Phisicke. Their Chirurgery.

Every spring they make themselves sicke with drinking the juyce of a roote they call Wighsacan, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure dayes after, they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a Stove in the forme of a Dove-house with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweat extreamey. For swellings also they use small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloves, which pricking on the grieffe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this roote Wighsacan they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling, or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old ulcers, or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them. They have many professed Phisicians, who with their charmes and Rattles, with an infernall rout of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inward grieffe from their navels, or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleevd any Plaister would heale any hurt.

But 'tis not alwayes in Phisicians skill, To heale the Patient that is sicke and ill: For sometimes sicknesse on the Patients part, Proves stronger farre then all Phisicians art.

Their charms to cure. 72

Of their Religion.

Their God. [Il. 35.]

THERE is yet in Virginia no place discovered to be so Savage, in which they have not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that are able to doe them hurt beyond

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their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Devill. Him they call Okee, and serve him more of feare then love. They say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they have his image evill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suit with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried upon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their joynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they use to weare, their inwards they stufte with copper beads, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheets. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings have, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

How they bury their Kings. Their ordinary burials.

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpse being lapped in skins and mats with their jewels, they lay them upon stickes in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe sit twenty-foure houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling, as may expresse their great passions.

Their Temples.

In every Territory of a Werowance is a Temple and a Priest, two or three or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamaunkee, neare unto which is a house, Temple, or place of Powhatans.

Upon the top of certaine red sandy hills in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbourwise, after their building. This place they count so

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holy as that but the Priests & Kings dare come into them; nor the Salvages dare not goe up the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones into the river, for feare their Okee should be offended and revenged of them.

Thus, Feare was the first their Gods begot: Till feare began, their Gods were not.

Their ornaments for their Priests.

In this place commonly are resident seaven Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their jewels at. The ornaments of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen, or 16, or more snakes skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of Weesels and other Vermines skins a good many. All these they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crowne of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as ugly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattle, some base, some smaller. Their devotion was most in songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest give a short groane.

Thus seeke they in deepe foolishnesse, To climbe the height of happinesse.

74 The times of solemnities. [Il. 36.]

It could not be perceived that they keepe any day as more holy then other; But onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire, in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shouts together, foure or five houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the

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while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dauncings ended they goe to their Feasts.

Through God begetting feare, Mans blinded minde did reare A hell-god to the ghosts; A heaven-god to the hoasts; Yea God unto the Seas: Feare did create all these.

Their conjurations.

They have also divers conjurations, one they made when I was their prisoner; of which hereafter you shall reade at large.

Their altars.

They have also certaine Altar stones they call Pawcorances, but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they have had any extraordinary accident, or incounter. And as you travell, at those stones they will tell you the cause why they were there erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities. Upon these they offer bloud, Deere suet, and Tobacco. This they doe when they returne from the Warres, from hunting, and upon many other occasions. They have also another superstition that they use in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea coasts. Their Conjurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcryes and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, Pocones, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they *Sacrifices to the water*. They thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to use.

Their solemn Sacrifices of children, which they call Black-boyes.

In some part of the Country they have yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at Quiyoughcohanock some ten myles from James Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeares of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. In the afternoone they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them

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all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane between them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch these children: so every one of the five went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Bastinados, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out very passionately, providing mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches & boughs, with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hayre with the leaves. What els was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company. The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not all dead, but that the Okee or Divell did sucke the blood from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the rest were kept in the wilderness by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse *Those Black-boyes are made so mad with a kind of drinke, that they will doe any mischief, at the command of their Keepers.* 76 with any, and of these were made their Priests and Conjurers. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their Okee or Devill, and all their other Quiyoughcosughes, which are their other Gods, would let them have no Deere, Turkeys, Corne, nor fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

Their resurrection. [II. 37.]

They thinke that their Werowances and Priests which they also esteeme Quiyoughcosughes, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their Okee, with their heads painted with oyle and Pocones, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall have beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their

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Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not live after death, but rot in their graves like dead dogs.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our best endeavours, chiefly with the Werowance of Quiyoughcohanock, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevaile, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeve that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes & Arrowes, and many times did send to me to James Towne, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Devill, not knowing their Creator; and we had not language sufficient, so plainly to expresse it as make them understand it; which God grant they may.

For, Religion 'tis that doth distinguish us, From their bruit humor, well we may it know; That can with understanding argue thus, Our God is truth, but they cannot doe so.

77

Of the manner of the Virginians Government.

ALTHOUGH the Country people be very barbarous, yet have they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subjection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill. The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchiall government, one as Emperour ruleth over many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe ruler is called Powhatan, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called Powhatan. But his proper name is Wahunsonacock. Some Countries he hath which have beene his ancestors, and came unto him by inheritance, as the Country called Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamaunkee, Youghtanund, and Mattapanient. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report have beene his severall Conquests. In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30. some 40. yards long, and

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at every house provision for his entertainment according to the time. At Werowcomoco on the Northside of the river Pamaunkee, was his residence, when I was delivered him prisoner, some 14 myles from James Towne, where for the most part, he was resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himselfe to Orapakes, in the desert betwixt Chickahamanta and Youghtanund. He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age neare sixtie; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Countrey doth afford. Every night upon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels, each from other a flight shoot, and at every halle houre one from the Corps du guard doth hollow, shaking his lips with his finger betweene them; unto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand: if any faile, *A description of Powhatan. His attendance and watch.* 78 they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreemely.

His treasury.

A myle from Orapakes in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinde of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, which he storeth up against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man, all made evill favouredly, according to their best workemanship.

[II. 38.] *His wives.*

He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand and another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in stead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dried

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again. His kingdomes descend not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

His successors. Their authoritie.

He nor any of his people understand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must be obeyed: not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour Kings whom they call Werowances, are tyed to rule by customes, and have power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word Werowance, which we call and 79 *The tenor of their lands. His manner of punishments.* construe for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more then one commander, which commonly they call Werowance, or Caucorouse, which is Captaine. They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werrowance Powhatan, unto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration, all these people doe obey this Powhatan. For at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible & tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, he caused certaine male-factors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great store of burning coales, they rake these coales round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid upon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Mussell shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his joynts one after another, ever casting what they cut of into the fire; then doth he proceed

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with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselves reported they executed George Cassen. Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. We have seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men have beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never cry nor complained. And he made a woman for playing the whore, sit upon a great stone, on her bare breech twenty-foure houres, 80 onely with corne and water, every three dayes, till nine dayes were past, yet he loved her exceedingly: notwithstanding there are common whores by profession.

In the yeare 1608, he surprised the people of Payankatank his neare neighbours and subjects. The occasion was to us unknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambuscadoes environed all their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoyle, twenty-foure men they slew, the long haire of the one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, and the children, and the Werowance. All these they presented to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made ostentation of his triumph at Werowocomoco, where he intended to have done as much to mee and my company.

[II. 39.]

And this is as much as my memory can call to minde worthy of note; which I have purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of Virginia. Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can finde none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce ever ten myles from James Towne, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor ever did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experience in Martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor

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such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie, as they expected, had little 81 or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for England. For the Country was to them a misery, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to passe to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mysterie of the businesse in themselves, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselves; yet all mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises, as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded upon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the money and meanes have still miscarried: yet they ever returning, and the planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, still to maintaine their vaine glory and estimation, from time to time have used such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest living is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in Virginia meerey projecting, verball, and idle contemplators, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had lived two or three yeares in Virginia, lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the Peninsula, or Pallisadoes of James Towne, and those witty spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in England, to get their passes. Thus from the clamors, and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in Virginia: and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to us in Virginia, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twentie F 82 or thirtie of the best onely preserved in Christianitie by their industry the idle livers of

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neare two hundred of the rest: who living neere ten moneths of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded, notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the Salvages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but seaven or eight men, yet subjected the salvages to our desired obedience, and received contribution from thirtie five of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subjects to his Majestie, so long after as I did governe there, untill I left the Countrey: since, how they have revolted, the Countrey lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses hath succeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from Virginia, that have beene more diligent in such Observations.

John Smith writ this with his owne hand.

[II. 40.]

Because many doe desire to know the manner of their Language, I have inserted these few words.

KA katorawinos yowo.

What call you this.

Nemarough, a man.

Grenepo, a woman.

Marowanchesso, a boy.

Yehawkans, Houses.

Matchcores, Skins, or garments.

Mockasins, Shooes.

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Tussan, Beds.

Pokatawer, Fire.

Attawp, A bow.

Attonce, Arrowes.

Monacookes, Swords.

Aumouhhowgh, A Target.

Pawcussacks, Gunnes.

Tomahacks, Axes.

Tockahacks, Pickaxes.

Pamesacks, Knives.

Accowprets, Sheares.

Pawpecones, Pipes.

Mattassin, Copper.

Ussawassin, Iron, Brass, Silver, or any white mettall.

Musses, Woods.

Attasskuss, Leaves, weeds, or grasse.

Chepsin, Land.

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Shacquohocan, A stone.

Wepenter, A cookold.

Suckahanna, Water.

Noughmass, Fish.

Copotone, Sturgeon.

Weghshaughes, Flesh.

Sawwehone, Bloud.

Netoppew, Friends.

Marrapough, Enemies.

Maskapow, the worst of the enemies.

Mawchick chammay, The best of friends.

Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan uttasantasough, In how many daies will there come hither any more English Ships.

Their Numbers.

Necut, 1. Ningh, 2. Nuff, 3. Yowgh, 4. Paranske, 5. Comotinch, 6. Toppawoss, 7.

Nusswash, 8, Kekatawgh, 9. Kaskeke, 10.

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.

Case, how many.

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Ningsapooeksu, 20.

Nussapooeksu, 30.

Yowghapooeksu, 40.

Parankestassapooeksu, 50.

Comatinchtassapooeksu, 60.

Nussswashtassapooeksu, 70.

Kekataughtassapooeksu, 90.

Necuttoughtysinough, 100.

Necuttweunquaough, 1000.

Rawcosowghs, Dayes.

Keskowghes, Sunnes.

Toppquough, Nights.

Nepawweshowghs, Moones.

Pawpaxsoughes, Yeares.

Pummahumps, Starres.

Osies, Heavens.

Okees, Gods.

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Quiyoughcosoughs, Pettie Gods, and their affinities.

Righcomoughes, Deaths.

Kekughes, Lives.

Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaqueremecher, I am very hungry? what shall I eate?

Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan, Where dwels Powhatan.

Mache, nehiegh yourowgh, Orapaks, Now he dwels a great way hence at Orapaks.

Vittapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper Werowacomoco, You lie, he staid ever at Werowacomoco.

Kator nehiegh mattagh neer uttapitchewayne, Truely he is there I doe not lie.

Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekaten wawgh peyaquaugh, Run you then to the King Mawmarynough and bid him come hither.

84

Utteke, e peya weyack wighwhip, Get you gone, & come againe quickly.

Kekaten Pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I will give her white Beads to make her a Chaine.

FINIS.

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THE THIRD BOOKE.

[III. 41.]

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The Proceedings And Accidents of The English Colony in Virginia, Extracted from the Authors following, by William Simons, Doctour of Divinitie.

Chapter I.

1606. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

IT might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, & the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will easily understand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

The first mover of the action.

Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine John Smith, Mr. Edward-maria Wingfield, Mr. Robert Hunt, and divers others, who depended a yeare upon his projects, but 86 nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Majestie by his letters patents, gave commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine Christopher Newport, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne untill they arrived in Virginia.

Orders for government.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time, Mr. Hunt our Preacher, was

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so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

[III. 42.]

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at Dominica; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selves amongst these west-India Isles; in Gwardalupa we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called Monica, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In Mevis, *Monica an unfrequented Isle full of Birds. 87 Their first landing.* Mona, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time, where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land, so that Captaine Ratliffe (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare up the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that coast. The first land they made they called Cape Henry; where thirtie of them recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall,

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were named to be the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jury, but determined by the major part of the Councill, in which the President had two voyces. Untill the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councill was sworne, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councill as the rest.

Matters of government

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councill contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clabbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited us kindly. The Presidents overweening jealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall, Newport, Smith, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers *The discovery of the Falles & Powhatan*. 88 small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Isles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans, to this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of James towne, they gave just cause of jealousie, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

The Fort assaulted by the Salvages.

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Hereupon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, & our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration. Six weekes beine spent in this manner, Captaine Newport (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the ships. Now Captaine Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himselfe King, [III. 43.] 89 that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a prisoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in England to receive a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the uttermost of their crueltie, he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress their envies, yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many untruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such unjust Commanders, that the President was adjudged to give him 200l. so that all he had was seized upon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the Store for the generall use of the Colony. Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Mr. Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captaine Smith to be admitted of the Councell; the next day all received the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and

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Captaine Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in Virginia 100. the 15 of June 1607.

Captain Newports returne for England.

By this observe; Good men did ne'r their Countries ruine bring. But when evill men shall injuries beginne; Not caring to corrupt and violate The judgements-seats for their owne Lucr's sakes Then looke that Country cannot long have peace, Though for the present it have rest and ease.

90 1607. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.* III. 44.]

The names of them that were the first Planters, were these following.

Councel.

Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield.

Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll.

Captaine John Smith.

Captaine John Ratliffe.

Captaine John Martin.

Captaine George Kendall.

Gent.

Mr. Robert Hunt Preacher.

Mr. George Percie.

Anthony Gosnoll.

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George Flower.

Cap. Gabriell Archer.

Robert Fenton.

Robert Ford.

William Bruster.

Edward Harrington.

Dru Pickhouse.

Thomas Jacob.

John Brookes.

Ellis Kingston.

Thomas Sands.

Benjamin Beast.

Jehu Robinson.

Thomas Mouton.

Eustace Clovill.

Stephen Halthrop.

Kellam Throgmorton.

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Edward Morish.

Nathaniell Powell.

Edward Browne.

Robert Behethland.

John Penington.

Jeremy Alicock.

George Walker.

Thomas Studley.

Richard Crofts.

Nicholas Houlgrave.

Thomas Webbe.

John Waller.

John Short.

William Tankard.

William Smethes.

Francis Snarsbrough.

Richard Simons.

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Edward Brookes.

Richard Dixon.

John Martin.

Roger Cooke.

Anthony Gosnold.

Tho: Wotton, Chirurg.

John Stevenson.

Thomas Gore.

Henry Adling.

Francis Midwinter.

Richard Frith.

Carpenters.

Edward Pising.

Thomas Emry.

William Laxon.

Robert Small.

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Labourers.

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John Laydon.

William Cassen.

George Cassen.

Thomas Cassen.

William Rodes.

William White.

Jam: Read, Blacksmith.

Jonas Profit, Sailer.

Tho: Cowper, Barber.

Will: Garret, Bricklayer.

Samuell Collier, boy.

Nat. Pecoock, boy.

Old Edward.

Henry Tavin.

George Goulding.

John Dods.

William Johnson.

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William Unger.

Edward Brinto, Mason.

William Love, Taylor.

Nic: Scot, Drum.

Wil: Wilkinson, Chirurg.

James Brumfield, boy.

Richard Mutton, boy.

With divers others to the number of 100.

Chap. II. What happened till the first supply.

The occasion of sicknesse.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst us could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed us. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this; whilst the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for money, Saxefras, fures, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might have beene canonized for Saints; But our President would never have beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private, Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, Aquavitæ, *The Sailers abuses.* 92 Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so

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much bran then corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre: with this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakned us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped, lived upon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliffe in his place, (Gosnoll being, dead) Kendall deposed, Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliffe was by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the souldiers recovered, with the skilfull diligence of Mr. Thomas Wotton our Chirurgian generall. But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indevours, in that desperate extremitie so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

A bad President. Plentie unexpected. [III. 45.]

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our owne, what could be thought fitting or necessary we had, but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to live, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we 93 were at Sea five moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time, and season to plant, by the unskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that understood not at all, what they undertooke.

Such actions have ever since the worlds beginning beene subject to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing so difficult as to establish a

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Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so untoward as neither doe well themselves, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

The building of James Towne.

The new President and Martin, being little beloved, of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine Smith: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the Shallop to search the Country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but six or seaven in company he went downe the river to Kecoughtan, where at first they scorned him, as a famished man, and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing, to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore, whereat they all fled into the woods. So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of corne: much adoe he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from present taking of it, expecting as it hapned *The beginning of Trade abroad.* 94 that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their Okee (which was an Idoll made of skinned, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner being well armed, with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly received them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay

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sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their Quiyoughkasoucks to offer peace, and redeeme their Okee. Smith told them, if onely six of them would come unarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their Okee, and give them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkeys, wild foule, bread, and what they had, singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed. In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of Warraskoyack.

Thus God unboundlesse by his power, Made them thus kind, would us devour.

Amoris, a Salvage his best friend slaine for loving us. The Discovery of Chickahamine.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. journies and discovered the people of Chickahamania: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelessly spent. Wingfield and Kendall living in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of Smith, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small love to Martins never mending sicknes, strengthened themselves with the sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes aboard the Pinnace, [III. 46.] 95 *Another project to abandon the country.* (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for England. Smith unexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the river, which action cost the life of captaine Kendall. These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good judgement will conclude, at were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The President and captaine Archer not long after intended also to have abandoned the country, which project also was curbed, and suppressed by Smith. The Spaniard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of

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Come in the river of Chickahamania where hundreds of Salvages in divers places stood with baskets expecting his coming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as far as we could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England. But our Comædies never endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the Councill, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sunder he made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went up higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government, gave both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed 96 not to have cut of the boat and all the rest. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his * two men shine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall, who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them bee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner. When this newes came to James towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued. Sixe or seven weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and conjurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne Quiyouckosucks. The manner how they used and delivered him, is as followeth.

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* *Jehu Robinson and Thomas Emry slaine.*

Captaine Smith taken prisoner.

The Salvages having drawne from George Cassen whether Captaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee, who in divisions searching the turnings of the river, found Robinson and Emry by the fire side, those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that used the Salvage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being shine and divers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, slipped up to the middle in an oasie creeke & his Salvage with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs. He demanding [Ill. 47.] 97 for their Captaine, they shewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvelled at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Jewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding up the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used.

The order they observed in their triumph.

Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselves all in fyle, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine Smith was led after

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him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remove as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him, the souldiers first all in fyle performed the forme of a Bissom so well as could be, and on each flanke, officers as Serjeants to see them keepe their orders. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselves in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace; their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and Pocones mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dried, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snaks tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while Smith and the King stood in the midst guarded, as before is said, and after three dances they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would have served twentie men, I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, & reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one Maocassater brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes Smith had given him at his first arrivall in Virginia.

How he should have beene slaine at Orapacks.

Two dayes after a man would have slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. Smith told them that at James towne he had a water would doe it, if they would

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let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to assault James towne, craving his advice, and for recompence he should have life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great-gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according 99 to his request they went to James towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

How he saved James towne from being surprised. [III.48.]

But when they came to Jame towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had told them they should receive an answer, and such things as he had promised them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake: then they led him to the Youthtanunds, the Mattapanients, the Payankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds, and Onawmanients upon the rivers of Raphanock, and Patawomek, over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunkee, where they entertained him with most strange and fearefulle Conjurations; As if neare led to hell, Amongst the Devils to dwell.

How they did Conjure him at Pamaunkee.

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation,

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and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like 100 Mutchato's, along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe five wheat cornes: then straying his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gave a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they used this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the middest. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Opitchapam the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to Opechancanoughs, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

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But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes, Of bodies strange,
and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.

How Powhatan entertained him. [Ill. 49.]

At last they brought him to Meronocomo, where was Powhatan their Emperor. Here more
then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a
monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries.
Before a fire upon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of
Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench
of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind
them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their
heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great
chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people
gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to
wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry
them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation
was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then
as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head,
and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest
daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne
upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live
to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of
all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes,
bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

How Pocahontas saved his life.

They say he bore a pleasant shew, But sure his heart was sad.

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For who can pleasant be, and rest, That lives in feare and dread: And having life suspected, doth It still suspected lead.

How Powhatan sent him to James Towne.

Two dayes after, Powhatan having disguised himselfe in the most fearefull manner he could, caused Capt. Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devill then a man with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to James towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would give him the Country of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquoud. So to James towne with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quarterd in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne Barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where Smith having used the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed Rawhunt, Powhatans trusty servant two demi-Culverings & a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toys; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in generall full content. Now in James Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which *The third project to abandon the Countrey.* 103 with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sinke. Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to have put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, pretending the fault was his that

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had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England. Now ever once in foure or five dayes, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their lives, that els for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe, The sweete asswager of all other grieffe.

[III. 50.] *A true prooffe of Gods love to the action.*

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bountie of Powhatan, (which till that time was unknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all mens feare was abandoned. Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indeavour: and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition. And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to have any mention made of those inormities, let them peruse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissentions have accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserve a more worthy respect.

104 *Of two evils the lesse was chosen.*

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine Smith, to have concluded with any of those severall projects, to have abandoned the Countrey, with some ten or twelve of them, who were called the better sort, and have left Mr. Hunt our Preacher, Master Anthony Gosnoll, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and

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some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Country;) or starve himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserve the action, and save all their lives; I leave to the censure of all honest men to consider. But We men imagine in our Jolitie, That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be. But then anone wee alter this againe, If happily wee feele the sence of paine; For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.

Written by Thomas Studley, the first Cape Merchant in Virginia, Robert Fenton, Edward Harrington, and J. S.

Chap. III. The Arrivall of the first supply, with their Proceedings, and the Ships returne.

ALL this time our care was not so much to abandon the Countrey; but the Treasurer and Councell in England, were as diligent & carefull to supply us. Two good ships they sent us, with neare a hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and us; The one commanded by Captaine Newport: the other by Captaine Francis Nelson, an

Matoaks a?s Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince. Pow?alan Emperur of Ananough a?s virginia couverted and in the Christian faith, and wife to the w?r.? M??oh Ro?ff.

105 *The Phoenix from Cape Henry forced to the West Indies.* honest man, and an expert Marriner. But such was the lewardnesse of his Ship (that though he was within the sight of Cape Henry) by stormy contrary winds was he forced so farre to Sea, that the West Indies was the next land, for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Newport got in and arrived at James Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith. To whom the Salvages, as is sayd, every other day repaired, with such provisions that sufficiently did serve them from hand to mouth: part alwayes they brought him as Presents

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from their Kings, or Pocahontas; the rest he as their Market Clarke set the price himselfe, how they should sell: so he had enchanted these poore soules being their prisoner; and now Newport, whom he called his Father arriving, neare as directly as he foretold, they esteemed him as an Oracle, and had them at that submission he might command them what he listed. That God that created all things they knew he adored for his God: they would also in their discourses tearme the God of Captaine Smith.

[III. 51.] *Their opinion of our God.*

Thus the Almightye was the bringer on, The guide, path, terme, all which was God alone.

But the President and Councell so much envied his estimation among the Salvages, (though we all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof,) that they wrought it into the Salvages understandings (by their great bounty in giving foure times more for their commodities then Smith appointed) that their greatnesse and authoritie as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie. Now the arrivall of this first supply so overjoyed us, that wee could not devise too much to please the Marriners. We gave them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sould us for an ounce: thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of the greatnesse of Capt. Newport, (wherewith Smith 106 *Smiths revisiting Powhatan.* had possessed Powhatan) especially by the great presents Newport often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinnacle to goe and visit him: so that this great Savage desired also to see him. A great coyle there was to set him forward. When he went he was accompanied with Captaine Smith, & Mr. Scrivener, a very wise understanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Councell, with thirtie or fortie chosen men for their guard. Arriving at Werowocomoco, Newports conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and suspitions of trecheries, which Smith to make appeare was needlesse, with twentie men well appointed, undertooke to encounter the worst that could happen: Knowing All is but one, and selfe-same hand, that thus Both one while scourgeth, and that helpeth us.

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Gent.

Nathaniell Powell,

Robert Behethland.

Michell Phittiplace.

William Phittiplace.

Anthony Gosnoll.

Richard Wyffin.

John Taverner.

William Dyer.

Thomas Coe.

Thomas Hope.

Anas Todkill.

These, with nine others (whose names I have forgotten) comming a-shore, landed amongst a many of creekes, over which they were to passe such poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches, thrust in the ose, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were but traps. Which caused Smith to make diverse Salvages goe over first, keeping some of the chiefe as hostage till halfe his men were passed, to make a guard for himselfe and the rest. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne. Where Powhatan strained himselfe to the utmost of his greatnesse to entertaine them, with great shouts of joy, *Powhatan*

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his entertainment. 107 [III. 52.] Orations of protestations; and with the most plenty of victualls he could provide to feast them. Sitting upon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbrodered (after their rude manner with pearle and white Beads) his attyre a faire robe of skinnes as large as an Irish mantell: at his head and feete a handsome young woman: on each side his house sat twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about each of their neckes. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbour-like house, and more then fortie platters of fine bread stood as a guard in two fyles on each side the doore. Foure or five hundred people made a guard behinde them for our passage; and Proclamation was made, none upon paine of death to presume to doe us any wrong or discourtesie. With many pretty Discourses to renew their old acquaintance, this great King and our Captaine spent the time, till the ebbe left our Barge aground. Then renewing their feasts with feates, dauncing and singing, and such like mirth, we quartered that night with Powhatan. The next day Newport came a shore and received as much content as those people could give him: a boy named Thomas Salvage was then given unto Powhatan, whom Newport called his sonne; for whom Powhatan gave him Namontack his trustie servant, and one of a shrewd, subtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes more we spent in feasting, dauncing, and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made us all admire his naturall gifts, considering his education. As scorning to trade as his subjects did; he bespake Newport in this manner.

The exchange of a Christian for a Salvage. Powhatans speech.

Captaine Newport it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence give you what I thinke fitting their value. Captaine Smith being our interpreter, regarding Newport as his father, knowing best the disposition of 108 *Differences of opinions*. Powhatan, tould us his intent was but onely to cheate us; yet Captaine Newport thinking to out brave this Salvage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with his bountie, as to have what he

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listed, it so hapned, that Powhatan having his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, that I thinke it better cheape in Spaine: for we had not foure bushells for that we expected to have twentie hogsheads. This bred some unkindnesse betweene our two Captaines; Newport seeking to please the unsatiabie desire of the Salvage, Smith to cause the Salvage to please him; but smothering his distast to avoyd the Salvages suspition, glanced in the eyes of Powhatan many trifles, who fixed his humor upon a few blew beades. A long time he importunately desired them, but Smith seemed so much the more to affect them, as being composed of a most rare substance of the colour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greatest kings in the world. This made him halfe madde to be the owner of such strange Jewells: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beades, he brought over my king for 2. or 300. Bushells of corne; yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of Opechankanough king of Pamaunkee, whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads, which grew by this meanes, of that estimation, that none durst weare any of them but their great kings, their wives and children. And so we returned all well to James towne, where this new supply being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired their quarters and so the towne, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallisado's, (though eight or ten yards distant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision. Good Master Hunt our Preacher lost all his Library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none never heard him repine at his losse. This happned in the winter in that extreame frost, 1607. Now though we had victuall sufficient I meane onely of Oatmeale, meale and corne, yet the Ship staying *James towne burnt. A ship Idely loytering 14. weekes.* 109 14. weekes when shee might as wel have beene gone in 14. dayes, spent a great part of that, and neare all the rest that was sent to be landed. When they departed what there discretion could spare us, to make a little poore meale or two, we called feastes, to relish our mouthes: of each somewhat they left us, yet I must confesse, those that had either money, spare clothes credit to give billes of paiment, gold rings, furs, or any such commodities, were ever welcome to this removing taverne, such was our patience to obey such vile Commanders, and buy our owne provisions at 15 times the value, suffering

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them feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast, least we should incurre the censure of factious and seditious persons: and then leakage, shiprats, and other casualities occasioned them losse, but the vessels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receive with all our hearts to make up the account, highly commending their providence for preserving that, least they should discourage any more to come to us. Now for all this plenty our ordynary was but meale and water, so that this great charge little releevd our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter cold frost and those defects, more then halfe of us dyed; I cannot deny but both Smith and Skrivener did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the major part, that there hornes were to short. But the worst was our guilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaves in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands least they should by there art make gold of his bones: little neede there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, there wages run on, our victualls consume 14. weekes, that the Mariners might say, they did helpe to build such a golden Church that we can say the raine washed neere to nothing in 14. dayes. Were it that captaine Smith would not applaude all those golden inventions, because they admitted him [III. 53.] *The effect of meere Verbalists. A needlesse charge.* 110 not to the sight of their trialls nor golden consultations, I know not; but I have heard him oft question with Captaine Martin & tell him, except he could shew him a more substantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their dirty skill, breathing out these and many other passions, never any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt. Till then we never accounted, Captaine Newport a refiner, who being ready to set saile for England, & we not having any use of Parliaments, Plaies, Petitions, Admiralls, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Justices of peace, sent Master Wingfield and Captaine Archer home with him, that had ingrossed all those titles, to seeke some better place of employment.

A returne to England.

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Oh cursed gold those, hunger-starved movers, To what misfortunes lead'st thou all those lovers! For all the China wealth, nor Indies can Suffice the minde of an av'ritious man.

Chap. III. The Arrivall of the Phœnix; her returne; and other Accidents.

The authoritie now consisting in Captaine Martin, and the still sickly President, the sale of the Stores commodities maintained his estate, as an inheritable renew. The spring approaching, and the Ship departing, Mr. Scrivener and Captaine Smith divided betwixt them the rebuilding James towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields; planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Store house. All men thus busie at their severall labours, Master Nelson arrived with his lost Phœnix; lost (I say) for that we all deemed him lost. *The rebuilding James Towne.* 111 Landing safely all his men, (so well he had managed his ill hap,) causing the Indian Isles to feede his company, that his victuall to that we had gotten, as is said before, was neare after our allowance sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had not any thing but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a Marriner) caused us admire him: we would not have wished more then he did for us. Now to relade this ship with some good tydings, the President (not holding it stood with the dignitie of his place to leave the Fort) gave order to Captaine Smith to discover and search the commodities of the Monacans Countrey beyond the Falls. Sixtie able men was allotted them, the which within six dayes, Smith had so well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whom they should incounter: yet so unseasonable was the time, and so opposit was Captaine Martin to any thing, but onely to fraught this ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine Smith rather desired to relade her with Cedar, (which was a present dispatch) then either with durt, or the hopes and reports of an uncertaine discovery, which he would performe when they had lesse charge and more leisure.

Sixtie appointed to discover the Monacans. [III. 54.]

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But, The God of Heav'n, He eas'ly can Immortalize a mortall man, With glory and with fame. The same God, ev'n as eas'ly may Afflict a mortall man, I say, With sorrow and with shame.

Whilst the conclusion was a resolving, this hapned.

An ill example to sell swords to Salvages.

Powhatan (to expresse his love to Newport) when he departed, presented him with twentie Turkeys, conditionally to returne him twentie swords, which immediately was sent him; now after his departure he presented Captaine Smith with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not sending such weapons as he desired, he caused his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At last by ambuscadoes at our very Ports 112 *The Presidents weaknesse. Smiths attempt to suppress the Salvages insolencies.* they would take them perforce, surprise us at worke, or any way; which was so long permitted, they became so insolent there was no rule; the command from England was so strait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then peace-breakers. This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine Smith, who without farther deliberation gave them such an incounter, as some he so hunted up and downe the Isle, some he so terrified with whipping, beating, and imprisonment, as for revenge they surprised two of our forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force Smith to redeliver seven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained prisoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he sallied out amongst them, and in lesse then an houre, he so hampered their insolencies, they brought them his two men, desiring peace without any further composition for their prisoners. Those he examined, and caused them all beleeve, by severall vollies of shot one of their companions was shot to death, because they would not confesse their intents and plotters of those villanies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by Powhatan to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats, with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found most true and

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apparant: yet he sent his messengers, and his dearest daughter Pocahontas with presents to excuse him of the injuries done by some rash untoward Captaines his subjects, desiring their liberties for this time, with the assurance of his love for ever. After Smith had given the prisoners what correction he thought fit, used them well a day or two after, & then delivered them Pocahontas, for whose sake onely he fayned to have saved their lives, and gave them libertie. The patient Councill that nothing would move to warre with the Salvages, would gladly have wrangled with Captaine Smith for his crueltie, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare *Powhatans excuse*. 113 and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them; where before, wee had sometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very seldome a weeke, but we had some trecherous villany or other.

A ship fraught with Cedar.

The fraught of this Ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine Smith, she was quickly reladed: Master Scrivener was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort; the Ship being ready to set sayle, Captaine Martin being alwayes very sickly, and unserviceable, and desirous to injoy the credit of his supposed Art of finding the golden Mine, was most willingly admitted to returne for England. For He hath not fill'd his lapp, That still doth hold it oap.

From the writings of Thomas Studley, and Anas Todkill.

[III. 55.] 1608. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

Their Names that were landed in this Supply.

Mathew Scrivener appointed to be one of the Councill.

Gent.

Michaell Phittiplace.

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William Phittiplace.

Ralph Morton.

Richard Wyffing.

John Taverner.

William Cantrell.

Robert Barnes.

Richard Fetherstone.

George Hill.

George Pretty.

Nathaniell Causy.

Peter Pory.

Robert Cutler.

Michaell Sicklemore.

William Bentley.

Thomas Coe.

Doctor Russell.

Jeffrey Abbot.

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Edward Gurgana.

Richard Worley.

Timothy Leeds.

Richard Killingbeck.

William Spence.

Richard Prodger.

Richard Pots.

Richard Mullinax.

William Bayley.

Francis Perkins.

John Harper.

George Forest.

John Nichols.

William Grivell. H

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Labourers.

Raymond Goodison.

William Simons.

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John Spearman.

Richard Bristow.

William Perce.

James Watkins.

John Bouth.

Christopher Rods.

Richard Burket.

James Burre.

Nicholas Ven.

Francis Perkins.

Richard Gradon.

Rawland Nelstrop.

Richard Savage.

Thomas Savage.

Richard Milmer.

William May.

Vere.

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Michael.

Bishop Wiles.

Taylers.

Thomas Hope.

William Ward.

John Powell.

William Yong.

William Beckwith.

Larence Towtales.

Apothecaries.

Thomas Field.

Dani: Stallings, Jeweller.

Will: Dawson, a refiner.

Abram Ransack, a refiner.

Wil: Johnson, a Goldsmith.

Peter Keffer, a gunsmith.

Rob: Alberton, a perfumer.

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John Harford.

Richard Belfield, a Goldsmith.

Post Ginnat, a Chirurg.

John Lewes, a Cooper.

Robert Cotton, a Tobacco pipe-maker.

Richard Dole, a Blacksmith.

And divers others to the number of 120.

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Chapter V. The Accidents that hapned in the Discovery of the Bay of Chisapeack.

The prodigalitie of the Presidents state went so deepe into our small store, that Smith and Scrivener tyed him and his Parasites to the rules of proportion. But now Smith being to depart, the Presidents authoritie so overswayed the discretion of Mr. Scrivener, that our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of June 1608. Smith left the Fort to performe his Discovery with this Company.

Walter Russell, Doctor of Physicke.

Gentlemen.

Ralfe Murton.

Thomas Momford.

William Cantrill.

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Richard Fetherston.

James Burne.

Michell Sicklemore.

Souldiers.

Jonas Profit.

Anas Todkill.

Robert Small.

James Watkins.

John Powell.

James Read.

Richard Keale.

[III. 56.]

These being in an open Barge neare three tuns burthen, leaving the Phœnix at Cape Henry, they crossed the Bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Isles called Smiths Isles, after our Captaines name. The first people we saw were two grim and stout Salvages upon Cape Charles, with long poles like Javelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances they seemed very kinde, and directed us to Accomack, the habitation of their Werowance, where we were kindly intreated. This King was 116 *A strange mortalitie of Salvages.* the comliest, proper, civill Salvage we incountred. His Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small creekes; good Harbours for small Barks, but not for Ships. He told us

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of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was, two children being dead; some extreme passions, or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moved their parents againe to revisit their dead carcases, whose benumbed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which being a great part of his people, not long after dyed, and but few escaped. They spake the language of Powhatan, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Isles, and rivers, that often did us exceeding pleasure. Passing along the coast, searching every inlet, and Bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many Isles in the midst of the Bay we bore up for them, but ere we could obtaine them, such an extreme gust of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we escaped the unmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water. The highest land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called Keales hill, and these uninhabited Isles, Russels Isles. The next day searching them for fresh water, we could find none, the defect whereof forced us to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought us to the river of Wighcocomoco. The people at first with great fury seemed to assault us, yet at last with songs and daunces and much mirth became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, & that such puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would have refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco. Being past these Isles which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land upon the mayne, we found a great Pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot wee supposed it some bath; that place *Russels Isles. Wighcocomoco. An extreme want of fresh water.* 117 we called poynt Ployer, in honor of that most honourable House of Mousay in Britaine, that in an extreme extremitie once relieved our Captaine. From Wighcocomoco to this place, all the coast is low broken Isles of Moras, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelve in length, good to cut for hay in Summer, and to catch fish and foule in Winter: but the Land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the rest of the Country.

Their Barge neare sunke in a gust. Cuskarawaock.

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Being thus refreshed in crossing over from the maine to other Isles, we discovered the winde and waters so much increased with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our mast and sayle blew overbord and such mighty waves overracked us in that small barge that with great labour we kept her from sinking by freeing out the water. Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these uninhabited Isles which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called Limbo. Repairing our saile with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty convenient river on the East called Cuskarawaok, the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place, and divers got into the tops of trees, they were not sparing of their arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without there reach making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came unarmed, with every one a basket, dancing in a ring, to draw us on shore: but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by; where there companies lay in Ambuscado. Towards the evening we wayed, & approaching the shoare, discharging five or six shot among the reedes, we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the river, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in 118 [Ill. 57.] *The first notice of the Massawomeks.* each a fire, there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then went into the bay, but when it was darke we came backe againe. Early in the morning foure Salvages came to us in their Canow, whom we used with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, having beene in the bay a fishing, bade us stay and ere long they would returne, which they did and some twentie more with them; with whom after a little conference, two or three thousand men women & children came clustring about us, every one presenting us with something, which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch us water, stay with us for hostage, conduct our men any whither, and give us the best content. Here doth inhabite the people of Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseek, and Nantaquak the best Marchants of

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all other Salvages. They much extolled a great nation called Massawomekes, in search of whom we returned by Limbo: this river but onely at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of small stature as them of Wightcocomoco, the Land but low, yet it may prove very commodious, because it is but a ridge of land betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean. Finding this Easterne shore, shallow broken Isles, and for most part without fresh water, we passed by the straites of Limbo for the Westerne shore: so broad is the bay here, we could scarce perceive the great high cliffs on the other side: by them we Anchored that night and called them Riccards Cliftes. 30. leagues we sayled more Northwards not finding any inhabitants, leaving all the Easterne shore, lowe Islandes, but overgrowne with wood, as all the Coast beyond them so farre as wee could see: the Westerne shore by which we sayled we found all along well watered, but very mountanous and barren, the vallies very fertill, but extreame thicke of small wood so well as trees, and much frequented with Wolves, Beares, Deere and other wild beasts. We passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found Navigable for a ship, we called 119 *Bolus River*. Bolus, for that the clay in many places under the cliffs by the high water marke, did grow up in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the colour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy gravell, which made us thinke it Bole-Armoniack and Terra sigillata. When we first set sayle some of our Gallants doubted nothing but that our Captaine would make too much hast home, but having lien in this small barge not above 12. or 14. dayes, oft tyred at the Oares, our bread spoyled with wet so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could disgest it) they did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner.

Smiths speech to his souldiers.

Gentlemen if you would remember the memorable history of Sir Ralph Layne, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of Moratico, alleading they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaves, would richly feede them in their returnes; then what a shame would it be for you (that have bin so suspitious of my tendernesse)

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to force me returne, with so much provision as we have, and scarce able to say where we have beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke? You cannot say but I have shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares that I will lose my selfe in these unknowne large waters, or be swallowed up in some stormie gust; abandon these childish feares, for worse then is past is not likely to happen: and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regaine therefore your old spirits for returne I will not (if God please) till I have seene the Massawomeks, found Patawomek, or the head of this water you conceit to be endlesse. Two or 3. dayes we expected winde & wether, whose adverse extremities added such discouragement, that three or foure fell sicke, whose pittifull complaints *The discovery of Patawomek.* 120 caused us to returne, leaving the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water.

Ambuscadoes of Salvages. [III. 58.]

The 16. of June we fell with the river Patowomek: feare being gone, and our men recovered, we were all content to take some paines, to know the name of that seven mile broad river: for thirtie myles sayle, we could see no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two Savages up a little bayed creeke, towards Onawmanient, where all the woods were layd with ambuscado's to the number of three or foure thousand Salvages, so strangely paynted, grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying as so many spirits from hell could not have shewed more terrible. Many bravado's they made, but to appease their fury, our Captaine prepared with as seeming a willingnesse (as they) to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets upon the water (many being shot on purpose they might see them) with the Ecco of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes; (and exchanging hostage) James Watkins was sent six myles up the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly used of those Salvages, of whom we understood, they were commanded to betray us, by the direction of Powhatan, and he so directed from the discontents at James towne, because our Captaine did cause them stay in their country against their wills.

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A trecherous project.

The like incouters we found at Patowomek Cecocawonee and divers other places: but at Moyaones, Nacotchtant and Toags the people did their best to content us. Having gone so high as we could with the bote, we met divers Salvages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Beares, Deere and other beasts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places above the grownd as high as the shrubby trees, and divers other solid quarries of divers tinctures: and divers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tintured sprangled skurfe, that made many bare places seeme as guilded. Digging the grownde above in the highest cliffs of rocks, we saw it 121 *A myne like Antimony.* was a claie sand so mingled with yeallow spangles as if it had beene halfe pin-dust. In our returne inquiring still for this Matchqueon, the king of Patawomeke gave us guides to conduct us up a little river called Quiyough, up which we rowed so high as we could. Leaving the bote, with six shot, and divers Salvages, he marched seven or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to have for their paines, being proud so richly to be adorned. The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like Antimony; wherein they digged a great hole with shells & hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of Christal-like water, where they wash away the drosse and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all over the country to paint there bodyes, faces, or Idols; which makes them looke like Blackmores dusted over with silver. With so much as we could carry we returned to our bote, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people. The cause of this discovery was to search this mine, of which Newport did assure us that those small baggs (we had given him) in England he had tryed to hold halfe silver; but all we got proved of no value: also to search what furrs, the best whereof is at Cuscarawaoke, where is made so much Rawranoke or white beads that occasion as much dissention among the Salvages, as gold and silver amongst Christians; and what other mineralls, rivers, rocks, nations, woods, fishings, frutes, victuall, and what other commodities the land afforded: and whether the bay were endlesse or how farre it extended: of mines we were all ignorant, but a few Bevers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes we found, and in divers places

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that abundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of us ever seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with *An abundant plenty of fish*. 122 frying pans: some small codd also we did see swim close by the shore by Smiths Iles, and some as high as Riccards Clifts. And some we have found dead upon the shore.

How to deale with the Salvages. [III. 59.]

To express all our quarrels, trecheries and encounters amongst those Salvages I should be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we so incountred them, and curbed their insolencies, that they concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet we lost not a man: at our first meeting our Captaine ever observed this order to demand their bowes and arrowes, swordes, mantells and furs, with some childe or two for hostage, whereby we could quickly perceive, when they intended any villany. Having finished this discovery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to see his imprisonment-acquaintances upon the river of Rapahanock, by many called Toppahanock, but our bote by reason of the ebbe, chancing to grownd upon a many shoules lying in the entrances, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes: our Captaine sporting himselfe by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set us all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in one houre then we could eate in a day. But it chanced our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a ryding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrest of his arme neere an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swolen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his grave in an Island by, as himselfe directed: yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Docter Russell at the first applyed to it when he sounded it with probe (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well asswaged

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that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gave no lesse joy and content to us then ease to *Captaine Smith neare killed with a Stingray*. 123 himselfe, for which we called the Island Stingray Isle after the name of the fish.

The Salvages affrighted with their owne suspition.

Having neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery, but that preservative oyle we presently set sayles for James towne, passing the mouthes of the rivers of Payankatank, & Pamaunkee, the next day we safely arrived at Kecoughtan. The simple Salvages seeing our Captaine hurt, and an other bloody by breaking his shinne, our numbers of bowes, arrowes, swords, mantles, and furs, would needes imagine we had beene at warres (the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impatiently importuned us to know with whom. Finding their aptnesse to beleeve we fayled not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle we had got and made of the Massawomeks. This rumor went faster up the river then our Barge, that arrived at Waraskoyack the 20 of July; where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devises as we could, we made them at James towne jealous of a Spanish Frigot, where we all God be thanked safely arrived the 21 of July. There we found the last Supply were all sicke, the rest some lame, some bruised, all unable to doe any thing but complaine of the pride and unreasonable needlesse crueltie of the silly President, that had riotously consumed the store: and to fulfill his follies about building him an unnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods, had brought them all to that misery; that had we not arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge: but the good newes of our Discovery, and the good hope we had by the Salvages relation, that our Bay had stretched into the South Sea, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury; but conditionally that Ratliffe should be deposed, and that Captaine Smith would take upon him the government, as by course it did belong. Their request being effected, he substituted Mr. Scrivener his deare friend in the Presidency, equally distributing those private provisions the other had ingrossed, appointing more honest officers to assist master Scrivener (who then lay exceeding *Needlesse misery at James towne*. 124 sicke of a Callenture) and in regard of the weaknesse of the company, and

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heate of the yeare, they being unable to worke, he left them to live at ease, to recover their healths, but imbarked himselfe to finish his Discovery.

Written by Walter Russell, Anas Todkill, and Thomas Momford.

Chap. VI. The Government surrendred to Master Scrivener.

What happened the second Voyage in discovering the Bay.

The 24 of July, Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery with twelve men: their names were

[III. 60.]

Gentlemen.

Nathaniell Powell.

Thomas Momford.

Richard Fetherston.

Michell Sicklemore.

James Bourne.

Anthony Bagnall, Chir.

Souldiers.

Jonas Profit.

Anas Todkill.

Edward Pising.

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Richard Keale.

James Watkins.

William Ward.

The Salvages admire fireworkes.

The wind being contrary caused our stay two or three dayes at Kecoughtan: the King feasted us with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the Massawomeks. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing unpossible we attempted; and desired to assist us. The first night we anchored at Stingray Isle. The next day crossed Patawomeks river, and hasted to the river Bolus. We went not much further before we might see the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided 125 *An Incounter with the Massawomeks at the head of the Bay.* in foure, all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them. Two of them we found inhabited, but in crossing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of Massawomeks, we seeing them prepare to assault us, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but five with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left Kecoughtan, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, untill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them under our Tarpawling, we put their hats upon stickes by the Barges side, and betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make us seeme many, and so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come unto us. At last they sent two of their company unarmed in a Canow, the rest all followed to second them if neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboard all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes. We understood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified unto us they had beene at warres with the Tockwoghes, the which they confirmed

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by showing us their greene wounds, but the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

An Incounter with the Tockwhoghs.

Entring the river of Tockwogh, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed us; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw us furnished with the Massawomeks weapons, and we faining the invention of Kecoughtan, to have taken them perforce; they conducted us to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women, and 126 children with daunces, songs, fruits, furies, and what they had, kindly welcommed us, spreading mats for us to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

Hatchets from the Sasquesahanocks.

Many hatchets, knives, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanocks, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the Massawomeks. The Sasquesahanocks inhabit upon the chiefe Spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes journey higher then our barge could passe for rocks, yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come visit us, for their language are different. Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Five of their chiefe Werowances came boldly aboard us to crosse the Bay for Tockwhogh, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being so high they durst not passe.

[III. 61.] *The Sasquesahanocks offer to the English.*

Our order was daily to have Prayer, with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the Sunne, with a most fearefull song, then imbracing our Captaine,

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they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished: which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loves; that ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at least six or seaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinned sowed together; all these with many other toys they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector, 127 promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeks. But we left them at Tockwhogh, sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made us, of Atquanachuck, Massawomek, & other people, signifying they inhabit upon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we understood to be some great lake, or the river of Canada: and from the French to have their hatchets and Commodities by trade. These know no more of the territories of Powhatan, then his name, and he as little of them, but the Atquanachuks are on the Ocean Sea.

The highest mountaine we saw Northward wee called Perigrines mount, and a rocky river, where the Massawomeks went up, Willowbyes river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the Lord Willowby, his most honored good friend. The Sasquesahanocks river we called Smiths falles; the next poynt to Tockwhogh, Pisings poynt; the next it poynt Bourne. Powells Isles and Smals poynt is by the river Bolus; and the little Bay at the head Profits poole; Watkins, Reads, and Momfords poynts are on each side Limbo; Ward, Cantrell, and Sicklemore, betwixt Patawomek and Pamaunkee, after the names of the discoverers. In all those places and the furthest we came up the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had beene there.

Pawtuxunt, R. Rapahanock, R.

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Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of Pawtuxunt; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any, we promised them, as also the Patawomeks to revenge them of the Massawomeks, but our purposes were crossed.

In the discovery of this river some call Rapahanock, we were kindly entertained by the people of Moraughtacund; here we incountered our old friend Mosco, a lusty 128 *The exceeding love of the Salvage Mosco. Ourfight with the Rapahanocks.* Salvage of Wighcocomoco upon the river of Patawomek, we supposed him some French mans sonne, because he had a thicke blacke bush beard, and the Salvages seldome have any at all, of which he was not a little proud, to see so many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch us, guide us any whether, cause divers of his Countrymen helpe us towe against winde or tyde from place to place till we came to Patawomek: there he rested till we returned from the head of the river, and occasioned our conduct to the mine we supposed Antimony. And in the place he fayled not to doe us all the good he could, perswading us in any case not to goe to the Rapahanocks, for they would kill us for being friends with the Moraughtacunds that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely have our trade: so we crossed the river to the Rapahanocks. There some 12 or 16 standing on the shore, directed us a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for us in three or foure Canowes we saw lie there: but according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man in signe of love, which after they had a little consulted, foure or five came up to the middles, to fetch our man, and leave us one of them, shewing we need not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithstanding, Anas Todkill, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any Ambuscadoes, or what they had, desired to goe over the playne to fetch some wood, but they were unwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come close ashore. Todkill by degrees having got some two stones throwes up the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees, so that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages assayed to carry him away perforce, that

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he called to us we were betrayed, and by that he had spoke the word, our hostage was over-board, but Watkins his keeper slew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly amongst them, so that they fled, & Todkill escaped, yet they shot [III. 62.] 129 so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat. Here the Massawomek Targets stood us in good stead, for upon Mosco's words, we had set them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecastle, from whence we securely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they shot more then a thousand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our selves with these light Targets (which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our Cloth, but so firmly that no arrow can possibly pierce them:) we rescued Todkill, who was all bloody by some of them who were shot by us that held him, but as God pleased he had no hurt; and following them up to the woods, we found some slaine, and in divers places much blood. It seems all their arrowes were spent, for we heard no more of them. Their Canows we tooke; the arrowes we found we broke, save them we kept for Mosco, to whom we gave the Canowes for his kindnesse, that entertained us in the best triumphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conquest he could procure of the Moraughtacunds.

The Salvages disguised like bushes fight.

The rest of the day we spent in accomodating our Boat, in stead of thoules wee made stickes like Bedstaves, to which we fastened so many of our Massawomek Targets, that invironed her as wast clothes. The next morning we went up the river, and our friend Mosco followed us along the shore, and at last desired to goe with us in our Boat. But as we passed by Pisacack, Matchopeak, and Mecuppom, three Townes situated upon high white clay cliffs; the other side all a low playne marish, and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the Rapahanocks, had so accommodated themselves with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing among the sedge, still seeing their arrowes strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: whereat Mosco fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the Rapahanocks, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley

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fell downe in the sedge: when wee were neare I 130 halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselves dauncing and singing very merrily.

The Kings of Pissassack, Nandtaughtacund, and Cuttatawomen, used us kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to Mosco to bring us to them. Betwixt Secobeck and Massawteck is a small Isle or two, which causeth the river to be broader then ordinary; there it pleased God to take one of our Company called Mr. Fetherstone, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himselfe, honestly, valiantly, and industriously, where in a little Bay, we called Fetherstones Bay wee buried him with a volley of shot: the rest notwithstanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers never resting, but alwayes tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float, there setting up crosses, and gravng our names in the trees. Our sentinell saw an arrow fall by him, though we had ranged up and downe more then an houre in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himself.

Our fight with the Mannahocks.

Upon the alarum by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows so fast as they could: the trees here served us for Baricadoes as well as they. But Mosco did us more service then we expected, for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of Mosco at the first made them pause upon the matter, thinking by his bruit and skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddainly as they approached. Mosco followed them so farre as he could see us, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee, but taking him up we found he had life, which Mosco seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then Mosco was to have beat out his *A Salvage shot and taken prisoner*. [III. 63.] 131 braines, so we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian who went with us to cure our Captaines hurt of the Stingray, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. In the

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meane time we contented Mosco in helping him to gather up their arrowes, which were an armefull, whereof he gloried not a little. Then we desired Mosco to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of Hasinninga, where there are three Kings more, like unto them, namely the King of Stegora, the King of Tauxuntania, and the King of Shakahonea, that were come to Mohaskahod, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the Mannahocks, and the Nandtaughtacunds, but hard by where we were. We demanded why they came in that manner to betray us, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loves; he answered, they heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them. We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was under the skie that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans, and the Massawomeks, that were higher up in the mountaines. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing;* because the woods were not burnt. These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the Massawomeks, the Monacans, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of Stegora, Tauxsintania, and the rest. The Monacans he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, living upon rootes and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The Massawomeks did dwell upon a great water, and had many boats, & so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting: But those with him came thither a fishing till *His relation of their countries.*

* *They cannot travell but where the woods are burnt.*

132 they saw us, notwithstanding they would be altogether at night at Mahaskahod. For his relation we gave him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with us, and he as earnestly desired us to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good usage should be friends with us, for he was brother to Hasinninga. But Mosco advised us presently to be gone, for they were all naught, yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made

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ready to entertain what came, & Mosco was as diligent in trimming his arrowes. The night being come we all imbarked, for the river was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might have done us exceeding much mischief. All this while the K. of Hasinninga was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call unto them, but such a yelling & hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a peece, ayiming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More then 12 myles they followed us in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selves in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen; being well refreshed, we untyed our Targets that covered us as a Deck, and all shewed our selves with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner Amoroleck; a long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee used him, how wee had a Patawomek with us, loved us as his life, that would have slain him had we not preserved him, and that he should have his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe us any hurt it was impossible. Upon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers upon the trees, and one came swimming aboard us with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they delivered our Captaine *How we concluded peace with the foure kings of Monahoke.* 133 [III. 64.] as a present, the Captaine having used them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend, whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so upon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and received Amoroleck: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to give us, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities, and so we left foure or five hundred of our merry Mannahocks, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for Moraughtacund.

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How we became friends with the Rapahanocks.

In our returnes we visited all our friends, that rejoyced much at our Victory against the Mannahocks, who many times had Warres also with them, but now they were friends, and desired we would be friends with the Rapahanocks, as we were with the Mannahocks. Our Captaine told them, they had twice assaulted him that came onely in love to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houses, destroy their corne, and for ever hold them his enemies, till they made him satisfaction; they desired to know what that should be: he told them they should present him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they should be friends with the Moraughtacunds his friends, and give him their Kings sonne in pledge to performe it, and then all King James his men should be their friends. Upon this they presently sent to the Rapahanocks to meete him at the place where they first fought, where would be the Kings of Nantautacund and Pissassac: which according to their promise were there so soone as we; where Rapahanock presented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we desired, except his sonne, having no more but him he could not live without him, but in stead of his sonne he would give him the three women Moraughtacund had stolen. This was accepted: and so 134 in three or foure Canowes, so many as could went with us to Moraughtacund, where Mosco made them such relations, and gave to his friends so many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no lesse loved him then admired us. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gave a chayne of Beads: and then causing Moraughtacund, Mosco, and Rapahanock stand before him, bid Rapahanock take her he loved best, and Moraughtacund chuse next, & to Mosco he gave the third. Upon this away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their venison, and all the provision they could, and they that wanted Boats swam over the river: the darke commanded us then to rest. The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we conjectured, six or seaven hundred, dauncing, & singing, and not a Bow nor Arrow seene amongst them. Mosco changed his name Uttasantasough, which we interpret Stranger, for so they call us. All promising ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purposely for us; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed, giving them a Volley of shot, and they us as

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loud shouts and cries as their strengths could utter. That night we anchored in the river of Payankatank, and discovered it so high as it was navigable, but the people were most a hunting, save a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne, of which they promised us part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene.

The discovery of Payankatank.

In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt Comfort, we anchored in Gosnolls Bay, but such a suddaine gust surprised us in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to have seene James Towne. Yet running before the wind, we sometimes saw the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the splitting shore, untill it pleased God in that blacke darknesse to preserve us by that light to finde poynt Comfort: there refreshing our selves, because we had onely but heard of the Chisapeacks & Nandsamunds, 135 we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad.

A notable trechery of the Nandsamunds. [III. 65.]

So setting sayle for the Southerne shore, we sayled up a narrow river up the country of Chisapeack; it hath a good channell, but many shoules about the entrance. By that we had sayled six or seaven myles, we saw two or three little garden plots with their houses, the shore overgrowne with the greatest Pyne and Firre trees wee ever saw in the Country. But not seeing nor hearing any people, and the river very narrow, we returned to the great river, to see if we could finde any of them. Coasting the shore towards Nandsamund, which is most Oysterbankes; at the mouth of that river, we espied six or seaven Salvages making their wires, who presently fled: ashore we went, and where they wrought we threw divers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall us: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired us to goe to his house up that river, into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after us by the shore with all shew of love that could be. Seaven or eight myles we sayled up this narrow river: at last on the Westerne shore we saw large Cornefields,

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in the midst a little Isle, and in it was abundance of Corne; the people he told us were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he invited us with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gave such things as they seemed much contented them. The others being come, desired us also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left us, the rest rowed by us in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the river became very narrow. Here we desired some of them to come aboard us, wherat pausing a little, they told us they would but fetch their bows and arrowes and goe all with us, but being a-shore and thus armed, they perswaded us to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow, nor into our Boat. This gave us cause to provide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seaven or eight 136 *The fight with the Chisapeacks and Nandsamunds*. Canowes full of men armed appeared following us, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the river came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, wherent we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast, but amongst them we bestowed so many shot, the most of them leaped overboord and swam ashore, but two or three escaped by rowing, being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twentie shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, onely Anthony Bagnall was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeve. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the Nandsamunds, and the Chisapeacks were together, we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition, till we were provided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our Colony: but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded. In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace: peace we told them we would accept, would they bring us their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe give us foure hundred baskets full of Corne, otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely

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the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift & bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to us to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed, away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to James Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of *How they became friends.* 137 *The proceeding at James Towne.* September, 1608. There we found Mr. Scrivener, and divers others well recovered: many dead; some sicke: the late President prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master Scrivener, the harvest gathered, but the provision in the store much spoyled with rayne. Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captaine Ratliffe) but onely this discovery; wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian utterly unknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie.

[III. 66.]

But to this place to come who will adventure, With judgements guide and reason how to enter: Finds in this worlds broad sea, with winde and tyde, Ther's safer sayle then any where besides. But 'cause to wanton novices it is A Province full of fearefulnesse I wiss; Into the great vast deepe to venter out: Those shallow rivers let them coast about. And by a small Boat learne their first, and marke, How they may come to make a greater Barke.

Written by Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell Powell, and Anas Todkill.

[Chapter VII.

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Chapter VII. The Presidency surrendered to Captaine Smith: the Arrivall and returne of the second Supply. And what happened.

The tenth of September, by the Election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine Smith received the Letters Patents: which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratliffes Pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; the Church was repaired; the Store-house recovered; buildings prepared for the Supplyes we expected; the Fort reduced to a five-square forme; the order of the Watch renewed; the squadrons (each setting of the Watch) trained; the whole Company every Saturday exercised, in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose, we called Smithfield: where sometimes more then an hundred Salvages would stand in an amazement to behold, how a fyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to shoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being sent out with Lieutenant Percy, in their Journey incountred the second Supply, that brought them backe to discover the Country of Monacan. How or why Captaine Newport obtained such a private Commission, as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, I know not; nor why he brought such a five peeced Barge, not to beare us to that South sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines, which how farre they extend is yet unknowne. As for the Coronation of Powhatan, and his presents of Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Clothes, and such costly novelties, they had beene much better well spared then so ill spent, for wee had his favour much better onely for a playne peece of Copper, till this stately *Powhatans scorne when his courtesie was most deserved.* 139 *No better way to overthrow the busines then by our instructors.* kinde of solliciting, made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected us as much as nothing at all. As for the hyring of the Poles and Dutch-men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes, when the Country is replenished with people, and necessaries, would have done well, but to send them and seaventie more without victualls to worke, was not so well advised nor considered of, as it should have beene. Yet this could not have hurt us had they beene 200. though then we were

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130 that wanted for our selves. For we had the Salvages in that decorum (their harvest being newly gathered,) that we feared not to get victuals for 500. Now was there no way to make us miserable, but to neglect that time to make provision whilst it was to be had, the which was done by the direction from England to performe this strange discovery, but a more strange Coronation to loose that time, spend that victualls we had, tyre and starve our men, having no meanes to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or sicke, but on their owne backes. How or by whom they were invented I know not: but Captaine Newport we onely accounted the Author, who to effect these projects, had so guilded mens hopes with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution for the most part: God doth know they little knew what they did, nor understood their owne estates to conclude his conclusions, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President alledged. Of this Supply there was added to the Councell, one Captaine Richard Waldo, and Captaine Wynne, two auncient Souldiers, and valiant Gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the busines, (being but newly arrived.) Ratliffe was also permitted to have his voyce, & Mr. Scrivener, desirous to see strange Countries: so that although Smith was President, yet the Major part of the Councell had the authoritie and ruled it as they listed. As for clearing Smiths objections, how Pitch and Tarre, Wainscot, Clapbord, Glasse, and Sope ashes, could be provided, to relade the ship, or provision got to live withall, when none was in the Country, and that we had, [III. 67.] *A consultation, where all the Councell was against the President.* 140 spent, before the ship departed to effect these projects. The answer was, Captaine Newport undertooke to fraught the Pinnace of twentie tunnes with Corne in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from Werowocomoco of Powhatan. Also promising a great proportion of victualls from the Ship; inferring that Smiths propositions were onely devices to hinder his journey, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie he had used to the Salvages, might well be the occasion to hinder these Designes, and seeke revenge on him. For which taxation all workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for Newports guard in this Discovery. But Captaine Smith to make cleare all those seeming suspitions, that the Salvages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing (since by their authoritie they would have

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it so) he was to assist them what he could, because the Coronation would consume much time, he undertooke himselfe their message to Powhatan, to intreat him to come to James Towne to receive his presents. And where Newport durst not goe with lesse then 120. he onely tooke with him Captaine Waldo, Mr. Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuel Collier: with these foure he went over land to Werowocomoco, some 12 myles; there he passed the river of Pamaunkee in a Salvage Canow. Powhatan being 30 myles of, was presently sent for: in the meane time, Pocahontas and her women entertained Captaine Smith in this manner.

Capt. Smith goeth with 4. to Powhatan, when Newport feared with 120. A Virginia Maske.

In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting upon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the English betooke themselves to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently Pocahontas came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended, and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter. Then presently they were presented with this anticke; 141 thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaves, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises. These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entred in like manner they departed.

The Womens entertainment.

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Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Love you not me? love you not me? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, others singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging.

Thus did they shew their feats of armes, and others art in dauncing:

Some other us'd there oaten pipe, and others voyces chanting.

[III. 68.] *Captaine Smiths message.*

The next day came Powhatan. Smith delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him Namontack he had sent for England, desiring him to come to his Father Newport, to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the Monacans. Whereunto this subtile Savage thus replied. *Powhatans answer.*

If your King have sent me Presents, I also am a King, 142 and this is my land: eight dayes I will stay to receive them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a bait: as for the Monacans I can revenge my owne injuries, and as for Atquanachuk, where you say your brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it; but for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the Relations you have had from my people are false. Whereupon he began to draw plots upon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions. Many other discourses they had (yet both content to give each other content in complementall Courtesies) and so Captaine Smith returned with this Answer.

Powhatans Coronation.

Upon this the Presents were sent by water which is neare an hundred myles, and the Captains went by land with fiftie good shot. All being met at Werowocomoco, the next

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day was appointed for his Coronation, then the presents were brought him, his Bason and Ewer, Bed and furniture set up, his scarlet Cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being perswaded by Namontack they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receive his Crowne, he neither knowing the majesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King started up in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gave his old shooes and his mantell to Captaine Newport: but perceiving his purpose was to discover the Monacans, he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then Namontack; and so after some small complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents he presented Newport with a heape of wheat eares that might containe some 7 or 8 Bushels, and as 143 much more we bought in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The discovery of Monacan.

The Ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first Gentlewoman and woman servant that arrived in our Colony. Captaine Newport with 120. chosen men, led by Captaine Waldo, Lieutenant Percie, Captaine Winne, Mr. West, and Mr. Scrivener, set forward for the discovery of Monacan, leaving the President at the Fort with about 80. or 90. (such as they were) to relade the Ship. Arriving at the Falles we marched by land some fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe, and so returned downe the same path we went. Two townes we discovered of the Monacans, called Massinacak and Mowhemenchouch, the people neither used us well nor ill, yet for our securitie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct us the way. And in our returnes searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refyning, having one William Callicut, a refyner fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth we digged, he perswaded us to beleeve he extracted some small quantitie of silver; and (not unlikely) better stuffe might

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be had for the digging. With this poore tryall, being contented to leave this fayre, fertile, well watered Country; and comming to the Falles, the Salvages fayned there were divers ships come into the Bay, to kill them at James Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arrived at James Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tyred with toyle, famine, and discontent, to have onely but discovered our guilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as Captaine Smith fortold us.

How the Salvages deluded Cap. Newport.

But those that hunger seeke to slake, Which thus abounding wealth would rake: Not all the gemmes of Ister shore, Nor all the gold of Lydia's store, Can fill their greedie appetite; It is a thing so infinite.

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No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed so many as were able, some for Glasse, others for Tarre, Pitch, and Sope-ashes, leaving them with the Fort to the Councels oversight, but 30 of us he conducted downe the river some 5 myles from James towne, to learne to make Clapbord, cut downe trees, and lye in woods. Amongst the rest he had chosen Gabriel Beadle, and John Russell, the onely two gallants of this last Supply, and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters: making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the eccho; for remedie of which sinne, the President devised how to have every mans othes numbred, and at night for every othe to have a Cann of water powred downe his sleeve, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an othe in a weeke.

A punishment for swearing.

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For he who scornes and makes but jests of cursings, and his othe, He doth contemne, not man but God, nor God, nor man, but both.

By this, let no man thinke that the President and these Gentlemen spent their times as common Wood-haggers at felling of trees, or such other like labours, or that they were pressed to it as hirelings, or common slaves; for what they did, after they were but once a little inured, it seemed and some conceited it, onely as a pleasure and recreation, yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion, but twentie good workemen had beene better then them all.

30. Men better then 100.

Master Scrivener, Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully *145 The Chickahamania's forced to contribution.* regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the woods, seeing the time consumed and no provision gotten, (and the Ship lay idle at a great charge and did nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Councell to send Lieutenant Percie after him with the next barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges he had himselfe and 18 men, but arriving at Chickahamania, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolency as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was Powhatans policy to starve us, told them he came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them, and so landing his men and readie to charge them, they immediately fled: and presently after sent their Ambassadors with corne, fish, foule, and what they had to make their peace, (their Corne being that yeare but bad) they complained extreamely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boats with an hundred Bushels of Corne, and in like manner Lieutenant Percies, that not long after arrived, and having done the best they could to content us, we parted good friends, and returned to James towne.

A bad reward for well-doing.

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Though this much contented the Company, (that feared nothing more then starving) yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to hazzard a starving, then his paines should prove so much more effectuall then theirs. Some projects there were invented by Newport and Ratliffe, not onely to have deposed him, but to have kept him out of the Fort; for that being President, he would leave his place and the Fort without their consents, but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselves more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

A good Taverne in Virginia.

All this time our old Taverne made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be desired: by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane the souldiers, saylers, and Salvages) as there was tenne K 146 [III. 70.] *A bad trade of the masters and saylers.* times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the Colony things that were necessary. Neither was it a small policy in Newport and the Marriners to report in England we had such plentie, and bring us so many men without victuals, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within six or seaven weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Chissels, Hows, and Pick-axes, scarce twentie could be found: and for Pike-heads, shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes, was vendible; they knew as well (and as secretly) how to convey them to trade with the Salvages for Furres, Baskets, Mussaneeks, young Beasts, or such like Commodities, as exchange them with the Saylers for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, Aquavitæ, Beere, Bisket, Oatmeale, and Oyle: and then fayne all was sent them from their friends. And though Virginia affoorded no Furres for the Store, yet one Master in one voyage hath got so many by this indirect meanes, as he confessed to have sold in England for 30l.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of Virginia, that have notwithstanding all this meate, drinke, and wages; but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented; none hath beene in Virginia that hath observed any thing, which knowes

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not this to be true, and yet the losse, the scorne, the misery, and shame, was the poore Officers, Gentlemen, and carelesse Governours, who were all thus bought & sold; the adventurers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all men judge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfring occasions. And had not Captaine Newport cryed Peccavi, the President would have discharged the ship, and caused him to have stayed one yeare in Virginia, to learne to speake of his owne experience.

Master Scriveners voyage to Werowocomoco.

Master Scrivener was sent with the Barges and Pinnacle to Werowocomoco, where he found the Salvages more readie to fight then trade; but his vigilancy was such as prevented their projects, and by the meanes of Namontack 147 got three or foure hogsheads of Corne, and as much Pocones, which is a red roote, which then was esteemed an excellent Dye.

Captaine Newport being dispatched, with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, Sope ashes; with that Clapboord and Waynscot that could be provided: met with Mr. Scrivener at poynt Comfort, and so returned for England. We remaining were about two hundred.

The Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Councill of Virginia from Captaine Smith, then President in Virginia.

Right Honorable, &c.

I Received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set upon faction, and idle conceits in dividing the Country without your consents, and that we feed You but with ifs & ands, hopes, & some few proofes; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our selves: and that we must expresly follow your instructions sent by Captain Newport: the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which if we

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cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.

[III. 71.]

For our factions, unlesse you would have me run away and leave the Country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter sent to my Lord of Salisbury, by the President and his confederats, for dividing the Country &c. What it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it; nor ever dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here doe know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I have not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare some cause you to beleeve much more then is true.

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Expresly to follow your directions by Captaine Newport, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our Commission, I was content to be overruled by the major part of the Councill, I feare to the hazard of us all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Onely Captaine Winne and Captaine Waldo I have sworne of the Councill, and Crowned Powhatan according to your instructions.

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, Newport had 120 of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold; or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh: at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during, this great discovery of thirtie myles, (which might as well have beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serve the Fort. In their absence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and

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Tarre, Glasse, Sopeashes, and Clapboord, whereof some small quantities we have sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in Russia and Swethland, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Commonwealths, which many an hundred yeares have used it, yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to live, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to live, and defend our selves against the inconstant Salvages: finding but here and there a tree fit for the 149 purpose, and want all things els the Russians have. For the Coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this give me leave to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of us all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the Salvages harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of Corne Newport promised to provide us from Powhatan, he brought us but foureteene Bushels; and from the Monacans nothing, but the most of the men sicke and neare famished. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to live upon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine Newport we much suspect to be the Authour of those inventions. Now that you should know, I have made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you every meale; I have sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least; so devided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them. The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you send us: and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master

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you have yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pounds might be spared, which is more then we have all, that helpe to pay him wages. Cap. Ratliffe is now called Sicklemore, a poore counterfeited imposture. I have sent you him home, least the company should cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you: if he and Archer [III. 72.] 150 returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe us alwayes in factions. When you send againe I intreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees, roots, well provided; then a thousand of such as we have: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for any thing. Thus if you please to consider this account, and of the unnecessary wages to Captaine Newport, or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leave us victuals for 12 moneths, though we had 89 by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three hogsheds of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into Germany or Poleland for glasse-men & the rest, till we be able to sustaine our selves, and relieve them when they come. It were better to give five hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in Denmarke, then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and unskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selves from ore Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receive, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leave us what they please, els you may charge us with what you will, but we not you with any thing. These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia, from laying such a foundation, that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest.

The Names of those in this Supply, were these: with their Proceedings and Accidents.

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Captaine Peter Winne, Captaine Richard Waldo, were appoynted to be of the Councill.

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Master Francis West, brother to the Lord La Warre.

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Gent.

Thomas Graves.

Raleigh Chroshaw.

Gabriel Beadle.

John Beadle.

John Russell.

William Russell.

John Cuderington.

William Sambage.

Henry Leigh.

Henry Philpot.

Harmon Harrison.

Daniel Tucker.

Henry Collins.

Hugh Wolleston.

John Hoult.

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Thomas Norton.

George Yarrington.

George Burton.

Thomas Abbay.

William Dowman.

Thomas Maxes.

Michael Lowick.

Master Hunt.

Thomas Forrest.

John Dauxe.

Tradsmen.

Thomas Phelps.

John Prat.

John Clarke.

Jeffrey Shortridge.

Dionis Oconor.

Hugh Winne.

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David ap Hugh.

Thomas Bradley.

John Burras.

Thomas Lavander.

Henry Bell.

Master Powell.

David Ellis.

Thomas Gibson.

Labourers.

Thomas Dawse.

Thomas Mallard.

William Tayler.

Thomas Fox.

Nicholas Hancock.

Walker.

Williams.

Floud.

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Morley.

Rose.

Scot.

Hardwyn.

Boyes.

Milman.

Hilliard.

Mistresse Forrest, and Anne Burras her maide; eight Dutch men and Poles, with some others, to the number of seaventie persons, &c.

152 Nandsamund forced to contribution.

These poore conclusions so affrighted us all with famine, that the President provided for Nandsamund, and tooke with him Captaine Winne, and Mr. Scrivener, then returning from Captaine Newport. These people also long denied him not onely the 400 Baskets of Corne they promised, but any trade at all; (excusing themselves they had spent most they had, and were commanded by Powhatan to keepe that they had, and not to let us come into their river) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce. Upon the discharging of our Muskets they all fled and shot not an Arrow; the first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceived, they desired we would make no more spoyle, and they would give us halfe they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three Boats; and so we returned to our quarter some foure myles downe the River, which was onely the open woods under the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with snow, and hard frozen; the snow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dryed, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat,

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there we lay very warme. To keepe us from the winde we made a shade of another Mat; as the winde turned we turned our shade, and when the ground grew cold we removed the fire. And thus many a cold winter night have wee laine in this miserable manner, yet those that most commonly went upon all those occasions, were alwayes in health, lusty, and fat. For sparing them this yeare, the next yeare they promised to plant purposely for us; and so we returned to James towne. About this time there was a marriage betwixt John Laydon and Anne Burras; which was the first marriage we had in Virginia.

The first marriage in Virginia. Apamatuck discovered.

Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine Waldo with two Barges. From Chawopoweanock, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being jealous of our intents; till we discovered the river and people of Apamatuck; where we found not much, that they had we equally divided, but gave them copper and 153 such things as contented them in consideration. Master Scrivener and Lieutenant Percie went also abroad, but could find nothing.

The President seeing the procrastinating of time, was no course to live, resolved with Captaine Waldo (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprise Powhatan, and all his provision, but the unwillingnesse of Captaine Winne, and Master Scrivener, for some private respect, plotted in England to ruine Captaine Smith, did their best to hinder their project; but the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starve, being invited by Powhatan to come unto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, give him a gryndstone, fiftie swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his Ship with Corne. The President not ignorant of his devises and subiltie, yet unwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three Dutch-men and two English, having so small allowance, few were able to doe any thing to purpose: knowing there needed no better a Castle to effect this project, tooke order with Captaine Waldo to second him, if need required; Scrivener he left his substitute, and set forth with the Pinnace, two Barges, and fortie-six men, which onely were such as voluntarily offered themselves for his Journey, the which by reason of Mr. Scriveners ill successe, was

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censured very desperate, they all knowing Smith would not returne emptie, if it were to be had; howsoever, it caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behinde.

[Chap. VIII.

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Chap. VIII. Captaine Smiths Journey to Pamaunkee.

[III. 74.]

The twentie-nine of December he set forward for Werowocomoco: his Company were these;

In the Discovery Barge himselfe.

Gent.

Robert Behethland.

Nathanael Graves.

John Russell.

Raleigh Chrashow.

Michael Sicklemore.

Richard Worley.

Souldiers.

Anas Todkill.

William Love.

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William Bentley.

Jeffrey Shortridge.

Edward Pising.

William Ward.

In the Pinnace.

Lieutenant Percie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland.

Master Francis West, brother to the Lord La Warre.

William Phittiplace, Captaine of the Pinnace.

Jonas Profit, Master.

Robert Ford, Clarke of the Councill.

Gent.

Michael Phittiplace.

Jeffrey Abbot, Serjeant.

William Tankard.

George Yarrington.

Souldiers.

James Browne.

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Edward Brinton.

George Burton.

Thomas Coe.

John Dods.

Henry Powell.

Thomas Gipson, David Ellis, Nathanael Peacock, Saylers. John Prat, George Acrig, James Read, Nicholas Hancock, James Watkins, Thomas Lambert, foure Dutch-men, and Richard Salvage were sent by Land before to build the house for Powhatan against our Arrivall.

155 The good counsell of Warraskoyack.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes, lodged the first night at Warraskoyack, where the President tooke sufficient provision. This kind King did his best to divert him from seeing Powhatan, but perceiving he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner. Captaine Smith, you shall find Powhatan to use you kindly, but trust him not, and be sure he have no oportunitie to seize on your Armes; for he hath sent for you onely to cut your throats. The Captaine thanking him for his good counsell: yet the better to try his love, desired guides to Chawwonock; for he would send a present to that King, to bind him his friend. To performe this journey was sent Mr. Sicklemore, a very valiant, honest, and a painefull Souldier: with him two guides, and directions how to seeke for the lost company of Sir Walter Raleighs, and silke Grasse. Then we departed thence, the President assuring the King perpetuall love; and left with him Samuel Collier his Page to learne the Language.

So this Kings deeds by sacred Oath adjur'd. More wary proves, and circumspect by ods: Fearing at least his double forfeiture; To offend his friends, and sin against his Gods.

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Plentie of victualls.

The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan; six or seaven dayes the extreame winde, rayne, frost and snow caused us to keepe Christmas among the Salvages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wild-foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in England, then in the dry, smoaky houses of Kecoughtan: but departing thence, when we found no houses we were not curious in any weather to lye three or foure nights together under the trees by a fire, as formerly is sayd. An hundred fortie eight foules the President, Anthony Bagnall, and Serjeant Pising did kill at three shoots. At Kiskiack the frost & contrary winds forced us three or foure dayes also (to suppress the insolency of those proud Salvages) to quarter 148 *Foules killed at three shootes*. 156 [Ill. 75.] in their houses, yet guard our Barge, and cause them give us what we wanted; though we were but twelve and himselfe, yet we never wanted shelter where we found any houses. The 12 of January we arrived at Werowocomoco, where the river was frozen neare halfe a myle from the shore; but to neglect no time, the President with his Barge so far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebbe left him amongst those oasie shoules, yet rather then to lye there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight shot through this muddy frozen oase. When the Barge floated, he appoynted two or three to returne her aboard the Pinnace. Where for want of water in melting the ice, they made fresh water, for the river there was salt. But in this march Mr. Russell, (whom none could perswade to stay behinde) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heavie, so overtoyled himselfe as the rest had much adoe (ere he got ashore) to regaine life into his dead benumbed spirits. Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to Powhatan for provision, who sent us plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison; the next day having feasted us after his ordinary manner, he began to aske us when we would be gone: fayning he sent not for us, neither had he any corne; and his people much lesse: yet for fortie swords he would procure us fortie Baskets. The President shewing him the men there present that brought him the message and conditions, asked Powhatan how it chanced he became so forgetfull; thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and

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swords, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper; saying he could rate his Corne, but not the Copper.

Cap. Smiths discourse to Powhatan.

Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtile Salvage began to deale with him after this manner. Powhatan, though I had many courses to have made my provision, yet beleiving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all to satisfie your desire: and to testifie my love, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting mine owne. What your people had you have ingrossed, forbidding them our trade: and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fulfill your strange demands. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe I had none to spare; and you must know those I have can keepe me from want: yet steale or wrong you I will not, nor dissolve that friendship we have mutually promised, except you constraine me by our bad usage.

Powhatans reply and flattery.

The King having attentively listned to this Discourse, promised that both he and his Country would spare him what he could, the which within two dayes they should receive. Yet Captaine Smith, sayth the King, some doubt I have of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieve you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you Corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free us of this feare, leave aboard your weapons, for here they are needlesse, we being all friends, and for ever Powhatans.

With many such discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houses. The next day he renewed his building, which hee little intended should proceede. For the Dutch-men finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparations to surprise us, little thinking we could escape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and projects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so great a spirit, judgement, and resolution, and a hireling that

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was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well used both he and his Countrymen; that the President knew not whom better to trust; and not knowing any fitter for that employment, had sent him as a spy to discover Powhatans intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after.

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Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a copper Kettell, the which the President perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his scarcity he would accept it, provided we should have as much more the next yeare, or els the Country of Monacan. Wherewith each seemed well contented, and Powhatan began to expostulate the difference of Peace and Warre after this manner.

Powhatans discourse of peace and warre. [Ill. 76.]

Captaine Smith, you may understand that I having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not any one living of these three generations but my selfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long must die, my brethren, namely Opitchapam, Opechancanough, and Kekataugh, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors. I wish their experience no lesse then mine, and your love to them no lesse then mine to you. But this bruit from Nandsamund, that you are come to destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly have by love, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging us your friends. And why are you thus jealous of our loves seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede upon Acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate,

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nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine Smith: then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with 159 miserable feare, end my miserable life, leaving my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash unadvisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loves, and every yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also, if you would come in friendly manner to see us, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes. To this subtile discourse, the President thus replied.

Capt. Smiths Reply.

Seeing you will not rightly conceive of our words, we strive to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my love, both my selfe and my men have kept. As for your promise I find it every day violated by some of your subjects: yet we finding your love and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being ungratefull, that for your sake onely, we have curbed our thirsting desire of revenge; els had they knowne as well the crueltie we use to our enemies, as our true love and courtesie to our friends. And I thinke your judgement sufficient to conceive, as well by the adventures we have undertaken, as by the advantage we have (by our Armes) of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could have effected it. Your people comming to James Towne are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without any exceptions; we esteeming it with you as it is with us, to weare our armes as our apparell. As for the danger of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure: for your riches we have no use: as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the woods, we shall not so unadvisedly starve as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we have a rule to finde beyond your knowledge.

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade. But the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard dispersed, nor our men disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his minde once more in this manner.

160 Powhatans importunity to have us unarmed to betray us.

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Captaine Smith, I never use any Werowance so kindly as your selfe, yet from you I receive the least kindnesse of any. Captaine Newport gave me swords, copper, cloathes, a bed, towels, or what I desired; ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his gunnes when I intreated him: none doth deny to lye at my feet, or refuse to doe what I desire, but onely you; of whom I can have nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will have whatsoever you demand. Captaine Newport you call father, and so you call me; but I see for all us both you will doe what you list, and we must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your armes, that I may beleieve you; for you see the love I beare you, doth cause me thus nakedly to forget my selfe.

Smith seeing this Salvage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the salvages to breake the ice, that his Boate might come to fetch his corne and him: and gave order for more men to come on shore, to surprise the King, with whom also he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keepe him from suspicion, entertained the time with this reply.

Cap. Smiths discourse to delay time, till he found oportunity to surprise the King. [III. 77.]

Powhatan you must know, as I have but one God, I honour but one King; and I live not here as your subject, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our custome, to sell our curtesies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike it as being over jealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leave my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will love you: but the small care you have of such a childe caused my men perswade me to looke to my selfe.

Powhatans plot to have murdered Smith.

By this time Powhatan having knowledge his men were ready whilst the ice was a breaking, with his luggage women and children, fled. Yet to avoyd 161 suspicion, left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whilst hee secretly ran away, and his

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men that secretly beset the house. Which being presently discovered to Captaine Smith, with his pistoll, sword, and target hee made such a passage among these naked Divels; that at his first shoot, they next him tumbled one over another, and the rest quickly fled some one way some another: so that without any hurt, onely accompanied with John Russell, hee obtained the corps du guard. When they perceived him so well escaped, and with his eightene men (for he had no more with him a shore) to the uttermost of their skill they sought excuses to dissemble the matter: and Powhatan to excuse his flight and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Oratour that bespoke us to this purpose, perceiving even then from our Pinnacle, a Barge and men departing and comming unto us.

A chaine of pearle sent the Captaine for a present.

Captaine Smith, our Werowance is fled, fearing your gunnes, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent these numbers but to guard his corne from stealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet Powhatan is your friend and so will for ever continue. Now since the ice is open, he would have you send away your corne, and if you would have his company, send away also your gunnes, which so affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you as hee promised they should.

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, we caused them do it themselves.

Then having provided baskets for our men to carry our corne to the boats, they kindly offered their service to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellowes, as grim as Divels; yet the very sight of cocking our matches, and being to let fly, a few wordes caused them to leave their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their backes; wee needed not importune them to make dispatch. But our Barges L 162 *Pocahontas bewrayes her fathers deceit to kill us.* being left on the oase by the ebbe, caused us stay till the next high-water, so that wee returned againe to our old quarter. Powhatan and his Dutch-men brusting with desire to have the head of Captaine Smith, for if they could but kill him, they thought

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all was theirs, neglected not any opportunity to effect his purpose. The Indians with all the merry sports they could devise, spent the time till night: then they all returned to Powhatan, who all this time was making ready his forces to surprise the house and him at supper. Notwithstanding the eternall all-seeing God did prevent him, and by a strange meanes. For Pocahontas his dearest jewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent us by and by: but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come kill us all, if they that brought it could not kill us with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would live shee wished us presently to bee gone. Such things as shee delighted in, he would have given her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, shee said shee durst not be seene to have any: for if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead, and so shee ranne away by her selfe as she came. Within lesse then an hour came eight or ten lusty fellowes, with graat platters of venison and other victuall, very importunate to have us put out our matches (whose smoake made them sicke) and sit down to our victuall. But the Captaine made them taste every dish, which done hee sent some of them backe to Powhatan, to bid him make haste for hee was prepared for his comming. As for them hee knew they came to betray him at his supper: but hee would prevent them and all their other intended villanies: so that they might be gone. Not long after came more messengers, to see what newes; not long after them others. Thus wee spent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high-water, yet seemed to the salvages as friendly as they to us: and that wee were so desirous to give Powhatan content, as hee requested, wee did leave [III. 78.] 163 him Edward Brynton to kill him foule, and the Dutchmen to finish his house; thinking at our returne from Pamaunkee the frost would be gone, and then we might finde a better opportunity if necessity did occasion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutch-mens treachery, whose humor well suted this verse:

Is any free, that may not live as freely as he list? Let us live so, then w'are as free, and
bruitish as the best.

Chap. IX. How wee escaped surprising at Pamaunkee.

The Dutch men deceive Cap. Winne.

WE had no sooner set sayle but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (two stout Dutch-men) to James towne: who faining to Captaine Winne that all things were well, and that Captaine Smith had use of their armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were given them) they told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles, and shift of apparell; by which colourable excuse they obtained sixe or seaven more to their confederacie, such expert theeves, that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder and such like: Salvages they had at hand to carry it away, and the next day they returned unsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow, and in the interim to convay them such things as they could: for which service they should live with Powhatan as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. Samuel their other consort Powhatan kept for their pledge, whose diligence had provided them three hundred of their kinde of hatchets; the rest fifty swords, eight peeces, and eight pikes. Brynton and Richard Salvage seeing the Dutch-men so diligent to accommodate the Salvages with weapons, attempted to have gotten to James towne, but they were apprehended, and expected ever when to be put to death.

The Dutch men furnish the Salvages. with Armes. 164

Within two or three dayes we arrived at Pamaunkee, the King as many dayes entertained us with feasting and much mirth. And the day appointed to beginne our trade, the President, Lieutenant Percie, Mr. West, Mr. Russell, Mr. Behethland, Mr. Crashaw, Mr. Powell, Mr. Ford, and some others to the number of fifteene, went up to Opechancanoughs house (a quarter of a mile from the river) where wee found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy: and all the houses round about of all things abandoned. Not long wee stayed ere the King arrived, and after him came diverse of his people loaden with bowes and arrowes: but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with the King after this manner.

Smiths Speech to Opechancanough.

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Opechancanough, the great love you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions. Last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship: but now you have invited mee to starve with hunger: you know my want, and I your plenty; of which by some meanes I must have part: remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice, the rest I will proportion fit bargains for your people.

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his project, sold us what they had to our owne content, promising the next day more company, better provided. The Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of Mr. Phetiplace; the President with his old fifteene marched up to the Kings house, where wee found foure or five men newly arrived, each with a great basket. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulness held us with discourse what paines he had taken to keep his promise; till Mr. Russell brought us in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least seven hundred Salvages well armed, had invironed the house, and beset the fields. The King conjecturing what Russell related, wee could well perceive how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismaied with the thought of 700. *Salvages beset the English being but 16.* [Ill. 79.] 165 such a multitude; the Captaine encouraged us to this effect.

Smiths speech to his Company.

Worthy Countrey-men, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared were they as many more: if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councill with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions in England) as will breake my necke. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein I pray you aid mee with your opinions. Should wee beginne with them and surprise the King, we cannot keepe him and defend well our selves. If wee should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house; the rest will all fly: then shall wee get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and so starve

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for victuall. As for their fury it is the least danger, for well you know, being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the helpe of God compound to save my life. And wee are sixteene, and they but seaven hundred at the most; and assure your selves, God will so assist us, that if you dare stand but to discharge your pieces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoever, let us fight like men, and not die like sheepe: for by that meanes you know God hath oft delivered mee, and so I trust will now. But first, I will deale with them, to bring it to passe wee may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me you will be valiant.

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever hee attempted, or die: whereupon the Captaine in plaine tearmes told the King this.

Smiths offer to Opechancanough.

I see Opechancanough your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine have done no harme, but by our direction. Take therefore your Armes, you see mine, my body shall bee as naked as yours: the Isle in your river is a fit place, if you be contented: and 166 the conquerour (of us two) shall be Lord and Master over all our men. If you have not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will; so every one bring a basket of corne, against all which I will stake the value in copper, you see I have but fifteene, and our game shall be, the Conquerour take all.

Opechancanoughs device to betray Smith.

The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspicion of unkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receive. This was to draw him out of the doore, where the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying under a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot. The President commanded one to go see what kind of deceit this was, and to receive the present; but hee refused to doe it: yet the Gentlemen and all the rest were importunate to goe, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that Coward: and commanded Lieutenant Percie, Master West, and the rest to make good

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the house; Master Powell and Master Behethland he commanded to guard the doore, and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke in the midst of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongst all his people: who delivering the Captaine his Vambrace, Bow, and Arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner have used their King: who then to escape himselfe bestowed his presents in good sadnesse, and causing a great many of them come before him unarmed, holding the King by the hayre (as is sayd) he spake to them to this effect.

Smith taketh the King prisoner. Smiths discourse to the Pamaunkees.

I see (you Pamaunkees) the great desire you have to kill me, and my long suffering your injuries hath imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I have forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serve) to be your friend, till you give me just cause to be your enemy. If I keepe this vow, 167 [III. 80.] my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me, if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beads, or Copper, I spurne here before you with my foot; you shall see I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to finde one of your Nation that will not deny the name of Pamaunk. I am not now at Rassaweak halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me prisoner; yet then for keeping your promise and your good usage and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denyals of your trechery, doe halfe perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my Ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carcasses, yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give me the first occasion, and your King shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you.

The Salvages dissemble their intent.

Upon this away went their Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their Commodities: two or three houres they so thronged about the President and so

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overweared him, as he retyred himselfe to rest, leaving Mr. Behethland and Mr. Powell to receive their presents, but some Salvages perceiving him fast asleepe, & the guard somewhat carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choise men each with a club, or an English sword in his hand began to enter the house with two or three hundred others, that pressed to second them. The noyse and hast they made in, did so shake the house they awoke him from his sleepe, and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, betooke him strait to his sword and Target; Mr. Chrashaw and some others charged in like manner; whereat they quickly thronged faster backe then before forward. The house thus cleansed, the King and some of his auncients we kept yet with him, who with a long Oration, excused this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the companie againe *Their excuse and reconcilement.* 168 renewing their presents with their best provisions, and whatsoever he gave them they seemed therewith well contented.

Now in the meane while since our departure, this hapned at our Fort. Master Scrivener having received Letters from England to make himselfe either Cæsar or nothing, he began to decline in his affection to Captaine Smith, that ever regarded him as himselfe, and was willing to crosse the surprising of Powhatan. Some certaine daies after the Presidents departure, he would needs goe visit the Isle of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine Waldo (though the President had appointed him to be ready to second his occasions) with Mr. Anthony Gosnoll and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how none doth know. The Skiff was much over loaden, and would scarce have lived in that extreame tempest had she beene empty: but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both Waldo and an hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their projects. To advertise the President of this heavie newes, none could be found would undertake it, but the Journey was often refused of all in the Fort, untill Master Richard Wyffin undertooke alone the performance thereof.

The losse of Mr. Scrivener and others with a Skiff. Master Wyffins desperate journey.

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In this Journey he was incountred with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he passed. As for that night he lodged with Powhatan, perceiving such preparation for warre, not finding the President there: he did assure himselfe some mischiefe was intended. Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinary bribes and much trouble in three dayes travell, at length he found us in the midst of these turmoyles. This unhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the company, and so dissembling his sorrow with the best countenances he could, when the night approched went safely aboard with all his Souldiers; 169 leaving Opechancanough at libertie, according to his promise, the better to have Powhatan in his returne.

Powhatan constraineth his men to be trecherous. [III. 81.] The third attempt to betray us.

Now so extreemely Powhatan had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine Smith: that the next day they appointed all the cuntry should come to trade unarmed: yet unwilling to be trecherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting with him almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and Baskets, to tempt us on shore: but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a gun. When the President saw them begin to depart, being unwilling to loose such a bootie, he so well contrived the Pinnace, and his Barges with Ambuscadoes, as onely with Lieutenant Percie, Mr. West, and Mr. Russell, with their Armes went on shore; others he appointed unarmed to receive what was brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and the banke serving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fayre open to his Ambuscado's. For he not being to be perswaded to goe visit their King, the King knowing the most of them unarmed, came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones; and with some twentie men, and many women loaden with painted Baskets. But when they approached somewhat neare us, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure, yet so trembled with feare as they were scarce able to

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nock their Arrowes: Smith standing with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our Ambuscado's, who upon the word discovered themselves, and he retyred to the Barge. Which the Salvages no sooner perceived, then away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage.

That night we sent Mr. Chrashaw, and Mr. Ford to James towne to Cap. Winne. In the way betweene 170 Werowocomoco and the Fort they met foure or five of the Dutchmens Confederates going to Powhatan: the which to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Salvages, returned to the Fort and there continued.

A chayne of pearle sent to obtaine peace.

The Salvages hearing our Barge goe downe the river in the night, were so terribly affrayde, that we sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and wires) that the next day the King sent our Captaine a chayne of Pearle, to alter his purpose and stay his men: promising though they wanted themselves, to fraught our ship and bring it aboard to avoyd suspition. So that five or six dayes after, from all parts of the Country within ten or twelve myles in the extreame frost and snow, they brought us provision on their naked backes.

The President poisoned: the offender punished.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poyson beene sufficient, the President, with Mr. West, and some others had beene poysoned; it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe. Wecuttanow, a stout young fellow, knowing he was suspected for bringing this present of poyson, with fortie or fiftie of his chiefe companions (seeing the President but with a few men at Potauncak) so proudly braved it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving in the midst of his company, did not onely beate, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischief. Whereupon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to have so well escaped: and the townsmen remaining presently fraughted our Barge to be rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse Wecuttanow, (being sonne to their chiefe

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King, but Powhatan) and told us if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to us to punish as we pleased. Men may thinke it strange there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more ease wee might have got it; and had it wanted, the whole Colony had 171 *The Salvages want and povertie*. starved. Wee may be thought very patient to endure all those injuries, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should have lost our selves. We searched also the Countries of Youghtanund and Mattapanient, where the people imparted that little they had with such complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children, as he had beene too cruell to have beene a Christian, that would not have beene satisfied and moved with compassion. But had this hapned in October, November, and December, when that unhappie discovery of Monacan was made, we might have fraughted a ship of fortie tuns, and twice as much might have beene had from the Rivers of Rapahanock, Patawomek, and Pawtuxunt.

[III. 82.] *The Dutchmen did much hurt.*

The maine occasion of our thus temporizing with them was, to part friends as we did, to give the lesse cause of suspition to Powhatan to fly, by whom we now returned with a purpose to have surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof (when we came against the Towne) the President sent Mr. Wyffin and Mr. Coe ashore to discover and make way for his intended project. But they found that those damned Dutch-men had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house and Werowocomoco, and to carry away all his corne and provision: and the people they found so ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to escape with their lives. So the President finding his intent frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an unfit time to revenge their abuses, sent Master Michael Phittiplace by Land to James towne, whether we sayled with all the speed we could; wee having in this Journey (for 25l . of Copper, and 50l . of Iron & Beads) enough to keepe 46 men six weekes, and every man for his reward a moneths provision extraordinary (no Trade being allowed but for the store) we got neare 200l waight of deere suet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Bushels of Corne.

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Those temporizing proceedings to some may seeme 172 too charitable, to such a daily daring trecherous people: to others not pleasing, that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransacking, and destroying (as did the Spanyards) the simple bodies of such ignorant soules; nor delightfull, because not stuffed with Relations of heapes and mynes of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities, as the Portugals and Spanyards found in the East and West Indies. The want whereof hath begot us (that were the first undertakers) no lesse scorne and contempt, then the noble conquests and valiant adventures beautified with it, prayse and honour. Too much I confesse the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to cleare us from the blind worlds ignorant censure, these few words may suffice any reasonable understanding.

An Apology for the first Planters.

It was the Spanyards good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it affoorded victualls at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the use of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those Countries affoorded: so that what the Spanyard got was chiefly the spoyle and pillage of those Countrey people, and not the labours of their owne hands. But had those fruitfull Countries beene as salvage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as Virginia: their proper labours it is likely would have produced as small profit as ours. But had Virginia beene peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious Jewels, and rich commodities as was the Indies: then had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might be expected from us, the world might then have traduced us and our merits, and have made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a Land even as God made it, where we found onely an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold or silver, or any commodities, 173 and carelesse of any thing but from hand to mouth, except bables

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of no worth; nothing to incourage us, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded. Which ere we could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our Adventurers; we were to discover the Countrey, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civill, and industrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make us some recompence, or plant such Colonies of our owne, that must first make provision how to live of themselves, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the Country: which doubtlesse will be as commodious for England as the west Indies for Spaine, if it be rightly mannaged: notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions, that will argue the contrary, as formerly some have done against the Spanyards and Portugalls. But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion, I onely say this, for those that the three first yeares began this Plantation; notwithstanding all their factions, mutinies, and miseries, so gently corrected, and well prevented: peruse the Spanish Decades; the Relations of Master Hackluit, and tell me how many ever with such small meanes as a Barge of 22 tuns, sometimes with seaven, eight, or nine, or but at most, twelve or sixteene men, did ever discover so many fayre and navigable Rivers, subject so many severall Kings, people, and Nations, to obedience, and contribution, with so little bloodshed.

[III. 83.]

And if in the search of those Countries we had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it as obedience and contribution, but if we have overskipped it, we will not envie them that shall find it: yet can we not but lament, it was our fortunes to end when we had but onely learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By Richard Wyffin, William Phittiplace, Jeffrey Abbot, and Anas Todkill. [Chap. X.

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Chap. X. How the Salvages became subject to the English.

WHen the Ships departed, all the provision of the Store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers rayne, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would scarcely eate it. Yet it was the Souldiers dyet till our returnes, so that we

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found nothing done, but our victuals spent, and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Salvages. But now casting up the Store, and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned, and the company divided into tens, fiftens, or as the businesse required; six houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in Pastime and merry exercises, but the untowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President advise as followeth.

The Presidents advice to the Company.

Countrymen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe, and thinke not that either my pains, nor the Adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloath. I speake not this to you all, for divers of you I know deserve both honour and reward, better then is yet here to be had: but the greater part must be more industrious, or starve, how ever you have beene heretofore tollerated by the authoritie of the Councell, from that I have often commanded you. You see now that power resteth wholly in my selfe: you must obey this now for a Law, that he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sicknesse he be disabled:) for the labours of thirtie or fortie honest and industrious men shall not be consumed to maintaine an hundred and fiftie idle loyterers. And though you presume the authoritie here is but a shadow, and that I dare not touch the lives 175 of any but my owne must answer it: the Letters patents shall each weeke be read to you, whose Contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you therefore without contempt seeke to observe these orders set downe, for there are now no more Counsellors to protect you, nor curbe my endeavours. Therefore he that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

He made also a Table, as a publicke memoriall of every mans deserts, to encourage the good, and with shame to spurre on the rest to amendment. By this many became very industrious, yet more by punishment performed their businesse, for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevaile to deceive him: yet the Dutch-mens consorts so

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closely conveyed them powder, shot, swords, and tooles, that though we could find the defect, we could not finde by whom, till it was too late.

The Dutchmens plot to murther Cap. Smith. [III. 84.]

All this time the Dutch men remaining with Powhatan, (who kindly entertained them to instruct the Salvages the use of our Armes) and their consorts not following them as they expected; to know the cause, they sent Francis their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised like a Salvage, to the Glasse-house, a place in the woods neare a myle from James Towne; where was their Rendezvous for all their unsuspected villany. Fortie men they procured to lie in Ambuscado for Captaine Smith, who no sooner heard of this Dutch-man, but he sent to apprehend him (but he was gone) yet to crosse his returne to Powhatan, the Captaine presently dispatched 20. shot after him, himselfe returning from the Glasse-house alone. By the way he incountred the King of Pasphegh, a most strong stout Salvage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his Ambush, seeing him onely armed but with a faucheon, attempted to have shot him, but the President prevented his shoot by grappling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his faucheon, and perforce bore him into the River to have drowned him. Long they struggled in the water, till the President got such hold on his throat, he had neare *Smith taketh the King of Pasphegh prisoner.* 176 strangled the King; but having drawne his faucheon to cut off his head, seeing how pittifully he begged his life, he led him prisoner to James Towne, and put him in chaynes.

The Dutch-man ere long was also brought in, whose villany though all this time it was suspected, yet he fayned such a formall excuse, that for want of language Captaine Winne understood him not rightly, and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to save their lives they were constrained to accommodate his armes, of whom he extreamely complained to have detained them perforce, and that he made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to have returned, but was onely walking in the woods to gather Walnuts. Yet for all this faire tale, there was so small appearance of truth, and the plaine confession of Pasphegh of his trechery, he went by the heeles: Smith purposing to regaine the Dutch-

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men, by the saving his life. The poore Salvage did his best by his daily messengers to Powhatan, but all returned that the Dutch-men would not returne, neither did Powhatan stay them; and to bring them fiftie myles on his mens backes they were not able. Daily this Kings wives, children, and people came to visit him with presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet escaped. Captaine Winne thinking to pursue him found such troupes of Salvages to hinder his passage, as they exchanged many vollies of shot for flights of Arrowes. Captaine Smith hearing of this in returning to the Fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners, called Kemps and Tussore, the two most exact villaines in all the Country. With these he sent Captaine Winne and fiftie choise men, and Lieutenant Percie, to have regained the King, and revenged this injury, and so had done, if they had followed his directions, or beene advised with those two villaines, that would have betrayed both King & kindred for a peece of Copper, but he trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the *Cap. Smith taketh two Salvages prisoners*. 177 rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to fight: a good time both sides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt, onely they tooke two Canowes, burnt the Kings house, and so returned to James towne.

The Salvages desire Peace.

The President fearing those Bravado's would but incourage the Salvages, began againe himselfe to try his conclusions, whereby six or seaven were slaine, as many made prisoners. He burnt their houses, tooke their Boats, with all their fishing wires, and planted some of them at James towne for his owne use, and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe of all them had injured him. But in his journey passing by Paspahagh towards Chickahamania, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Country, all shewed themselves in their bravest manner. To try their valours he could not but let fly, and ere he could land, they no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a lustie

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young fellow called Okaning, whose worthy discourse deserveth to be remembred. And thus it was:

Okaning his Oration.

Captaine Smith, my Master is here present in the company, thinking it Capt. Winne, and not you, (of him he intended to have beene revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the foules fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and live. Then blame not him being a man. He would intreat you remember, you being a prisoner, what paines he tooke to save your life. If since he hath injured you he was compelled to it: but howsoever, you have revenged it with our too great losse. We perceive and well know you intend to destroy us, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will have the worse by our absence; for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot live if you want our harvest, and that reliefe we bring you. If you M [Ill. 85.] 178 promise us peace, we will beleeeve you; if you proceed in revenge we will abandon the Country.

Upon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did us injury, upon condition they should bring in provision. Thus all departed good friends, and so continued till Smith left the Countrey.

A Salvage smothered at James towne, and recovered.

Arriving at James Towne, complaint was made to the President, that the Chickahamianians, who all this while continued trade and seemed our friends, by colour thereof were the onely theeves. And amongst other things a Pistoll being stolne and the theefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes, that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one was imprisoned, the other was sent to returne the Pistoll againe within twelve houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-coale for a fire: ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll,

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but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoake he had made, and so pittiously burnt, that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably bewayed his death, and broke forth into such bitter agonies, that the President to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him alive againe: but he little thought he could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with Aqua vitæ and Vineger, it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke & affrighted, that he seemed Lunaticke, the which as much tormented and grieved the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie upon promise of their good behaviour, the President promised to recover him: and so caused him to be layd by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning having well slept, had recovered his perfect senses, and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper given them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread among all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine Smith could make a man alive that was dead.

179 Two or three Salvages slaine in drying Powder.

Another ingenuous Salvage of Powhatans, having gotten a great bag of Powder, and the backe of an Armour, at Werowocomoco amongst a many of his companions, to shew his extraordinary skill, he did dry it on the backe as he had seene the Souldiers at James Towne. But he dryed it so long, they peeping over it to see his skill, it tooke fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more, and the rest so scorched, they had little pleasure to meddle any more with powder.

These and many other such pretty Accidents, so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan, and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace; returning many stolne things which we never demanded nor thought of; and after that, those that were taken stealing, both Powhatan and his people have sent them backe to James towne, to receive their punishment; and all the Country became absolute as free for us, as for themselves.

Chap. XI. What was done in three moneths having Victualls. The Store devoured by Rats, how we lived three moneths of such naturall fruits as the Country afforded.

NOw we so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths wee made three or foure Last of Tarre, Pitch, and Sope ashes; produced a tryall of Glasse; made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water, which till then was wanting; built some twentie houses; recovered our Church; provided Nets and Wires for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeves, and the Salvages, built a Blockhouse in the neck of our Isle, kept by a Garrison to entertaine the Salvages trade, and none to passe nor repasse Salvage nor Christian without the presidents order. Thirtie or forty Acres of ground we digged and planted. Of three sowes in eightheene [Ill 86.] 180 moneths, increased 60, and od Pigg. And neere 500. chickings brought up themselves without having any meat given them: but the Hogs were transported to Hog. Isle: where also we built a block-house with a garison to give us notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clapbord and waynscot, and cut downe trees. We built also a fort for a retreat neere a convenient River upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assalted and easie to be defended, but ere it was finished this defect caused a stay.

Great extremitie by Rats.

In searching our casked corne, we found it halfe rotten, and the rest so consumed with so many thousands of Rats that increased so fast, but there originall was from the ships, as we knew not how to keepe that little we had. This did drive us all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Untill this time Kempes and Tassore were fettered prisoners, and did double taske and taught us how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuall we set at liberty, but so well they liked our companies they did not desire to goe from us. And to expresse their loves for 16. dayes continuance, the Countrie people brought us (when least) 100. a day, of Squirrils, Turkeyes, Deere and other wilde beasts: But this want of come occasioned the end of all our works, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. 60. or 80. with-Ensigne Laxon was sent downe the

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river to live upon Oysters, and 20. with liutenant Percy to try for fishing at Poynt Comfort: but in six weekes they would not agree once to cast out the net, he being sicke and burnt sore with Gunpowder. Master West with as many went up to the falls, but nothing could be found but a few Acornes; of that in store every man had their equall proportion. Till this present, by the hazard and indevours of some thirtie or fortie, this whole Colony had ever beene fed. We had more Sturgeon, then could be devoured by Dog and Man, of which the industrious by drying and pounding, mingled with Caviare, Sorell and other wholesome hearbes *Bread made of dried Sturgeon.* 181 *Their desire to destroy themselves.* would make bread and good meate: others would gather as much Tockwhogh roots, in a day as would make them bread a weeke, so that of those wilde fruites, and what we caught, we lived very well in regard of such a diet, But such was the strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced nolens, volens, perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all have starved or have eaten one another. Of those wild fruits the Salvages often brought us, and for that, the President would not fullfill the unreasonable desire, of those distracted Gluttonous Loyterers, to sell not only our kettles, hows, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, pieces, and the very Ordnance and howses, might they have prevayled to have beene but Idle: for those Salvage fruites, they would have had imparted all to the Salvages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of to be at Powhatans, fifty myles from our Fort. Though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humors, yet to have had the other halfe, they would have sould their soules, though not sufficient to have kept them a weeke. Thousands were their exclamations, suggestions and devises, to force him to those base inventions to have made it an occasion to abandon the Country. Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one Dyer a most crafty fellow and his ancient Maligner, whom he worthily punished, and with the rest he argued the case in this maner.

The Presidents order for the drones.

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starve you, or that Powhatan at this present hath

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corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not have it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as now I see a great many; yet it shal not so passionate me, but I will doe my best for my most maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan, not that I will longer forbear to force you, from your Idlennesse, and punish you if you rayle. But if I finde any more 182 [III. 87.] runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnacle, let him assuredly looke to arive at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I have saved yours, when (might your owne wills have prevailed) you would have starved; and will doe still whether I will or noe; But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selves those fruites the earth doth yeeld, you shall not onely gather for your selves, but those that are sicke. As yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you: and all my English extraordinary provision that I have, you shall see me divide it amongst the sick. And this Salvage trash you so scornfully repine at; being put in your mouthes your stomackes can disgest, if you would have better you should have brought it; and therefore I will take a course you shall provide what is to be had. The sick shall not starve, but equally share of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the river, and be banished from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or starve. But some would say with Seneca.

I know those things thou sayst are true good Nurse, But fury forceth me to follow worse. My minde is hurried headlong up and downe: Desiring better counsell, yet finds none.

But seven of 200 dyed in nine moneths.

This order many murmured was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well bestirre themselves, that of 200. (except they were drowned) there died not past seven: as for Captaine Winne and Master Leigh they were dead ere this want hapned, and the rest dyed not for want of such as preserved the rest. Many were billeted amongst the Salvages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields and habitations, how to gather and use their

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fruits as well as themselves; for they did know wee had such a commanding power at James towne they durst not wrong us of a pin.

183 *The Salvages returne our fugitives.*

So well those poore Salvages used us that were thus billeted, that divers of the Souldiers ran away to search Kemps & Tassore our old prisoners. Glad were these Salvages to have such an oportunity to testifie their love unto us, for in stead of entertaining them, and such things as they had stollen, with all their great Offers, and promises they made them how to revenge their injuryes upon Captaine Smith; Kemps first made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrie men (by them) how he was used, feeding them with this law, who would not work must not eat, till they were neere starved indeede, continually threatning to beate them to death: neither could they get from him, till hee and his consorts brought them perforce to our Captaine, that so well contented him and punished them, as many others that intended also to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, then adventure to live idley amongst the Salvages; (of whom there was more hope to make better Christians & good subjects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselves both.) For so affraide was al those kings and the better sort of the people to displease us, that some of the baser sort that we have extreamly hurt and punished for their villanies would hire us, we should not tell it to their kings, or countrymen, who would also repunish them, and yet returne them to James towne to content the President for a testimony of their loves.

Master Sicklemores Journey to Chawwonoke.

Master Sicklemore well returned from Chawwonoke; but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them were left by Sir Walter Raleigh. The river, he saw was not great, the people few, the countrey most over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there straglingly Pemminaw, we call silke grasse. But by the river the ground was good, and exceeding furtill;

Master Powels journey to the Mangoags.

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Master Nathanael Powell and Anas Todkill were also by the Quiyoughquohanocks conducted to the Mangoags to search them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead. This honest proper good promise-keeping king, of all the rest did ever best affect us, and 184 [III. 88.] though to his false Gods he was very zealous, yet he would confesse our God as much exceeded his as our Gunns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many presents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry. Three dayes journey they conducted them through the woods, into a high country towards the Southwest: where they saw here and there a little corne field, by some little spring or smal brooke, but no river they could see: the people in all respects like the rest, except their language: they live most upon rootes, fruites and wilde beasts; and trade with them towards the sea and the fatter countryes for dried fish and corne, for skins.

The Dutch mens projects.

All this time to recover the Dutch-men and one Bentley another fugitive, we imployed one William Volday, a Zwitzar by birth, with Pardons & promises to regaine them. Little we then suspected this double villaine of any villany; who plainly taught us, in the most trust was the greatest treason; for this wicked hypocrite, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his cursed country men, (having this oportunity by his imployment to regaine them) convayed them every thing they desired to effect their projects, to distroy the Colony. With much devotion they expected the Spaniard, to whom they intended good service, or any other, that would but carry them from us. But to begin with the first oportunity; they seeing necessitie thus inforced us to disperse our selves, importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not onely distroy our Hoggs, fire our towne, and betray our Pinnace; but bring to his service and subjection the most of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many Discontents, and many were agreed to their Devilish practise. But one Thomas Douse, and Thomas Mallard (whose christian hearts relented at such an unchristian act) voluntarily revealed it to Captaine Smith, who caused them to conceale it, perswading Douse and Mallard to proceed in their

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confederacie: onely to bring the irreclamable Dutch men and 185 *Two Gentlemen sent to the Germans*. the inconstant Salvages in such a maner amongst such Ambuscado's as he had prepared, that not many of them should returne from our Peninsula. But this brute comming to the eares of the impatient multitude they so importuned the President to cut off those Dutch men, as amongst many that offred to cut their throats before the face of Powhatan, the first was Lieutenant Percy, and Mr. John Cuderington, two Gentlemen of as bold resolute spirits as could possibly be found. But the President had occasion of other imploiment for them, & gave way to Master Wyffin and Sarjeant Jeffrey Abbot, to goe and stab them or shoot them. But the Dutch men made such excuses, accusing Volday whom they supposed had revealed their project, as Abbot would not, yet Wyffing would, perceiving it but deceit. The King understanding of this their imployment, sent presently his messengers to Captaine Smith to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he maintaine them, or any to occasion his displeasure.

The first arrivall of Captaine Argall.

But whilst this businesse was in hand. Arrived one Captaine Argall, and Master Thomas Sedan, sent by Master Cornelius to truck with the Colony, and fish for Sturgeon, with a ship well furnished, with wine and much other good provision. Though it was not sent us, our necessities was such as inforced us to take it. He brought us newes of a great supply and preparation for the Lord La Warre, with letters that much taxed our President for his hard dealing with the Salvages, and not returning the shippes fraughted Notwithstanding we kept this ship till the fleete arrived. True it is Argall lost his voyage, but we revictualled him, and sent him for England, with a true relation of the causes of our defailments, and how imposible it was to returne that wealth they expected, or observe their instructions to indure the Salvages insolencies, or doe any thing to any purpose, except they would send us men and meanes that could produce that they so much desired: otherwise all they did was lost, and 186 could not but come to confusion. The villany of Volday we still dissembled. Adam upon his pardon came home but Samuell still stayed with

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Powhatan to heare further of their estates by this supply. Now all their plots Smith so well understood, they were his best advantages to secure us from any trechery, could be done by them or the Salvages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, because all those cuntryes more feared him then Powhatan, and hee had such parties with all his bordering neighbours: and many of the rest for love or feare would have done any thing he would have them, upon any commotion, though these fugitives had done all they could to perswade Powhatan, King James would kill Smith, for using him and his people so unkindly.

[III. 89.] *Note these inconveniences.*

By this you may see for all those crosses, trecheries, and dissentions, how hee wrestled and overcame (without bloudshed) all that happened: also what good was done; how few dyed; what food the Countrey naturally affoordeth; what small cause there is men should starve, or be murdered by the Salvages, that have discretion to mannage them with courage and industrie. The two first yeares, though by his adventures, he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authoritie ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavours. But it wrought in him that experience and estimation amongst the Salvages, as otherwise it had bin impossible, he had ever effected that he did. Notwithstanding the many miserable, yet generous and worthy adventures, he had oft and long endured in the wide world, yet in this case he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience. Which with thus much adoe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but onely learned how to begin. And though he left those unknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his unlawfull successors, (who onely by living in James Towne, presumed to know more then all the world could direct them:) Now though they had all his Souldiers, with a tripple power, and twice tripple better meanes; by what they 187 have done in his absence, the world may see what they would have done in his presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions: it doth justly prove, what cause he had to send them for England, and that he was neither factious, mutinous, nor dishonest. But they have made it more plaine since his returne for England; having his absolute authoritie

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freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunitie that his labours had effected. As I am sorry their actions have made it so manifest, so I am unwilling to say what reason doth compell me, but onely to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partiall, reasonlesse, and malicious.

Chapter XII. The Arrivall of the third Supply.

The alteration of the government.

TO redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Treasurer, Councell, and Company of Virginia, not finding that returne, and profit they expected; and them ingaged there, not having meanes to subsist of themselves, made meanes to his Majestie, to call in their Commission, and take a new in their owne names, as in their owne publication, 1610. you may reade at large. Having thus annihilated the old by vertue of a Commission made to the right Honourable, Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warre, to be Generall of Virginia; Sir Thomas Gates, his Lieutenant; Sir George Somers, Admirall; Sir Thomas Dale, high Marshall; Sir Fardinando Wainman, Generall of the Horse; and so all other offices to many other worthy Gentlemen, for their lives: (though not any of them had ever beene in Virginia; except Captaine Newport, who was also by Patent made vice-Admirall:) those noble Gentlemen drew in such great summes of money, that they sent Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captaine Newport with nine shippes, and five hundred people, who had each of them a Commission, who 188 1609. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.* [III. 90.] *The losse of Virginia.* first arrived to call in the old, without the knowledge or consent of them, that had endured all those former dangers to beat the path, not any regard had at all of them. All things being ready, because those three Captaines could not agree for place, it was concluded they should goe all in one ship, so all their three Commissions were in that Ship with them called the Sea-Venture. They set sayle from England in May 1609. A small Catch perished at Sea in a Hericano: the Admirall with an hundred and fiftie men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bills of Loading, with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provision arrived not. With the other seaven Ships as Captaines arrived Ratliffe, whose right name (as is sayd)

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was Sicklemore, Martin, and Archur, with Captaine Wood, Captaine Webbe, Captaine Moone, Captaine King, Captaine Davis, and divers Gentlemen of good meanes, and great parentage. But the first as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore: for though (as is said) they were formerly sent for England, yet now returning againe, graced by the titles of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strengthened themselves with those new companies, so exclaiming against Captaine Smith, that they mortally hated him ere ever they saw him. Who understanding by his Scouts the arrivall of such a Fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposed them Spanyards. But he quickly so determined and ordered our affaires, as we little feared their Arrivall, nor the successe of our incounter; nor were the Salvages any way negligent for the most part, to ayd and assist us with their best power. Had it so beene we had beene happy; for we would not have trusted them but as our foes, where receiving them as our Countreymen and friends, they did what they could to murder our President, to surprise the Store, the Fort, and our lodgings, to usurpe the government, and make us all their servants and slaves, till they could consume us and our remembrance; and rather indeed to supplant us *The Salvages offer to fight under our colours*. 189 then supply us, as master William Box an honest Gentleman in this voyage thus relateth.

In the taylor of a Hericano wee were separated from the Admirall, which although it was but the remainder of that Storme, there is seldome any such in England, or those Northerne parts of Europe. Some lost their Masts, some their Sayles blowne from their Yards; the Seas so over-raking our Ships, much of our provision was spoyled, our Fleet separated, and our men sicke, and many dyed, and in this miserable estate we arrived in Virginia. But in this Storme,

When ratling Thunder ran along the Clouds; Did not the Saylers poore, and Masters proud
A terror feele as strucke with feare of God? Did not their trembling joynts then dread his
rod? Least for foule deeds and black mouth'd blasphemies, The ruffull time be come that
vengeance cryes.

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Mutinies.

To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly Gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to day the old Commission must rule, to morrow the new, the next day neither, in fine they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie we must endure them thus to destroy us, or by correcting their follies, have brought the worlds censure upon us to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes: for on earth for the number was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The President seeing the desire those Braves had to rule; seeing how his authoritie was so unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all, and have returned for England. But seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arrive, longer he would not suffer those factious spirits to proceede. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible; should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily escaped amongst this factious crew; the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leasure better served to doe them justice: and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master Percie had his request granted to returne for England, being very sicke; and Mr. West with an hundred and twentie of the best he could chuse, he sent to the Falles; Martin with neare as many to Nandsamund, with their due proportions of all provisions according to their numbers.

The planting Nandsamund. [III. 91.] The breach of peace with the Salvages.

Now the Presidents yeare being neare expired, he made Captaine Martin President to follow the order for the election of a President every yeare: but he knowing his owne insufficiency, and the companies untowardnesse and little regard of him, within three houres after resigned it againe to Captaine Smith, and at Nandsamund thus proceeded. The people being contributers used him kindly; yet such was his jealous feare, in the midst of their mirth, he did surprise this poore naked King, with his Monuments, houses, and the

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Isle he inhabited, and there fortified himself; but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldened the Salvages to assault him, kill his men, release their King, gather and carry away a thousand bushels of Corne, he not once offering to intercept them; but sent to the President then at the Falles for thirtie good shot; which from James Towne immediately was sent him. But he so well imployed them they did just nothing, but returned complaining of his tendernes: yet he came away with them to James Towne, leaving his company to their fortunes.

Here I cannot omit the courage of George Forrest, that had seaventeene Arrowes sticking in him, and one shot through him, yet lived sixe or seaven dayes, as if he had small hurt, then for want of Chirurgery dyed.

Master West having seated his men by the Falles, presently returned to revisit James Towne: the President followed him to see that company seated; met him by the 191 way, wondering at his so quicke returne; and found his company planted so inconsiderately, in a place not onely subject to the rivers inundation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences.

Powhatan bought for Copper.

For remedie whereof he presently sent to Powhatan to sell him the place called Powhatan, promising to defend him against the Monacans. And these should be his Conditions (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper; that all stealing offenders should be sent him, there to receive their punishment; that every house as a Custome should pay him a Bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of Pocones, as a yearely tribute to King James for their protection, as a dutie; what else they could spare to barter at their best discretions.

Mutinies.

But both this excellent place and those good Conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie. So much they depended on the Lord Generals new Commission; as they regarded none: the worst they could doe to shew their

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spights they did; supposing all the Monacans Country, gold; and none should come there but whom they pleased. I doe more then wonder to thinke how onely with five men, he either durst or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment all the Chieftaines of those mutinies, till by their multitudes being an hundred and twentie they forced him to retyre: yet in that interim he surprised one of their Boates, wherewith he returned to their ship; where in deed was their provision, which also he tooke, and well it chanced he found the Marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie he had ever escaped. There were divers other of better reason and experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine Wood, Captaine Webbe, Cap. Moone, Captaine FitzJames, Master William Powell, Master Partridge, *Five suppressse an hundred and twentie. 192 Breach of peace with the Salvages at Falles.* [III. 92.] Master White, and divers others, when they perceived the malice of Ratliffe and Archer, and their faction, left their companies, and ever rested his faithfull friends. But the worst was that the poore Salvages, that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking the their houses and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complained to Captaine Smith, he had brought them for Protectors, worse enemies then the Monacans themselves: which though till then, for his love they had endured, they desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselves; since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanors, as they offered (if he would leade them) to fight for him against them. But having spent nine dayes in seeking to reclaime them; shewing them how much they did abuse themselves with these great guilded hopes of the South Sea Mines, commodities, or victories, they so madly conceived; then seeing nothing would prevaile, he set sayle for James Towne.

Thus oft we see from small greene wounds, and from a little grieffe,

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A greater sore and sicknesse growes, then will admit reliefe:

For thus themselves they did beguile, and with the rest play'd theefe.

An assault by the Salvages.

Now no sooner was the Ship under sayle, but the Salvages assaulted those hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the woods: they slew many, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they safely retired, with the swords and cloakes of those they had slaine. But ere wee had sayled halfe a league, our ship grounding, gave us once more libertie to summon them to a parley; where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore silly assault of twelve Salvages, that they submitted themselves upon any termes 193 to the Presidents mercy; who presently put by the heeles sixe or seaven of the chiefe offenders: the rest he seated gallantly at Powhatan, in that Salvage Fort, readie built, and prettily fortified with poles and barks of trees, sufficient to have defended them from all the Salvages in Virginia, dry houses for lodgings and neere two hundred accres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in Virginia for which we called it Non-such. The Salvages also hee presently appeased, redelivering to either party their former losses. Thus all were friends.

The planting of Non-such. The Salvages appeased.

New officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart, at that instant arrived Captaine West, whose gentle nature, by the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners, (alleging they had onely done this for his honor) was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboyles did arise For they a-shore being possessed of all their victuall, munition, and every thing, grew to that height in their former factions, as the President left them to their fortunes: they returned againe to the open ayre at Wests Fort, abandoning Non-such, and he to James towne with his best expedition, but this hapned him in that Journey.

Captaine Smith blowne up with powder.

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Sleeping in his Boate, (for the ship was returned two daies before) accidentallie, one fired his powder-bag, which tore the flesh from his body and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped overboard into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him he was neere drowned. In this estate without either Chirurgian, or Chirurgery he was to goe neere an hundred myles. Arriving at James towne, causing all things to be prepared for peace or warres to obtaine provision, whilst those things were providing, Ratliffe, Archer, & the rest of their Confederates, being to come to their trials; their guiltie consciences, fearing a just reward for their deserts, seeing the President, unable to stand, and neere bereft of N 194 *A bloody intent*. [Ill. 93.] his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to have murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that should have given fire to that mercillesse Pistoll. So not finding that course to be the best, they joyned together to usurpe the government, thereby to escape their punishment. The President, had notice of their projects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but permit them to take their heads that would resist his command, yet he would not suffer them, but sent for the Masters of the ships, and tooke order with them for his returne for England. Seeing there was neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next day, his Commission to be suppressed he knew not why, himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded he knew not how, and a new commission granted they knew not to whom (the which disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies as they did:) besides so grievous were his wounds, and so cruell his torments (few expecting he could live) nor was hee able to follow his busines to regaine what they had lost, suppress those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended; and well he knew in those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisit as his directions, which now could not be, he went presently abroad, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutiners, but he could finde none hee thought fit for it would accept it. In the meane time, seeing him gone, they perswaded Master Percy to stay, who was then to goe for England, and be their President. Within lesse then an houre was this mutation begun and concluded. For when the Company understood

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Smith would leave them, & saw the rest in Armes called Presidents & Councillors, divers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him resigne them his Commission: who after much adoe and many bitter repulses; that their confusion (which he tould them was at their elbowes) should not be attributed to him, for leaving the Colony without a Commission, 195 he was not unwilling they should steale it, but never would he give it to such as they.

And thus, Strange violent forces drew us on unwilling: Reason perswading 'gainst our loves rebelling. We saw and knew the better, ah curse accurst! That notwithstanding we imbrace the worst.

The causes why Smith left the Countrey and his Commission.

But had that unhappie blast not hapned, he would quickly have qualified the heate of those humors, and factions, had the ships but once left them and us to our fortunes; and have made that provision from among the Salvages, as we neither feared Spanyard, Salvage, nor famine; nor would have left Virginia, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and payd for it. What shall I say but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings, made Justice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see us want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get us; that would rather want then borrow, or starve then not pay; that loved action more then words, and hated falshood and covetousnesse worse then death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose losse our deaths.

Leaving us thus with three ships, seaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and od persons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets, Snaphances, and Firelockes, Shot, Powder, and Match sufficient, Curats, Pikes, Swords, and Morrios, more then men; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned

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and expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing; Toolles of all sorts to worke; apparell to supply our wants; six Mares and a Horse; five or sixe hundred Swine; as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goats; some sheepe; what was 196 brought or bred there remained. But they regarding nothing but from hand to mouth, did consume that wee had, tooke care for nothing, but to perfect some colourable complaints against Captaine Smith. For effecting, whereof three weekes longer they stayed the Ships, till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better have beene spent, but it suted well with the rest of their discretions.

[III. 94.]

Besides James towne that was strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses, he left five or sixe other severall Forts and Plantations: though they were not so sumptuous as our successors expected, they were better then they provided any for us. All this time we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and three others that could doe little, but desired to be learners: two Blacksmiths; two saylers, & those we write labourers were for most part footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they could perswade to goe with them, that never did know what a dayes worke was, except the Dutch-men and Poles, and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Tradsmen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Common-wealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them here, there is small hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there. Notwithstanding, I confesse divers amongst them, had better mindes and grew much more industrious then was expected: yet ten good workemen would have done more substantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe so much, then use us so badly, because we did no more, but leave those examples to make others beware, and the fruits of all, we know not for whom.

The ends of Dutchmen.

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But to see the justice of God upon these Dutch-men; the Valdo before spoke of, made a shift to get for England, where perswading the Merchants what rich Mines he had 197 found, and great service he would doe them, was very well rewarded, and returned with the Lord La Warre: but being found a meere Impostor, he dyed most miserably. Adam and Francis his two consorts were fled againe to Powhatan, to whom they promised at the arrivall of my Lord, what wonders they would doe, would he suffer them but to goe to him. But the King seeing they would be gone, replied; You that would have betrayed Captaine Smith to mee, will certainly betray me to this great Lord for your peace: so caused his men to beat out their braines.

To conclude, the greatest honour that ever belonged to the greatest Monarkes, was the inlarging their Dominions, and erecting Common-weales. Yet howsoever any of them have attributed to themselves, the Conquerors of the world: there is more of the world never heard of them, then ever any of them all had in subjection: for the Medes, Persians, and Assyrians, never Conquered all Asia, nor the Grecians but part of Europe and Asia. The Romans indeed had a great part of both, as well as Affrica: but as for all the Northerne parts of Europe and Asia, the interior Southern and Westerne parts of Affrica, all America & Terra incognita, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but superficial. That their beginnings, ending, and limitations were proportioned by the Almighty is most evident: but to consider of what small meanes many of them have begun is wonderfull. For some write that even Rome her selfe, during the Raigne of Romulus, exceeded not the number of a thousand houses. And Carthage grew so great a Potentate, that at first was but incirculed in the thongs of a Bulls skinne, as to fight with Rome for the Empire of the world. Yea Venice at this time the admiration of the earth, was at first but a Marish, inhabited by poore Fishermen. And likewise Ninivie, Thebes, Babylon, Delus, Troy, Athens, Mycena and Sparta, grew from small beginnings to be most famous States, though now they retaine little more then a naked name. Now this our 198 yong Commonwealth in Virginia, as you have read once consisted but of 38 persons, and in two yeares increased but to 200. yet by this small meanes so highly was approved the Plantation

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in Virginia, as how many Lords, with worthy Knights, and brave Gentlemen pretended to see it, and some did, and now after the expence of fiftene yeares more, and such massie summes of men and money, grow they disanimated? If we truely consider our Proceedings with the Spanyards, and the rest, we have no reason to despayre for with so small charge, they never had either greater Discoveries, with such certaine tryals of more severall Commodities, then in this short time hath beene returned from Virginia, and by much lesse meanes. New England was brought out of obscuritie, and afforded fraught for neare 200 sayle of ships, where there is now erected a brave Plantation. For the happines of Summer Isles, they are no lesse then either, and yet those have had a far lesse, and a more difficult beginning, then either Rome, Carthage, or Venice.

Written by Richard Pots, Clarke of the Councell, William Tankard, and G.P.

199 [III. 95.]

Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed upon New England, I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reject, nor omit their courtesies.

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

DAmn'd Envie is a sp'rite, that ever haunts Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ignorants. But, onely such shee followes, whose deare worth (Maugre her malice) sets their glory forth.

If this faire Overture, then, take not; It Is Envie's spight (deare friend) in men of wit; Or Feare, lest morsels, which our mouths 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, improve (when they reprove.) Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Love. Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame; Scorning for any Smith to forge such fame.

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* *Hinderers*

John Davies, Heref: [To his

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To his worthy Captaine the Author.

THat which wee call the subject of all Storie, Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine gives glorie To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight Of Envie; which doth no mans Merits right. My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more Can doe, but this; I've said enough before. Your sometime Souldier, J. Codrinton, now Templer.

To my Worthy Friend and Cosen, Captaine John Smith.

IT over-joyes my heart, when as thy Words Of these designes, with deeds I doe compare. Here is a Booke, such worthy truth affords, None should the due desert thereof impare: Sith thou, the man, deserving of these Ages, Much paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdomes good, In Climes unknowne, 'Mongst Turks and Salvages, T'inlarge our bounds; though with thy losse of blood. Hence damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way. Envie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.

N. Smith.

In the deserved Honour of my honest and worthy Captaine, John Smith, and his Worke.

CAptaine and friend; when I peruse thy Booke (With Judgements eyes) into my heart. I looke: And there I finde (what sometimes Albion 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 undanted heart, I (oft) so well have seene thee act thy Part In deepest plunge of hard extremitie, As forc't the troupes of proudest foes to flie. [III.96.] 201 Though men of greater Ranke and lesse desert Would

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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:
Apart whereof (least able though I be)
Thus here I doe disburse, to honor Thee.

Raleigh Crashaw.

Michael Phettiplace, Wil: Phettiplace, and Richard Wiffing, Gentlemen, and Souldiers
under Captaine Smiths command: In his deserved honour for his Worke, and Worth.

WHy may not wee in this Worke have our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and
night, When thou Virginia foild'st, yet kept'st unstaind;
And held'st the King of Paspheh enchaind.
Thou all alone this Salvage sterne didst take.
Pamaunkees King wee saw thee captive make
Among seaven hundred of his stoutest men,
To murder thee and us resolved;
when Fast by the hayre thou ledst this Salvage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to governe him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(Sith their drad Sovereigne thou had'st so distrest)
That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd
Unto our hellesse Ships. Thou (thus admir'd)
Didst make proud Powhatan, his subjects 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 seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfeit, or slie;
202 If in the sleight be not the truest Art,
That makes men famous for faire desert.

Who saith of thee, this savors of vaine glorie,
Mistakes both thee and us, and this true
Storie. If it be ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is ill in Us, to praise thee too.
But, if the first be well done; it is well,
To say it doth (if so it doth) excell.
Praise is the guerdon of each deare desert
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours Spurre
is Praise; Without which, it (regardlesse)
soone decaies.

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And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather, That future Times may know who was the father Of that rare Worke (New England) which may bring, Praise to thy God, and profit to thy king.

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THE FOURTH BOOKE.

[IV. 105.]

To make Plaine the True Proceedings of the Historie for 1609. we must follow the examinations of Doctor Simons, and two learned Orations published by the Companie; with the relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De la Ware.

What happened in the first government after the alteration in the time of Captaine George Piercie their Governour.

The planting Point Comfort. 1609.

THE day before Captaine Smith returned for England with the ships, Captaine Davis arrived in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from James towne, under the command of Captaine John Sickelmore alias Ratliffe, to inhabit Point Comfort. Captaine Martin and Captaine West, having lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Salvages, were returned to James towne; for the Salvages no sooner understood Smith was gone, but they all revolted, and did spoile and murder all they 204 incountered. Now wee were all constrained to live onely on that Smith had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions, and now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master Piercie our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine West and Captaine Sickelmore, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. Sickelmore upon the confidence of Powhatan, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all slaine, onely Jeffrey Shortridge escaped, and Pokahontas the Kings daughter saved a boy called Henry Spilman, that lived many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the Patawomekes. Powhatan still as

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he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade, so that Captaine West set saile for England. Now we all found the losse of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne, provision and contribution from the Salvages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived, our commanders, officers & Salvages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Salvages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of five hundred within six moneths after Captaine Smiths departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserved for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities, made no small use of it; yea, even the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort tooke him up againe and eat him, and so did divers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part [IV. 106.] 205 of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved; now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of. This was that time, which still to this day we called the starving time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleaved, what we endured: but the occasion was our owne, for want of providence, industrie and government, and not the barrenesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed us, we had never from England provision sufficient for six moneths, though it seemed by the bills of loading sufficient was sent us, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent us, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they ever over-swayed and ruled the businesse, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly lived on what this good Countrie naturally afforded; yet had wee beene even in Paradice it selfe with these Governours, it would not have beene much better with us; yet there was amongst us, who had they had

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the government as Captaine Smith appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would surely have kept us from those extremities of miseris. This in ten daies more, would have supplanted us all with death.

The arrival of Sir Thomas Gates.

But God that would not this Countrie should be unplanted, sent and Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Sommers with one hundred and fiftie people most happily preserved by the Bermudas to preserve us: strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserved in a leaking ship, as at large you may reade in the insuing Historie of those Ilands.

The government resigned to Sir Thomas Gates, 1610.

1610.

WHen these two Noble Knights did see our miseris, being but strangers in that Countrie, and could understand no more of the cause, but by conjecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing and excusing 206 *James towne abandoned*. one another: They embarked us with themselves, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning James towne, set saile for England, whereby you may see the event of the government of the former Commanders left to themselves; although they had lived there many yeeres as formerly hath beene spoken (who hindred now their proceedings, Captaine Smith being gone.)

At noone they fell to the Ile of Hogs, and the next morning to Mulbery point, at what time they descried the Long-boat of the Lord la Ware, for God would not have it so abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then Governour of the Countrie, met them with three ships exceedingly well furnished with all necessaries fitting, who againe returned them to the abandoned James towne. Out of the observations of William Simmons Doctor of Divinitie.

The government devolved to the Lord la Ware.

The arrivall of the Lord la Ware.

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His Lordship arrived the ninth of June 1610. accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Captaine Houlcroft, Captaine Lawson, and divers other Gentlemen of sort; the tenth he came up with his fleet, went on shore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entred into consultation for the good of the Colonie, in which secret counsell we will a little leave them, that we may duly observe the revealed counsell of God. Hee that shall but turne up his eie, and behold the spangled canopie of heaven, or shall but cast downe his eie, and consider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall shall marke how the heavens heare the earth, and the earth the Corne and Oile, and they relieve the necessities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite providence: But hee that shall further observe, how God inclineth all casuall events to worke the necessary helpe of his Saints, must needs adore the Lords infinite goodnesse; never had any people more just cause, to cast themselves at the very foot-stoole of God, and to reverence his mercie, than this distressed Colonie; for if God had not sent Sir Thomas [IV. 107.] 207 Gates from the Bermudas, within route daies they had almost beene famished; if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to save the Fort from fiering at their shipping, for many were very importunate to have burnt it, they had beene destitute of a present harbour and succour; if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would have destroyed the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safeties amongst them and a terror. If they had set saile sooner, and had lanced into the vast Ocean, who would have promised they should have incountered the Fleet of the Lord la Ware, especially when they made for New found land, as they intended, a course contrarie to our Navie approaching. If the Lord la Ware had not brought with him a yeeres provision, what comfort would those poore soules have received, to have beene relanded to a second distruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people passe the red Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of Canaan: It was divinely spoken of Heathen Socrates, If God for man be carefull, why should man bee over-distrustfull? for he hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

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That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry, Nor sad things spirits, to quicken them thereby, Yet make they musically content of contrariety, Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together, They doe produce even all this whatsoever.

The Lord Governour, after mature deliberation delivered some few words to the Companie, laying just blame upon them, for their haughtie vanities and sluggish idleness, earnestly intreating them to amend those desperate follies, lest hee should be compelled to draw the sword of Justice, and to cut off such delinquents, which he had rather draw, to the shedding of his vitall blood, to protect them from injuries; heartning them with relation of that store hee had brought with him, constituting officers of all conditions, 208 to rule over them, allotting every man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully: This Oration and direction being received with a generall applause, you might shortly behold the idle and restie diseases of a divided multitude, by the unitie and authoritie of this government to be substantially cured. Those that knew not the way to goodnesse before, but cherished singularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all respective dutie and service: every man endeavoureth to outstrip other in diligence: the French preparing to plant the Vines, the English labouring in the Woods and grounds; every man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie. Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the sap of their bodies should bee spent for other mens profit) the settled times of working, to effect all themselves, or as the Adventurers need desire, required no more paines than from six of the clocke in the morning, untill ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure, at both which times they are provided of spirituall and corporall reliefe. First, they enter into the Church, and make their praies unto God, next they returne to their houses and receive their proportion of food. Nor should it bee conceived that this businesse excludeth Gentlemen, whose breeding never knew what a dales labour meant, for though they cannot digge, use the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the staid spirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsell, the operation and power of their best breeding and qualities. The houses which are built, are as warme and defensive against wind and

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weather, as if they were tiled and slated, being covered above with strong boards, and some matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Salvages: Our Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. And to leave no discouragement in the heart of any, who personally shall enter into this great action, I will communicate a double comfort; first, [IV. 108.] 209 *Sir George Sommers returne to the Bermudas*. Sir George Summers, that worthy Admirall hath undertaken a dangerous adventure for the good of the Colonie.

Upon the 15. of June, accompanied with Captaine Samuel Argall, hee returned in two Pinaces unto the Bermudas, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths provision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arrived, but Captaine Argall was forced backe againe to James towne, whom the Lord De la Ware not long after sent to the River of Patawomeke, to trade for Corne; where finding an English boy, one Henry Spilman, a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserved from the furie of Powhatan, by his acquaintance had such good usage of those kinde Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to James towne.

The building Fort Henry and Fort Charles.

The other comfort is, that the Lord la Ware hath built two new Forts, the one called Fort Henry, the other Fort Charles, in honour of our most noble Prince, and his hopefull brother, upon a pleasant plaine, and neare a little Rivilet they call Southampton River; they stand in a wholesome aire, having plentie of Springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens; in which Forts it is resolved, that all those that come out of England, shall be at their first landing quartered, that the wearisomnesse of the Sea, may bee refreshed in this pleasing part of the Countrie, and Sir Thomas Gates hee sent for England. But to correct some injuries of the Paspahags, he sent Captaine Pearcie, Master Stacy, and fiftie

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or threescore shot, where the Salvages flying, they burnt their houses, tooke the Queene and her children prisoners, whom not long after they slew.

The fertilitie of the soile, the temperature of the climate, the forme of government, the condition of our people, their daily invocating of the Name of God being thus expressed; why should the successe, by the rules of mortall judgement, bee disparaged? why should not the rich O 210 harvest of our hopes be seasonably expected? I dare say, that the resolution of Cæsar in France, the designes of Alexander, the discoveries of Hernando Cortes in the West, and of Emanuel King of Portugal in the East, were not encouraged upon so firme grounds of state and possibilitie.

But his Lordship being at the fales, the Salvages assaulted his troopes and slew three or foure of his men. Not long after, his Honour growing very sicke, he returned for England the 28. of March; in the ship were about five and fiftie men, but ere we arrived at Fyall, fortie of us were neare sicke to death, of the Scurvie, Callenture, and other diseases: the Governour being an English-man, kindly used us, but small reliefe we could get, but Oranges, of which we had plenty, whereby within eight dales wee recovered, and all were well and strong by that they came into England. Written by William Box.

The Counsell of Virginia finding the smalnesse of that returne which they hoped should have defrayed the charge of a new supply, entred into a deep consultation, whether it were fit to enter into a new Contribution, or in time to send for them home, and give over the action, and therefore they adjured Sir Thomas Gates to deale plainly with them, who with a solemne and a sacred oath replied, That all things before reported were true, and that all men know that wee stand at the devotion of politicke Princes and States, who for their proper utilitie, devise all courses to grind our Merchants, and by all pretences to confiscate their goods, and to draw from us all manner of gaine by their inquisitive inventions, when in Virginia, a few yeeres labour by planting and husbandry, will furnish all our defects with honour and securitie. Out of a Declaration published by the Counsell, 1610.

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The government left againe to Captaine George Piercie, and the returne of the Lord la Ware, with his Relation to the Councell.

1611. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer. The Relation of the Lord la Ware.*

MY Lords, now by accident returned from my charge at Virginia, contrary either to my owne desire, or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure me, in point of dutie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced out of a willingnesse to satisfie every man, to deliver unto your Lordships and the rest of this assemblie, in what state I have lived ever since my arrivall to the Colonie, what hath beene the just cause of my sudden departure, and on what tearmes I have left the same, the rather because I perceive, that since my comming into England, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred in many of the Adventurers, that some of them seeke to withdraw their payments, by which the action must be supported, making this my returne colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and unjust protraction: which that you may the better understand, I was welcomed to James towne by a violent ague; being cured of it, within three weekes after I began to be distempered with other grievous sicknesses which successively and severally assailed me, for besides a relapse into the former disease, which with much more violence held me more than a moneth, and brought me to greater weaknesse; the flux surprised mee, and kept me many daies, then the crampe assaulted my weake body with strong paines, and after, the gout; all those drew me to that weaknesse, being unable to stirre, brought upon me the scurvie, which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was it in me an effect of weaknesse, which never left me, till I was ready to leave the world.

In these extremities I resolved to consult with my friends, who finding nature spent in me, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily increasing, gave me advice to preferre a hopefull recoverie, before 212 an assured ruine, which must necessarily have ensued, had I lived but twentie daies longer in Virginia, wanting at that instant both food and Physicke, fit to remedie such extraordinary diseases; wherefore I shipped my selfe

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with Doctor Bohun and Captaine Argall, for Mevis in the West Indies, but being crossed with Southerly winds, I was forced to shape my course for the Westerne Iles, where I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by the meanes of fresh dyet, especially Oranges and Limons, and undoubted remedie for that disease: then I intended to have returned backe againe to Virginia, but I was advised not to hazard my selfe, before I had perfectly recovered my strength: so I came for England; in which accident, I doubt not but men of judgement will imagine, there would more prejudice have happened by my death there, than I hope can doe by my returne.

For the Colony I left it to the charge of Captaine George Piercie, a Gentleman of honour and resolution, untill the comming of Sir Thomas Dale, whose Commission was likewise to bee determined upon the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates, according to the order your Lordships appointed: the number I left were about two hundred, the most in health, and provided of at least ten moneths victuall, and the Countrie people tractable and friendly. What other defects they had, I found by Sir Thomas Gates at the Cowes; his Fleet was sufficiently furnished with supplies, but when it shall please God that Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates shall arrive in Virginia with the extraordinarie supply, of 100. Kine, and 200. Swine, besides store of other provisions for the maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the action, as shall give no man cause of distrust, that hath already adventured, but incourage every good minde to further so good a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our nation, and the comfort of all those that have beene instruments in the furthering of it. Out of the Lord la Wares discourse, published by Authoritie, 1611.

100. *Kine and 200. Swine sent to Virginia.* [IV. 110.] 213

The government surrendred to Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in Virginia the tenth of May, 1611. out of Master Hamors Booke.

1611. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer. The arrivall of Sir Thomas Dale.*

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BEfore the Lord la Ware arrived in England, the Councell and Companie had dispatched away Sir Thomas Dale with three ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeere; all which arrived well the tenth of May 1611. where he found them growing againe to their former estate of penurie, being so improvident as not to put Corne in the ground for their bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with three moneths provision; his first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne, at the two Forts at Kecoughtan, Henry and Charles, whereby, the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, wee had an indifferent crop of good Corne.

His preparation to build a new towne.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his under-Officers, to James towne he hastened, where most of the companie were at their daily and usuall works, bowling in the streets; these hee imployed about necessarie workes, as felling of Timber, repayingr their houses ready to fall on their heads, and providing pales, posts and railles, to impale his purposed new towne, which by reason of his ignorance, being but newly arrived, hee had not resolved where to seat; therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he spent some time in viewing the River of Nausamund, in despight of the Indians then our enemies; then our owne River to the Fales, where upon a high land, invironed with the maine River, some twelve miles from the Fales, by Arshattock, he resolved to plant his new towne.

It was no small trouble to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition, as may well wnesse his severitie and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all extremitie to be executed; now much mitigated; so as if his Lawes had not beene so strictly executed, I see not how the utter subversion 214 of the Colonie should have beene prevented, wnesse Webbes and Prices designe the first yeere, since that of Abbots, and others, more dangerous than the former. Here I entreat your patience for an Apologie, though not a pardon. This Jeffrey Abbots, how ever this Author censures him, and the Governour executes him, I know he had long served both in Ireland and

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Netherlands, here hee was a Sargeant of my Companie, and I never saw in Virginia a more sufficient Souldier, lesse turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or industrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that sought to abandon the Countrie, or wrong the Colonie; how ingratelously those deserts might bee rewarded, envied or neglected, or his farre inferiors preferred to over-top him, I know not, but such occasions might move a Saint, much more a man, to an unadvised passionate impatience, but how ever, it seemes he hath beene punished for his offences, that was never rewarded for his deserts. And even this Summer Cole and Kitchins plot with three more, bending their course to Ocanahowan, five daies journey from us, where they report are Spaniards inhabiting. These were cut off by the Salvages, hired by us to hunt them home to receive their deserts: So as Sir Thomas Dale hath not beene so tyrannous nor severe by the halfe, as there was occasion, and just cause for it, and though the manner was not usuall, wee were rather to have regard to those, whom we would have terrified and made fearefull to commit the like offences, than to the offenders justly condemned, for amongst them so hardned in evill, the feare of a cruell, painfull and unusuall death more restraines them, than death it selfe. Thus much I have proceeded of his endeavours, untill the comming of Sir Thomas Gates, in preparing himselfe to proceed as he intended.

Divers mutinie suppressed. [IV. 111.]

Now in England againe to second this noble Knight, the Counsell and Companie with all possible expedition prepared for Sir Thomas Gates six tall ships, with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine and other Cattell, 215 with munition and all other manner of provision that could be thought needfull; and about the first or second of August, 1611. arrived safely at James towne.

The government returned againe to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

The Second arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates.

These worthy Knights being met, after their welcoming salutations, Sir Thomas Dale acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended, which designe Sir Thomas

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Gates well approving, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of. In the beginning of September, 1611. hee set saile, and arrived where hee intended to build his new towne: within ten or twelve daies he had invironed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince Henry, called it Henrico. The next worke he did, was building at each corner of the Towne, a high commanding Watchhouse, a Church, and Store-houses; which finished, hee began to thinke upon convenient houses for himselfe and men, which with all possible speed hee could he effected, to the great content of his companie, and all the Colonie.

The building of Henrico.

This towne is situated upon a necke of a plaine rising land, three parts invironed with the maine River, the necke of land well impaled, makes it like an Ile; it hath three streets of well-framed houses, a handsome Church, and the foundation of a better laid, to bee built of Bricke, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like: Upon the verge of the River there are five houses, wherein live the honester sort of people, as Farmers in England, and they keepe continuall centinell for the townes securitie. About two miles from the towne, into the Maine, is another pale, neere two miles in length, from River to River, guarded with severall Commanders, with a good quantitie of Corne-ground impaled, sufficiently secured to maintaine more than I suppose will come this three yeeres.

On the other side of the River, for the securitie of the towne, is intended to be impaled for the securitie of 216 our Hogs, about two miles and a halfe, by the name of Hope in Faith, and Coxendale, secured by five of our manner of Forts, which are but Palisadoes, called Charitie Fort, Mount Malado, a guest house for sicke people, a high seat and wholsome aire Elisabeth Fort, and Fort Patience: And here hath Master Whitaker chosen his Parsonage, impaled a faire framed Parsonage, and one hundred acres called Rocke hall, but these are not halfe finished.

The building the Bermudas.

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About Christmas following, in this same yeere 1611. in regard of the injurie done us by them of Apamatuck, Sir Thomas Dale, without the losse of any, except some few Salvages, tooke it and their Corne, being but five miles by land from Henrico, and considering how commodious it might be for us, resolved to possesse and plant it, and at the instant called it the new Bermudas, whereunto hee hath laid out and annexed to the belonging freedome and corporation for ever, many miles of Champian and Woodland ground in severall hundreds, as the upper and nether hundreds, Rochdale hundred, West Sherly hundred, and Digs his hundred. In the nether hundred he first began to plant, for there is the most Corne-ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut over from River to River, whereby we have secured eight English miles in compasse; upon which circuit, within halfe a mile of each other, are many faire houses already built, besides particular mens houses neere to the number of fiftie. Rochdale, by a crosse pale welnigh foure miles long, is also planted with houses along the pale, in which hundred our Hogs and Cattell have twentie miles circuit to graze in securely. The building of the Citie is referred till our harvest be in, which he intends to make a retreat against any forraigneemie.

[IV. 112.]

About fiftie miles from these is James towne, upon a fertill peninsula, which although fomery scandaled for an unhealthfull aire, wee finde it as healthfull as any other part of the Countrie; it hath two rowes of houses of framed timber, and some of them two stories, and a garret 217 higher, three large Store-houses joined together in length, and hee hath newly strongly impaled the towne. This Ile, and much ground about it, is much inhabited: To Kecoughtan we accounted it fortie miles, where they live well with halfe that allowance the rest have from the store, because of the extraordinarie quantitie of Fish, Fowle and Deere; as you may reade at large in the Discoveries of Captaine Smith. And thus I have truly related unto you the present estate of that small part of Virginia wee frequent and possesse.

1612. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer. Captaine Argals arrivall.*

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Since there was a ship fraughted with provision, and fortie men; and another since then with the like number and provision, to stay twelve moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine Argall, which was sent not long after. After hee had recreated and refreshed his Companie, hee was sent to the River Patawomeake, to trade for Corne, the Salvages about us having small quarter, but friends and foes as they found advantage and opportunitie: But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine Argall, having entred into a great acquaintance with Japazaws, an old friend of Captaine Smiths, and so to all our Nation, ever since hee discovered the Countrie: hard by him there was Pocahontas, whom Captaine Smiths Relations intituleth the Numparell of Virginia, and though she had beene many times a preserver of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was never seene at James towne since his departure, being at Patawomeke, as it seemes, thinking her selfe unknowne, was easily by her friend Japazaws perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship, for Captaine Argall had promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the Salvage for this Copper Kettle would have done any thing, it seemed by the Relation; for though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet hee caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, and that hee offered to beat her for her importunitie, till she wept. But at *How Pocahontas was taken prisoner.* 218 last he told her, if Pocahontas would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent Pocahontas aboard, where they were all kindly feasted in the Cabbin. Japazaws treading oft on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part, the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded Pocahontas to the Gunroome, faining to have some conference with Japazaws, which was onely that she should not perceive hee was any way guiltie of her captivitie: so sending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and us, before she ever should see Powhatan, whereat the old Jew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as Pocahontas, that upon the Captaines faire perswasions, by degrees pacifying her selfe, and Japazaws and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore, and shee to James towne. A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter

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Pocahontas he loved so dearely, he must ransome with our men, swords, peeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherously had stolne.

Seven English returned from Powhatan prisoners.

This unwelcome newes much troubled Powhatan, because bee loved both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after ere hee returned us any answer: then by the perswasion of the Councell, he returned seven of our men, with each of them an unserviceable Musket, and sent us word, that when wee would deliver his daughter, hee would make us satisfaction for all injuries done us, and give us five hundred bushels of Corne, and for ever be friends with us. That he sent, we received in part of payment, and returned him this answer: That his daughter should be well used, but we could not beleeeve the rest of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till hee sent them, we would keepe his daughter.

[IV. 113.]

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him a long time after, when with Captaine Argals ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie, Sir Thomas Dale, with a hundred and 219 *Sir Thomas Dale his voyage to Pamaunke.* fiftie men well appointed, went up into his owne River, to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter; with many scornfull bravado's they affronted us, proudly demanding why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receive the ransome for her that was promised, or to have it perforce. They nothing dismayed thereat, told us, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were provided for us, but advised us, if wee loved our lives to retire; else they would use us as they had done Captaine Ratcliffe: We told them, wee would presently have a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among us in the ship.

A man shot in the forehead.

Being thus justly provoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher up the River, where they demanded why wee burnt their houses, and wee, why

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they shot at us: They replied, it was some stragling Salvage, with many other excuses, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. Upon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to Powhatan, whose answer, they told us, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: Then they told us, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet Powhatans men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they should be brought us the next day, which was only but to delay time; for the next day they came not. Then we went higher, to a house of Powhatans, called Matchot, where we saw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared us to come on shore, which wee did; no shew of feare they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly up and downe amongst us, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to have truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with us, and defend their owne as they could, which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie away their provision; yet wee promised them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with us, they should know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets.

Two of Powhatans sonnes come to see Pocahontas.

Upon this promise, two of Powhatans sonnes came unto us to see their sister, at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much rejoiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for ever be friends with us. And upon this, the two brethren went aboard with us, and we sent Master John Rolfe and Master Sparkes to Powhatan, to acquaint him with the businesse; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the presence of Powhatan, but they spoke with Opechancanough, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to Powhatan, all might be well. So it being Aprill, and time to prepare our ground and set our Corne, we returned to James Towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next harvest.

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The mariage of Pocahontas to Master John Rolfe. 1613. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.

Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest Gentleman, and of good behaviour, had beene in Jove with Pocahontas, and she with him, which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his advice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approved: the brute of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent Opachisco, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill: And ever since wee have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himselfe, as all his subjects.

221 [IV. 114.] *The Chicahamianias desire friendship.*

Besides this, by the meanes of Powhatan, we became in league with our next neighbours, the Chicahamianias, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselves. These people, so soone as they heard of our peace with Powhatan, sent two messengers with presents to Sir Thomas Dale, and offered him their service, excusing all former injuries, hereafter they would ever be King James his subjects, and relinquish the name of Chickahamania, to be called Tassautessus, as they call us, and Sir Thomas Dale there Governour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be governed by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them.

When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall with fiftie men well appointed, went to Chickahamania, where wee found the people expecting our comming, they used us kindly, and the next morning sate in counsell, to conclude their peace upon these conditions: *Articles of Peace.*

First, they should for ever bee called Englishmen, and bee true subjects to King James and his Deputies.

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Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home.

Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furnish us with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any.

Fourthly, they shall not enter our townes, but send word they are new Englishmen.

Fiftly, that every fighting man, at the beginning of harvest, shall bring to our store two bushels of Corne, for tribute, for which they shall receive so many Hatchets.

Lastly, the eight chiefe men should see all this performed, or receive the punishment themselves: for their diligence they should have a red coat, a copper chaine, and King James his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen.

All this they concluded with a generall assent, and a great shout to confirme it: then one of the old men ²²² began an Oration, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them understand how strictly they were to observe these conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of Powhatan, or any enemie whatsoever, and furnish them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets; but all this was rather for feare Powhatan and we, being so linked together, would bring them againe to his subjection; the which to prevent, they did rather chuse to be protected by us, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant. And thus wee returned againe to James towne.

The benefit of libertie in the planters.

When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured jointly together, glad was he could slip from his labour, or slumber over his taske he cared not how, nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much true paines in a weeke, as now for themselves they will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever the harvest prospered, the generall store must maintaine them, so that wee

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reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie as now three or foure doe provide for themselves. To prevent which, Sir Thomas Dale hath allotted every man three Acres of cleare ground, in the nature of Farmes, except the Bermudas, who are exempted, but for one moneths service in the yeere, which must neither bee in seed-time, nor harvest; for which doing, no other dutie they pay yeerely to the store, but two barrels and a halfe of Corne (from all those Farmers, whereof the first was William Spence, an honest, valiant, and an industrious man, and hath continued from 1607. to this present) from those is expected such a contribution to the store, as wee shall neither want for our selves, nor to entertaine our supplies; for the rest, they are to worke eleven moneths for the store, and hath one moneth onely allowed them to get provision to keepe them for twelve, except two bushels of Corne they have out of the store; if those can live so, why should any feare starving, and it were much *William Spence the first Farmer in Virginia.* 223 [IV. 115.] better to denie them passage, that would not ere they come, bee content to ingage themselves to those conditions: for onely from the slothfull and idle drones, and none else, hath sprung the manifold imputations, Virginia innocently hath undergone; and therefore I would deter such from comming here, that cannot well brooke labour, except they will undergoe much punishment and penurie, if they escape the skurvie: but for the industrious, there is reward sufficient, and if any thinke there is nothing but bread, I referre you to his relations that discovered the Countrie first.

The government left to Sir Thomas Dale upon Sir Thomas Gates returne for England.

Captaine Argals voyage to Port Royall.

Sir Thomas Dale understanding there was a plantation of Frenchmen in the north part of Virginia, about the degrees of 45. sent Captaine Argall to Port Royall and Sancta Crux, where finding the Frenchmen abroad dispersed in the Woods, surprized their Ship and Pinnace, which was but newly come from France, wherein was much good apparel, and other provision, which he brought to James towne, but the men escaped, and lived among the Salvages of those Countries.

1614. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

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It pleased Sir Thomas Dale, before my returne to England, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to give mee leave to visit Powhatan and his Court: being provided, I had Thomas Salvage with mee, for my Interpreter, with him and two Salvages for guides, I went from the Bermuda in the morning, and came to Matchot the next night, where the King lay upon the River of Pamaunke; his entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gave you leave, being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres I have not seene you, nor heard of my owne man Namoutack I sent to England, though many ships since have beene returned thence: Having done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother 224 Sir Thomas Dale at his first arrivall, which was a token betwixt them, when ever hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home.

Master Hamars journey to Powhatan.

It is true Sir Thomas Dale had sent him such word, and gave his Page order to give it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I never heard of it, yet I replied I did know there was such an order, but that was when upon a sudden he should have occasion to send an Englishman without an Indian Guide; but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted us to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men, that alwaies attend his person. The first thing he did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir Thomas Dale did, and his daughter, and unknowne sonne, and how they lived, loved and liked; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not live againe with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my coming: I told him my message was private, and I was to deliver it onely to himselfe and Papaschicher, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on.

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His message to Powhatan.

I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir Thomas Dale hath sent you two pieces of Copper, five strings of white and blue Beads, five wooden Combes, ten Fish-hookes, a paire of Knives, and that when you would send for it, hee would give you a Grind-stone; all this pleased him: but then I told him his brother Dale, hearing of the fame of his youngest daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me unto him, in testimonie of his love, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for ever to dwell in his Countrie, 225 he conceived there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an united union.

[IV. 116.]

I needed not entreat his answer by his oft interrupting mee in my speech, and presently with much gravitie he thus replied.

Powhatans answer.

I gladly accept your salute of love and peace, which while I live, I shall exactly keepe, his pledges thereof I receive with no lesse thanks, although they are not so ample as formerly he had received; but for my daughter, I have sold her within this few daies to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Rawrenoke, three daies journie from me. I replied, I knew his greatnesse in restoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, because she was but twelve yeeres old, assuring him, besides the band of peace, hee should have for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. His answer was, he loved his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children, hee delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he should not often behold, he could not possibly live, which she living with us he could not do, having resolved upon no termes to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst us; therefore desired me to urge him no further, but returne his brother this answer: That I desire no former assurance of his friendship, than the promise hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she lives shall be sufficient, when she

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dies, he shall have another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereave me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not distrust any injurie from me or my people; there have beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my occasion there shall never be more, (I which have power to performe it, have said it) although I should have just cause, for I am now old, & would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me injurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus P 226 much I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because you are wearie, and I sleepe, wee will thus end. So commanding us victuall and lodging, we rested that night, and the next morning he came to visit us, and kindly conducted us to the best cheere hee had. William Parker.

William Parker recovered.

While I here remained, by chance came an Englishman, whom there had beene surprized three yeeres agoe at Fort Henry, growne so like, both in complexion and habit like a Salvage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee desired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and so farre urged Powhatan, that he grew discontented, and told mee, You have one of my daughters, and I am content, but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must have him away, or breake friendship; if you must needs have him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any evill befall you, thanke your selves: I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee must expect a revenge, and his brother might have just cause to suspect him. So in passion he left me till supper, and then gave me such as hee had with a cheerefull countenance: About midnight hee awaked us, and promised in the morning my returne with Parker; but I must remember his brother to send him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shaving-knife, a Frowe, a Grind-stone, a Net, Fish-hookes, and such toies; which lest I should forget, he caused me write in a table-booke he had; how ever he got it, it was a faire one, I desired hee would give it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in shewing to strangers, yet in the morning when we departed, having furnished us well with provision, he gave each of us a Bucks skin as well dressed as could be, and sent two more to his sonne and daughter: And so we returned to James towne. Written by Master Ralph Hamor and John Rolph.

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From a letter of Sir Thomas Dale and Master Whitakers.

I have read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir Thomas Dale, another by Master Whitaker, and a third by Master John Rolfe; how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and 227 [IV. 117.] desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee never had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions and violent passions he endured for her love, as he deeply protested, was wonderful, and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized, but either the coldnesse of the adventurers, or the bad usage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight to write thus. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby intermedling herein, have caused a number of soules transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant; howsoever they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things have animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne unto; leaving all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than see Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I have in charge revived, which would quickly happen if I should leave them; so few I have with me fit to command or manage the businesse: Master Whitaker their Preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English Ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hether, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themselves at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures; be there not any among them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ, but I refer them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward every one according to his talent. From Virginia, June 18. 1614.

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The businesse being brought to this perfection, Captaine 228 Argall returned for England, in the latter end of June, 1614. arriving in England, and bringing this good tidings to the Councell and company by the assistances of Sir Thomas Gates, that also had returned from Virginia but the March before; it was presently concluded, that to supply this good successe with all expedition, the standing Lottery should be drawne with all diligent conveniency, and that posterity may remember upon occasion to use the like according to the declaration, I thinke it not amisse to remember thus much.

The Contents of the declaration of the Lottery published by the Counsell.

1615. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

IT is apparent to the world, by how many former Proclamations, we manifested our intents, to have drawn out the great standing Lottery long before this, which not falling out as we desired, and others expected, whose monies are adventured therein, we thought good therefore for the avoiding all unjust and sinister constructions, to resolve the doubts of all indifferent minded, in three speciall points for their better satisfaction.

But ere I goe any farther, let us remember there was a running Lottery, used a long time in Saint Pauls Church-yard, where this stood, that brought into the Treasury good summes of mony dayly, though the Lot was but small.

Now for the points, the first is, for as much as the Adventurers came in so slackly for the yeere past, without prejudice to the generality, in losing the blankes and prises, we were forced to petition to the honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this Plantation, have recommended their Letsenters to the Countries, Cities, and good townes in England, which we hope by adding in their voluntary Adventurers, will sufficiently supply us.

The second for satisfaction to all honest well affected minds, is, that though this expectation answer not our hopes, yet wee have not failed in our Christian care, the 229

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good of that Colony, to whom we have lately sent two sundry supplies, and were they but now supplied with more hands, wee should soone resolve the division of the Country by Lot, and so lessen the generall charge.

[IV. 118.]

The third is our constant resolution, that seeing our credits are so farre ingaged to the honourable Lords and the whole State, for the drawing this great Lottery, which we intend shall be without delay, the 26. of June next, desiring all such as have undertaken with bookes to solicit their friends, that they will not with-hold their monies till the last moneth be expired, lest we be unwillingly forced to proportion a lesse value and number of our Blankes and Prises which hereafter followeth.

Welcomes.

Crownes.

TO him that first shall be drawne out with a blanke, 100

To the second, 50

To the third, 25

To him that every day during the drawing of this Lottery, shall bee first drawne out with a blanke, 10

Prizes.

Crownes.

1 Great Prize of 4500

2 Great Prizes, each of 2000

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4 Great Prizes, each of 1000

6 Great Prizes, each of 500

10 Prizes, each of 300

20 Prizes, each of 200

100 Prizes, each of 100

200 Prizes, each of 50

400 Prizes, each of 20

1000 Prizes, each of 10

1000 Prizes, each of 8

1000 Prizes, each of 6

4000 Prizes, each of 4

1000 Prizes, each of 3

1000 Prizes, each of 2

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Rewards.

Crownes.

TO him that shall be last drawne out with a blanke, 25

To him that putteth in the greatest Lot, under one name, 400

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To him that putteth in the second greatest number, 300

To him that putteth in the third greatest number, 200

To him that putteth in the fourth greatest number, 100

If divers be of equall number, their rewards are to be divided proportionally.

Addition of new Rewards.

Crownes.

The blanke that shall bee drawne out next before the great Prize shall have 25

The blanke that shall be drawne out next after the said great Prize 25

The blankes that shall be drawne out immediatly before the two next great Prizes, shall have each of them 20

The severall blankes next after them, each shall have 20

The severall blankes next before the foure great Prizes, each shall have 15

The severall blankes next after them, each shall have 15

The severall blankes next before the six great Prizes, each shall have 10

The severall blankes next after them, each shall have 10

[IV. 119.]

The prizes, welcomes, and rewards, shall be payed in ready Mony, Plate, or other goods reasonably rated; if any dislike of the plate or goods, he shall have mony, abating only the tenth part, except in small prizes of ten Crownes or under.

The mony for the Adventurers is to be paid to Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, and Treasurer for Virginia, or such Officers as he shall appoint in City or Country, under the common seale of the company for the receipt thereof.

All prizes, welcomes and rewards drawne where ever they dwell, shall of the Treasurer have present pay, and whosoever under one name or poesie payeth three pound in ready money, shall receive six shillings and eight pence, or a silver spoone of that value at his choice.

A Spanish Ship in Virginia.

About this time it chanced a Spanish ship, beat too and againe before point Comfort, and at last sent a shore their boat, as desirous of a Pilot. Captaine James Davis the governor, immediatly gave them one, but he was no sooner in the boat, but away they went with him, leaving three of their companions behind them; this sudden accident occasioned some distrust, and a strict examination of those three thus left, yet with as good usage as our estate could afford them. They only confessed having lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts, and two of them were Captaines, and in chiefe authority in the fleet: thus they lived till one of them was found to be an Englishman, and had been the Spaniards Pilot for England in 88. and having here induced some male-contentes, to beleieve his projects, to run away with a small barke, which was apprehended, some executed, and he expecting but the Hangmans curtesie, directly confessed that two or three Spanish ships was at Sea, purposely to discover the estate of the Colony, but their Commission was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, so that of any thing more he was utterly ignorant. One of the Spaniards at last dyed, the other was sent for England but this reprieved, till Sir Thomas Dale hanged him at Sea in his voyage homeward; the English Pilot they carried for Spaine, whom after a long time imprisonment, with much sute was returned for England.

1616. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

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Whilst those things were effecting, Sir Thomas Dale, having settled to his thinking all things in good order, 232 made choice of one Master George Yearly, to be Deputy-Governour in his absence, and so returned for England, accompanied with Pocahontas the Kings Daughter, and Master Rolfe her husband, and arrived at Plimmoth the 12. of June, 1616.

The government left to Captaine Yearly.

A digression.

NOw a little to commentary upon all these proceedings, let me leave but this as a caveat by the way; if the alteration of government hath subverted great Empires, how dangerous is it then in the infancy of a common-weale? The multiplicity of Governors is a great damage to any State, but uncertaine daily changes are burdensome, because their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilst the sunne doth shine, how ever it shall fare with the generality.

This deare bought Land with so much bloud and cost, hath onely made some few rich, and all the rest losers. But it was intended at the first, the first undertakers should be first preferred and rewarded, and the first adventurers satisfied, and they of all the rest are the most neglected; and those that never adventured a goat, never see the Country, nor ever did any service for it, imploied in their places, adorned with their deserts, and inriched with their ruines; and when they are fed fat, then in commeth others so leane as they were, who through their omnipotency doe as much. Thus what one Officer doth, another undoth, only ayming at their owne ends, thinking all the world derides his dignity, cannot fill his Coffers being in authority with any thing. Every man hath his minde free, but he can never be a true member to that estate, that to enrich himselfe beggers all the Countrie. Which bad course, there are many yet in this noble plantation, whose true honour and worth as much scornes it, as the others loves it; for the Nobilitie and Gentry, there is scarce any of them expects any thing but the prosperitie of the action: and there are some Merchants and others, I am confidently perswaded, doe take more [IV. 120.] 233 care and paines, nay, and at their continuall great charge, than they could be hired to for the love of money,

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so honestly regarding the generall good of this great worke, they would hold it worse than sacrilege, to wrong it but a shilling, or extort upon the common souldier a penny. But to the purposes, and to follow the Historie.

The government of Captaine Yearley.

Mr. George Yearly now invested Deputie Governour by Sir Thomas Dale, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they taine Yearley. could devise for a present gaine, so that every man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir Thomas Dale had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that every man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent us, came so unfurnished, as quickly eased us of our superfluitie. To relieve their necessities, he sent to the Chickahamians for the tribute Corne Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that hee drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to Chickahamania; the people in some places used him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was but Sir Thomas Dales man, and they had payed his Master according to condition, but to give any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master; after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that Dale had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours. Yearly seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at Ozinies, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards Mamanahunt, they put themselves in the same order they see us, lead by their Captaine Kissanacomen, Governour of Ozinies, & so marched close along by us, each as threatning other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against Mamanahunt, and they passed the River. The next day we followed them; there are few
234 *Twelve Salvages slaine, twelve prisoners taken, and peace concluded.* places in Virginia had then more plaine ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Salvages without feare standing in

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troupes amongst us, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to dant us: what other practises they had I know not; but to prevent the worst, our Captaine caused us all to make ready, and upon the word, to let flie among them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners; all which being done according to our direction, the Captaine gave the word, and wee presently discharged, where twelve lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelve more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant Boothe, the other by Robert a Polonian; Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now Opechankanough had agreed with our Captaine for the subjecting of those people, that neither hee nor Powhatan could ever bring to their obedience, and that he should make no peace with them without his advice: in our returne by Ozinies with our prisoners wee met Opechankanough, who with much adoe, fained with what paines hee had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of Ozinies, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had; here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine Henry Spilman our Interpreter, a Gentleman had lived long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner among the Salvages, and done much good service, though but badly rewarded. From hence we marcht towards James towne, we had three Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage, the one of them being more willing to be at James towne with the newes than the other, was overset, and eleven men cast away with the [IV. 121.] *Eleven men cast away* 235 *A bad president*. Boat, Corne and all their provision; notwithstanding this put all the rest of the Salvages in that feare, especially in regard of the great league we had with Opechankanough, that we followed our labours quietly, and in such securitie, that divers salvages of other Nations, daily frequented us with what provisions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for us themselves. Captaine Yearly had a Salvage or two so well trained up to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the English, and one hee kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were divers others had Salvages in like manner for their men. Thus we lived together, as if wee had beene one

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people, all the time Captaine Yearley staid with us, but such grudges and discontents daily increased among our selves, that upon the arrivall of Captaine Argall, sent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Governour, Captaine Yearley returned for England in the yeere 1617. From the writings of Captaine Nathaniel Powell, William Cantrill, Sergeant Boothe, Edward Gurganey.

Pocahontas instructions.

During this time, the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master John Rolfe her husband and his friends, was taught to speake such English as might well bee understood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and civill after our English manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loved most dearely, and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were divers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arrived at London, Captaine Smith to deserve her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Majestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth.

[To the

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To the most high and vertuous Princesse Queene Anne of Great Brittanie.

Most admired Queene,

THE love I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraime mee presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Majestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is,

A relation to Queene Anne, of Pacahontas.

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That some ten yeeres agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquans, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus intrhalled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fattening amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine, and not onely that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia, such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

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And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplied; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, having but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death,

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famine and utter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have line as it was at our first arrivall to this day. Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Thus most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie, what at your best leasure our approved Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesties life, and however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged any thing of the state, or 238 any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes and authoritie, her birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how ever her stature: if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her present love to us and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endeare her dearest blood to effect that, your Majestie and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Pocahontas meeting in England with Captaine Smith.

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Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to have writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but 239 [IV. 123.] mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

Uttamacomack, observations of his usage.

This Salvage, one of Powhatans Councell, being amongst them held an understanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at Plimoth, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to have kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behaviour, hee told me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied ever to have seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly, You gave Powhatan a white Dog, which

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Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

Pocahontas her entertainment with the Queene.

The small time I staid in London, divers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seene many English Ladies worse favoured, proportioned and behavioured, and as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Majestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady De la Ware, and that honourable Lord her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and 240 content, which doubtlesse she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in Virginia.

The government devolved to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617.

1617. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer. The death of Pocahontas.

The Treasurer, Councill and Companie, having well furnished Captaine Samuel Argall, the Lady Pocahontas alias Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the George, it pleased God at Gravesend to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders, to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe Thomas Rolfe therefore was left at Plimoth with Sir Lewis Stukly, that desired the keeping of it. Captaine Hamar his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at Plimoth. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arrived at James towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine Yearley and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an Indian. In James towne he found but five or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Store-house they used for the Church, the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco, the Salvages as frequent in their houses as themselves, whereby they were become

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expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession, the Colonie dispersed all about, planting Tobacco. Captaine Argall not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble us; we were constrained every yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie, yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir Thomas Dale, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one 241 [IV. 124.] 1000. *bushels of Corne from the Salvages.* hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought us neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieve the whole Colonie: For from the tenants wee seldome had above foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men, women and Children.

1618. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

This yeere having planted our fields, came a great drought, and such a cruell storme of haile, which did such spoile both to the Corne and Tobacco, that wee reaped but small profit, the Magazine that came in the George, being five moneths in her passage, proved very badly conditioned, but ere she arrived, we had gathered and made up our Tobacco, the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteene pence.

To supply us, the Councell and Company with all possible care and diligence, furnished a good ship of some two hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred people and the Lord la Ware. They set saile in Aprill, and tooke their course by the westerne Iles, where the Governour of the Ile of Saint Michael received the Lord la Ware, and honourably feasted him, with all the content hee could give him. Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very sicke, thirtie died, one of which number was that most honourable Lord Governour the Lord la Ware, whose most noble

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and generous disposition, is well knowne to his great cost, had beene most forward in this businesse for his Countries good: Yet this tender state of Virginia was not growne to that maturitie, to maintaine such state and pleasure as was fit for such a personage, with so brave and great attendance: for some small number of adventrous Gentlemen to make discoveries, and lie in Garrison, ready upon any occasion to keepe in feare the inconstant Salvages, nothing were Q *The death of the Lord la Ware. 242 They are relieved in New-England.* more requisite, but to have more to wait & play than worke, or more commanders and officers than industrious labourers was not so necessarie: for in Virginia, a plaine Souldier that can use a Pick-axe and spade, is better than five Knights, although they were Knights that could breake a Lance; for men of great place, not inured to those incounters; when they finde things not sutable, grow many times so discontented, they forget themselves, & oft become so carelesse, that a discontented melancholy brings them to much sorrow, and to others much miserie. At last they stood in for the coast of New-England, where they met a small Frenchman, rich of Bevers and other Furres. Though wee had here but small knowledge of the coast nor countrie, yet they tooke such an abundance of Fish and Fowle, and so well refreshed themselves there with wood and water, as by the helpe of God thereby, having beene at Sea sixteene weekes, got to Virginia, who without this reliefe had beene in great danger to perish. The French-men made them such a feast, with such an abundance of varietie of Fish, Fowle and Fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wilderness could afford such wonderfull abundance of plentie. In this ship came about two hundred men, but very little provision, and the ship called the Treasurer came in againe not long after with fortie passengers; the Lord la Wares ship lying in Virginia three moneths, wee victualled her with threescore bushels of Corne, and eight Hogsheads of flesh, besides other victuall she spent whilest they tarried there: this ship brought us advice that great multitudes were a preparing in England to bee sent, and relied much upon that victuall they should finde here: whereupon our Captaine called a Councill, and writ to the Councill here in England the estate of the Colonie, and what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not provision as well as people; and what they did suffer for want of skilfull husbandmen, and meanes to set their Ploughs

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on worke, having as good ground as any man can desire, and about fortie Bulls and Oxen, but they 243 wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell. Some thirtie or fortie acres wee had sowne with one Plough, but it stood so long on the ground before it was reaped, it was most shaken, and the rest spoiled with the Cattell and Rats in the Barne, but no better Corne could bee for the quantitie.

[IV. 125.] *Richard Killingbeck and foure other murdered by the Salvages.*

Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine at Kekoughtan, desired leave to returne to his wife at Charles hundred, hee went to James towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proved that he intended to goe trade with the Indies of Chickahamania, where making shew of the great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Salvages perceiving, partly for their trucke, partly for revenge of some friends they pretended should have beene slaine by Captaine Yearley, one of them with an English peece shot Killingbeck dead, the other Salvages assaulted the rest and slew them, stripped them, and tooke what they had: But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house of the towne, stole all the Indian treasure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other Indians related. On Sunday following, one Farfax that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three small children safe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: she supposing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; presently after came three or foure of those fugitive Salvages, entred the house, and slew a boy and three children, and also another youth that stole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewise murdered. Of this disaster the Captaine sent to Opechankanough for satisfaction, but he excused the matter, as altogether ignorant of it, at the same time the Salvages that were robbed were complaining to Opechankanough, and much feared the English would bee revenged on them, so that Opechankanough sent to *Their Church and Storehouse. Farfax, three children and two boyes also murdered.* 244 Captaine Argall, to assure him the peace should never be broken by him, desiring that he would not revenge the injurie of those

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fugitives upon the innocent people of that towne, which towne he should have, and sent him a basket of earth, as possession given of it, and promised, so soone as possibly they could catch these robbers, to send him their heads for satisfaction, but he never performed it. Samuel Argall, John Rolfe.

A relation from Master John Rolfe, June 15. 1618.

Powhatans death. Haile-stones eight inches about.

CONcerning the state of our new Common-wealth, it is somewhat bettered, for we have sufficient to content our selves, though not in such abundance as is vainly reported in England. Powhatan died this last Aprill, yet the Indians continue in peace. Itopatin his second brother succeeds him, and both hee and Opechankanough have confirmed our former league. On the eleventh of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a most fearefull tempest, but it continued not past halfe an houre, which powred downe hailestones eight or nine inches about, that none durst goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaves of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beast; it fell onely about James towne, for but a mile to the East, and twentie to the West there was no haile at all. Thus in peace every man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note. Some private differences happened betwixt Captaine Bruster and Captaine Argall, and Captaine Argall and the Companie here in England; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any use, and therefore unfit to be remembred. In December one Captaine Stallings, an old planter in those parts, being employed by them of the West cuntry for a fishing voyage, in New-England, fell foule of a Frenchman whom hee tooke, leaving his owne ship to returne for England, himselfe with a small companie 1619. *Sir Edwin Sands Treasurer. Master John Farer Deputie.* 245 remained in the French barke, some small time after upon the coast, and thence returned to winter in Virginia.

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The government surrendered to Sir George Yearley.

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FOr to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619. there arrived a little Pinnace privatly from England about Easter for Captaine Argall, who taking order for his affaires, within foure or five daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine Nathaniel Powell. On the eighteenth of Aprill, which was but ten or twelve daies after, arrived Sir George Yearley, by whom we understood Sir Edwin Sands was chosen Treasurer, and Master John Farrar his Deputy, and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent us, which did ravish us so much with joy and content, we thought our selves now fully satisfied, for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithstanding, such an accident hapned Captaine Stallings, the next day his ship was cast away, and he not long after slaine in a private quarrell. Sir George Yearly to beginne his government, added to be of his councill, Captaine Francis West, Captaine Nathaniel Powell, Master John Pory, Master John Rolfe, and Master William Wickam, and Master Samuel Macocke, and propounded to have a generall assembly with all expedition. Upon the twelfth of this Moneth, came in a Pinnace of Captaine Bargraves, and on the seventeenth Captaine Lownes, and one Master Evans, who intended to plant themselves at Waraskoyack, but now Ophechankanough will not come at us, that causes us suspect his former promises.

Waraskoyack planted.

In May came in the Margaret of Bristoll, with foure and thirty men, all well and in health, and also many devout gifts, and we were much troubled in examining some scandalous letters sent into England, to disgrace 246 *A barrell they account foure bushels.* this Country with barrennesse, to discourage the adventurers, and so bring it and us to ruine and confusion; notwithstanding, we finde by them of best experience, an industrious man not other waies imploied, may well tend foure akers of Corne, and 1000. plants of Tobacco, and where they say an aker will yeeld but three or foure barrells, we have ordinarily foure or five, but of new ground six, seven, and eight, and a barrell of Pease and Beanes, which we esteeme as good as two of Corne, which is after thirty or forty bushels an aker, so that one man may provide Corne for five, and apparell for two by the profit of his Tobacco; they say also English Wheat will yeeld but sixteene bushels an

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aker, and we have reaped thirty: besides to manure the Land, no place hath more white and blew Marble than here, had we but Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to use them, and traine up our cattell to draw them, which though we indeavour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobacco, and yet of that many are so covetous to have much, they make little good; besides there are so many sofisticating Tobacco-mungers in England, were it never so bad, they would sell it for Verinas, and the trash that remaineth should be Virginia, such devilish bad mindes we know some of our owne Country-men doe beare, not onely to the businesse, but also to our mother England her selfe; could they or durst they as freely defame her.

Their time of Parliament.

The 25. of June came in the Triall with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from us cleerely all feare of famine; then our governour and councill caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated though expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine Ward was sent to Monahigan in new England, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to small purpose, for they wanted Salt: the George also was sent to New-found-land with the Cape Merchant, 247 [IV. 127.] *Four corporations named.* there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seven weekes. About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars, and Japazous King of Patawomeck, came to James towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his River, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one Poule, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very jealous the Salvages would surprize us. The Governours have bounded foure Corporations; which is the Companies, the University, the Governours and Gleabe land: Ensigne Wil. Spencer, & Thomas Barret a Sergeant, with some others of the ancient Planters being set free, we are the first farmers that went forth, and have chosen places to their content, so that now knowing their owne land, they strive who should exceed in building and planting. The fourth of November

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the Bona nova came in with all her people lusty and well; not long after one Master Dirmer sent out by some of Plimoth for New-England, arrived in a Barke of five tunnes, and returned the next Spring; notwithstanding the ill rumours of the unwholsomnesse of James towne, the new commers that were planted at old Paspahedge, little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country. In December Captaine Ward returned from Patawomeck, the people there dealt falsly with him, so that hee tooke 800. bushels of Corne from them perforce. Captaine Woddiffe of Bristol came in not long after, with all his people lusty and in health, and we had two particular Governors sent us, under the titles of Deputies to the Company, the one to have charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies: Now you are to understand, that because there have beene many complaints against the Governors, Captaines, and Officers in Virginia, for buying and selling men and boies, or to bee set over from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in England a thing most intolerable, or that the tenants or lawfull servants should be put from *Captaine Wardsexploit*. 248 their places, or abridged their Covenants, was so odious, that the very report thereof brought a great scandall to the generall action. The Councill in England did send many good and worthy instructions for the amending those abuses, and appointed a hundred men should at the Companies charge be allotted and provided to serve and attend the Governour during the time of his government, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leave to his Successor in like manner, fifty to the Deputy-Governour of the Colledge land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treasurer, to the Secretary five and twenty, and more to the Marshall and Cape merchant; which they are also to leave to their successors, and likewise to every particular Officer such a competency, as he might live well in his Office, without oppressing any under their charge, which good law I pray God it be well observed, and then we may truly say in Virginia, we are the most happy people in the world. By me John Rolfe.

The number of Ships and men.

There went this yeere by the Companies records, II. ships, and 1216. persons to be thus disposed on: Tenants for the Governors land fourescore, besides fifty sent the former

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spring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the College a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wives ninety, servants for publike service fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring up thirty of the infidels children, the rest were sent to private Plantations.

Gifts given.

Two persons unknowne have given faire Plate and Ornaments for two Communion Tables, the one at the College, the other at the Church of Mistris Mary Robinson, who towards the foundation gave two hundred pound. And another unknowne person sent to the Treasurer five hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing up of the salvage children in Christianity. Master Nicholas Farrar deceased, hath by his Will given three hundred pounds to the College, to be paid when there shall be ten young Salvages placed in it, in the meane 249 time foure and twenty pound yeerely to bee distributed unto three discreet and godly young men in the Colony, to bring up three wilde young infidels in some good course of life, also there were granted eleven Pattents, upon condition to transport people and cattle to increase the Plantations. [A desperat

But few performe them. 250 [IV. 128.]

A desperat Sea-fight betwixt two Spanish men of warre, and a small English ship, at the Ile of Dominica going to Virginia, by Captaine Anthony Chester.

1620. *The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and M. John Ferrar Deputy.*

HAVING taken our journey towards Virginia in the beginning of February, a ship called the Margaret and John, of one hundred and sixty tuns, eight Iron Peeeces and a Falcon, with eightie Passengers besides Sailers; After many tempests and foule weather, about the foureteenth of March we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we edged towards her to see what she was, but she presently set saile, and ran us quickly out of sight: This made us keepe our course for Mettalina, and the next day passing Dominica, we came to an anchor at Guardalupo, to take in fresh water. Six French-men there cast away sixteene moneths agoe came aboard us; they told us a Spanish man of Warre but seven

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daies before was seeking his consort, and this was she we descried at hull. At Mevis we intended to refresh our selves, having beene eleven weeks pestered in this unwholsome ship; but there we found two tall ships with the Hollanders colours, but necessitie forcing us on shore, we anchored faire by them, and in friendly manner sent to hale them: but seeing they were Spaniards, retiring to our ship, they sent such a volley of shot after us, that shot the Boat, split the Oares, and some thorow the clothes, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great Ordnance, that many times over-racked our ship, which being so cumbred with the Passengers provisions, our Ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it should have beene. But perceiving what they were, we fitted our selves the best *A French-man cast away at Guardalupo. The Spaniards begin.* 251 we could not prevent a mischiefe, seeing them warp themselves to windward, we thought it not good to be boarded on both sides at an anchor, we intended to set saile, but that the Vice-Admirall battered so hard our star-boord side, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their unkindnesse with such faire shot from a Demiculvering, that shot her betweene wind and water, whereby she was glad to leave us and her Admirall together. Comming faire by our quarter, he tooke in his Holland flag, and put forth his Spanish colours, and so haled us.

The Vice-Admirall shot betweene wind and water. The manner of their fight.

We quietly and quickly answered him, both what wee were, and whither bound, relating the effect of our Commission, and the cause of our comming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of Spaines Subjects, nor any. She commanded us amaine for the King of Spaine, we replied with inlarging the particulars what friends both the Kings our Masters were, and as we would doe no wrong, we would take none. They commanded us aboard to shew our Commission, which we refused, but if they would send their Boat to us willingly they should see it. But for answer they made two great shot at us, with a volley of small shot, which caused us to leave the decks; then with many ill words they laid us aboard, which caused us to raise our maine saile, and give the word to our small shot which lay close and ready, that paid them in such sort, they quickly retired. The fight continued halfe an houre, as if we had beene invironed with fire and smoke, untill they

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discovered the waste of our ship naked, where they bravely boorded us loofe for loofe, hasting with pikes and swords to enter, but it pleased God so to direct our Captaine, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed under our halfe deck, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose under the Port holes, encountred them so rudely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and their whole company beaten backe, many of our men were hurt, but I am sure they had two for one.

252 [IV. 129.] *The Captaine slaine.*

In the end they were violently repulsed, untill they were reinforced to charge againe by their commands, who standing upon their honors, thought it a great indignity to be so affronted, which caused a second charge, and that answered with a second beating backe: whereat the Captaine grew intraged, and constrained them to come on againe afresh, which they did so effectually, that question-lesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that tosseth Monarchies, and teareth Mountaines, had not taught us to tosse our Pikes with prosperous events, and powred out a volley of small shot amongst them, whereby that valiant Commander was slaine, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe likewise on the top of the hatches. This we saw with our eies, and rejoyced with it at our hearts, so that we might perceive good successe comming on, our Captaine presently tooke advantage of their discomfiture, though with much comiseration of that resolute Captaine, and not onely plied them againe with our Ordnance, but had more shot under the Pikes, which was bestowed to good purpose, and amazed our enemies with the suddenesse.

A worthy exploit of Lucas.

Amongst the rest, one Lucas, our Carpenters Mate, must not be forgotten, who perceiving a way how to annoy them; As they were thus puzzled and in a confusion, drew out a Minion under the halfe decke, and there bent it upon them in such a manner, that when it was fired, the cases of stones and peeces of Iron fell upon them so thick, as cleared the decke, and slew many, and in short time we saw few assailants, but such as crept from

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place to place covertly from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may commend our enemies, they had done something worthy of commendations; yet either wanting men, or being overtaken with the unlooked for valour of our men, they now began to shrink, and give us leave to be wanton with our advantage. Yet we could onely use but foure peece of Ordnances, but they served the turne as well as all the rest: for she was shot so oft betweene 253 wind and water, we saw they were willing to leave us, but by reason she was fast in the latch of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung aloofe, she could not cleare her selfe as she wrought to doe, till one cut the Cable with an axe, and was slaine by freeing us. Having beene aboard us two houres and an halfe, seeing her selfe cleere, all the shot wee had plaid on both sides, which lasted till we were out of shot, then we discovered the Vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply us with their Ordnances, and put us in minde we had another worke in hand. Whereupon we separated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ship with the rest, and were so well encouraged wee waifed them a maine. The Admirall stood aloofe off, and the other would not come within Falcon shot, where she lay battering us till shee received another paiment from a Demiculvering, which made her beare with the shore for smooth water to mend her leakes. The next morning they both came up againe with us, as if they had determind to devour us at once, but it seemed it was but a bravado, though they forsooke not our quarter for a time within Musket shot; yet all the night onely, they kept us company, but made not a shot. During which time we had leasure to provide us better than before: but God bethanked they made onely but a shew of another assault, ere suddenly the Vice-admirall fell a starne, and the other lay shaking in the wind, and so they both left us. The fight continued six houres, and was the more unwelcome, because we were so ill provided, and had no intent to fight, nor give occasion to disturbe them. As for the losse of men, if Religion had not taught us what by the providence of God is brought to passe, yet daily experience might informe us, of the dangers of wars, and perils at sea, by stormes tempests, shipwracks, encounters with Pirats, meeting with enemies, crosse winds, long voiages, unknowne shores, barbarous Nations, and an hundred inconveniences, of which humane pollicies are not capable,

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nor mens conjectures apprehensive. We *The event of the fight.* 254 [IV. 130.] lost Doctor Bohun, a worthy valiant Gentleman, (a long time brought up amongst the most learned Surgeons, and Physitions in Netherlands, and this his second journey to Virginia:) and seven slaine out right, two died shortly of their wounds; sixteene was shot, whose limbs God be thanked was recovered without maime, and now settled in Virginia: how many they lost we know not, but we saw a great many lie on the decks, and their skuppens runne with bloud, they were about three hundred tunnes apeece, each sixteene or twentie Brasse-peeces. Captaine Chester, who in this fight had behaved himselfe like a most vigilant, resolute, and a couragious souldier, as also our honest and valiant master, did still so comfort and incourage us by all the meanes they could, at last to all our great contents we arrived in Virginia, and from thence returned safely to England.

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The Names of the Adventurers for Virginia, Alphabetically set downe, according to a printed Booke, set out by the Treasurer and Councill in this present yeere, 1620.

A

Sir William Aliffe.

Sir Roger Aston.

Sir Anthony Ashley.

Sir John Akland.

Sir Anthonie Aucher.

Sir Robert Askwith.

Doctor Francis Anthony.

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Charles Anthony.

Edward Allen.

Edmund Allen Esquire.

John Allen.

Thomas Allen.

William Atkinson, Esquire.

Richard Ashcroft.

Nicholas Andrews.

John Andrews the elder.

John Andrews the younger.

James Ascough.

Giles Allington.

Morris Abbot.

Ambrose Asten.

James Askew.

Anthony Abdey.

John Arundell, Esquire.

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B

Edward, Earle of Bedford.

James, Lord Bishop of Bathe and Wells.

Sir Francis Barrington.

Sir Morice Barkley.

Sir John Benet.

Sir Thomas Beamont.

Sir Amias Bamfield.

Sir John Bourcher.

Sir Edmund Bowyer.

Sir Thomas Bludder.

Sir George Bolles.

Sir John Bingley.

Sir Thomas Button.

Sir Henry Beddingfield.

Companie of Barbers-Surgeons.

Companie of Bakers.

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Richard Banister.

John Bancks.

Miles Bancks.

Thomas Barber.

William Bonham.

James Bryerley.

William Barners.

Anthony Barners, Esquire.

William Brewster.

Richard Brooke.

256

Hugh Brooker, Esquire.

Ambrose Brewsey.

John Brooke.

Matthew Bromridge.

Christopher Brooke, Esquire.

Martin Bond.

Gabriel Beadle.

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John Beadle.

David Borne.

Edward Barnes.

John Badger.

Edmund Brandvell.

Robert Bowyer, Esquire.

Robert Bateman.

Thomas Britton.

Nicholas Benson.

Edward Bishop.

Peter Burgoney.

Thomas Burgoney.

Robert Burgoney.

Christopher Baron.

Peter Benson.

John Baker.

John Bustoridge.

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Francis Burley,

William Browne.

Robert Barker.

Samuel Burnham.

Edward Barkley.

William Bennet.

Captaine Edward Brewster.

Thomas Brocket.

John Bullock.

George Bache.

Thomas Bayly.

William Barkley.

George Butler.

Timothie Bathurst.

George Burton.

Thomas Bret.

Captaine John Brough.

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Thomas Baker.

John Blunt.

Thomas Bayly.

Richard and Edward Blunt.

Mineon Burrell.

Richard Blackmore.

William Beck.

Benjamin Brand.

John Busbridge.

William Burrell.

William Barret.

Francis Baldwin.

Edward Barber.

Humphrey Basse.

Robert Bell.

Matthew Bromrick.

John Beaumont.

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George Barkley.

Peter Bartle.

Thomas Bretton.

John Blount.

Arthur Bromfeld Esquire.

William Berbloke.

Charles Beck.

C

George, Lord Archbishop of Canterburie.

William Lord Cranborne, now Earle of Salisburie.

[IV. 131.] 257

William, Lord Compton, now Earle of North-hampton.

William Lord Cavendish, now Earle of Devonshire.

Richard Earle of Clanricard.

Sir William Cavendish now Lord Cavendish.

Gray, Lord Chandos.

Sir Henry Cary.

Sir George Calvert.

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Sir Lionell Cranfield.

Sir Edward Cecill.

Sir Robert Cotten.

Sir Oliver Cromwell.

Sir Anthony Cope.

Sir Walter Cope.

Sir Edward Carr.

Sir Thomas Conisbie.

Sir George Cary.

Sir Edward Conwey.

Sir Walter Chute.

Sir Edward Culpeper.

Sir Henry Cary, Captaine.

Sir William Craven.

Sir Walter Covert.

Sir George Coppin.

Sir George Chute.

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Sir Thomas Coventry.

Sir John Cutts.

Lady Cary.

Company of Cloth-workers.

Citie of Chichester.

Robert Chamberlaine.

Richard Chamberlaine.

Francis Covill.

William Coyse, Esquire.

Abraham Chamberlaine. V. I

Thomas Carpenter.

Anthony Crew.

Richard Cox.

William Crosley.

James Chatfeild.

Richard Caswell.

John Cornelis.

Library of Congress

Randall Carter.

Executors of Randall Carter.

William Canning.

Edward Carve, Esquire.

Thomas Cannon, Esquire.

Richard Champion.

Rawley Crashaw.

Henry Collins.

Henry Cromwell.

John Cooper.

Richard Cooper.

John Casson.

Thomas Colthurst.

Allen Cotten.

Edward Cage.

Abraham Carthwright.

Robert Coppin.

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Thomas Conock.

John Clapham.

Thomas Church.

William Carpenter.

Laurence Campe.

James Cambell.

Christopher Cletheroe.

Matthew Cooper.

George Chamber.

Captaine John Cooke.

Captaine Thomas Conwey, Esquire.

Edward Culpeper, Esquire.

Master William Crashaw. R

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Abraham Colmer.

John Culpeper.

Edmund Colbey.

Richard Cooper.

Library of Congress

Robert Creswell.

John Cage, Esquire.

Matthew Cave.

William Crowe.

Abraham Carpenter.

John Crowe.

Thomas Cordell.

Richard Connock, Esquire.

William Compton.

William Chester.

Thomas Covel.

Richard Carmarden, Esquire.

William and Paul Canning.

Henry Cromwell, Esquire.

Simon Codrington.

Clement Chichley.

James Cullemore.

Library of Congress

William Cantrell.

D

Richard Earle of Dorset.

Edward Lord Denny.

Sir John Digbie, now Lord Digbie.

Sir John Doderidge.

Sir Drew Drewry the elder.

Sir Thomas Dennis.

Sir Robert Drewry.

Sir John Davers.

Sir Dudley Digs.

Sir Marmaduke Dorrel.

Sir Thomas Dale.

Sir Thomas Denton.

Companie of Drapers.

Thomas Bond, Esquire.

David Bent, Esquire.

Library of Congress

Companie of Dyers.

Towne of Dover.

Master Richard Deane, Alderman.

Henry Dawkes.

Edward Dichfield.

William Dunne.

John Davis.

Matthew Dequester.

Philip Durdent.

Abraham Dawes.

John Dike.

Thomas Draper.

Lancelot Davis.

Rowley Dawsey.

William Dobson Esquire.

Anthony Dyot, Esquire.

Avery Dranfield.

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Roger Dye.

John Downes.

John Drake.

John Delbridge.

Benjamin Decroe.

Thomas Dyke.

Jeffery Duppa.

Daniel Darnelly.

Sara Draper.

Clement and Henry Dawkney.

259

E

Thomas, Earle of Exeter.

Sir Thomas Everfield.

Sir Francis Egiock.

Sir Robert Edolph.

John Eldred, Esquire.

William Evans.

Library of Congress

Richard Evans.

Hugh Evans.

Raph Ewens, Esquire.

John Elkin.

John Elkin.

Robert Evelin.

Nicholas Exton.

John Exton.

George Etheridge.

F

Sir Moyle Finch.

Sir Henry Fanshaw.

Sir Thomas Freake.

Sir Peter Fretchuile.

Sir William Fleetwood.

Sir Henry Fane.

Company of Fishmongers.

Library of Congress

John Fletcher.

John Farmer.

Martin Freeman, Esquire.

Ralph Freeman.

William and Ralph Freeman.

Michael Fetiplace.

William Fettiplace.

Thomas Forrest.

Edward Fleetwood, Esquire.

William Felgate.

William Field.

Nicholas Ferrar.

John Farrar.

Giles Francis.

Edward Fawcet.

Richard Farrington.

John Francklin.

Library of Congress

Richard Frith.

John Ferne.

George Farmer.

Thomas Francis.

John Fenner.

Nicholas Fuller, Esquire.

Thomas Foxall.

William Fleet.

Peter Franck, Esquire.

Richard Fishborne.

William Faldoe.

John Fletcher, and Company.

William Ferrars.

G

Lady Elizabeth Gray.

Sir John Gray.

Sir William Godolfine.

Library of Congress

Sir Thomas Gates.

Sir William Gee.

Sir Richard Grobham.

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Sir William Garaway.

Sir Francis Goodwin.

Sir George Goring.

Sir Thomas Grantham.

Company of Grocers.

Company of Goldsmiths.

Company of Girdlers.

John Geering.

John Gardiner.

Richard Gardiner.

John Gilbert.

Thomas Grave.

John Gray.

Nicholas Grieece.

Library of Congress

Richard Goddard.

Thomas Gipps.

Peter Gates.

Thomas Gibbs, Esquire,

Laurence Greene.

William Greenwell.

Robert Garset.

Robert Gore.

Thomas Gouge.

Francis Glanville, Esquire.

H

Henry, Earle of Huntington.

Lord Theophilus Haward, L. Walden.

Sir John Harrington, L. Harington.

Sir John Hollis, now Lord Hautein.

Sir Thomas Holecroft.

Sir William Harris.

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Sir Thomas Harefleet.

Sir George Haiward.

Sir Warwicke Heale.

Sir Baptist Hicks.

Sir John Hanham.

Sir Thomas Horwell.

Sir Thomas Hewit.

Sir William Herrick.

Sir Eustace Hart.

Sir Pory Huntley.

Sir Arthur Harris.

Sir Edward Heron.

Sir Persevall Hart.

Sir Ferdinando Heiborne.

Sir Lawrence Hide.

Master Hugh Hamersley, Alderman.

Master Richard Heron, Alderman.

Library of Congress

Richard Humble, Esquire.

Master Richard Hackleuit.

Edward Harrison.

George Holeman.

Robert Hill.

Griffin Hinton.

John Hawkins.

William Hancocke.

John Harper.

George Hawger.

John Holt.

John Huntley.

Jeremy Heiden.

Ralph Hamer.

Ralph Hamer, Junior.

John Hodgeson.

John Hanford.

Library of Congress

Thomas Harris.

Richard Howell.

Thomas Henshaw.

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Leonard Harwood.

Tristram Hill.

Francis Haselridge.

Tobias Hinson.

Peter Heightley.

George Hawkenson.

Thomas Hackshaw.

Charles Hawkens.

John Hodgis.

William Holland.

Robert Hartley.

Gregory Herst.

Thomas Hodgis.

William Hodgis.

Library of Congress

Roger Harris.

John Harris.

M. John Haiward.

James Haiward.

Nicholas Hide, Esquire.

John Hare, Esquire.

William Hackwell, Esquire.

Gressam Hoogan.

Humfrey Hanford.

William Haselden.

Nicholas Hooker.

Doctor Anthony Hunton.

John Hodsale.

George Hooker.

Anthony Hinton.

John Hogsell.

Thomas Hampton.

Library of Congress

William Hicks.

William Holiland.

Ralph Harison.

Harman Harison.

I

Sir Thomas Jermyn.

Sir Robert Johnson.

Sir Arthur Ingram.

Sir Francis Jones.

Company of Ironmongers.

Company of Inholders.

Company of Imbroyderers.

Bailiffes of Ipswich.

Henry Jackson.

Richard Ironside.

M. Robert Johnson Alderman.

Thomas Jones.

Library of Congress

William Jobson.

Thomas Johnson.

Thomas Jadwine.

John Josua.

George Isam.

Philip Jacobson.

Peter Jacobson.

Thomas Juxson Senior.

James Jewell.

Gabriel Jaques.

Walter Jobson.

Edward James.

Zachary Jones, Esquire.

Anthony Irbye, Esquire.

William I-anson.

Humfrey Jobson.

K

Library of Congress

Sir Valentine Knightley.

Sir Robert Killegrew.

Sir Charles Kelke.

Sir John Kaile.

262

Richard Kirrill.

John Kirrill.

Raph King.

Henry Kent.

Towne of Kingslynne.

John Kettleby, Esquire.

Walter Kirkham, Esquire.

L

Henry Earle of Lincolne.

Robert, L. Lisle, now Earle of Leicester.

Thomas, Lord Laware.

Sir Francis Leigh.

Sir Richard Lowlace.

Library of Congress

Sir William Litton.

Sir John Lewson.

Sir William Lower.

Sir Samuel Leonard.

Sir Samson Leonard.

Company of Lethersellers.

Thomas Laughton.

William Lewson.

Peter Latham.

Peter Van Lore.

Henry Leigh.

Thomas Levar.

Christofer Landman.

Morris Lewellin.

Edward Lewis.

Edward Lewkin.

Peter Lodge.

Library of Congress

Thomas Layer.

Thomas Lawson.

Francis Lodge.

John Langley.

David Loide.

John Levitt.

Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge.

Captaine Richard Linley.

Arnold Lulls.

William Lawrence.

John Landman.

Nicholas Lichfield.

Nicholas Leate.

Gedeon de Laune.

M

Philip Earle of Montgomerie.

Doctor George Mountaine, now Lord Bishop of Lincolne.

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William Lord Mounteagle, now Lord Morley.

Sir Thomas Mansell.

Sir Thomas Mildmay.

Sir William Maynard.

Sir Humfrey May.

Sir Peter Manhood.

Sir John Merrick.

Sir George More.

Sir Robert Mansell.

Sir Arthur Mannering.

Sir David Murrey.

Sir Edward Michelborn.

Sir Thomas Middleton.

Sir Robert Miller.

Sir Cavaliero Maicott.

Doctor James Meddus.

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Richard Martin, Esquire.

Library of Congress

Company of Mercers.

Company of Merchant Taylors.

Otho Mowdite.

Captaine John Martin.

Arthur Mouse.

Adrian More.

Thomas Mountford.

Thomas Morris.

Ralph Moorton.

Francis Mapes.

Richard Maplesden.

James Monger.

Peter Monsell.

Robert Middleton.

Thomas Maile.

John Martin.

Josias Maude.

Library of Congress

Richard Morton.

George Mason.

Thomas Maddock.

Richard Moore.

Nicholas Moone.

Alfonsus van Medkerk.

Captaine Henry Meoles.

Philip Mutes.

Thomas Mayall.

Humfrey Marret.

Jarvis Mundz.

Robert Mildmay.

William Millet.

Richard Morer.

John Miller.

Thomas Martin.

John Middleton.

Library of Congress

Francis Middleton.

N

Dudly, Lord North.

Francis, Lord Norris.

Sir Henry Nevill of Barkshire.

Thomas Nicols.

Christopher Nicols.

William Nicols.

George Newce.

Joseph Newberow.

Christopher Newgate.

Thomas Norincott.

Jonathan Nuttall.

Thomas Norton.

O

William Oxenbridge, Esquire.

Robert Offley.

Library of Congress

Francis Oliver.

P

William, Earle of Pembroke

William, Lord Paget.

John, Lord Petre.

George Percy, Esquire.

Sir Christofer Parkins.

Sir Amias Preston.

Sir Nicholas Parker.

Sir William Poole.

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Sir Stephen Powell.

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Sir Henry Peyton.

Sir James Perrot.

Sir John Pettus.

Sir Robert Payne.

William Payne.

Library of Congress

John Payne.

Edward Parkins.

Edward Parkins his widow.

Aden Perkins.

Thomas Perkin.

Richard Partridge.

William Palmer.

Miles Palmer.

Robert Parkhurst.

Richard Percivall, Esquire.

Richard Poyntell.

George Pretty.

George Pit.

Allen Percy.

Abraham Peirce.

Edmund Peirce.

Phenice Pet.

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Thomas Philips.

Henry Philpot.

Master George Procter.

Robert Penington.

Peter Peate.

John Prat.

William Powell.

Edmund Peashall.

Captaine William Proude.

Henry Price.

Nicholas Pewriffe.

Thomas Pelham.

Richard Piggot.

John Pawlet, Esquire.

Robert Pory.

Richard Paulson.

Q

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William Quicke.

R

Sir Robert Rich, now Earle of Warwicke.

Sir Thomas Row.

Sir Henry Rainsford.

Sir William Romney.

Sir John Ratcliffe.

Sir Steven Riddlesdon.

Sir William Russell.

Master Edward Rotheram, Alderman.

Robert Rich.

Tedder Roberts.

Henry Robinson.

John Russell.

Richard Rogers.

Arthur Robinson.

Robert Robinson.

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Millicent Ramsden.

John Robinson.

George Robins.

Nicholas Rainton.

Henry Rolffe.

John Reignolds.

Elias Roberts.

Henry Reignolds, Esquire.

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William Roscarrocke, Esquire.

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Humfrey Raymell.

Richard Robins.

S

Henry, Earle of Southampton.

Thomas Earle of Suffolke.

Edward Semer, Earle of Hartford.

Robert, Earle of Salisbury.

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Mary, Countesse of Shrewsbury.

Edmund, Lord Sheffeld.

Robert, Lord Spencer.

John Lord Stanhope.

Sir John Saint-John.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Sir John Samms.

Sir John Smith.

Sir Edwin Sandys.

Sir Samuel Sandys.

Sir Steven Some.

Sir Raph Shelton.

Sir Thomas Stewkley.

Sir William Saint-John.

Sir William Smith.

Sir Richard Smith.

Sir Martin Stutevill.

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Sir Nicolas Salter.

Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe of Exeter.

Captaine John Smith.

Thomas Sandys, Esquire.

Henry Sandys, Esquire.

George Sandys, Esquire.

Company of Skinners.

Company of Salters.

Company of Stationers.

John Stokley.

Richard Staper.

Robert Singleton.

Thomas Shipton.

Cleophas Smith.

Richard Strongtharm.

Hildebrand Spruson.

Matthew Scrivener.

Library of Congress

Othowell Smith.

George Scot.

Hewet Stapers.

James Swift.

Richard Stratford.

Edmund Smith.

Robert Smith.

Matthias Springham.

Richard Smith.

Edward Smith.

Jonathan Smith.

Humfrey Smith.

John Smith.

George Swinhow.

Joseph Some.

William Sheckley.

John Southick.

Library of Congress

Henry Shelley.

Walter Shelley.

Richard Snarsborow.

George Stone.

Hugh Shepley.

William Strachey.

Urion Spencer.

John Scarpe.

Thomas Scott.

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William Sharpe.

Steven Sparrow.

Thomas Stokes.

Richard Shepard.

Henry Spranger.

William Stonnard.

Steven Sad.

John Stockley.

Library of Congress

Thomas Stevens.

Matthew Shepard.

Thomas Sherwell.

William Seabright, Esquire.

Nicholas Sherwell.

Augustine Steward.

Thomas Stile.

Abraham Speckhard.

Edmund Scot.

Francis Smalman.

Gregory Sprint, Esquire.

Thomas Stacey.

William Sandbatch.

Augustine Stuard, Esquire.

T

Sir William Twisden.

Sir William Throckmorton.

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Sir Nicholas Tuston.

Sir John Trever.

Sir Thomas Tracy.

George Thorpe, Esquire.

Doctor William Turner.

The Trinity house.

Richard Turner.

John Taverner.

Daniel Tucker.

Charles Towler.

William Tayler.

Leonard Townson.

Richard Tomlins.

Francis Tate, Esquire.

Andrew Troughton.

George Tucker.

Henry Timberlake.

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William Tucker.

Lewis Tite.

Robert Thornton.

V

Sir Horatio Vere.

Sir Walter Vaughan.

Henry Vincent.

Richard Venne.

Christopher Vertue.

John Vassell.

Arthur Venne.

W

Henry Bishop of Worcester.

Francis West, Esquire.

Sir Ralph Winwood.

Sir John Wentworth.

Sir William Waad.

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Sir Robert Wroth.

Sir Percival Willoby.

Sir Charles Wilmott.

Sir John Wats.

Sir Hugh Worrell.

Sir Edward Waterhouse.

Sir Thomas Wilsford.

Sir Richard Williamson.

Sir John Wolstenholm.

Sir Thomas Walsingham.

Sir Thomas Watson.

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Sir Thomas Wilson.

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Sir John Weld.

Mistris Kath. West, now Lady Conway.

John Wroth, Esquire.

Captaine Maria Winckfield, Esquire.

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Thomas Webb.

Rice Webb.

Edward Webb.

Sands Webb.

Felix Wilson.

Thomas White.

Richard Wissen.

William Williamson.

Humfrey Westwood.

Hugh Willeston.

Thomas Wheatley.

William Wattey.

William Webster.

James White.

Edmund Winne.

John West.

John Wright.

Library of Congress

Edward Wooller.

Thomas Walker.

John Wooller.

John Westrow.

Edward Welch.

Nathaniel Waad.

Richard Widowes.

David Waterhouse, Esquire.

Captaine Owen Winne.

Randall Wetwood.

George Wilmer, Esquire.

Edward Wilkes.

Leonard White.

Andrew Willmer.

Clement Willmer.

George Walker.

William Welbie.

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Francis Whistler.

Thomas Wells.

Captaine Thomas Winne.

John Whittingham.

Thomas Wheeler.

William Willet.

Devereux Woogam.

John Walker.

Thomas Wood.

John Willes.

Nicholas Wheeler.

Thomas Wale.

William Wilston.

John Waller.

William Ward.

William Willeston.

John Water.

Library of Congress

Thomas Warr, Esquire.

David Wiffen.

Garret Weston.

Y

Sir George Yeardley, now Governour of Virginia.

William Yong.

Simon Yeomans.

Z

Edward, Lord Zouch.

John Zouch, Esquire.

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THat most generous and most honourable Lord, the Earle of Southhampton, being pleased to take upon him the title of Treasurer, and Master John Farrar his Deputy, with such instructions as were necessary, and admonitions to all Officers to take heede of extortion, ingrosing commodities, forestalling of markets, especially to have a vigilant care, the familiarity of the Salvages living amongst them made them not way to betray or surprize them, for the building of Guest-houses to relieve the weake in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no discoveries, nor knew no more then the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could ever see any returne for all this continuall charge and trouble, therefore they sent to be added to the Councell seven Gentlemen, namely Mr. Thorp, Captaine Nuce, Mr. Tracy, Captaine Middleton, Captaine Blount, Mr. John Pountas, and Mr. Harwood, with men, munition, and all things thought fitting, but they

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write from Virginia, many of the Ships were so pestred with diseased people, & thronged together in their passage, there was much sicknesse and a great mortality, wherfore they desired rather a few able sufficient men well provided, then great multitudes, and because there were few accidents of note, but private advertisements by letters, we will conclude this yeere, and proceed to the next. Collected out of the Councels letters for Virginia.

1621. *The Earle of South-hampton Treasurer. Master John Farrar Deputy. The election of Sir Francis Wyat Governour for Virginia.* [IV. 139.]

The instructions and advertisements for this yeere were both from England and Virginia, much like the last: only whereas before they had ever a suspicion of Opechankanough, and all the rest of the Salvages, they had an eye over him more then any, but now they all write so confidently of their assured peace with the Salvages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery, so that every man planteth himselfe where he pleaseth, and followeth his businesse securely. But the time of Sir George Yearley being neere expired, the Councel here made choise of a worthy young Gentleman Sir Francis Wyat to succeed him, whom they 269 forthwith furnished and provided, as they had done his Predecessors, with all the necessary instructions all these times had acquainted them for the conversion of the Salvages, the suppressing of planting Tobacco, and planting of Corne, not depending continually to be supplied by the Salvages, but in case of necessity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath beene promised and expected should have beene fed and relieved by the English, not the English by them; and carefully to redresse all the complaints of the needlesse mortality of their people, and by all diligence seeke to send something home to satisfie the Adventurers, that all this time had only lived upon hopes, grew so weary and discouraged, that it must now be substance that must maintaine their proceedings, & not letters, excuses and promises; seeing they could get so much and such great estates for themselves, as to spend after the rate of 100. pounds, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. nay some 2000. or 3000. pounds yearely, that were not worth so many pence when they went to Virginia, can scarce containe themselves either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of such superfluity, within a lesse compasse than our curious, costly, and consuming Gallants here in England, which cannot possibly be there

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supported, but either by oppressing the Comminality there, or deceiving the generality here (or both.) Extracted out of the Councels Letters for Virginia.

Notes worthy observation. A degression

From Virginia, by the relations of the Chieftains there, & many I have conferred with, that came from thence hither, I have much admired to heare of the incredible pleasure, profit and plenty this Plantation doth abound in, and yet could never heare of any returne but Tobacco, but it hath oft amazed me to understand how strangely the Salvages hath beene taught the use of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling peeces, and our men rooting in the ground about Tobacco like Swine; besides that, the Salvages that doe little but continually exercise their bow and arrowes, should dwell 270 and lie so familiarly amongst our men that practised little but the Spade, being so farre asunder, and in such small parties dispersed, and neither Fort, exercise of armes used, Ordnances mounted, Courts of guard, nor any preparation nor provision to prevent a forraine enemy, much more the Salvages howsoever; for the Salvages uncertaine conformity I doe not wonder, but for their constancy and conversion, I am and ever have beene of the opinion of Master Jonas Stockam a Minister in Virginia, who even at this time, when all things were so prosperous, and the Salvages at the point of conversion, against all their Governours and Councels opinions, writ to the Councill and Company in England to this effect.

May 28.

Master Stockams relation.

WE that have left our native country to sojourne in a strange land, some idle spectators, who either cowardly dare not, or covetously will not adventure either their purses or persons in so commendable a worke; others supporting Atlas of this almost unsupportable burdens as your selves, without whose assistance this Virginia Firmament (in which some) and I hope in short time will shine many more glorious Starres, though there be many Italiannated and Spaniolized Englishmen envies our prosperities, and by all their ignominious scandals they can devise seekes to dishearten what they can, those that are

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willing to further this glorious enterprize, to such I wish according to the decree of Darius, that whosoever is an enemy to our peace, and seeketh either by getting monipolicall patens, or by forging unjust tales to hinder our welfare, that his house were pulled downe, and a paire of gallowes made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

As for those lasie servants, who had rather stand all day idle, than worke, though but an houre in this Vineyard, and spend their substance riotously, than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your Treasury, I leave them as they are to the eternall Judge of the world. 271 [IV. 140.] But you right worthy, that hath adventured so freely, I will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which it may be you expect should flow unto you with a full tide, for the conversion of the Salvages: I wonder you use not the meanes, I confesse you say well to have them converted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it, as for the gifts bestowed on them they devoure them, and so they would the givers if they could, and though many have endeoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to convert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers. We have sent boies amongst them to learne their Language, but they returne worse than they went; but I am no States-man, nor love I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can finde no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse; and I am perswaded if Mars and Minerva goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, then those verball Mercurians in their lives, and till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion.

The government of Sir Francis Wyat.

The arrivall of Sir Francis Wyat.

ABout October arrived Sir Francis Wyat, with Master George Sands, appointed Treasurer, Master Davison Secretary, Doctor Pot the Physician, and Master Cloyburne the Surgian, but much provision was very badly conditioned, nay the Hogs would not eat that Corne they brought, which was a great cause of their sicknesse and mortality, and whatsoever is said against the Virginia Corne, they finde it doth better nourish than any provision is sent

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thither; the Sailers still they complaine are much to blame for imbesling the provisions sent to private men, killing of Swine, and disorderly trucking; for which some order would be taken.

In them nine Ships that went with Sir Francis Wyat not one Passenger died, at his arrivall he sent Master Thorpe to Opechancanough, whom hee found much 272 satisfied with his comming, to confirme their leagues as he had done his Predecessors, and so contented his people should coinhabit amongst them, and hee found more motions of Religion in him than could be imagined: every man betaking himselfe to his quarter, it was ordered, that for every head they should plant but 1000. Plants of Tobacco, and upon each plant nine leaves, which will be about 100. weight, the Corne being appointed but at two shillings & six pence the bushell, required such labour, it caused most men neglect it, and depend upon trade; where were it rated at ten shillings the bushell, every man would indeavour to have plenty to sell to the new commers, or any that wanted, and seldome any is transported from England, but it standeth in as much, besides the hazard and other necessaries, the Ships might transport of that burden. The 22. of November arrived Master Gookin out of Ireland, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of provision and cattle, and planted himselfe at Nupors-newes: the Cotten trees in a yeere grew so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man: here any thing that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better. For the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases. And so wee will conclude this yeere with the shipping and numbers sent. Out of the Councils Letters from Virginia.

Master Gookins Plantation. The number of Ships and men.

This yeere was sent one and twenty saile of Ships that imployed more than 400. sailers and 1300. men, women and children of divers faculties, with foure-score cattle; the Tiger fell in the Turkes hands, yet safely escaped, and by the returne of their letters from thence, the company is assured there can bee no fitter places of Mines, Wood and Water for Iron

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than there; and the French men affirme no Country is more proper for Vines, Olives, Sike, Rice and Salt, &c. of which the next yeere they promise a good quantity.

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Gifts.

[IV. 141.] *Gifts given.*

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the Royall James from the East-Indies, gave towards the building of a free Schoole 70 pound, eight shillings, and six pence; and an unknowne person to further it, sent thirtie pounds; and another in like manner five & twentie pounds; another refusing to be made knowne, gave fortie shillings yeerely for a Sermon before the Virginia companie: also another that would not be knowne, sent for the College at Henrico, many excellent good religious bookes, worth ten pound, & a most curious Map of al that coast of America. Master Thomas Bargave their Preacher there deceased, gave a Librarie valued at one hundred Markes: and the Inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thousand and five hundred pounds, to build a house for the entertaining of strangers. This yeere also there was much suing for Patents for Plantations, who promised to transport such great multitudes of people: there was much disputing concerning those divisions, as though the whole land had beene too little for them: six and twentie obtained their desires, but as yet not past six hath sent thither a man; notwithstanding many of them would have more, and are not well contented; whom I would intreat, and all other wranglers, to peruse this saying of honest Claudius.

Patents granted.

See'st not the world of Natures worke, the fairest well, I wot, How it, it selfe together ties, as in a true-loves knot. Nor seest how th' Elements ayre combin'd, maintaine one constant plea, How midst of heaven contents the Sunne, and shore containes the sea; And how the aire both compasseth, and carrieth still earths frame, Yet neither pressing burdens it, nor parting leaves the same. S

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The observations of Master John Pory Secretarie of Virginia, in his travels.

My journey to the Easterne shore.

HAVING but ten men meanly provided to plant the Secretaries land on the Easterne shore neere Acomack (Captaine Wilcocks plantation, the better to secure and assist each other). Sir George Yearley intending to visit Smiths Iles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with Estinien Moll a French-man, to finde a convenient place to make salt in. Not long after Namenacus the King of Pawtuxunt, came to us to seeke for Thomas Salvage our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led us into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed us his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie upon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Having taken a muster of the companies tenants, I went to Smiths Iles, where was our Salt-house: not farre off wee found a more convenient place, and so returned to James towne.

A good place to make salt in. The King of Pawtuxunts entertainment.

Being furnished the second time, wee arrived at Aquo hanock, and conferred with Kiptopeke their King. Passing Russels Ile and Onavcoke, we arrived at Pawtuxunt: the discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine Smiths discoveries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe. But here arriving at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus and Wamanato, his brother, long wee staid not ere they came aboard us with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled Oisters. Strict order was given none should offend us, so that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to discover what I could in their confines. Wamanato brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and used me [IV. 142.] 275 as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he presented me twelve Bever skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law

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of our God, and the first Chapter of Genesis expounded of Adam and Eve, and simple mariage; to which he replied, hee was like Adam in one thing, for he never had but one wife at once: but he as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better understood. The next day the two Kings with their people, came aboard us, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne Salvage challenged Namenacus the breach of three promises, viz. not in giving him a Boy, nor Corne, though they had plentie, nor Moutapass a fugitive, called Robert Marcum, that had lived 5. yeeres amongst those northerly nations, which hee cunningly answered by excuses. Womanato it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staid alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, They were things all men aspired unto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gave me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse us.

Some things being stolne from us, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things hee much admired our discretions, and gave us a guide that hee called brother, to conduct us up the River: by the way we met with divers that stil tould us of Marcum: and though it was in October, we found the Countrie very hot, and their Corne gathered before ours at James towne. The next day we went to Paccamaganant, and they directed us to Assacomoco, where their King Cassatowap had an old quarrell with Ensigne Salvage, but now seeming reconciled, went with us, with another Werowance towards Mattapanient, where *The trecherie of Namanicus*. 276 they perswaded us ashore upon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre we had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of Salvages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two Werowances at libertie, that all this while had line in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie, because we would convert them by courtesie. Leaving them as we found them, very civill and subtile, wee returned the same way wee came, to the laughing Kings on the Easterne shore, who told us plainly,

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Namanicus would also have allured him into his Countrie, under colour of trade to cut his throat. Hee told us also Opechancanough had imployed Onianimo to kill Salvage, because he brought the trade from him to the Easterne shore, and some disgrace hee had done his sonne, and some thirteene of his people before one hundred of those Easterlings in rescuing Thomas Graves whom they would have slaine, where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene Pamaunkes to fight, but they durst not, so that all those Easterlings so derided them, that they came there no more.

Thomas Salvages good service.

This Thomas Salvage, it is sixteene yeeres since he went to Virginia, being a boy, hee was left with Powhatan, for Namontacke to learne the language, and as this Author affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe hath served the publike without any publike recompence, yet had an arrow shot through body in their service. This laughing King at Accomack, tels us the land is not two daies journy over in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people, so that by the narrownesse of the Land there is not many Deere, but most abundance of Fish and Fowle. Kiptope his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who seeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himselfe, freely resigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himselfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected 277 [IV. 143.] in his degree, nor is hee carelesse of any thing concernes the state, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counciller, as hee is an affectionated Brother, bearing the greater burden in government, though the lesser honour, where cleane contrary they on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Those are the best husbands of any Salvages we know: for they provide Corne to serve them all the yeare, yet spare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the most civill and tractable people we have met with, and by little sticks will keepe as just an account of their promises, as by a tally. In their mariages they observe a large distance, as well in affinitie as consanguinitie; nor doe they use that devillish custome in making black Boyes. There may be on this shore about two thousand people: they on the West

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would invade them, but that they want Boats to crosse the Bay, and so would divers other Nations, were they not protected by us. A few of the Westerly Runnagados had conspired against the laughing King, but fearing their treason was discovered, fled to Smiths Iles, where they made a massacre of Deere and Hogges; and thence to Rickahake, betwixt Cissapeack and Nansamund, where they now are seated under the command of Itoyatin, and so I returned to James Towne, where I found the government rendred to Sir Francis Wyat. In February also he travelled to the South River Chawonock, some sixtie miles over land, which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleasant Country, yeelding two harvests in a yeare, and found much of the Silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly used by the people, and so returned.

1622. *The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and Nicolas Farrar Deputy.*

Captaine Each sent to build a Fort to secure the Countrey.

IT was no small content to all the Adventurers to heare of the safe arivall of all those ships and companies, which was thought sufficient to have made a Plantation 278 *Five and twentie sent only to build Barks and Boats.* of themselves: and againe to second them, was sent Captaine Each in the Abigale, a ship of three or foure hundred tunnes, who hath undertaken to make a Blockhouse amongst the Oyster banks, that shall secure the River. The furnishing him with Instruments, cost three hundred pounds; but the whole charge and the ships returne, will be neere two thousand pounds. In her went Captaine Barwicke with five and twentie men for the building ships and Boats, and not other waies to be imploied: and also a selected number to build the East Indie Schoole, but as yet from Virginia little returnes but private mens Tobacco, and faire promises of plentie of Iron, Silke, Wine, and many other good and rich commodities, besides the speedy conversion of the Salvages, that at first were much discouraged from living amongst them, when they were debarred the use of their peeces; therefore it was disputed as a matter of State, whether such as would live amongst them should use them or not, as a bait to allure them; or at least such as should bee called to the knowledge of Christ. But because it was a great trouble for all causes to be brought to James Towne for a triall, Courts were appointed in convenient

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places to releev them: but as they can make no Lawes in Virginia till they be ratified here; so they thinke it but reason, none should bee inacted here without their consents, because they onely feele them, and must live under them. Still they complaine for want of Corne, but what must be had by Trade, and how unwilling any Officer when he leaveth his place, is to make good his number of men to his Successor, but many of them during their times to help themselves, undoes the Company: for the servants you allow them, or such as they hire, they plant on their private Lands, not upon that belongeth to their office, which crop alwaies exceeds yours, besides those which are your tenants to halfe, are forced to row them up and downe, whereby both you and they lose more then halfe. Nor are those officers the ablest or best deserving, but make their experience upon the companies 279 cost, and your land lies unmanured to any purpose, and will yeeld as little profit to your next new officers.

[IV. 144.]

The massacre upon the two and twentieth of March.

The death of Nemattanow writ by M. Wimp.

THE Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by Nemattanow, otherwise called Jack of the Feather, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Salvages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the English. This Captaine comming to one Morgans house, knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded Morgan to goe with him to Pamaunke to trucke, but the Salvage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to Morgans house, where he found two youths his Servants, who asked for their Master: Jack replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would have had him to Master Thorp: But Jack so moved their patience, they shot him, so he fell to the ground, put him in a Boat to have him before the Governor, then seven or eight miles from them. But by the way Jack finding the pangs of death upon him, desired of the Boyes two things; the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other,

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to bury him amongst the English. At the losse of this Salvage Opechankanough much grieved and repined, with great threats of revenge; but the English returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes he could of love and peace, yet within foureteene daies after he acted what followeth.

Security a bad guard.

Sir Francis Wyat at his arrivall was advertised, he found the Countrey settled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and unviolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Salvages being every way bettered by us, and 280 safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or never a sword, and seldomer a peece, except for a Deere or Fowle, by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground invited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses generally open to the Salvages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers, which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conversion of the Salvages as they supposed.

Having occasion to send to Opechankanough about the middle of March, hee used the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolved it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contrived our destruction, even but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one Browne that lived among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master; yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselves over the River, to consult on the devillish murder that insued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselves converted to Christianitie) prevented, and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March, as also in the evening before, as at other times they came unarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other provisions to sell us, yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly

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with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe, so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction: In which manner also they slew many of our people at severall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with us, for the effecting that *The manner of the massacre*. 281 [IV. 145.] great master-peece of worke their conversion; and by this meanes fell that fatall morning under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, three hundred forty seven men, women and children, most by their owne weapons, and not being content with their lives, they fell againe upon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkases into many peeces, and carying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Their cruelty.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne unto them, from whom they had daily received many benefits, but spitefully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie; being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which have preserved their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie upon them, but these miscreants put on a more unnaturall brutishnesse then beasts, as by those instances may appeare.

The murder of Master Thorp.

That worthy religious Gentleman M. George Thorp, Deputie to the Colledge lands, sometimes one of his Majesties Pensioners, & in command one of the principall in Virginia; did so truly affect their conversion, that whosoever under him did them the least displeasure, were punished severely. He thought nothing too deare for them, he never denied them any thing, in so much that when they complained that our Mastives did feare them, he to content them in all things, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would have had all the rest guelt to make them the milder, might he have had his will. The King dwelling but in a Cottage, he built him a

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faire house after the English fashion, in which he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired, as locking and unlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no device in the world comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe into this Kings favour for 282 *The slaughter of Captaine Powell*. his religious purpose, he conferred oft with him about Religion, as many other in this former Discourse had done, and this Pagan confessed to him as he did to them, our God was better then theirs, and seemed to be much pleased with that Discourse, and of his company, and to requite all those courtesies; yet this viperous brood did, as the sequell shewed, not onely murder him, but with such spight and scorne abused his dead corps as is unfitting to be heard with civill eares. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman upon his fatall houre, was warned by his man, who perceiving some treachery intended by those hell-hounds, to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare he should be apprehended, and so saved his owne life; yet his Master out of his good meaning was so void of suspition and full of confidence, they had slaine him, or he could or would beleieve they would hurt him. Captaine Nathaniel Powell one of the first Planters, a valiant Souldier, and not any in the Countrey better knowne amongst them; yet such was the error of an over-conceited power and prosperitie, and their simplicities, they not onely slew him and his family, but butcher-like hagled their bodies, and cut off his head, to expresse their uttermost height of cruelty. Another of the old company of Captaine Smith, called Nathaniel Causie, being cruelly wounded, and the Salvages about him, with an axe did cleave one of their heads, whereby the rest fled and he escaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or stand upon their guard. In one place where there was but two men that had warning of it, they defended the house against 60. or more that assaulted it. M. Baldwin at Warraskoyack, his wife being so wounded, she lay for dead, yet by his oft discharging of his peece, saved her, his house, himselfe, & divers others. At the same time they came to one Master Harisons house, neere halfe a mile from Baldwines, where was Master Thomas Hamer with six men, and eighteene or nineteene women and children. Here the Salvages with many presents and faire perswasions, fained they A

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Salvage slaine. M. Baldwines escape. M. Thomas Hamer with 22 escapeth. 283 [IV. 146.] came for Capt. Ralfe Hamer to go to their King, then hunting in the woods, presently they sent to him, but he not comming as they expected, set fire of a Tobacco-house, and then came to tell them in the dwelling house of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it, but Master Hamer not suspecting any thing, whom the Salvages pursued, shot them full of arrowes, then beat out their braines. Hamer having finished a letter hee was a writing, followed after to see what was the matter, but quickly they shot an arrow in his back, which caused him returne and barricado up the doores, whereupon the Salvages set fire on the house. Harisons Boy finding his Masters peece loaded, discharged it at randome, at which bare report the Salvages all fled, Baldwin still discharging his peece, and Mr. Hamer with two and twentie persons thereby got to his house, leaving their owne burning. In like manner, they had fired Lieutenant Basse his house, with all the rest there about, slaine the people, and so left that Plantation.

Captaine Ralfe Hamer with forty escapeth.

Captaine Hamer all this while not knowing any thing, comming to his Brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the Salvages chasing some, yet escaped, retired to his new house then a building, from whence he came; there onely with spades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himselfe and his Company till the Salvages departed. Not long after, the Master from the ship had sent six Musketiers, with which he recovered their Merchants store-house, where he armed ten more, and so with thirtie more unarmed workmen, found his Brother and the rest at Baldwins: Now seeing all they had was burnt and consumed, they repaired to James Towne with their best expedition; yet not far from Martins hundred, where seventy three were slaine, was a little house and a small family, that heard not of any of this till two daies after.

All those, and many others whom they have as maliciously murdered, sought the good of those poore brutes, that thus despising Gods mercies, must needs now 284 *The Salvages attempt to surprise a ship.* as miscreants be corrected by Justice: to which leaving them, I will knit together the thred of this discourse. At the time of the massacre, there were three

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or foure ships in James River, and one in the next, and daily more to come in, as there did within foureteene daies after, one of which they indevoured to have surprised: yet were the hearts of the English ever stupid, and averted from beleiving any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kinde usage to Christianitie. But divers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great worke in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honor and glory to his name, and a more flourishing estate and safetie to themselves, and with more speed to convert the Salvage children to himselfe, since he so miraculously hath preserved the English; there being yet, God be praised, eleven parts of twelve remaining, whose carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to have beene the greatest cause of their destructions: yet you see, God by a converted Salvage that disclosed the plot, saved the rest, and the Pinnacle then in Pamaunkes River, whereof (say they) though our sinnes made us unworthy of so glorious a conversion, yet his infinite wisdom can neverthesse bring it to passe, and in good time, by such meanes as we thinke most unlikely: for in the delivery of them that survive, no mans particular carefulnesse saved one person, but the meere goodnesse of God himselfe, freely and miraculously preserving whom he pleased.

The Letters of Master George Sands, a worthy Gentleman, and many others besides them returned, brought us this unwelcome newes, that hath beene heard at large in publike Court, that the Indians and they lived as one Nation, yet by a generall combination in one day plotted to subvert the whole Colony, and at one instant, though our severall Plantations were one hundred and fortie miles up on River on both sides.

But for the better understanding of all things, you must remember these wilde naked natives live not in 285 great numbers together, but dispersed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie in a company. Some places have two hundred, few places more, but many lesse; yet they had all warning given them one from another in all their habitations, though farre asunder, to meet at the day and houre appointed for our destruction at al our severall Plantations; some directed to one place, some to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly: Some entring their houses under colour of trading,

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so tooke their advantage; others drawing us abroad under faire pretences, and the rest suddenly falling upon those that were at their labours.

[IV. 147.] *Six of the Councell slaine.*

Six of the counsell suffered under this treason, and the slaughter had beene universall, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian, who lying in the house of one Pace, was urged by another Indian his Brother, that lay with him the night before to kill Pace, as he should doe Perry which was his friend, being so commanded from their King; telling him also how the next day the execution should be finished: Perrys Indian presently arose and reveales it to Pace, that used him as his sonne; and thus them that escaped was saved by this one converted Infidell. And though three hundred fortie seven were shine, yet thousands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preserved, for which Gods name be praised for ever and ever.

How it was revealed.

Pace upon this, securing his house, before day rowed to James Towne, and told the Governor of it, whereby they were prevented, and at such other Plantations as possibly intelligence could be given: and where they saw us upon our guard, at the sight of a peece they ranne away; but the rest were most slaine, their houses burnt, such Armes and Muniton as they found they tooke away, and some cattell also they destroyed. Since wee finde Opechankanough the last yeare had practised with a King on the Easterne shore, to furnish him with a kind of poison, which onely growes in his Country to poison us. But of this bloody acte never grieffe and shame possessed 286 any people more then themselves, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presenting of a staffe in manner of a peece, nor an uncharged peece in the hands of a woman. (But I must tell those Authors, though some might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better spirits.)

Memorandums.

Thus have you heard the particulars of this massacre, which in those respects some say will be good for the Plantation, because now we have just cause to destroy them by

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all meanes possible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had never happened; for they have given us an hundred times as just occasions long agoe to subject them, (and I wonder I can heare of none but Master Stockam and Master Whitaker of my opinion.) Moreover, where before we were troubled in cleering the ground of great Timber, which was to them of small use: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Countrey. Besides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beasts and Fowles will exceedingly increase if we beat the Salvages out of the Countrey, for at all times of the yeare they never spare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in season or out of season with them, all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they have used to kill eight in tenne more then we, or else the wood would most plentifully abound with victuall; besides it is more easie to civilize them by conquest then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their civilizing will require a long time and much industry. The manner how to suppress them is so often related and approved, I omit it here: And you have twenty examples of the Spaniards how they got the West-Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slavery for them, themselves living like Souldiers upon the fruits of their labours. This will make us more circumspect, and be an example to posteritie. (But I say, this might *Captaine Smith*. 287 as well have beene put in practise sixteene yeares agoe as now.)

His Majesties gift.

Thus upon this Anvill shall wee now beat our selves an Armour of prooffe hereafter to defend us against such incursions, and ever hereafter make us more circumspect: but to helpe to repaire this losse, besides his Majesties bounty in Armes, he gave the Company out of the Tower, and divers other Honorable persons have renewed their adventures, we must not omit the Honorable Citie of London, to whose endlesse praise wee may speake it, are now setting forward one hundred persons, and divers others at their owne costs are a repairing, and all good men doe thinke never the worse of the businesse for all these disasters.

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London sets out 100 persons. [IV. 148.]

What growing state was there ever in the world which had not the like? Rome grew by oppression, and rose upon the backe of her enemies: and the Spaniards have had many of those counterbuffes, more than we. Columbus, upon his returne from the West-Indies into Spaine, having left his people with the Indies, in peace and promise of good usage amongst them, at his returne backe found not one of them living, but all treacherously slaine by the Salvages. After this againe, when the Spanish Colonies were increased to great numbers, the Indians from whom the Spaniards for trucking stufte used to have all their corne, generally conspired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famish them; themselves living in the meane time upon Cassava, a root to make bread, onely then knowne to themselves. This plot of theirs by the Spaniards oversight, that foolishly depended upon strangers for their bread, tooke such effect, and brought them to such misery by the rage of famine, that they spared no uncleane nor loathsome beast, no not the poisonous and hideous Serpents, but eat them up also, devouring one death to save them from another; and by this meanes their whole Colony well-neere surfeted, sickned and died miserably, and when they had againe recovered this losse, by their incontinency *A lamentable example, too oft approved.* 288 an infinite number of them died on the Indian disease, we call the French Pox, which at first being a strange and an unknowne malady, was deadly upon whomsoever it lighted: then had they a little flea called Nigua, which got betweene the skinne and the flesh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making swellings and putrifactions, to the decay and losse of many of their bodily members.

Againe, divers times they were neere undone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the Commanders. Columbus, to whom they were also much beholden, was sent with his Brother in chaines into Spaine; and some other great Commanders killed and murdered one another. Pizzaro was killed by Almagros sonne, and him Vasco beheaded, which Vasco was taken by Blasco, and Blasco was likewise taken by Pizzaros Brother: And thus by their covetous and spightfull quarrels, they were ever shaking the maine pillars of their

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Common-weale. These and many more mischiefes and calamities hapned them, more then ever did to us, and at one time being even at the last gaspe, had two ships not arrived with supplies as they did, they were so disheartned, they were a leaving the Countrey: yet we see for all those miseries they have attained to their ends at last, as is manifest to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth: and whereas before few could be hired to goe to inhabit there, now with great sute they must obtaine it; but where there was no honesty, nor equity, nor sanctitie, nor veritie, nor pietie, nor good civilitie in such a Countrey, certainly there can bee no stabilitie.

Note this conclusion.

Therefore let us not be discouraged, but rather animated by those conclusions, seeing we are so well assured of the goodnesse and commodities may bee had in Virginia, nor is it to be much doubted there is any want of Mines of most sorts, no not of the richest, as is well knowne to some yet living that can make it manifest when time shall serve: and yet to thinke that gold and silver Mines are in a country otherwise most rich and fruitfull, or the 289 *How the Spaniards raise their wealth in the West Indies*. [IV. 149.] greatest wealth in a Plantation, is but a popular error, as is that opinion likewise, that the gold and silver is now the greatest wealth of the West Indies at this present. True it is indeed, that in the first conquest the Spaniards got great and mighty store of treasure from the Natives, which they in long space had heaped together, and in those times the Indians shewed them entire and rich Mines, which now by the relations of them that have beene there, are exceedingly wasted, so that now the charge of getting those Metals is growne excessive, besides the consuming the lives of many by their pestilent smoke and vapours in digging and refining them, so that all things considered, the cleere gaines of those metals, the Kings part defraied, to the Adventurers is but small, and nothing neere so much as vulgarly is imagined; and were it not for other rich Commodities there that enrich them, those of the Contraction house were never able to subsist by the Mines onely; for the greatest part of their Commodities are partly naturall, and partly transported from other parts of the world, and planted in the West-Indies, as in their mighty wealth of Sugarcanes, being first

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transported from the Canaries; and in Ginger and other things brought out of the East-Indies, in their Cochanele, Indicos, Cotton, and their infinite store of Hides, Quick-silver, Allum, Woad, Brasill woods, Dies, Paints, Tobacco, Gums, Balmes, Oiles, Medicinals and Perfumes, Sassaparilla and many other physicall drugs: These are the meanes whereby they raise that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and silver to the great & cleare revenue of their King. Now seeing the most of those commodities, or as usefull, may be had in Virginia by the same meanes, as I have formerly said; let us with all speed take the priority of time, where also may be had the priority of place, in chusing the best seats of the Country, which now by vanquishing the salvages, is like to offer a more faire and ample choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentleness and faire comportments could attaine unto. T

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The numbers that were slaine in those severall Plantations.

1 AT Captaine Berkleys Plantation, himselfe and 21. others, seated at the Falling-Crick, 66. miles from James City. 22

2 Master Thomas Sheffelds Plantation, some three miles from the Falling-Crick, himselfe and 12. others. 13

3 At Henrico Iland, about two miles from Sheffelds Plantation. 6

4 Slaine of the College people, twenty miles from Henrico. 17

5 At Charles City, and of Captaine Smiths men. 5

6 At the next adjoyning Plantation. 8

7 At William Farrars house. 10

8 At Brickley hundred, fifty miles from Charles City, Master Thorp and 10

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9 At Westover, a mile from Brickley. 2

10 At Master John Wests Plantation. 2

11 At Captaine Nathaniel Wests Plantation. 2

12 At Lieutenant Gibs his Plantation. 12

13 At Richard Owens house, himselfe and 6

14 At Master Owen Macars house, himselfe and 3

15 At Martins hundred, seven miles from James City 73

16 At another place. 7

17 At Edward Bonits Plantation. 50

18 At Master Waters his house, himselfe and 4

19 At Apamatucks River, at Master Perce his Plantation, five miles from the College. 4

20 At Master Macocks Divident, Captaine Samuel Macock, and 4

21 At Flowerda hundred, Sir George Yearleys Plantation. 6

22 On the other side opposite to it. 7

23 At Master Swinhows house, himselfe and 7

24 At Master William Bickars house, himselfe and 4

25 At Weanock, of Sir George Yearleys people. 21

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26 At Powel Brooke, Captaine Nathaniel Powel, and 12

27 At South-hampton hundred. 5

28 At Martin Brandons hundred. 7

29 At Captaine Henry Spilmans house. 2

30 At Ensigne Spences house. 5

31 At Master Thomas Perse his house by Mulbery Ile, himselfe and 4

The whole number 347.

[IV. 150.]

Men in this taking bettered with affliction, Better attend, and mind, and marke Religion,
For then true voyces issue from their hearts, Then speake they what they thinke in inmost
parts, The truth remaines, they cast off fained Arts.

How they were reduced to five or six places.

THis lamentable and so unexpected a disaster caused them all beleeeve the opinion of
Master Stockam, and drave them all to their wits end: it was twenty or thirty daies ere
they could resolve what to doe, but at last it was concluded, all the petty Plantations
should be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good five or six places, where all their
labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were
resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible upon such a sudden to bring also their
cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then
in possession with them; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined
and destroyed by the Salvages. Only Master Gookins at Nuportsnewes would not obey
the Commanders command in that, though hee had scarce five and thirty of all sorts with
him, yet he thought himselfe sufficient against what could happen, and so did to his great
credit and the content of his Adventurers. Master Samuel Jordan gathered together but

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a few of the straglers about him at Beggersbush, where he fortified and lived in despite of the enemy. Nay, Mistresse Proctor, a proper, civill, modest Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the English *Gookins and Jordens resolutions*. 292 *The opinion of Captaine Smith*. Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselves, as the Salvages did when they were gone, in whose despite they had kept it, and what they had a moneth or three weekes after the Massacre; which was to their hearts a grieffe beyond comparison, to lose all they had in that manner, onely to secure others pleasures. Now here in England it was thought, all those remainders might presently have beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places most convenient with what they had, having such strong houses as they reported they had, which with small labour might have beene made invincible Castles against all the Salvages in the Land, and then presently raised a company, as a running Armie to torment the Barbarous and secure the rest, and so have had all that Country betwixt the Rivers of Powhatan and Pamaunke to range and sustaine them; especially all the territories of Kecoughtan, Chiskact and Paspashege, from Ozenies to that branch of Pamaunke, comming from Youghtanund, which strait of land is not past 4. or 5. miles, to have made a peninsula much bigger then the Summer Isles, invironed with the broadest parts of those two maine Rivers, which for plenty of such things as Virginia affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then sufficient for ten thousand men. This, were it well understood, cannot but be thought better then to bring five or six hundred to lodge and live on that, which before would not well receive and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but spend that they have upon hopes out of England, one evill begetting another, till the disease is past cure: Therefore it is impossible but such courses must produce most fearefull miseries and extreme extremities; if it prove otherwise, I should be exceeding glad. I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other mens actions being not present, but they have done as much of me; yea many here in England that were never there, & also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed; and 293 [IV. 151.] this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for

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speaking my opinion, seeing the old Proverbe doth allow losers leave to speake; and Du Bartas saith, Even as the wind the angry Ocean moves, Wave hunteth Wave, and Billow Billow shoves, So doe all Nations justell each the other, And so one people doe pursue another, And scarce a second hath the first unhoused, Before a third him thence againe have roused.

The providence of Captaine Nuse.

AMongst the multitude of these severall Relations, it appeares Captaine Nuse seeing many of the difficulties to ensue, caused as much Corne to be planted as he could at Elizabeths city, & though some destroyed that they had set, fearing it would serve the Salvages for Ambuscadoes, trusting to releefe by trade, or from England, which hath ever beene one cause of our miseries, for from England wee have not had much, and for trading, every one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and provisions to performe it, and those that have, use them onely for their owne private gaine, not the publike good, so that our beginning this yeere doth cause many to distrust the event of the next. Here wee will leave Captaine Nuse for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine Norton, a valiant industrious Gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, besides Physicke and Chirurgery, which for the publike good he freely imparted to all gratis, but most bountifully to the poore; and let us speake a little of Captaine Croshaw amongst the midst of those broiles in the River of Patawomeke.

Captaine Croshaw his voyage to Patawomeke.

Being in a small Barke called the Elizabeth, under the command of Captaine Spilman, at Cekacawone, a Salvage stole aboard them, and told them of the Massacre, and that Opechancanough had plotted with his King and Country to betray them also, which they refused, but them of Wighcocomoco at the mouth of the river had 294 undertaken it; upon this Spilman went thither, but the Salvages seeing his men so vigilant and well armed, they suspected themselves discovered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, so contented his desire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but seeing no more to be had, Croshaw went to Patawomek, where he intended to stay and trade for himselfe,

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by reason of the long acquaintance he had with this King that so earnestly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine and director against the Pazaticans, the Nacotchtanks, and Moyaons his mortall enemies. Of this oportunity Croshaw was glad, as well to satisfie his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to Opechancanough, and adhere him unto us, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies; so onely Elis Hill stayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to Elizabeths City; here shall they rest also a little, till we see how this newes was entertained in England.

The arrivals of this newes in England.

It was no small grieffe to the Councell and Company, to understand of such a supposed impossible losse, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible; and yet having such warnings, especially by the death of Nemattanow, whom the Salvages did thinke was shot-free, as he had perswaded them, having so long escaped so many dangers without any hurt. But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not so discourage the noble adventurers, nor divers others still to undertake new severall Plantations, but that divers ships were dispatched away, for their supplies and assistance thought sufficient. Yet Captaine Smith did intreat and move them to put in practise his old offer, seeing now it was time to use both it and him, how slenderly hereto fore both had beene regarded, and because it is not impertinent to the businesse, it is not much amisse to remember what it was.

295 [IV. 152.]

The project and offer of Captaine John Smith, to the Right Honourable, and Right Worshipfull Company of Virginia.

Captaine Smiths offer to the Company.

IF you please I may be transported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next Michaelmas, with victuall, munition, and such necessary provision, by Gods assistance, we would endeavour to inforce the Salvages to leave their Country, or bring them in that feare and subjection that every man should follow their businesse securely, whereas now

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halfe their times and labours are spent in watching and warding, onely to defend, but altogether unable to suppress the Salvages, because every man now being for himselfe will be unwilling to be drawne from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horses for all the rest, without any certainty of some better reward and preferment then I can understand any there can or will yet give them.

These I would imploy onely in ranging the Countries, and tormenting the Salvages, and that they should be as a running Army till this were effected, and then settle themselves in some such convenient place, that should ever remaine a garison of that strength, ready upon any occasion against the Salvages, or any other for the defence of the Countrey, and to see all the English well armed, and instruct them their use. But I would have a Barke of one hundred tunnes, and meanes to build sixe or seven Shalops, to transport them where there should bee occasion.

Towards the charge, because it is for the generall good, and what by the massacre and other accidents, Virginia is disparaged, and many men and their purses much discouraged, how ever a great many doe hasten to goe, thinking to bee next heires to all the former losses, I feare they will not finde all things as they doe imagine; therefore leaving those gilded conceits, and dive into the true estate of the Colony; I thinke if his Majestie were truly informed of their necessitie, and the benefit of this project, he would be pleased to give the custome of Virginia, and the Planters also according to their abilities would adde thereto such a contribution, as would be fit to maintaine this garison till they be able to subsist, or cause some such other collections to be made, as may put it with all expedition in practice; otherwise it is much to be doubted, there will neither come custome, nor any thing from thence to England within these few yeares.

Now if this should be thought an imploiment more fit for ancient Souldiers there bred, then such new commers as may goe with me; you may please to leave that to my discretion, to accept or refuse such voluntaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trialls of these events, and discharge such of my company that had rather labour the ground then subdue

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their enemies: what releefe I should have from your Colony I would satisfie and spare them (when I could) the like courtesie. Notwithstanding these doubts, I hope to feede them as well as defend them, and yet discover you more land unknowne then they all yet know, if you will grant me such priviledges as of necessity must be used.

For against any enemy we must be ready to execute the best can be devised by your state there, but not that they shall either take away my men, or any thing else to imploy as they please by vertue of their authority, and in that I have done somewhat for New-England as well as Virginia, so I would desire liberty and authority to make the best use I can of my best experiences, within the limits of those two Patents, and to bring them both in one Map, and the Countries betwixt them, giving alwaies that respect to the Governors and government, as an Englishman doth in Scotland, or a Scotchman in England, or as the regiments in the Low-countries doe to the Governors of the Townes and Cities where they are billited, or in Garrison, where though they live with them, and are as their servants to defend them, yet not to be disposed on at their pleasure, but as the Prince and [IV. 153.] 297 State doth command them, and for my owne paines in particular I aske not any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the Salvages.

Their Answer

Their answer.

I Cannot say, it was generally for the Company, for being published in their Court, the most that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and some would have been very large Adventurers in it, especially Sir John Brookes and Master David Wyffin, but there were such divisions amongst them, I could obtaine no answer but this, the charge would be too great; their stocke was decayed, and they did thinke the Planters should doe that of themselves if I could finde meanes to effect it; they did thinke I might have leave of the Company, provided they might have halfe the pillage, but I thinke there are not many will much strive for that imploiment, for except it be a little Corne at some time of the yeere is to be had, I would not give twenty pound for all the pillage is to be got amongst the

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Salvages in twenty yeeres: but because they supposed I spake only for my owne ends, it were good those understand providents for the Companies good they so much talke of, were sent thither to make triall of their profound wisdomes and long experiences.

The manner of the Sallery.

About this time also was propounded a proposition concerning a Sallery of five and twenty thousand pounds to be raised out of Tobacco, as a yeerely pension to bee paid to certaine Officers for the erecting a new office, concerning the sole importation of Tobacco, besides his Majesties custome, fraught, and all other charges. To nominate the undertakers, favourers and opposers, with their arguments (pro) and (con) would bee too tedious and needlesse being so publikely knowne; the which to establish, spent a good part of that yeere, and the beginning of the next. This made many thinke wonders of Virginia, to pay such pensions extraordinary to a few here that were never there, and also in what state and 298 pompe some Chieftaines and divers of their associates live in Virginia, and yet no money to maintaine a Garrison, pay poore men their wages, nor yet five and twenty pence to all the Adventurers here, and very little to the most part of the Planters there, bred such differences in opinion it was dissolved.

Captaine Croshaw staies at Patawomek, and his adventures.

Now let us returne to Captaine Croshaw at Patawomek, where he had not beene long ere Opechancanough sent two baskets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, assuring him of the Massacre he had made, and that before the end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries: this fearefull message the King told this Captaine, who replied, he had seene both the cowardise and trechery of Opechancanough sufficiently tried by Captaine Smith, therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his favour cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his with their owne swords; if he were slaine, he would leave a letter for his Country men to know, the fault was his owne, not the Kings; two daies the King deliberated upon an answer, at last told him the English were his friends, and the Salvage Emperour Opitchapam now called Toyatan, was his brother, therefore there should be no bloud shed betwixt them, so hee returned the Presents,

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willing the Pamaunkes to come no more in his Country, lest the English, though against his will, should doe them any mischiefe.

The escape of Waters and his Wife.

Not long after, a Boat going abroad to seeke out some releefe amongst the Plantations, by Nuports-newes met such ill weather, though the men were saved they lost their boat, which the storme and waves cast upon the shore of Nandsamund, where Edward Waters one of the three that first stayed in Summer Iles, and found the great peece of Ambergreece, dwelling in Virginia at this Massacre, hee and his wife these Nandsamunds kept Prisoners till it chanced they found this Boat, at which purchase they so rejoyced, according to their custome of triumph, with songs, dances and invocations, they were [IV. 154.] 299 so busied, that Waters and his wife found opportunity to get secretly into their Canow, and so crossed the River to Kecoughtan, which is nine or ten miles, whereat the English no lesse wondred and rejoyced, then the Salvages were madded with discontent. Thus you may see how many desperate dangers some men escape, when others die that have all things at their pleasure.

The arrivall of Captaine Hamar at Patawomeke.

All men thinking Captaine Croshaw dead, Captaine Hamer arriving with a Ship and a Pinnace at Patawomeke, was kindly entertained both by him and the King; that Don Hamar told the King he came for Corne: the King replied hee had none, but the Nacotchtanks and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would give them 40. or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them. Those Salvages with some of the English they sent, who so well played their parts, they slew 18. of the Nacotchtanks, some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them; where the Patawomeks were so eager of revenge, they drive them not onely out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to Patawomek, where they left Captaine Croshaw, with foure men more, the rest set saile for James towne. Captaine Croshaw now with five men and himselfe found night and day so many Alarums, he retired into such a convenient place,

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that with the helpe of the Salvages, hee had quickly fortified himselfe against all those wilde enemies. Captaine Nuse his Pinnace meeting Hamar by the way understanding all this, came to see Captaine Croshaw: after their best enterchanges of courtesies, Croshaw writ to Nuse the estate of the place where he was, but understanding by them the poore estate of the Colony, offered if they would send him but a bold Shallop, With men, armes and provision for trade, the next Harvest he would provide them Corne sufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of June, there was little or none in all the Country.

300 Captaine Madyson sent to Patawomek.

This being made knowne to the Governour and the rest, they sent Captaine Madyson with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those Croshaw a good time taught the use of their armes, but receiving a letter from Boyse his Wife, a prisoner with nineteene more at Pamaunke, to use meanes to the Governour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to James towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to Pamaunke, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade Opachankanough to send two of his with two of the Patawomekes, to treat about those prisoners, and the rest should remaine their hostage at Pamaunke; but the Commanders, at James towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the Patawomekes backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine Croshaw to his owne habitation.

The industry of Captaine Nuse.

All this time we have forgot Captaine Nuse, where we left him but newly acquainted with the Massacre, calling all his next adjoyning dispersed neighbours together, he regarded not the pestring his owne house, nor any thing to releev them, and with all speed entrenched himselfe, mounted three peece of Ordnance, so that within 14. daies, he was strong enough to defend himselfe from all the Salvages, yet when victuall grew scant, some that would forrage without order, which he punished, neere occasioned a mutiny. Notwithstanding, he behaved himselfe so fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houses for them, he daily expected from England, a faire Well of fresh water

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mantled with bricke, because the River and Cricks are there brackish or salt; in all which things he plaid the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or any thing; wherein though his courage and heart were steeled, he found his body was not made of Iron, for hee had many sicknesses, and at last a Dropsie, no lesse grieffe to himselfe, then sorrow to his Wife and all under his government. These crosses and losses were no small increasers of his malady, nor [IV. 155.] 301 the thus abandoning our Plantations, the losse of our Harvest, and also Tobacco which was as our money; the Vineyard our Vineyetours had brought to a good forwardnesse, bruised and destroyed with Deere, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, disorderly persons or wild beasts; so that as we are I cannot perceiue but the next yeere will be worse, being still tormented with pride and flattery, idlenesse and covetousnesse, as though they had vowed heere to keepe their Court with all the pestilent vices in the world for their attendants, enchanted with a conceited statelinesse, even in the very bottome of miserable senselesnesse.

Captaine Powel kils 3. Salvages.

Shortly after, Sir George Yearly and Captaine William Powel, tooke each of them a company of well disposed Gentlemen and others to seeke their enemies. Yearley ranging the shore of Weanock, could see nothing but their old houses which he burnt, and so went home: Powel searching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whose heads hee cut off, burnt their houses, and so returned; for the Salvages are so light and swift, though wee see them (being so loaded with armour) they have much advantage of us though they be cowards.

The opinion of Captaine Smith.

I confesse this is true, and it may cause some suppose they are grown invincible: but will any goe to catch a Hare with a Taber and a Pipe? for who knowes not though there be monsters both of men and beasts, fish and fowle, yet the greatest, the strongest, the wildest, cruellest, fiercest and cunningest, by reason, art and vigilancy, courage and industry hath beene slaine, subjected or made tame, and those are still but Salvages as they were, onely growne more bold by our owne simplicities, and still will be worse and

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worse till they be tormented with a continuall pursuit, and not with lying inclosed within Palizados, or affrighting them out of your sights, thinking they have done well, can but defend themselves: and to doe this to any purpose, will 302 require both charge, patience and experience. But to their proceedings.

Sir George Yearleys journey to Accomack.

About the latter end of June, Sir George Yearley accompanied with the Councell, and a number of the greatest Gallants in the Land, stayed three or foure daies with Captaine Nuse, he making his moane to a chiefe man amongst them for want of provision for his Company, the great Commander replied hee should turne them to his greene Corne, which would make them plumpe and fat: these fields being so neere the Fort, were better regarded and preserved then the rest, but the great mans command, as we call them, was quickly obeied, for though it was scarce halfe growne either to the greatnesse or goodnesse, they devoured it greene though it did them small good. Sir George with his company went to Accomack to his new Plantation, where he staid neere six weekes; some Corne he brought home, but as he adventured for himselfe, he accordingly enjoyed the benefit; some pety Magazines came this Summer, but either the restraint by Proclamation, or want of Boats, or both, caused few but the Chieftaines to be little better by them. So long as Captaine Nuse had any thing we had part; but now all being spent, and the people forced to live upon Oisters and Crabs, they became so faint no worke could be done; and where the Law was, no worke, no meat, now the case is altered, to no meat, no worke; some small quantity of Milke and Rice the Captaine had of his owne, and that he would distribute gratis as he saw occasion; I say gratis, for I know no place else, but it was sold for ready paiment: those eares of Corne that had escaped till August, though not ripe by reason of the late planting, the very Dogs did repaire to the Corne fields to seeke them as the men till they were hanged; and this I protest before God is true that I have related, not to flatter Nuse, nor condemne any, but all the time I have lived in Virginia, I have not seene nor heard that any Commander hath taken such continuall paines for the publike, or done so little good for himselfe, *Captaine Nuse his misery.* 303 [IV. 156.] An

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Alarum, foure slaine. and his vertuous wife was no lesse charitable and compassionate according to her power. For my owne part, although I found neither Mulberies planted, houses built, men nor victuall provided, as the honourable Adventurers did promise mee in England; yet at my owne charge, having made these preparations, and the silke-Wormes ready to be covered, all was lost, but my poore life and children, by the Massacre, the which as God in his mercy did preserve, I continually pray we may spend to his glory. The 9. of September, we had an alarum, and two men at their labours slaine; the Captaine, though extreme sicke, sallied forth, but the Salvages lay hid in the Corne fields all night, where they destroyed all they could, and killed two men more, much mischief they did to Master Edward Hills cattle, yet he alone defended his house though his men were sicke and could doe nothing, and this was our first assault since the Massacre.

The kindnesse of the King of Patawomek.

About this time Captaine Madyson passed by us, having taken Prisoners, the King of Patawomek, his sonne, and two more, and thus it happened; Madyson not liking so well to live amongst the Salvages as Croshaw did, built him a strong house within the Fort, so that they were not so sociable as before, nor did they much like Poole the Interpreter; many Alarums they had, but saw no enemies: Madyson before his building went to Moyaoncs, where hee got provision for a moneth, and was promised much more, so he returned to Patawomek and built this house, and was well used by the Salvages. Now by the foure great men the King sent to Pamaunke for the redemption of the Prisoners, Madyson sent them a letter, but they could neither deliver it nor see them: so long they stayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad usage, that hee swore by the Skyes, if they returned not well, he would have warres with Opechankanough so long as he had any thing: at this time two of Madysons men ranne from him, to finde them he sent Master John Upton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica, where they heard they were. At this place 304 was a King beat out of his Country by the Necosts, enemies to the Patawomeks; this expulsed King though he professed much love to the Patawomeks, yet hee loved not the King because he would not helpe him to revenge his injuries, but to our Interpreter Poole

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hee protested great love, promising if any treason were, he would reveale it; our guide conducted this Bandyto with them up to Patawomek, and there kept him; our Fugitives we found the Patawomeks had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from Pamaunke; not long after, this expulsed King desired private conference with Poole, urging him to sweare by his God never to reveale what hee would tell him, Poole promised he would not; then quoth this King, those great men that went to Pamaunke, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with Opechankanough how to kill you all here, and these are their plots.

A Salvages policy.

First, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fishing to their furthest towne, and there set upon them, and cut off the rest; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many strangers would trade their Fures, where they will perswade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile also, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set upon you, yet of all this, said he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Conjurer.

Madison takes the King and kils 30. or 40.

This being made known to the Captain, we all stood more punctually upon our guard, at which the Salvages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the Pamaunkes, whereat they seemed contented, and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fishing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from James towne with the two Salvages, sent home with Captaine Croshaw: by those the Governour sent to Madyson, that this King should send him twelve of his great men; word of this was sent to the King at another towne 305 [IV. 157.] where he was, who not comming presently with the Messenger, Madyson conceited hee regarded not the message, and intended as he supposed the same treason. The next morning the King comming home, being sent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to James towne, the King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leave him destitute of

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aid, having so many enemies about him; the Captaine told him he would leave a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelve great men for the Governour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them, then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne, said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall have, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, whereupon Madyson went forth and locked the doore, leaving the King, his sonne, and foure Salvages, and five English men in the strong house, and setting upon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children; the King demanding the cause, Poole told him the treason, crying out to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but having slaine and made flye all in the towne, hee returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend. Then Madyson willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboard, which he presently did, and it was performed: so Madyson departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should returne at libertie; notwithstanding he brought them to James towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine Hamer, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land.

The King set at liberty.

But, alas the cause of this was onely this They understood, nor knew what was amisse. U
306 *A digression.*

Ever since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of Spaine would invade them, or our English Papists indeavour to dissolve them. But neither all the Counsels of Spaine, nor Papists in the world could have devised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there ever have beene a better plot, to have overthrowne Opechankanough then Captaine Chroshaws, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see Virginia made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory.

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Their proceedings of the other plantations.

Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer little was done, but securing themselves and planting Tobacco, which passes there as current Silver, and by the oft turning and winding it, some grow rich, but many poore, notwithstanding ten or twelve ships or more hath arrived there since the massacre, although it was Christmas ere any returned, and that returne greatly revived all mens longing expectation, here in England: for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recovered, and finding the Salvages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. To lull them the better in securitie, they sought no revenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best Souldiers they could, that would leave their private businesse, and adventure themselves amongst the Salvages to surprize their Corne, under the conduct of Sir George Yearley, being imbarked in convenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprise, they went first to Nandsamund, where the people set fire on their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry; so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for revenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses remained unburnt, and so departed. Quartering about Kecoughtan, after the Watch was set, Samuell Collyer one of the most ancientest Planters, and very 300 *surpriseth Nandsamund. Samuell Collyer slaine.* 307 well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Governor of a Towne, when the Watch was set going the round, unfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine.

[IV. 158.] *They surprise Pamaunke.*

Thence they sailed to Pamaunke, the chiefe seat of Opechankanough, the contriver of the massacre: the Salvages seemed exceeding fearefull, promising to bring them Sara, and the rest of the English yet living, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to give them any satisfaction they could. Many such devices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelve daies, till they had got away their Corne

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from all the other places up the River, but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Salvages that fled before them, some few of those naked Devils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they listed, burning their empty houses before them as they went to make themselves sport: so they escaped, and Sir George returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enjoined before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges. Thus by this meanes the Salvages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations.

The opinion of Captaine Smith.

What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully revenged of the Salvages before they returned, I know not; nor could ever heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy Ferdinando Courtus had scarce three hundred Spaniards to conquer the great Citie of Mexico, where thousands of Salvages dwelled in strong houses: but because they were a civilized people, had 308 wealth, and those meere Barbarians as wilde as beasts have nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion, which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not live to put in practice, yet it may be hereafter usefull for some, but howsoever I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is.

How to subject all the Salvages in Virginia.

Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would have sent first one hundred to Captaine Rawley Chroshaw to Patawomek, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would have struck that love and admiration into the Patowomeks, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated upon the other side the River, they would willingly have beene friends, or

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have given any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them, Captaine Argall, Chroshow, nor Hamar, never found themselves in fifteene yeares trials: nor is it likely now they would have so hostaged their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany; but suppose they had, who would have desired a better advantage then such an advertisement, to have prepared the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but five men in it durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as wel too jealous as too carelesse; Such another Lope Skonce would I have had at Onawmanient, and one hundred men more to have made such another at Atquacke upon the River of Toppahanock, which is not past thirteene miles distant from Onawmanient: each of which twelve men would keepe, as well as twelve thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily have beene done, if not by 309 [IV. 159.] courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wilde Fowle began to repaire to every creeke, that men if they would doe any thing, could not want victuall. This done, there remained yet one hundred who should have done the like at Ozinieke, upon the River of Chickahamania, not past six miles from the chiefe habitations of Opechankanough. These small Forts had beene cause sufficient to cause all the Inhabitants of each of those Rivers to looke to themselves. Then having so many Ships, Barks, and Boats in Virginia as there was at that present, with what facility might you have landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely five or six Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of Mattapanyent, fortie more that of Youghtanund, and fortie more to keepe their randivous at Pamaunke it selfe. All which places lie so neere, they might heare from each other within foure or five houres, and not any of those small parties, if there were any valour,

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discretion, or industry in them, but as sufficient as foure thousand, to force them all to contribution, or take or spoile all they had. For having thus so many convenient randevous to releevē each other, though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they rest, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houses upon all those Rivers in two or three daies? Then without fires they could not live, which they could not so hide but wee should finde, and quickly so tire them with watching and warding, they would be so weary of their lives, as either fly all their Countries, or give all they had to be released of such an hourelly misery. Now if but a small number of the Salvages would assist us, as there is no question but divers of them would; And to suppose they could not be drawne to such faction, were to beleevē they are more vertuous then many Christians, and the best governed people in the world. All the Pamaunkes might have beene dispatched as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to have dealt with any 310 other enemies at our pleasure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation.

If you think this strange or impossible, 12 men with my selfe I found sufficient, to goe where I would adaaies, and surprise a house with the people, if not a whole towne in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath beene related: And it seemes by these small parties last amongst them, by Captaine Crashow, Hamar, and Madyson, they are not growne to that excellency in policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wives and children apprehended. I know I shall bee taxed for writing so much of my selfe, but I care not much, because the judiciall know there are few such Souldiers as are my examples, have writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my selfe.

Some againe finde as much fault with the Company for meddling with so many Plantations together, because they that have many Irons in the fire some must burne; but I thinke no if they have men enow know how to worke them, but howsoever, it were better some burne then have none at all. The King of Spaine regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes under his obedience, and for the Salvage Countries he hath subjected, they are more then enow for a good Cosmographer to nominate, and is three Mole-hills so

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much to us; and so many Empires so little for him? For my owne part, I cannot chuse but grieve, that the actions of an Englishman should be inferior to any, and that the command of England should not be as great as any Monarchy that ever was since the world began, I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Christendome, but to suppress her disturbers, and conquer her enemies.

For the great Romans got into their hand The whole worlds compasse, both by Sea and Land, Or any seas, or heaven, or earth extended, And yet that Nation could not be contented.

311 *The arrivall of Captaine Butler, & his accidents.* [IV. 160.]

Much about this time arrived a small Barke of Barnestable, which had beene at the Summer Iles, and in her Captaine Nathaniel Butler, who having beene Governor there three yeares, and his Commission expired, he tooke the opportunity of this ship to see Virginia: at James Towne he was kindly entertained by Sir Francis Wyat the Governor. After he had rested there foureteene daies, he fell up with his ship to the River of Chickahamania, where meeting Captaine William Powell, joyning together such forces as they had to the number of eighty, they set upon the Chickahamanians, that fearefully fled, suffering the English to spoile all they had, not daring to resist them. Thus he returned to James towne, where hee staid a moneth, at Kecoughtan as much more, and so returned for England.

A strange deliverance of Master Argent & others.

But riding at Kecoughtan, M. John Argent, sonne to Doctor Argent, a young Gentleman that went with Captaine Butler from England to this place, Michael Fuller, William Gany, Cornelius May, and one other going ashore with some goods late in a faire evening, such a sudden gust did arise, that drive them thwart the River, in that place at least three or foure miles in breadth, where the shore was so shallow at a low water, and the Boat beating upon the Sands, they left her, wading neere halfe a mile, and oft up to the chin: So well it hapned, Master Argent had put his Bandileir of powder in his hat, which next

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God was all their preservations: for it being February, and the ground so cold, their bodies became so benumbed, they were not able to strike fire with a steele and a stone hee had in his pocket; the stone they lost twice, and thus those poore soules groping in the darke, it was Master Argents chance to finde it, and with a few withered leaves, reeds, and brush, make a small fire, being upon the Chisapeaks shore, their mortall enemies, great was their feare to be discovered. The joyfull morning appearing, they found their Boat and goods drive ashore, not farre from them, but so split shee was unserviceable: but so much was the frost, their 312 clothes did freeze upon their backs, for they durst not make any great fire to dry them, lest thereby the bloody Salvages might discry them, so that one of them died the next day, and the next night digging a grave in the Sands with their hands, buried him. In this bodily feare they lived and fasted two daies and nights, then two of them went into the Land to seeke fresh water; the others to the Boat to get some meale and oyle, Argent and his Comrado found a Canow, in which they resolved to adventure to their ship, but shee was a drift in the River before they returned: thus frustrate of all hopes, Captaine Butler the third night ranging the shore in his Boat to seeke them, discharged his Muskets, but they supposing it some Salvages had got some English peeces, they grew more perplexed then ever, so he returned and lost his labour. The fourth day they unloaded their Boat, and stopping her leakes with their handkerchiefes, and other rags, two rowing, and two bailing out the water; but farre they went not ere the water grew upon them so fast, and they so tired, they thought themselves happy to be on shore againe, though they perceived the Indians were not farre off by their fires. Thus at the very period of despaire, Fuller undertooke to sit a stride upon a little peece of an old Canow; so well it pleased God the wind and tide served, by padling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation God so guided him three or foure houres upon this boord, he arrived at their ship, where they no lesse amazed then he tired, they tooke him in. Presently as he had concluded with his Companions, he caused them discharge a peece of Ordnance if he escaped, which gave no lesse comfort to Master Argent and the rest, then terror to those Plantations that heard it, (being late) at such an unexpected alarum: but after, with warme clothes and a little strong water, they had a little recovered him, such was his courage and

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care of his distressed friends, he returned that night againe with Master Felgate to conduct him to them, and so giving thanks to God for so hopelesse a deliverance, 313 it pleased his Divine power, both they and their provision came safely aboard, but Fuller they doubt will never recover his benumbed legs and thighes.

[IV. 161.]

Now before Butlers arrivall in England, many hard speeches were rumored against him for so leaving his charge, before he received order from the Company: Divers againe of his Souldiers as highly commended him, for his good government, art, judgement and industry. But to make the misery of Virginia appeare that it might be reformed in time, how all those Cities, Townes, Corporations, Forts, Vineyards, Nurseries of Mulberies, Glasse-houses, Iron forges, Guest-houses, Silke-wormes, Colleges, the Companies great estate, and that plenty some doe speake of here, are rather things in words and paper then in effect, with divers reasons of the causes of those defects; if it were false, his blame nor shame could not be too much: but if there bee such defects in the government, and distresse in the Colony, it is thought by many it hath beene too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation then disputation: but however, it were not amisse to provide for the worst, for the best will help it selfe. Notwithstanding, it was apprehended so hardly, and examined with that passion, that the brute thereof was spread abroad with that expedition, it did more hurt then the massacre; and the fault of all now by the vulgar rumour, must be attributed to the unwholesomnesse of the ayre, and barrennesse of the Countrey, as though all England were naught, because the Fens and Marshes are unhealthy; or barren, because some will lie under windowes and starve in Cheap-side, rot in Goales, die in the street, high-waies, or any where, and use a thousand devices to maintaine themselves in those miseries, rather then take any paines to live as they may by honest labour, and a great part of such like are the Planters of Virginia, and partly the occasion of those defailements.

1623. How Captaine Spilman was left in the River of Patawomek. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer.

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In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this, Captaine Henrie Spilman a Gentleman, that hath lived in those Countries thirteene or foureteene yeares, 314 one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men, hee was sent to trucke in the River of Patawomek, where he had lived a long time amongst the Salvages, whether hee presumed too much upon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be revenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately, or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all severall relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for then returned report they left him ashore about Patawomek, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but five in the Barke, the Salvages ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gave fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Salvages leapt overboard, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes, and swum a shore; and presently after they heard a great brute amongst the Salvages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke, whereupon they weighed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is uncertaine.

Thus things proceed and vary not a jot, Whether we know them, or we know them not.

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A particular of such necessaries as either private families, or single persons, shall have cause to provide to goe to Virginia, whereby greater numbers may in part conceive the better how to provide for themselves.

Apparell.

Apparell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

A Monmouth Cap. 1s. 10d.

3 falling bands. 1s. 3d.

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3 shirts. 7s. 6d.

1 Waste-coat. 2s. 2d.

1 suit of Canvase. 7s. 6d.

1 suit of Frize. 10s.

1 suit of Cloth. 15s.

3 paire of Irish stockings. 4s.

4 paire of shoes. 8s. 8d.

1 paire of garters. 10d.

1 dozen of points. 3d.

1 paire of Canvas sheets. 8s.

7 ells of Canvas to make a bed and boulder, to be filled in Virginia, serving for two men.
8s.

5 ells of course Canvas to make a bed at Sea for two men. 5s.

1 course rug at sea for two men. 6s.

4l. [Victuall

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Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.

8 bushels of meale. 21.

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2 bushels of pease. 6s.

2 bushels of Otemeale. 9s.

1 gallon of Aquavitæ. 2s. 6d.

1 gallon of oyle. 3s. 6d.

2 gallons of Vineger. 2s.

3l. 3s.

Armes for a man, but if halfe your men be armed it is well, so all have swords and peeces.

1 Armor compleat, light. 17s.

1 long peece five foot and a halfe, neere Musket bore. 1l. 2s.

1 Sword. 5s.

1 Belt. 1s.

1 Bandilier. 1s. 6d.

20 pound of powder. 18s.

60 pound of shot or Lead, Pistoll and Goose shot. 5s.

3l. 9s. 6d.

Tooles for a family of six persons, and so after the rate for more.

5 broad howes at 2s. a peece. 10s.

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5 narrow howes at 16d. a peece. 6s. 8d.

2 broad axes at 3s. 8d. a peece. 7s. 4d.

5 felling axes at 18d. a peece. 7s. 6d.

2 steele handsawes at 16d. a peece. 2s. 8d.

2 two handsawes at 5s. a peece. 10s.

1 whipsaw, set and filed, with box, file and wrest. 10s.

2 hammers 12d. a peece. 2s.

3 shovels 18d. a peece. 4s. 6d.

2 spades at 18d. a peece. 3s.

2 Augers at 6d. peece. 1s.

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6 Chissels at 6d. a peece. 3s.

2 Percers stocked 4d. a peece. 8d.

3 Gimblets at 2d. a peece. 6d.

2 Hatchets at 21d. a peece. 3s. 6d.

2 frowes to cleave pale 18d. each. 3s.

2 hand Bills 20d. a peece. 3s. 4d.

1 Grindstone. 4s.

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Nailles of all sorts to the value of 2l.

2 Pickaxes. 3s.

6l. 2s. 8d.

Houshold implements for a family and six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

1 Iron pot. 7s.

1 Kettell. 6s.

1 large Frying-pan. 2s. 6d.

1 Gridiron. 1s. 6d.

2 Skellets. 5s.

1 Spit. 2s.

Platters, dishes, spoones of wood. 4s.

1l. 8s.

For Sugar, Spice, and Fruit, and at Sea for six men. 12s. 6d.

So the full charge after this rate for each person, will amount about the summe of 1l. 10s.

The passage of each man is 6l.

The fraught of these provisions for a man, will be about halfe a tun, which is 12l. 10s. 10d.

So the whole charge will amount to about 20l.

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Now if the number be great, Nets, Hooks and Lines, but Cheese, Bacon, Kine and Goats must be added. And this is the usuall proportion the Virginia Company doe bestow upon their Tenents they send.

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A briefe relation written by Captaine Smith to his Majesties Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, concerning some aspersions against it.

HOnourable Gentlemen, for so many faire and Navigable Rivers so neere adjoining, and piercing thorow so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny unwholsome Marshes, I have not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes, and Wharfage, if they will use the meanes, where there is no more ebbe nor floud, Nature in few places affoords any so convenient, for salt Marshes or [IV. 163.] Quagmires. In this tract of James Towne River I know very few; some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable then hurtfull: and I thinke there is more low Marsh ground betwixt Eriffe and Chelsey, then Kecoughton and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the River.

The causes of our first miseries.

Being enjoyed by our Commission not to unplant nor wrong the Salvages, because the channell was so neere the shore, where now is James Towne, then a thicke grove of trees; wee cut them downe, where the Salvages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of us in two houres: At this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little better stuffe in bread for five men a meale, and thus we lived neere three moneths: our lodgings under boughes of trees, the Salvages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor understood; 319 occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sicke and die.

But 38 English in all Virginia.

Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the Salvages, that we got provision which recovered the rest being most sicke. Six weeks I was led

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captive by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled, yet it pleased God to make their great Kings daughter the means to returne me safe to James towne, and releeve our wants, and then our Common-wealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and five.

Proofes of the healthfulnesse of the Countrey.

Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelve men in a boat of three tuns, I spent foureteene weeks in those large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the River we dwell upon, where no Christian knowne ever was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died.

How the Salvages became subjected.

The Salvages being acquainted, that by command from England we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions, cause Powhatan fly his Countrey, and take the King of Pamaunke Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of Paspahugh in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied us contribution, and the offending Salvages sent to James towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares I staid there, I had not a man slaine.

How we lived of the natural fruits of the Countrey.

All those conclusions being not able to prevent the bad events of pride and idlenesse, having received another supply of seventie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the strict directions from England to doe that was impossible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat, but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who lived upon Oysters in June and July, with a pint of corne a week for a man lying under trees, 320 and 120 for the most part living upon Sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks but seven died.

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Proofe of the Commodities we returned.

It is true, we had of Tooles, Armes, & Munition sufficient, some Aquavitæ, Vineger, Meale, Pease, and Otemeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths, though by the bills of loading the proportions sent us, would well have contented us, notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Ashes, Wainskot, Clapboord, Silke grasse, Iron Ore, some Sturgion and Glasse, Saxefras, Cedar, Cypris, and blacke Walnut, crowned Powhaton, sought the Monacans Countrey, according to the instructions sent us, but they caused us neglect more necessary workes: they had better have given for Pitch and Sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in Denmarke: Wee also maintained five or six severall Plantations.

What we built. [IV. 164.]

James towne being burnt, wee rebuilt it and three Forts more, besides the Church and Store-house, we had about fortie or fiftie severall houses to keepe us warme and dry, invironed with a palizado of foureteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of fresh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peece of Ordnance, of Culvering, Demiculvering, Sacar and Falcon, and most well mounted upon convenient platformes, planted one hundred acres of Corne. We had but six ships to transport and supply us, and but two hundred seventy seven men, boies, and women, by whose labours Virginia being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes; yet because we had done no more, they called in our Commission, tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed us neere as many offices and Officers as I had Souldiers, that neither knew us nor wee them, without our consents or knowledge; since there have gone more then one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people. Now if 321 you please to compare what hath beene spent, sent, discovered and done this fifteene yeares, by that we did in the three first yeares, and every Governor that hath beene there since, give you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in Virginia.

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Then came in Captaine Argall, and Master Sedan, in a ship of Master Cornelius, to fish for Sturgion, who had such good provision, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furnished then ever.

Not long after came in seven ships, with about three hundred people; but rather to supplant us then supply us, their Admirall with their authoritie being cast away in the Bermudas, very angry they were we had made no better provision for them. Seven or eight weekes we withstood the inundations of these disorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with Gun-powder, which occasioned me to returne for England.

How I left the Country.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas, I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, with three ships, seven Boats, Commodities to trade, harvest newly gathered, eight weeks provision of Corne and Meale, about five hundred persons, three hundred Muskets, shot, powder, and match, with armes for more men then we had. The Salvages their language and habitation, well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants: six Mares and a Horse, five or six hundred Swine, many more Powltry, what was brought or bred, but victuall there remained.

My charge.

Having spent some five yeares, and more then five hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about New England, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares I have here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best advice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might have beene prevented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must X 322 *My reward.* insue, but few would beleeve me till now too deerely they have paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I have rather left all then undertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries have I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor ever any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those

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two Countries shared before me by them that neither have them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and divisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of Virginia, if present remedy bee not found, as they have hindred many hundreds, who would have beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I have made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence, and beare with their errors till I have done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, upon such grounds as I have propounded, which is to have but fiteene hundred men to subdue againe the Salvages, fortifie the Countrey, discover that yet unknowne, and both defend & feed their Colony, which I most humbly refer to his Majesties most judiciall judgement, and the most honourable Lords of his Privy Councell, you his trusty and well-beloved Commissioners, and the Honourable company of Planters and well-willers to Virginia, New-England and Sommer-Ilands.

[IV. 165.]

Out of these Observations it pleased his Majesties Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, to desire my answer to these seven Questions.

Quest. I.

What conceive you is the cause the Plantation hath prospered no better since you left it in so good a forwardnesse?

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Answ. Idlenesse and carelesnesse brought all I did in three yeeres in six moneths to nothing, and of five hundred I left, scarce threescore remained, and had Sir Thomas Gates not got from the Bermudas, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be supplied.

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Quest. 2. What conceive you should be the cause, though the Country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco?

Answ. The oft altering of Governours it seemes causes every man make use of his time, and because Corne was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushell, and Tobacco at three shillings the pound, and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, presuming Tobacco will furnish them with all things; now make a mans labour in Corne worth threescore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they have Corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and keepe their people in health to doe any thing, but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Quest. 3. What conceive you to have beene the cause of the Massacre, and had the Salvages had the use of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?

Answ. The cause of the Massacre was the want of marshall discipline, and because they would have all the English had by destroying those they found so carelesly secure, that they were not provided to defend themselves against any enemy, being so dispersed as they were. In my time, though Captaine Nuport furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitives did the like, and some Peeces they got accidentally, yet I got the most of them againe, and it was death to him that should shew a Salvage the use of a Peece. Since I understand they became so good shot, they were imployed for Fowlers and Huntsmen by the English.

Quest. 4. What charge thinke you would have settled the government both for defence and planting when you left it?

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Answ. Twenty thousand pound would have hyred good labourers and mechanicall men, and have furnished them with cattle and all necessaries, and 100. of them would have

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done more then a thousand of those that went, though the Lord Laware, Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale were perswaded to the contrary, but when they had tried, they confessed their error.

Quest. 5. What conceive you would be the remedy and the charge?

Answ. The remedy is to send Souldiers and all sorts of labourers and necessaries for them, that they may be there by next Michaelmas, the which to doe well will stand you in five thousand pound, but if his Majesty would please to lend two of his Ships to transport them, lesse would serve, besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Quest. 6. What thinke you are the defects of the government both here and there?

[IV. 166.]

Answ. The multiplicity of opinions here, and Officers there, makes such delaies by questions and formalitie, that as much time is spent in complement as in action; besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, having six pounds for every Passenger, and three pounds for every tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured then one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, provisions and Magazines, whereby the Ships are so pestred, as occasions much sicknesse, diseases and mortality, for though all the Passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with Orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. As for the letters of advice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleieve there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were wel, to which error here they have beene ever much subject; and there not to beleieve, or not to releve the true and poore estate of that Colony, whose fruits were commonly 325 spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their adventures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice; but it is so with all men: but howsoever they thinke or dispose of all things at their

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pleasure, I am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others have not onely spent the most of their estates, but the most part have lost their lives and all, onely but to make way for the triall of more new conclusions, and he that now will adventure but twelve pounds ten shillings, shall have better respect and as much favour then he that sixteene yeere agoe adventured as much, except he have money as the other hath, but though he have adventured five hundred pound, and spent there never so much time, if hee have no more and not able to beg in a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of Court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new devices have consumed both mony and purse; for at first there were but six Patentees, now more then a thousand, then but thirteene Counsailors, now not lesse then an hundred; I speake not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those Officers, which did they manage their owne estates no better then the affaires of Virginia, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it; but this is most evident, few Officers in England it hath caused to turne Banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would leave their places, neither yet any of their Officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home, but fewer Adventurers here will adventure any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improvident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themselves, they die or live but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old Planters can relieve them were too much simplicity; for who here in England is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, have they never so much; much lesse in Virginia where they want for themselves. 326 Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, covetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please, yea even men, women and children for who will give most, occasions no small mischiefe amongst the Planters.

As for the Company, or those that doe transport them, provided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receive their charges againe with advantage, or that masters there should not have the same privilege over their servants as here, but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent over for eight or ten pounds at the

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most, without regard how they shall be maintained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits sutable, therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselves, then suffered any longer to use that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well settled Common-wealth to misery, much more Virginia.

Quest. 7. How thinke you it may be rectified?

[IV. 167.]

Answ. If his Majestie would please to intitle it to his Crowne, and yearely that both the Governours here and there may give their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in maintaining one hundred men for the Governour, one hundred for two Deputies, fifty for the Treasurer, five and twenty for the Secretary, and more for the Marshall and other Officers who were never there nor adventured any thing, but onely preferred by favour to be Lords over them that broke the ice and beat the path, and must teach them what to doe, if any thing happen well, it is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not five hundred of them have so much as one of the others; also that there bee some present course taken to maintaine a Garrison to suppress the Salvages, till they be able to subsist, and that his Majesty would please to remit his custome, or it is to be feared they will lose 327 custome and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them, not such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in England, yet when the foundation is laid, as I have said, and a common-wealth established, then such there may better be constrained to labour then here: but to rectifie a common-wealth with debaused people is impossible, and no wise man would throw himselfe into such a society, that intends honestly, and knowes what he undertakes, for there is no Countrey to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence must be by labour.

For the government I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland, men here conceiting Virginia as they are, erecting as many stately Offices as

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Officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the Countrey, where a Constable were as good as twenty of their Captaines, and three hundred good Souldiers and labourers better then all the rest that goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they spend Michaelmas rent in Mid-summer Moone, and would gather their Harvest before they have planted their Corne.

As for the maintenance of the Officers, the first that went never demanded any, but adventured good summes, and it seemes strange to me, the fruits of all their labours, besides the expence of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those collaterall Officers could not maintaine themselves so well as the old did, and having now such liberty to doe to the Salvages what they will, the others had not. I more then wonder they have not five hundred Salvages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance, and as many more to returne some content and satisfaction to the Adventurers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor see nothing but miserable complaints; therefore under your correction to rectifie all, is with all expedition to passe the authority to them who will releev 328 them, lest all bee consumed ere the differences be determined. And except his Majestie undertake it, or by Act of Parliament some small tax may be granted throughout his Dominions, as a Penny upon every Poll, called a head-penny; two pence upon every Chimney, or some such collection might be raised, and that would be sufficient to give a good stocke, and many servants to sufficient men of any facultie, and transport them freely for paying onely homage to the Crowne of England, and such duties to the publike good as their estates increased reason should require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly goe to spend their lives there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeere, then all those pety particular undertakings will effect in twenty.

For the Patent the King may, if he please, rather take it from them that have it, then from us who had it first, pretending to his Majesty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did, and for any thing I can conceive, had we remained still as at first, it is not likely

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we could have done much worse; but those oft altering of governments are not without much charge, hazard and losse. If I be too plaine, I humbly crave your pardon; but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the Nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their Purses and assistances many of them have beene to advance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferiour persons, amongst whom questionlesse also many have done their utmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and understanding; yet grosse errors have beene committed, but no man lives without his fault; for my owne part, I have so much adoe to amend my owne, I have no leisure to looke into any mans particular, but those in generall I conceive to be true. And so I humbly rest

Yours to command, J. S.

[IV. 168.] 329 *The King hath pleased to take it into his consideration.*

THus those discords, not being to be compounded among themselves, nor yet by the extraordinary diligences, care and paines of the noble and right worthy Commissioners, Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Goston, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir Henry Bourgchier and Sir William Pit; a Corante was granted against Master Deputy Farrar, and 20. or 30. others of that party to plead their causes before the right Honourable, the Lords of his Majesties Privy Councell: now notwithstanding all the Relations, Examinations, and intercepting of all Letters whatsoever came from thence, yet it seemes they were so farre unsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preservation of the Colony, as to give content and doe all men right, they sent two Commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the Colony. Upon whose returne after mature deliberation, it pleased his royall Majesty to suppress the course of the Court at Deputy Farrars, and that for the present ordering the affaires of Virginia, untill he should make a more full settlement thereof, the Lord Viscount Mandevile, Lord President of his Majesties Privie Councell, and also other Privy Councillors, with many understanding Knights and Gentlemen, should every Thursday in the afternoone meet at Sir Thomas Smiths in Philpot lane, where all men whom it should concerne may repaire, to receive such directions and warrant for their better security, as more at large you may see in the Proclamation to that effect,

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under the great Seale of England, dated the 15. of July, 1624. But as for the relations last returned, what numbers they are, how many Cities, Corporations, townes, and houses, cattle and horse they have, what fortifications or discoveries they have made, or revenge upon the Salvages; who are their friends or foes, or what commodities they have more then Tobacco, & their present estate or what is presently to be put in execution, in that the Commissioners are not yet fully satisfied in the one, nor resolved in the other, at this present time when this went 330 to the Presse, I must intreat you pardon me till I be better assured.

Thus far I have travelled in this Wildernesse of Virginia, not being ignorant for all my paines this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaves; that I have writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like objections. To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any have concealed their approved experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me: as for every fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leave them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I never undertooke any thing yet any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were these my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2. yeeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would judge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I must leave all to the triall of time, both my selfe, Virginia's preparations, proceedings and good events, praying to that great God the protector of all goodnesse to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and Country deserveth, and my heart desireth.

FINIS.

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THE FIFTH BOOKE.

[V. 169.]

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The Generall Historie of the Bermudas, now called the Summer Iles, from their beginning in the yeere of our Lord 1593. to this present 1624. with their proceedings, accidents and present estate.

The description of the Iles.

BEfore we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted, for as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion, so History without Geography, wandreth as a Vagrant without a certaine habitation. Those Ilands lie in the huge maine Ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, situated in 32. degrees and 25. minutes, of Northerly latitude, and distant from England West South-West, about 3300. miles, some twenty miles in length, and not past two miles and a halfe in breadth, environed with Rocks, which to the North-ward, West-ward, and South-East, extend further then they have bin yet well discovered: by reason of those Rocks the Country is naturally very strong, for there is but two places, & scarce two, unlesse 332 to them who know them well, where shipping may safely come in, and those now are exceeding well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall Fleet: the Rocks in most places appeare at a low water, neither are they much covered at a high, for it ebbs and flowes not past five foot; the shore for most part is a Rocke, so hardened with the sunne, wind and sea, that it is not apt to be worne away with the waves, whose violence is also broke by the Rocks before they can come to the shore: it is very uneven, distributed into hills and dales; the mold is of divers colours, neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene; the red which resembleth clay is the worst, the whitest resembling sand and the blackest is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, because there is mingled with it a white meale is the best: under the mould two or three foot deep, and sometimes lesse, is a kinde of white hard substance which they call the Rocke: the trees usually fasten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or stone, or so hard, though for most part more harder then Chalke; nor so white, but pumish-like and spungy, easily receiving and containing much water. In some places Clay is found under it, it seemes to be ingendred with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his

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substance unto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardest kinde of it lies under the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke slates one upon another, through which the water hath his passage, so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water, for all or the most part of the fresh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the sand, or that substance called the Rocke, leaving the salt behinde, it becomes fresh: sometimes we digged wells of fresh water which we finde in most places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea side, some further, the most part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the superficies of the sea, and in some places very strange, darke and cumbersome Caves.

333 [V. 170.] *The clime, temper and fertility.*

The aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for the generation and nourishing of all things, so as many things transported from hence yeeld a farre greater increase, and if it be any living thing it becomes fatter and better; by this meanes the country is so replenished with Hens and Turkeys, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that many of them being neglected, forsake the houses and become wilde, and so live in great abundance; the like increase there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause some things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requisite; and though the trees shed their leaves, yet they are alwaies full of greene; the Corne is the same they have in Virginia, and the West-Indies: of this and many other things without plowing or much labour, they have two Harvests every yeere, for they set about March, which they gather in July; and againe in August, which they reape in December; and little slips of Fig-trees and Vines doe usually beare fruit within the yeere, and sometimes in lesse; but we finde not the Grapes as yet come to any perfection; the like fertility it hath in Oranges and Limons, Pomgranates, and other things. Concerning the serenity and beauty of the skie, it may as truly be said of those Ilands as ever it was said of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the 12. moneths, but that in some houre thereof, the sun lookes singularly & cleere upon them: for the temperature it is

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beyond all others most admirable; no cold there is beyond an English Aprill, nor heat much greater then an ordinary July in France, so that frost and snow is never seene here, nor stinking and infectious mists very seldome, by reason of the maine Ocean, there is some wind stirring that cooles the aire: the winter they have observes the time with ours, but the longest daies and nights are shorter then ours almost by two houres.

Trees and Fruits.

We found it at first all overgrowne with weeds, and 334 *The Prickell Peare. The poison weed.* plants of severall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite store of Palmetoes, numbers of Mulberies, wild Olive-trees store, with divers others unknowne both by name and nature, so that as yet they become lost to many usefull imployments, which time and industry no doubt will one day discover, and even already certaine of the most notorious of them have gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as the Prickell-peare which growes like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaves, all over-armed with long and sharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much unlike a small greene Peare, and on the outside of the same colour, but within bloud red, and exceeding full of juice; with graines not much unlike the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature. The poysoned weed is much in shape like our English Ivy, but being but touched, causeth rednesse, itching, and lastly blisters, the which howsoever after a while passe away of themselves without further harme, yet because for the time they are somewhat painfull, it hath got it selfe an ill name, although questionlesse of no ill nature. Here is also frequently growing a certaine tall Plant, whose stalke being all over covered with a red rinde, is thereupon termed the red weed, the root whereof being soked in any liquor, or but a small quantity of the Juice drunke alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally used by the people, and found very effectuall against the paines and distempers of the stomacke.

The red weed. The purging Beane.

A kinde of Wood-bind there is likewise by the Sea very commonly to bee found, which runnes upon trees twining it selfe like a Vine: the fruit somewhat resembles a Beane, but

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somewhat flatter, the which any way eaten worketh excellently in the nature of a purge, and though very vehemently, yet without all perill. Contrary to this, another small tree there is, which causeth costiveness; there is also a certaine Plant like a bramble bush, which beares a long yellow fruit, having the shell very hard, and within it a hard berry, that beaten and taken inwardly *The costive tree.* 335 *Red Pepper.* [V. 171.] *The Sea feather.* purgeth gently. There is another fruit much like our Barberies, which being beaten or brused betweene the teeth, sets all the mouth on an extreme heat very terrible for the time, to avoid which they are swallowed downe whole, and found of the same or better operation then the red Pepper, and thence borroweth the name. In the bottome of the Sea there is growing upon the Rocks a large kinde of Plant in the forme of a Vine leafe, but far more spread with veines in colour of a pale red, very strangely interlaced & woven one into another, which we call the Feather, but the vertue thereof is altogether unknowne, but only regarded for the rarity. Now besides these naturall productions, providences & paines since the Plantation, have offered divers other seeds & plants, which the soile hath greedily imbraced & cherished, so that at this present 1623. there are great abundance of white, red and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, Sugarcanes, Indicos, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, the American bread, the Cassado root, the Indian Pumpian, the Water-millon, Musk-millon, & the most delicate Pineapples, Plantans, and Papawes, also the English Artichoke, Pease, &c. briefly whatsoever else may be expected for the satisfaction either of curiosity, necessity or delight.

Fruits transported. Birds.

Neither hath the aire for her part been wanting with due supplies of many sorts of Fowles, as the gray and white Hearne, the gray and greene Plover, some wilde Ducks and Malards, Coots and Red-shankes, Sea-wigions, Gray-bitterns, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds like Sparrowes and Robins, which have lately beene destroyed by the wilde Cats, Wood-pickars, very many Crowes, which since this Plantation are kild, the rest fled or seldome seene except in the most uninhabited places, from whence they are observed to take their flight about sun set, directing their course towards the North-west, which

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makes many conjecture there are some more Ilands not far off that way. Sometimes are also seene Falcons & Jar-falcons, Ospraies, a Bird like a Hobby, but because they come seldome, they are held but as passengers; but 336 *Egge-Birds*. above all these, most deserving observation and respect are those two sorts of Birds, the one for the tune of his voice, the other for the effect, called the Cahow, and Egge-bird, which on the first of May, a day constantly observed, fall a laying infinite store of Eggs neere as big as Hens, upon certaine small sandie baies especially in Coupers Ile; and although men sit downe amongst them when hundreds have bin gathered in a morning, yet there it hath stayed amongst them till they have gathered as many more: they continue this course till Midsummer, and so tame & feareles, you must thrust them off from their Eggs with your hand; then they grow so faint with laying, they suffer them to breed & take infinite numbers of their yong to eat, which are very excellent meat.

Cahowes.

The Cahow is a bird of the night, for all the day she lies hid in holes in the Rocks, where they and their young are also taken with as much ease as may be, but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light upon you, that with your hands you may chuse the fat and leave the leane; those they have only in winter: their Eggs are as big as hens, but they are speckled, the other white. Mr. Norwood hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or foure houres, and since there hath beene such havocke made of them, they were neere all destroyed, till there was a strict inhibition for their preservation. The Tropicke bird is white, as large as a Pullet, with one onely long Feather in her taile, and is seldome seene far distant from other of the Tropicks: another small Bird there is, because she cries Pemblyco they call her so, she is seldome seene in the day but when she sings, as too oft she doth very clamorously; too true a Prophet she proves of huge winds and boysterous weather: there were a kinde of small Owles in great abundance, but they are now all slaine or fled: some tame Ducks, Geese and Pigeons there are, but the two latter prosper not.

The Tropicke Bird and the Pemblicos presagements. Of Vermine.

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Concerning vermine and noisome creatures, there are not many, but onely Rats and Cats, there increased since 337 [V. 172.] *Note.* the Plantation, but how they agree together you shall heare hereafter. The Musketas and Flies are also too busie, with a certaine India Bug, called by the Spaniards a Cacarootch, the which creeping into Chests they eat and defile with their ill-sented dung: also the little Ants in summer time are so troublesome, they are forced to dry their figs upon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they sticke, else they would spoile them all ere they could be dried: Wormes in the earth also there are, but too many, so that to keepe them from destroying their Corne and Tobacco, they are forced to worme them every morning, which is a great labour, else all would be destroyed. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none, and it is said they were destroyed by the Cat. Certaine Spiders also of very large size are found hanging upon trees, but instead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a most pleasing aspect, all over drest, as it were with Silver, Gold, and Pearle, and their Webs in the Summer woven from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw silke, and that as well in regard of substance as colour, and so strong withall, that divers Birds bigger than Black-birds, being like Snipes, are often taken and snared in them as a Net: then what would the Silke-worme doe were shee there to feede upon the continuall greene Mulbery?

Fishes.

But above all the rest of the Elements, the Sea is found most abundantly liberall: hence have they as much excellent Fish, and as much variety as need be desired. The most of which being unknowne to our Northerne parts, got there new names, either for their shapes or conditions; as the large Rocke-fish from his like hew, and haunting amongst the Rocks, the fat Hog-fish from his swinelike shape and snout: for this is not the old knowne Hog-fish with brussels on his backe; the delicate Amber-fish from his taste and smell, Angell-fish, Cony-fish, the small yellow taile from that naturall painting; the great Growper from his odde and strange grunting, some of them yet knowne to the Americans, as Y 338 *The most hurtfull things in those Iles.* the Purgoose, the Cavallo, the Gar-fish, Flying-fish and Morerayes: the rest are common to other Continents; as the Whale in great numbers,

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the Sharke, the Pilot-fish, the Sea-Breame, the Oyster and Lobster, with divers others; twenty Tortoises have beene taken in a day, and some of them will affoord halfe a bushell of Egges, and suffice to feed forty men at a meale. And thus have you briefly epitomized Mother Natures benefits to this little, yet danty spot of earth, neither were it ingenuity to conceale wherein shee inclineth to the Stepdame, especially since the particulars are so few, as rather requisite Antidotes against idlenesse to rouse up industry, then any great cause of much distaste, much lesse despaire: and of those to speake troth, there are onely two: viz. the Winds, and the Wormes, especially in the Spring and Autumne; and thus conditioned as yet we will let rest these small Ilands, in the midst of this mightie and maine Ocean, so invironed on every side, by infinite numbers of uncertaine scattered Rocks, lying shallowly hid under the surface of the water, a league, two, three, foure, or five, to Sea, to the which advantagers added by art, as hereafter you shall heare at large, and finde described in the Map. It may well be concluded to be the most impregnable place in the world, and although the Amber Greece, Pearles, nor Tobacco, are of that quantity and certainty to be relied upon to gaine wealth; yet by practise and experience they finde, by Silke, Saffron, Indico, Madar, Sugar-canes, Wine, Oile, and such like great profit may be expected: yet were those hopelesse in regard of their conveniency to nourish and maintane themselves, and releev them shall visit them with wood, water, and other necessaries, besides what an eye-sore they are already becommed to them that have them not, and how deare and pretious to them that have them, I thinke none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and so we will proceed to the accidents that befell the first finders; also the proceedings of the first Planters and their successors, Master Norrod, Thomas Sparkes, and divers others.

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A briefe relation of the shipwracke of Henry May.

1593. *How it is supposed they were called the Bermudas.* [V. 173.]

HOw these Iles came by the name of Bermudas, or the infinite number of blacke Hogs, or so fearefull to the world, that many called them the Ile of Devils, that all men did shun as

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Hell and perdition; I will not expostulate, nor trouble your patiences with those uncertaine antiquities further then thus; our men found divers crosses, peeces of Spanish monies here and there. Two or three wracks also they found, by certaine inscriptions to bee some Spanish, some Dutch, some French; but the greatest rumour is, that a Spanish ship called Bermudas was there cast away, carrying Hogges to the West-Indies that swam a shore, and there increased: how the Spaniards escaped is uncertaine: but they say, from that ship those Iles were first called Bermudas, which till then for six thousand yeares had beene namelesse.

But the first English-man that was ever in them, was one Henry May, a worthy Mariner that went with Captaine Lancaster to the East-Indies 1591. and in their returne by the West-Indies, being in some distresse, sent this Henry May for England by one Mounsier de la Barbotier, to acquaint the Merchants with their estate. The last of November, saith May, we departed from Laguna in Hispaniola, and the seventeenth of December following, we were cast away upon the North-west of the Bermudas; the Pilots about noone made themselves Southwards of the Iles twelve leagues, and demanded of the Captaine their Wine of hight as out of all danger, which they had: but it seemes they were either drunke, or carelesse of their charge; for through their negligences a number of good men were cast away. I being but a stranger amongst fiftie and odde French-men, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them should be saved. In this extremity we made a raft, which we towed with our Boat, there were but six and twentie of us saved; and I seeing scarce roome for the one halfe, durst not passe in amongst them till the Captaine called me along with him, leaving the better halle to the seas mercy: that day we rowed till within two houres of night ere we could land, being neere dead with thirst, every man tooke his way to seeke fresh water, at length, by searching amongst many weeds, we found some raine water, but in the maine are many faire Baies, where we had enough for digging.

The building and calking their Barke.

Now it pleased God before our ship split we saved our Carpenters tooles, some Naailes, Sailes, and Tacklings, wherewith we went roundly to worke, and built a Barke of eighty

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tunnes: In stead of Pitch, we made Lime, mixed with Tortoise oyle, and as the Carpenters calked her, I and another paied the seames with this plaster, which being in Aprill, became quickly dry, and as hard as a stone.

His returne for England.

In Aprill it was so hot, we feared our water would faile, two great Chests wee made which we calked as our ship; those we stowed on each side our maine Mast, filled them with water and thirtie live Tortoises: wee found many Hogges, but so leane wee could not eat them; the tops of the Palmetaberries was our bread, and the juyce we got out of the trees we cut downe our drinke, and of the leaves, which are more then an Ell long, we covered our Cabens, & made our beds, and found many of those provisions as is related, but little foule weather. The eleventh of May it pleased God to set us cleere of the Ile, after wee had lived there five moneths: and the twentieth wee fell with Cape Britton, neere New found Land, where refreshing our selves with wood and water, and such things as we could get of the Salvages, it seemed a good Countrey, but we staid not past foure houres before we set saile for the banke of New found land, where wee met many ships, but not any would take in a man of us, untill it pleased God we met a Barke of Fawmothe, which received us for a little time, and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left Captaine de la Barbotier, my deare friend, and all his Company: and in August arrived at Falmouth in this honest English Barke, 1594. Written by me Henry May.

341 [IV. 174.]

The first English ship knowne to have beene cast away upon the Bermudas 1609. From the relation of Mr. Jordan, Master John Evens, Master Henry Shelly, and divers others.

A most desperate estate by a storm.

YOu have heard, that when Captaine Smith was Governor of Virginia, there were nine ships sent with Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, and Captaine Nuport with five hundred people, to take in the old Commission, and rectifie a new government: they set saile in May, and in the height of thirty degrees of Northerly latitude, they were taken with an extreme storme, or rather a part of Hericano, upon the five and twentieth of July, which

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as they write, did not onely separate them from the Fleet, but with the violent working of the Seas, their ship became so shaken, torne, and leake, she received so much water as covered two tire of Hogsheads above the ballace, that they stood up to the middles, with Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, to baile out the water. Thus bailing and pumping three daies and three nights without intermission, and yet the water seemed rather to increase then diminish, in so much that being all utterly spent with labour, were even resolved without any hope to shut up the hatches, and commit themselves to the mercy of the Sea, which is said to be mercillesse, or rather to the mercy of Almighty God, whose mercy farre exceeds all his workes; seeing no sense or hope in mans apprehension, but presently to sinke: some having some good and comfortable waters, fetched them and dranke one to another, as taking their last leaves untill a more happy, and a more joyfull meeting in a more blessed world, when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull providence, so to direct and guide their ship for her most advantage;

The care and judgement of Sir George Somers.

That Sir George Somers all this time sitting upon the poupe, scarce taking leisure to eat nor sleepe, coving the ship to keepe her as upright as he could, otherwaies she 342 *An evident token of Gods mercy.* must long ere that needs have foundered, most wishedly and happily descried land; whereupon he most comfortably encouraged them to follow their worke, many of them being fast asleepe: this unlooked for welcome newes, as if it had bin a voice from heaven, hurrieth them all above hatches, to looke for that they durst scarce beleeve, so that improvidently forsaking that taske which imported no lesse then their lives, they gave so dangerous advantage to their greedy enemy the salt water, which still entred at the large breaches of their poore wooden castle, as that in gaping after life, they had well-nigh swallowed their death. Surely it is impossible any should now be urged to doe his best, and although they knew it, that place all men did so shun, yet they spread all the saile they could to attaine them: for not long it was before they strucke upon a rocke, till a surge of the sea cast her from thence, and so from one to another, till most luckily at last so upright betwixt two, as if she had beene in the stocks, till this they expected but

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every blow a death: But now behold, suddenly the wind gives place to a calme, and the billowes, which each by overtaking her, would in an instant have shivered her in peeces, become peaceable and still, so that with all conveniency and ease, they unshipped all their goods, victuall, and persons into their Boats, and with extreme joy, even almost to amazednesse, arrived in safetie, though more then a league from the shore, without the losse of a man; yet were they in all one hundred and fiftie: yet their deliverance was not more strange in falling so happily upon the land, as their feeding and preservation was beyond their hopes; for you have heard, it hath beene to the Spaniards more fearefull then an Utopian Purgatory, and to all Sea-men no lesse terrible then an enchanted den of Furies and Devils, the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorne place in the world, and they found it the richest, healthfullest and pleasantest they ever saw, as is formerly said.

Sir George Somers his first ranging the land. [V. 175.]

Being thus safe on shore, they disposed themselves to search the Iles for food and water; others to get a shore 343 what they could from the ship; not long Sir George wandred but found such a fishing, that in halfe an houre with a hooke and line, he tooke so many as sufficed the whole company, in some places they were so thicke in the Coves, and so great, they durst not goe in lest they should bite them, and these rocke fish are so great two will load a man, and fatter nor better fish cannot be. Mr. Shelly found a Bay neere a quarter of a mile over, so full of Mulletts, as none of them before had ever scene or heard of the like: the next day seeking to kill them with fis-gigs, they strucke so many the water in many places was red with bloud, yet caught not one, but with a net they caught so many as they could draw a shore, with infinite number of Pilchards and divers other sorts; great craw-fishes in a night by making a fire they have taken in great quantity. Sir George had twice his hooke and line broke out of his hand, but the third time he made it so strong he caught the same fish, which had pulled him into the Sea had not his men got hold of him, whereby he had his three hookes againe were found in her belly. At their first hunting for hogs they found such abundance, they killed 32 and this hunting & fishing was appointed to Captaine Robert Walsingham, and Mr. Henry Shelly for the company in general: they

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report they killed at least 500. besides Pigs, and many that were killed by divers others; for the birds in their seasons, the facility to make their cabens of Palmeta leaves, caused many of them utterly forget or desire ever to returne from thence, they lived in such plenty, peace and ease.

What meanes they made to send to Virginia.

But let us remember how the Knights began to resolve in those desperat affaires: many projects they had, but at last it was concluded, to decke their long boat with their ship hatches; which done, with all expedition they sent Master Raven, a very sufficient Mariner, with eight more in her to Virginia, to have shipping from thence to fetch them away; three weekes or a moneth they expected her returne, but to this day she was never more heard of; all this time was spent in searching the Iles: now although 344 God still fed them with this abundance of plenty, yet such was the malice of envy or ambition, for all this good service done by Sommers, such a great difference fell amongst their Commanders, that they lived asunder in this distresse, rather as meere strangers then distressed friends: but necessity so commanded, patience had the victory.

A mariage, and two children borne.

Two ships at this time by those severall parties were a building; in the meane time two children were borne, the Boy was called Bermudas, the Girle Bermuda, and amongst all those sorrowes they had a merry English mariage; the forme of those Iles you may see at large in the Map of Mr. Norwood, where you may plainly see no place knowne hath better walls, nor a broader ditch. But having finished and rigged their two new Cedar ships with such provisions they saved from the Sea-adventurer they left amongst the Rocks, they called the one the Patience, the other the Deliverance; they used Lime and Oile, as May did for Pitch and Tar. Sir George Summers had in his Barke no Iron at all but one bolt in her Keele; now having made their provisions of victuall and all things ready, they set saile the tenth of May 1610. onely leaving two men behinde them, called Christopher Carter and Edward Waters, that for their offences, or the suspition they had of their judgements, fled into the woods, and there rather desired to end their daies then stand to their trials

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and the event of Justice; for one of their consorts was shot to death, and Waters being tied to a tree also to be executed, had by chance a Knife about him, and so secretly cut the Rope, he ran into the woods where they could not finde him. There were two Salvages also sent from Virginia by Captain Smith, the one called Namuntack, the other Matchumps, but some such differences fell betweene them, that Matchumps slew Namuntack, and having made a hole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut of his legs and laid them by him, which murder he concealed till he was in Virginia.

Their arrivall in Virginia.

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth they arrived in Virginia at James towne, where they found but 345 [V. 176.] threescore persons, as you may reade at large in the History of Virginia, of the five hundred left by Captaine Smith, also of the arrivall of the Lord Laware, that met them thus bound for England, returned them backe, and understanding what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the Bermudas, was desirous to send thither to supply his necessary occasions; whereupon Sir George Summers, the best acquainted with the place, whose noble minde ever regarded a generall good more then his owne ends, though above threescore yeeres of age, and had meanes in England sutable to his ranke, offered himselfe by Gods helpe to performe this dangerous voyage againe for the Bermudas, which was kindly accepted, so upon the 19. of June, he embarked in his Cedar ship, about the burthen of thirty tunnes, and so set saile.

Sir George Summers his returne to the Bermudas.

Much foule and crosse weather he had, and was forced to the North parts of Virginia, where refreshing himselfe upon this unknowne coast, he could not bee diverted from the search of the Bermudas, where at last with his company he safely arrived: but such was his diligence with his extraordinary care, paines and industry to dispatch his businesse, and the strength of his body not answering the ever memorable courage of his minde, having lived so long in such honourable services, the most part of his well beloved and vertuous life, God and nature here determined, should ever remaine a perpetuall memory of his much bewailed sorrow for his death: finding his time but short, after he had taken the

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best course he could to settle his estate, like a valiant Captaine he exhorted them with all diligence to be constant to those Plantations, and with all expedition to returne to Virginia. In that very place which we now call Saint Georges towne, this noble Knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. But his men, as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was even as the life of them all, embalmed his body and set saile for England, being the first that ever went to seeke those Ilands, which have beene ever since called Summers Iles, in honour of his 346 worthy memory, leaving three men behind them, that voluntarily stayed, whose names were Christopher Carter, Edward Waters, there formerly left as is said, and Edward Chard. This Cedar ship at last with his dead body arrived at Whit-Church in Dorsetshire, where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier, and upon his tombe was bestowed this Epitaph.

His Epitaph.

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas Autumnus sequitur, sæviet inde & hiems; At ver perpetuum nascetur, & Anglia læta, Decerpit flores florida terra tuas.

In English thus:

Alas Virginia's Summer so soone past, Autumne succeeds and stormy Winters blast, Yet Englands joyfull Spring with joyfull showers, O Florida, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

The proceedings of the three men.

The honour of this resolution belongs principally to Carter, for through his importunity, not to leave such a place abandoned, Chard & Waters were moved to stay with him, and the rest promised with all the speed they could againe to revisit them. But the ship once out of sight, those three Lords, the sole inhabitants of all those Ilands, began to erect their little common wealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting Corne, and such seeds and fruits as they had, building a house, &c. Then making privy search amongst the crevices and corners of those craggy Rocks, what this maine Ocean since the worlds creation had throwne amongst them, at last they chanced upon the

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greatest peece of Amber-greece was ever seene or heard of in one lumpe, being in weight fourescore pound, besides divers other small peeces.

A peece of Amber-greece of 80. pound weight. [V. 177.]

But now being rich, they grew so proud and ambitious, contempt tooke such place, they fell out for superiority, though but three forlorne men, more then three thousand miles from their native Country, and but small hope ever 347 to see it againe. Notwithstanding, they sometimes fell from words to blowes about meere trifles: in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beast would reprove them of their folly; at last Chard and Waters, the two greater spirits, must try it out in the field, but Carter wisely stole away their weapons, affecting rather to live amongst his enemies, then by being rid of them live alone; and thus those miserable men lived full two yeeres, so that all their clothes were neere worne cleane from their backs, and their hopes of any forraine releefe as naked as their bodies. At last they began to recover their wits, yet in a fashion perhaps would have cost them dearer then when they were mad; for concluding a tripartite peace of their Matachin warre, they resolved to frame as good a Boat as they could, and therein to make a desperate attempt for Virginia, or New found Land; but no sooner were they entred into that resolution, but they descried a saile standing in for the shore, though they neither knew what she was, nor what she would, they were so over-joyed, with all possible speed they went to meet her, and according to their hearts desire she proved an English-man, whom they safely conducted into their harbour.

How they were supplied. 1611.

Now you are to understand, that Captaine Matthew Somers, Nephew and heire to Sir George, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his Company did their utmost in relating all those passages to their Countrey-men and adventurers, their relations were beleevd but as travellers tales, till it came to be apprehended by some of the Virginia Company, how beneficiall it might be, and helpfull to the Plantation in Virginia, so that some one hundred and twentie of them bought the pretended right of all the Company, and had sent this ship to make a triall; but first they had obtained Letters

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Patents of the Kings most excellent Majestie. Sir Thomas Smith was elected Treasurer and Governor heere, and Master Richard More to be Governor of the Iles and Colony there.

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The first beginning of a Colonie in the Somer Iles, under the command of Master Richard More, extracted out of a plot of Master Richard Norwood Surveior, and the relations of divers others.

The arrivall of Master More. 1612. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.

MAster More thus finding those three men not onely well and lusty, but well stored with divers sorts of provisions, as an Acre of Corne ready to be gathered, numbers of Pumpions and Indian Beanes, many Tortoises ready taken, good store of hogs flesh salted, and made in fitches of Bacon, were very good, and so presently landed his goods and sixty persons towards the beginning of July 1612. upon the South side of Smiths Ile.

Their differences about the Amber-greece.

Not long after his arrivall, More having some private intelligence of this Amber-greece, tooke first Chard in examination, he being one of the three the most masterfull spirit, what Amber-greece, Pearle, Treasure, or other Commodities they had found. Chard no lesse witty then resolute, directly answered; Not any thing at all but the fruits of the Ile, what his fellowes had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to finde it out, and then hee should know it certainly. This he spake onely to win time to sweare his Consorts to secrecy, and he would finde the meanes how they should all returne in that ship with it all for England, otherwise they should be deceived of all. Till this was effected they thought every houre an age; now for the better conveyance of it aboard, they acquainted it to Captaine Davis, master of the ship, and one Master Edwin Kendall, that for their secrecy and transportation should participate with them: Without further ceremony the match was accepted, and absolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place set downe to have it aboard. But Carter, were it for feare the Governor at last should know of it, to whom so oft they had denied it; or that the rest should deceive him, is uncertaine; but most certaine it

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is, he revealed all the [V. 178.] 349 plot to Master More: To get so much wealth he knew would please them in England, though it did displease all his Company, and to lose such a prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So first hee revealed himselfe to Kendall in faire tearmes, reproving his dishonesty, but not being answered according to his expectation, he committed both Chard and him to person. The next Sabboath day Davis comming on shore, More also taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him fast also if he mended not his manners; Davis for the present replied little, but went with him to the place of praier: but in the midst of divine service he goeth away, commanding all his Sea-men to follow him presently aboard, where he encourageth them to stand to him like men, and hee would free the Prisoners, have all the Amber-greece for themselves, and so be gone.

Chard in danger of hanging.

The Governor hearing of this resolution, prepares with his company to repulse force with force, so that a generall expectance of a civill uncivill warre possessed every man; but this threatning gust passed over more calmlier then was expected; for Davis having better advised with himselfe, repented his rashnesse, and desired a reconcilment with the Governor. Peace thus concluded, Kendall was set at libertie, but Chard was condemned, and upon the ladder to be hanged for his obstinacy; yet upon better consideration More reprimed him, but kept him a prisoner all the time he staid in the Country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great desert, and that there was more of this Amber-greece imbeziled, then would have contented all the finders, that never had any consideration at all. The greatest part though More thus recovered, yet Davis and Kendall had so much, either by the ignorance or connivency of the Governors, that arriving in England, they prepared themselves for a new voiage; at last they two falling out, the Company having notice thereof, so tormented them both, they gave over their voiage, and durst not be seene a long time after.

Master Mores industry in fortifying and planting.

The Governor thus rid of the ship and those discontents, 350 removed his seat from Smiths Ile to Saint Georges, after he had fitted up some small Cabbens of Palmata

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leaves for his wife and family, in that valley where now stands their prime towne called S. Georges, hee began to apply himselfe to fortifie the Countrey, and training his men in the exercise of armes. For although he was but a Carpenter, he was an excellent Artist, a good Gunner, very witty and industrious: he built and laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the Kings Castle, Charles Fort, Pembrookes Fort, Smiths Fort, Pagits Fort, Gates Fort, Warwicks Castle, Saint Katharines Fort, &c. mounting in them all the Ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build Houses, plant Corne, and such Fruits as they had.

A contention of the Minister against the Governor.

Being thus busied, and as the necessitie of the time required, keeping his men somewhat hard at worke, Master Keath his Minister, were it by the secret provocation of some drones, that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine: But he begins to tax the Governor in the Pulpit, hee did grinde the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethren with Pharoahs taxes. More finding this in short time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together and also the Minister, urging them plainly, to tell him wherein he had deserved those hard accusations: whereupon, with an universall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that Keath downe of his knees to aske him forgiveness. But Master More kindly tooke him up, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches; notwithstanding two other discontents so upbraided More with that doctrine, and stood to maintaine it, he impaneled a Jury, with a great deale of seeming much adoe he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very feare, fell into a dead Palsie; so that the other was set at libertie, and proved after a very good labourer.

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Many conclusions he tried about the Sea-venture, the wracke of Sir George Somers, but he got onely for his 351 *Two peeces weighed out of the Sea Adventure*. paines but two peece of Ordnance. Having framed a Church of timber, it was blowne downe by a tempest, so that he built another in a more closer place with Palmeta leaves.

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The first supply.

Before this yeere was expired, the advenurers sent them an adviso with thirtie Passengers and good provisions, to prepare with all expedition for their defence against the Spaniard, whom they understood ere long would visit them: This occasioned him to keepe all his men together in that Ile so hard at worke, that wanting libertie to goe abroad for food, living onely on that they had, and expected daily to receive from England, they were so over-toiled, many fell sicke, but none died. Very earnest this ship was to have all the Amber-greece, which M. More perceiving, was the chiefest cause of their comming, and that it was the onely loadstone to draw from England still more supplies; for all the expresse command sent from the Company, he returned this ship but with the one third part; so from thence she went to Virginia, and not long after arrived safely in England.

1613. *The second supply. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

But before her returne the Company sent the Martha with sixtie Passengers more; they arrived in June with one Master Bartlet to survey the Iland, and the estate of the Colonie, with expresse command for all the Ambergreece: but More perceiving him not as he would have him, and that the Company began to mistrust him, would send no more but another third part, wherewith they returned, leaving a French-man to make triall of the Mulberies for Silke, but he did not bring any thing to perfection; excusing himselfe, they were not the right Mulberies he expected. About this time they were in hope of a small crop of Tobacco, but it was most spoiled for want of knowledge to use it. Now in England Master More became amongst the Merchants marvelous distastfull, for the detaining so long the Amber-greece; which delaies they so much abhorred, they forthwith dispatched the Elizabeth the second time and forty Passengers, much rebuking More for so long detaining 352 *A strange increase of Potatoes. The attempt of two Spanish ships.* the Amber-greece: for the which, having now no more colourable excuses, he delivered it, wherewith the ship went to Virginia, & thence home. In this ship was brought the first Potato roots, which flourished exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almost lost (all but two cast-away roots) that so wonderfully have increased, they are a maine reliefe to all the Inhabitants. This

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ship was not long gone but there came two Spanish ships, sounding with their Boat, which attempted to come in: but from the Kings Castle Master More made but two shot, which caused them presently depart. Marke here the handy-worke of the divine providence, for they had but three quarters of a barrell of powder, and but one shot more, and the powder by carelesnesse was tumbled downe under the mussels of the two peeces were discharged, yet not touched with fire when they were discharged.

This feare thus past, appeares another much worse, which was the extremity of famine; in this extremity God sent Captaine Daniel Elfrid with a carvell of meale which a little relieved them, but brought withall so many Rats, that within two yeeres after neere ruined all; now though Elfrid had deceived his friend Fisher of this Carvell in the West-Indies they revenged Fishers injury, for Elfrid had his passage for England, and they made use of all he had. Some two moneths after, came in the Blessing with an hundred Passengers; and two daies after the Starre with a hundred and fourescore more, amongst which were many Gentlemen, as Master Lower for Marshall, Master Barrer, Master Felgate, and divers others; but very unproper for what they undertooke. Within foureteene daies after came in the Margaret and two Frygats, and in them one hundred and threescore Passengers; also Master Bartlet came now expresly to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. But Master More finding no mention made of any part for himselfe nor all them with him, as he was promised in England, by no meanes would admit of any division, 353 [V. 180.] nor suffer his men from finishing their fortifications, which was so necessary, it was his maine ambition to see that accomplished; but such unkindnesse grew betwixt this Master Bartlet and the Governour, that the rude multitude with all the disdaine they could devise caused Bartlet returne for England as he came. About this time William Millington was drawne into the Sea by a fish, but never after ever seene.

1614. *A great famine and mortalitie. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

The neglect of this division was very hardly conceited in England, so that Master More grew more and more in dislike with the company; notwithstanding he followed the building of these Forts so earnestly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their store was

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neere all consumed, whereby they became so feeble and weake, some would not, others could not goe abroad to seeke releefe, but starved in their houses, and many that went abroad, through weaknesse were subject to be suddenly surprized with a disease called the Feauges, which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriving them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exercises, whether it were working, walking, or what else, being thus taken, if any presently gave them food many times they straight recovered, yet some after a little rest would bee able to walke, but if they found not present succour, died.

A strange being of Ravens.

About this time or immediatly before, came in a company of Ravens, which continued amongst them all the time of this mortality and then departed, which for any thing knowne, neither before nor since were ever scene or heard of: this with divers other reasons caused Master More to goe out to Sea, to see if he could discover any other Ilands, but he went not farre ere ill weather forced him backe; and it were a noble adventure of him would undertake to make more perfect all the dangers are about the Summer Iles.

All workes abandoned to get onely victuals.

Thus famine and misery caused Governour More leave all his workes, and send them abroad to get what they could; one hundred and fifty of the most weake and Z 354 sicke he sent to Coupers Ile, where were such infinite numbers of the Birds called Cahowes, which were so fearelesse they might take so many as they would, and that admired abundance of fish, that the extremity of their hunger, and their gluttony was such, those heavenly blessings they so consumed and wasted by carelesnesse and surfetting, many of them died upon those silly Birds that offered themselves to the slaughter, which the Governour understanding, caused them for change of aire to be removed to Port-royall, and a Company of Fishers with a Boat to releev them with fish, but the Gange grew so lazie the poore weaklings still died; they that remained killed the Cattle they found in the Ile, faining the heat caused them to runne into the Sea and so were drowned; so that the Governour sent againe for them home, but some obtained leave still to live abroad;

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one amongst the rest hid himselfe in the Woods, and lived onely on Wilkes and land Crabs, fat and lusty many moneths, but most of them being at Saint Georges, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fishes daily for their food; for want of hookes and lines, the Smith made hookes of old swords, and lines of old ropes, but finding all those poore Engines also decay, they sent one of the two Frigats last left with them for England, to tell them of this misery. All which was now attributed to Master Mores perversnesse, who at first when he got the Amber-Greece had not such a generall applause, but now all the worst could possibly be suggested was too good for him; yet not knowing for the present how to send a better, they let him continue still, though his time was neere expired, and with all speed sent the Welcome fraught with provision, where shee well arrived, and proved her selfe as welcome in deed as in name; for all those extremities, Master Lewes Hues writeth, not one of all those threescore that first beganne this Plantation was dead, which shewes it was not impossible, but industry might have prevented a great part of the others sluggish carelesnesse.

355 *A supply, and M. Mores returne.* [V. 181.]

This ship much refreshed this miserable Colony, but Master More seeing they sent not for him, his time being now expired, understanding how badly they reputed him in England, and that his imploiment now was more for their owne ends then any good for himselfe, resolved directly to returne with this ship. Having settled all things in the best order he could, left the government to the charge of the counsell of six to succeed each other monethly, till they had further directions from England; whose names were Captaine Miles Kendall, Captaine John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldycot, Edward Waters, and Christopher Carter, with twelve others for their assistances. More thus taking leave of those Ilands, arrived in England, much wrangling they had, but at last they confirmed him according to promise eight shares of Land, and so he was dismissed of his charge, with shew of favour and much friendship.

The rule of the six Governors.

1615. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

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The first thing they did was casting of lots, who should rule first, which lot lighted upon Master Caldicot. This last supply somewhat abated the extremitie of their miseries, and the better in that their fortifications being finished, they had the more leasure to goe abroad with that meanes was brought to that purpose to fish. Chard as you have heard, whom all this while More had kept Prisoner, they set at libertie: now by reason of their former miseries, little or nothing could be done; yet this Governour having thus concluded his moneth, and prepared a Frigot and two and thirtie men, hee imbarked himselfe with two other of his fellow counsellors: namely, Knight and Waters for the West-Indies, to get Fruits and Plants, Goats, young Cattle, and such like. But this poore vessell, whether through ill weather, or want of Mariners, or both, in stead of the Indies fell with the Canaries, where taking a poore Portugall, the which they manned with ten of their owne people, as soone after separated from her in a storme, & 356 the next day was taken by a French Pickaroune, so that the Frigot out of hope of her prize, makes a second time for the West-Indies, where she no sooner arrived, but foundred in the sea; but the men in their Boat recovered a desolate Ile, where after some few moneths stay, an English Pyrat tooke them in, and some of them at last got for England, and some few yeares after returned to the Somer Iles.

Captaine John Mansfield his moneth.

The Frigot thus gone, Captaine Mansfield succeeded. Then was contrived a petition, as from the generalitie, unto the triumverat Governors; wherein they supplicated, that by no meanes they should resigne the government to any should come from England, upon what tearmes soever, untill six moneths after the returne of their ship sent to the West-Indies: about this unwarrantable action, Master Lewes Hues their Preacher was so violent in suppressing it, that such discontents grew betwixt the Governors and him, and divisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned, but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master Keath a Scotch-man, that professed schollership, that made

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all the people in a great combustion: much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a judicary course against Master Hues, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church; some cried out a miracle; others, it was but an accident common in those lles, but the noise was so terrible it desolved the assembly: notwithstanding, Master Hues was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged; but those factions were so confused, and their relations so variable, that such unnecessary circumstances were better omitted then any more disputed.

Master Carter. Captaine Kendall. Capt. Mansfield.

This mans moneth thus ended, begins Master Carter, which was altogether spent in quietnesse, and then 357 [V. 182.] Captaine Miles Kendall had the rule, whose moneth was also as quietly spent as his Predecessors. Then Captaine Mansfield begins his second moneth, when the ship called the Edwin arrived with good supplies. About this time divers Boats going to sea were lost, and some men drowned; and many of the Company repaired to Master Hues, that there might bee a Councell according to Master Mores order of six Governours, and twelve Assistants, whereupon grew as many more such silly brawles as before, which at last concluded with as simple a reconciliation. In the interim happened to a certaine number of private persons as miserable and lamentable an accident, as ever was read or heard of, and thus it was:

A wonderfull accident.

In the month of March, a time most subject of all others to such tempests; on a Friday there went seven men in a boat of two or three tunnes to fish. The morning being faire, so eager they were of their journey, some went fasting: neither carried they either meat or drinke with them, but a few Palmeta berries, but being at their fishing place some foure leagues from the shoare, such a tempest arose, they were quickly driven from the sight of land in an overgrowne Sea, despairing of all hope, onely committing themselves to Gods mercy, let the boat drive which way shee would. On Sunday the storme being somewhat abated, they hoysed saile as they thought towards the Island. In the evening it grew starke calme; so that being too weake to use their oares, they lay a drift that night. The next

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morning Andrew Hilliard, for now all his companions were past strength either to helpe him or themselves: before a small gale of wind spred his saile againe. On Tuesday one died, whom they threw over board. On Wednesday three. And on Thursday at night the sixt. All these but the last were buried by Hilliard in the Sea, for so weake hee was growne hee could not turne him over as the rest, whereupon hee stripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, hee spread 358 his body abroad tilted open with a sticke, and so lets it lie as a cisterne to receive some lucky raine-water, and this God sent him presently after, so that in one small shoure hee recovered about foure spoonefuls of raine water to his unspeakeable refreshment; he also preserved neere halfe a pint of blood in a shooe, which he did sparingly drinke of to moist his mouth: two severall daies he fed on his flesh, to the quantity of a pound, on the eleventh day from his losing the sight of land, two flying fishes fals in his boat, whose warme jucie blood hee sucked to his great comfort. But within an houre after to his greater comfort you will not doubt, he once againe descried the land, and within foure houres after was cast upon a rocke neere to Port royall, where his boat was presently split in pieces, but himselfe, though extreamly weake, made shift to clamber up so steepe and high a rocke, as would have troubled the ablest man in the Ile to have done that by day hee did by night.

Being thus astride on a rocke, the tumbling Sea had gotten such possession in his braines, that a good while it was before his giddy head would suffer him to venture upon the forsaking it: towards the morning he craules a shore, and then to his accomplished joy discernes where hee is, and travels halfe a day without any refreshment then water, whereof wisely and temperately he stinted him selfe, otherwise certainly hee had drunke his last. In which case hee attaines a friends house: where at the first they tooke him for a ghost, but at last acknowledged and received him with joy, his story after some houres of recovery of strength to tell it, heard out with admiration: he was not long after conveyed to the towne, where he received his former health, and was living in the yeere 1622.

Treasure found in the Summer Iles.

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The next newes that happened in this time of ease, was, that a merry fellow having found some few Dollars against the Flemish wracke, the bruit went currant the treasure was found, and they all made men. Much adoe there was to prevent the purloining of it, before they had it: 359 where after they had tyred themselves with searching, that they found, amounted not to above twenty pounds starling, which is not unlike but to be the remainder of some greater store, washed from some wracke not farre from the shore.

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The company by the Edwin receiving newes of the *A new Governor chosen*. revels were kept in Sommer Iles, resolved to make choice of a new Governour, called Master Daniel Tuckar, that a long time had bin a planter in Virginia in the government of Captaine Smith. All things being furnished for his voyage; hee set saile in the George, consorted with the Edwin, with many passengers, which being discovered by them in those Iles, they supposed them the Frigot sent to the West Indies; but when they understood what they were, much preparation they made to resist the new Governour. Many great ostentations appeared on both sides, but when the quondam Governour did see his men for most part forsake him; all was very well and quietly compounded, and with much kindnesse received and welcomed a shore, where his Commission was no sooner read, then they accepted and acknowledged him for their Governour.

The Government of Captaine Daniel Tuckar.

1616. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

ABout the midst of May arrived this Governor, where finding the Inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man living. But at last according to the Virginia order, hee set every one was with him at Saint Georges, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, set corne, square timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of England. These by their taske Masters by breake a day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be employed to the place of their employment, till nine of the clocke, and then in the after-

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noone from three till Sunne-set. Beside meat, drinke and cloaths, they had for a time a certaine kinde of brasse money with a hogge 360 on the one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges was found at their first landing.

Captaine Tuckars proceedings.

This course thus squared, imitating divers orders used in Virginia, by Sir Tho. Dale: he began by them to looke into his instructions given by the Company. Whereupon by one Mr. Richard Norwood a Survayor, sent over for that purpose, in the time of Master Moore, hee began to lay out the eight tribes in the maine, which were to consist of fifty shares to a tribe; and twenty five acers to every share. He also began to plant some Colony men on some of the especiall shares. He swore also certaine of the chiefe men of every tribe to bee Bailiffes thereof; and appointed as many men as hee was able for all supplied shares. The goods landed in the store houses hee sent from thence, and dispersed it to his workemen in generall: some Boats also began to be builded; but the pinace called the Thomas suspected might make an escape, was laid up in a docke, where shee yet remaineth.

A Barke sent to the West Indies.

In the beginning of the second moneth of his government, he directed warrants to all the Bailiffes, for the holding of a generall Assise at Saint Georges, and appointed Master Stokes Lieutenant of the Kings Castle at the Gurnets head. The Edwin came with him he sent to the West Indies by directions from England, to trade with the natives, for cattell, corne, plants, and other commodities. A course of great importance, which had it been pursued, would certainly have produced more hopefull effects for the good of the Colony, then all the supplies and Magazines from England hath or will in a long time.

The Assises.

Presently after her departure began the Assises, executed by his Deputy. The chiefe matter handled was the hanging one John Wood a French man, for speaking many distastefull and mutinous speeches against the Governour, to shew the rest by that example, the power of his authority, which after with his owne hands he so oft executed

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with a bastinado amongst the poorer sort; 361 many tearmed it a cruelty, not much lesse then tyranny: but the sequell is more then strange.

The strange adventure of five men in a boat. [V. 184.]

So it was that five of them, seeing by no meanes they could get passage for England, resolved to undergoe all hazards but they would make an escape from such servitude. The chiefe mariner and plotter of this businesse, was Richard Sanders and his confederates, William Goodwin a ship Carpenter, Thomas Harison a Joyner; James Barker a Gentleman, and Henry Puet. These repairing to the Governour, and with pleasing insinuations told him, if hee would allow them but things necessary, they would build him a boat of two or three tunnes, with a close decke, should goe a fishing all weathers. The Governour halfe proud that hee had brought his men to so good a passe, as he conceived, to offer themselves to so necessary a worke; instantly with all willingnesse furnished them with all things they could desire, and many faire promises to encourage them to performe it with all expedition. Having made choise of a place most fit from molestation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a short time shee was brought to perfection. By this time, the ship that brought the Governour, being ready to depart, hee sends a lusty gange to goe fetch his new boat to carry him aboard, but arriving at the place where she was built, they could heare no more of her, but she was gone the last evening to Sea, to try how shee would saile. Much search and dispute was where this boat should be: but at last they found divers letters in the cabbins, to this effect, directed to the Governour, and other their friends: that their hard and bad usage was so intolerable, and their hope so small ever againe to see their Countrey, or be delivered from such servitude, they did rather chuse to put themselves to that desperate hazard to goe for England, in which if they miscaried, as it was much to be mistrusted, their lives and bloods should be required at their hands was the cause. A compasse Diall Barker had borrowed of Master Hues, to whom he writ that as hee had oft 362 perswaded them to patience, and that God would pay them though none did: hee must now bee contented with the losse of his Diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure they found to bee merry when in the eye of reason they were marching into a most

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certaine ruine. The Governour being thus satisfied of their escape, extreemly threatned them no lesse then a hanging, but the stormes of the Ocean they now more feared then him; good provision by bartering they had got from the ship, where Goodwin in a bravado told the Mariners, though he could not be permitted to goe with them, yet peradventure hee might be in England before them, whereat the Master and his Mate laughed merrily. But having beene now under saile three weekes, the winds so favoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cause to feare: then a blustering gale blowing in their teeth, put them to much extremity for divers dayes, then becomming more gentle away they past prosperously some eight or ten dayes more, till meeting a French Piccaroune of whom they desired succour, hee like himselfe tooke from them what hee liked, leaving them not so much as a crosse-staffe to observe withall, and so cast them off: their course still they continued till their victuall began to fall to the lowest ebbe; and the very knees of their small vessell were halfe hewed away for fire wood. At last to their infinit joy they arrived in Ireland, where the Earle of Tomund honorably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung up for a Monument, and well she might, for shee had sailed more then 3300. miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land, and I thinke since God made the world, the like navigation was never done, nor heard of. This fortunate Sanders going to the East Indies, in the rifling some ships there tooke, it was his chance to buy an old chest, for three or foure shillings, but because it wanted a key hee repented his bargaine, and would gladly have sold it againe for lesse. A certaine time it lay tossed to and fro as a thing hee little regarded, but at last having 363 little to doe, hee broke it open, where he found a thousand pounds starling, or so much gold as bought him in England a good estate, which leaving with his wife he returned againe to the East Indies.

Plants from the West Indies. [V. 185.]

The George setting saile three dayes after this escape, the Governour seized and confiscated all that those fugitives left behinde them. Within a weeke after returned the Edwin from the West Indies, furnished with figges, pynes, sugar-canes, plantaines, papanes and divers other plants, which were presently replanted, and since increased

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into greater numbers, also an Indian and a Negar, and so much ligna vitæ as defrayed all the charge. The Governour thus busied amongst his plants, making hedges of Figtrees, and Pomgranets, and severall divisions by Palizadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattell, for in such husbandry qualities he well deserved great commendations. The Adventurers to supply him sent with all speed they could the Hopewell, a small Barke, but an excellent sailer, and in her one Captaine Powell an excellent Mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies where he was to goe trade, after he had landed his passengers in the Summer Iles: but in his journey at the Westerne Iles meeting a Brasile man, hee liked the suger and passengers so well, hee mand the Carvill with his owne men, and continued his course, but bethinking himself how this would be entertained at the Summer Iles, hee found such doubts, hee went directly for the West Indies to take time to resolve what to doe: arriving there hee met a French rover, one every way as cunning as himselfe, but much more trecherous. A great league of kindnesse is soone made betweene them, upon confidence whereof, Powell and some of the chief with him being invited aboard him, is easily entised, and in the midst of their cups both hee and his company treacherously made prisoners; and thus was forced to give him their prise, or hang at the yards arme with all his company. Having set them a shore, away goes the French man; Powels ship *The exploits Captaine Powell*. 364 being but hard by, presently fetcht them all a boord, but finding his victuall neere spent, and no hope at all to recover his prize, set his Portugales on shore, and set saile for the Summer Iles; where safely arriving, hee declared the whole passage to the Governour, lest some other in telling might make it worse, of which the Governour seemed well enough to approve.

The second Assise.

This Governour still spent his time in good husbandry, although, some of the snarling sort here in England, whom nothing will please, writ to him hee was fitter to be a Gardiner then a Governour: some time he spent in digging of a great pond, but that worke proved altogether unprofitable: about that time was held the second Assise. The greatest matter passed, was a Proclamation against the spoile of Cahowes, but it came too late, for they

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were most destroyed before: a platforme hee caused to be erected by Pagits Fort, where a good Fort were very necessary. Captaine Powell not having performed his service in the West Indies, he conditioned with the Company, is sent thither againe by this Governour, and thirteene or fourteene of his best men, furnished with all things necessary. In the meane time the Company understanding, that in January, February and March, there are many Whales, for which fishing they sent the Neptune, a tall ship well provided with every thing fitting for that purpose. But before she arrived, Captaine Tuckar, who had brought also with him most provisions for that imploiment, sent three good Shalops to try what could be done, but whether it was the swiftnes of the Whale in swimming, or the condition of the place, certaine it is for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they strucke many.

1617. *The third Assise. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

To begin his second yeere, he called the third Assise, where divers were punished as their faults deserved: three were condemned to die; two were reprivd, but the third was hanged: the next day there was also a levy for the repairing two Forts; but that labour tooke not such effect as was intended, for want of good directions.

365 *The countrey neere devoured with rats.* [V. 186.]

But the great God of heaven being angry at somewhat happened in those proceedings, caused such an increase of silly rats, in the space of two yeeres so to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed, but swimming from place to place, spread themselves into all parts of the Countrey, insomuch that there was no lland but it was pestered with them; and some fishes have beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in swimming from Ile to Ile: their nests they had almost in every tree, and in most places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they spared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor the very plants themselves, but ate them up. When they had set their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and scratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any escaped till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape them: and they became noysome even to the very persons of

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men. They used all the diligence they could for the destroying of them, nourishing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpose; they used rats-bane, and many times set fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; every man was enjoined to set twelve traps, and some of their owne accord have set neere an hundred, which they ever visited twice or thrice in a night; they also trained up their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became so expert, that a good dog in two or three houres would kil forty or fifty. Many other devices they used to destroy them, but could not prevaile, finding them still increasing against them: nay they so devoured the fruits of the earth, that they were destitute of bread for a yeere or two; so that when they had it afterwards, they were so wained from it, they easily neglected to eat it with their meat. Besides they endeoured so much for the planting Tobacco for present gaine, that they neglected many things might more have prevailed for their good, which caused amongst them much weaknesse and mortality, since the beginning of this vermine.

366 *A strange confusion of rats.*

At last it pleased God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away; in so much that the wilde cats and many dogs which lived on them, were famished, and many of them leaving the woods, came downe to their houses, and to such places where they use to garbish their fish, and became tame. Some have attributed the destruction of them to the encrease of wild cats, but that is not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then foure yeeres before; and the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw some companies of them leave the woods, and slew themselves for want of food. Others by the coldnesse of winter, which notwithstanding is never so great there, as with us in March, except it be in the wind: besides the rats wanted not the fethers of young birds and chickins, which they daily killed, and Palmeta mosse to build themselves warme nests out of the wind, as usually they did; neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swimme from place to place, and bee very fat even in the midst of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, so wee need not

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doubt, but that in the speedy encrease of this vermine; as also by the preservation of so many of them by such weake meanes as they then enjoyed, and especially in the so sudden removall of this great annoyance, there was joynd with and besides the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more mediate and secret worke of God.

About this time Henry Long, with seven others in an extreame storme were cast away, but three of them escaped. One of them being asked what hee thought in the worst of that extremity, answered, he thought nothing but gallowes claime thy right, and it seemes God well heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude; for he was hanged within halfe a yeere after. In that March also five men went to Sea, but as yet was never heard of, and three more drowned in a boat. By Hilliards 367 house grew a very faire Cedar, which by a thunder clap was rent almost to small shivers, and a man stood by him, and Samuel Tanton, most fearfully blasted, yet neither they, the house, nor a little childe, yet a paire of racks in the house was all torne to fitters. The Neptune not long after arriving to fish for whale, her fortune proved no better then the Governours, yet some are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

The returne of M. Powel from the Indies.

In May they discried foure saile, so that manning all their Forts, they stood two daies in Armes, expecting what they were; at last they found it Master Powell returned from the West-Indies in the Hopewell, where missing such trade as he expected, these three Frigots comming in his way, he could not chuse but take them; Meale, Hides and Muniton was their lading: Faire weather the Governor made with Powell till he had got all the goods into his owne possession, and then called Powell to a strict account for doing such an unwarrantable act; much a doe then was betwixt the taker and receiver; but Powell was glad to be excused to answer it in England, leaving all hee had taken behinde him in the Iles: The Neptune also returned with him, but noble Powell lost all his pay and pillage for this yeeres worke. For which the Company sent for to Tuckar, so that he also lost his part as well as Powell: Notwithstanding, the Governour by this meanes being strong in shipping, fitted the Carvill with twelve men, under the command of Edward Waters formerly

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spoken of, and sent them to Virginia about such businesse as hee had conceived. Arriving there, they obtained some goates, and hogs, & what they could spare, and so returned for the Summer Iles; but whether they could not finde the Iles for want of skill, or beaten off by ill weather, or the ill will they bare the Governour, it matters not much: but they bare up again for Virginia, where they all remained, and would returne no more to Summer Iles.

[V. 187.] *A supposed mutiny by M. Pollard, and M. Rich.*

The Governour thinking to make some use of the 368 hides, set some that professed themselves Tanners, to make tryall of their skill; but they lost their labours and spoiled the hides. Also he called another Assise concerning a poore fellow called Gabriel, for concealing some speeches M. Pollard and M. Rich should use, tending to the disreputation of the Governour, and his injustice and cruelties; which being brought within the compasse of sedition and mutiny, though a yeere agoe; many were called in question about it, although every one ordinarily had spoke as much. Yet Gabriel for example sake was condemned to bee hanged, and was upon the ladder, but reprieved. The other two M. Pollard, and M. Rich were imprisoned, but upon better consideration the fact appeared so small and ridiculous, upon their submission they were pardoned, and restored to their places.

1618. *The division of the Iles into Tribes. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.*

The division of the Summer Iles into Tribes, by Master Richard Norwood, Surveyor.

ACcording to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, M. Norwood tooke a plot of the Ile, and divided it with as much faithfulness as he could, assigning to every Adventurer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to bee called the generall land, and imployed for publike uses, as for the maintenance of the Governour, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, souldiers, and such like: and to this end was assigned S. Georges Iland, S. Davids Iland, Longbridge Iland, Smiths Iland, Coopers Iland, Cony Iland, Nonesuch Iland, part of the maine, and sundry other small Iles. The rest was to be divided into eight parts, each part to be called

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a tribe, and to have his denomination of some principall person that was Adventurer therein: and accordingly the first Tribe to bee Eastward, was then called Bedfords Tribe, now Hamiltons: the second, Smiths: Tribe the third, Cavendish, now Devonshires: the fourth, Pembrooks: the fift, Pagits: the sixt, 369 Mansils, now Warwicks: the seventh, Southhampton: the eighth, Sands: in the honours of the Right honorable the Marquis Hamilton, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earle of Devonshire, the Earle of Pembroke, the Lord Pagit, the Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Southhampton, and Sir Edwin Sands. Againe each of those Tribes were to bee divided into fifty parts, called shares; and every Adventurer to have his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in England, the manner of it appeares by the Map, and more largely by his Booke of the Survey of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony. And then began this which was before as you have heard, but as an unsetled and confused Chaos, to receive a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation.

[V. 188.]

The names of the Adventurers, and their shares in every Tribe, according to the survey, and the best information yet ascertained, of any of their alterations.

Hamiltons Tribe.

Shares.

James L. Marquis Hamil. 6

Sir Edward Harwood. 4

M. John Delbridge. 3

M. John Dike. 3

M. Ellis Roberts. 2

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M. Robert Phips. 1

M. Ralph King. 1

M. Quicks assignes. 2

M. William Cannig. 4

M. William Cannig. 1

M. William Web. 1

M. John Bernards assignes. 2

M. Elias Roberts Jun. 1

M. John Gearing. 2

M. Cleophas Smith. 2

Robert Earle of Warwick. 4

M. Thomas Covell. 3

M. Greenwels assignes 1

M. Cley. 1

M. Powlson. 1

M. John Dike. 1.½

Common land for conveniency. 25

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M. John Dike. 1.½

M. George Thorps assignes. 1 2A
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2. Smiths Tribe.

Shares

Sir Dudley Digs assignes. 2

M. Richard Edwards. 2

M. William Pane. 4

M. Robert Smith. 2

M. George Barkley assignes. 5

Sir Samuel Sands. 1

M. Anthony Pennistone. 4

Sir Edwin Sands. 5

Sir Thomas Smith. 5

M. Richard More. 4

M. Ad. Brumfield. 2

M. Rob. Johnson Alderman. 5

M. John Wroth. 3

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M. George Smith. 4

3. Devonshire Tribe.

Shares.

M. Anth. Penistone. 2

M. John Dike. 1

M. John Dike. 1

M. John Bernards heires. 2

Robert Earle of Warwick. 2

M. Francis West. 2

Will. Lord Cavendish. 5

Will. Earle of Devonshire. 5

M. Edw. Luckin. 5

M. Edw. Ditchfield. 1

M. Edw. Ditchfield. 4

M. Will. Nicols. 2

M. Edw. Ditchfield. 1

M. John Fletcher. 2

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M. Gedion Delawne. 2

M. Anth. Pennistone. 3

M. Best. 2

M. Edw. Luckin. 2

M. Richard Rogers. 2

M. Will. Palmer. 4

4. Pembrookes Tribe.

Shares.

M. George Smith. 4

Gleab land. 2

M. Nicholas Hide. 1

Sir Lawrence Hide. 1

M. Thomas Indwyn. 2

Will. Earle of Pemb. 10

M. Richard Edwards. 1

M. Harding. 1

M. Rich. Edwards. 1

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M. Elias Roberts. 1

M. Rich. Edwards. 1

M. Jacobsons assignes. 1

M. John Farrar. 1

M. Nicholas Farrar. 1

M. Nicholas Farrar. 1

M. Will. Canning. 2

M. Richard Martin. 2

M. Moris Abbot. 2

M. Rich. Caswell. 1

M. Rich. Caswell. 2

M. Will. Caswell. 1

M. Rich. Edwards. 2

M. Rich. Caswell. 1

M. Rich Edwards. 1

M. George Sands assignes. 2

M. Will Paine. 2

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5. Pagits Tribe.

Shares.

M. John Chamberlaine. 5

M. Tho. Ayres, and M. Rich. Wiseman. 4

M. Rich. Wiseman 1

Will. Lord Pagit. 10

M. Will. Palmer. 4

M. Bagnell. 5

M. John Bale. 1

M. Wheatley. 4

M. Christop. Barron. 4

M. John Wodall. 1

M. John Wodall. 1

M. Lewis. 2

M. Owen Arthors assignes. 2

M. George Etheridge. 4

2

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Sir Will. Wade. 1

M. John Bernards heires. 1

6. Warwicks Tribe.

Shares.

M. Wheatley, 2

Cap. Daniel Tuckar. 2

M. Will. Felgate. 1

Rob. Earle of Warwicke. 5

M. George Smith. 5

M. Sam. Tickner. 2

M. Francis Mevell. 1

M. Stephen Sparrow. 1

M. Joseph Man. 5

Cap. Daniel Tuckar. 2

M. Elias More. 1

Doctor. Anth. Hunton. 2

M. Francis Moverill. 1

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M. Rich. Poulson. 1

M. Math. Shephard. 1

M. George Tuckar. 10

M. Ch. Clitheroe. 1

M. George Swinow. 2

M. Rich. Tomlings. 1

M. Francis Meverill. 1

M. John Waters. 2

M. Martin Bond. 2

7. Southamptons Tribe.

Shares.

Cap. Dan. Tuckar. 4

M. John Britton. 1

M. Rich. Chamberland. 3

M. Leon. Harwods assignes. 1

M. John Banks. 1

Sir Nathanael Rich. 12

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Rob. Earle of Warwicke. 3

M. Richard More. 6

M. George Scot. M. Edward Scot. M. Antho. Abdy. 6

Hen. Earle of Southampton. 4

M. And. Broumfield. 2

M. Henry Timbed. 2

Sir Tho. Hewet. 2

M. Perce. 1

Sir Ralph Winwood. 2

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8. Sandys Tribe.

Shares.

M. George Barcklies heires. 5

Sir Edwin Sands. 5

M. Jerom Hidon. 10

M. Tho. Millin and M. John Cuffe. 2

M. Robert Chamberlaine. 2

M. Abr. Chamberlaine. 1

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M. George Smith. 2

M. Robert Gore. 3

Sir Edw. Sackville. 1

Sir John Danvers. 1

M. Robert Gore. 2

M. John Delbridge. 1

M. John Wroth. 1

M. John Wests heires. 4

M. Richard Chamberlaine. 10

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as also the over-plus, you may finde that at large in the Booke of Surveyes amongst their Records.

Now though the Countrey was small, yet they could not conveniently have beene disposed and well settled, without a true description and a survey of it; and againe, every man being settled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their household accordingly: then they built no more Cabbens, but substantiall houses, they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a few moneths, but also such as would affoord them profit within a few yeares, so that in a short time the Countrey began to aspire, and neerely approach unto that happinesse and prosperitie, wherein now it flourisheth, &c.

The first Magazin. 1618.

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But to follow the History; upon the best plot of ground could be found, the Governor prevailed so much with the generalitie, they built a faire house of Cedar, which being done, he appropriated it to himselfe, which occasioned exceeding much distaste. About this time arrived the Diana with a good supply of men and provision, and the first Magazin ever seene in those Iles; which course is not so much commended here, as cursed and abhorred by reason of enhanements of all the Inhabitants there; six or seven weeks this ship staid, then having towards her fraught thirtie thousand weight of Tobacco; which proving good, and comming to a 373 lucky Market, gave great encouragement to the Adventurers to goe lustily forward in their Plantation, and without such successe, there is nothing but grudging and repining. But about the appropriation of this new built house, many bad discontents grew betwixt the oppressed Colony and the Governor, especially betwixt him and the Minister, and Lewes, who would neither be feared with threats nor imprisonment, that their malice continued till they met in England, of which the Minister made the cause so plaine, hee very well and honestly it seemes, discharged himselfe.

Two exploits of desperate Fugitives.

Now in those times of these endlesse uncivill broiles, two desperate men and a proper Gentlewoman got into a Boat, and thinking to make an escape to Virginia, as appeared by some Letters they left behinde them were never more heard on. The very next moneth after the like was attempted by six others, so desirous they were to be rid of their servitude; but their plot being discovered by one of their societie, they were apprehended, arraigned, and condemned to be hanged: the next day being led with halters about their neckes to the place of execution, one was hanged, and the rest reprived.

The arrivall of the Blessing.

The Diana arriving well in England, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the Tobacco did helpe to sweeten all manner of grievances, yet it bred a distaste in the opinion of so many, they began to thinke of another Governor; but for that time it was so qualified by divers of his friends, they dispatched away the Blessing, which arrived in the Somer Iles. Though their generall Letter was faire and courteous to the Governor, yet by the report

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of the Passengers and divers particular letters from his friends, it was assured him his cruelty and covetousnesse, for all his paines and industry was much disliked, nor was he like to enjoy his house, and that land he had planted for himselfe, by the extreme oppression of the Comminalty. This caused so many jealousies to arise in his conceit, that at last he fully resolved to returne by this ship, that no sooner set saile from England, then [V. 190.] 374 they proceeded to the nomination of a new Governor. Many were presented according to the affections of those that were to give in their voices, but it chiefly rested betwixt one Captaine Southwell, and one Mr. Nathaniel Butler, where wee will leave them a while to the consideration of the Court and Company. Now Captaine Tuckar having instituted Captaine Kendall one of the six Governors before spoken of for his substitute, returned with this ship directly for England, as well to excuse himselfe of those objections he suspected, as to get assured him the house and land he had allotted for himselfe, lest it might otherwise be disposed of in his absence.

Collected out of their Records by N. B. and the relations of M. Pollard, and divers others.

The arrivall of two ships.

The Government of Captaine Miles Kendall, Deputy for Captaine Tuckar.

The unexpected returne of Captaine Tuckar, caused a demurre in the election of the new Governor; some perswading these oft changes were so troublesome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were best to continue Captaine Kendall; others againe stood for Captaine Tuckar, but during the time of these opinions, the Gilliflower was dispatched with a supply. Now I should have remembred, Tuckar was no sooner out of the harbour, but he met Master Elfred in a ship called the Treasurer, sent from Virginia to trade: by her he writ to his Deputy Master Kendall, to have a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ship, which hee suspected was bound for the West-Indies. Notwithstanding, Elfred received what kindnesse the Ile could afford; he promised to revisit them at his returne; this done, because they would not be governlesse when his Deputiship was expired, there was a generall assembly, and by that Election Kendall

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was confirmed to succeed still Governor. Now they began to apply themselves to 375 the finishing some plat-forme about Smiths Fort, and laying the foundation of a Church to be built of Cedar, till the Gillyflower arrived with some private letters to Kendall, how he was elected Governor of those Iles for three yeeres. During her stay they held their Assises, where for some few suspected facts three were condemned, and the better to terrifie the rest, led to the place of execution, but reprieved; divers of the rest had their faults pardoned, and the Gilliflower set saile for New found land.

Captaine Butler chosen Governor.

The love and kindnesse, honesty and industry of this Captaine Kendall, hath beene very much commended; by others, somewhat disliked: but an Angell in those imployments cannot please all men, yet this consideration bred much ill bloud as well here as there, so that the Company directly concluded, Captaine Butler should with what expedition they could, goe to be their Governor: In the Interim they tooke the opportunitie of a ship, called the Sea-flower, bound for Virginia, and by her sent a Preacher and his Family, with divers Passengers, and newes of a new Governor. This bred a great distaste amongst many, that still they should have new officers and strangers for their Governors they never heard of, and themselves still kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to have any land at all of their owne, but live all as tenants, or as other mens poore servants.

[V. 191.]

About this time came in Captaine Kerby with a small Barke from the West-Indies, who having refreshed himselfe, was very kindly used by the Governor and so departed. Not long after a Dutch Frigot was cast away upon the Westerne shore, yet by the helpe of the English they saved the men, though the ship perished amongst the Rocks. A little after one Ensigne Wood being about the loading of a peece, by thrusting a pike into the concavities, grating upon the shot, or somewhat about the powder, strucke fire within her and so discharged, but wounded him cruelly and blew him into the Sea, though 376 hee was got out by some that stood by him, yet hee died of those wounds. Within two or three

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daies after, Captaine Elfred now comes in a second time: but of that we shall say more in the government of Captaine Butler, who presently after arrived with a good supply, and was kindly entertained by Captaine Kendall and all the Colony.

From a relation of Tho. Sparks, and divers others.

The Government of Captaine Nathaniel Butler.

A plat-forme burnt, and much hurt by a Hericano. 1619.

CAptaine Butler being arrived the twentieth of October, 1619. some mutterings there was how to maintaine their election of Captaine Kendall, but better remembring themselves, that conceit quickly dissolved. The next day, Kendall, the Ministers, and the Counsell went aboard to salute the new Governor, where after they had dined with the best entertainment he could give them; they saw the Redout belonging to the Kings Castle by a mischance on fire, whither he repaired with all the meanes he could to quench it; but all the platforme and cariages were consumed before their faces, and they could not helpe it. Two daies after he went up to the Towne, had his Commission publikely read, made a short speech to the Company, and so tooke upon him the government. Then presently he began to reparaire the most necessary defects: The next moneth came in the Garland, sent from England six or seven weekes before him; so that being seventeene weeks in her voyage, it was so tedious and grievous to divers of the Fresh-water Passengers, that such a sicknesse bred amongst them, many died as well Sailers as Passengers. Having taken the best order he could for their releefe, passed through all the Tribes, and held his first Assise in Captaine Tuckars house at the over-plus. Towards the last of this moneth of Novemb. there arose a most terrible storme or Hericano, that blew up many great trees by the roots: the Warwick that brought the Governor was cast away, but the Garland rid by her, saved her selfe by cutting downe her Masts; 377 and not long after a second storme, no lesse violent then the first, wherein the Mount which was a frame of wood built by Master More for a Watch-tower to looke out to Sea, was blowne up by the roots, and all that Winter crop of corne blasted: And thus was the new Governor welcomed.

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The refortifying the Kings Castle.

With the beginning of the new yeere he began his first peece of fortification, upon a Rocke which flankers the Kings Castle, and finding the ship called the Treasurer starke rotten and unserviceable, hee tooke nine peeces of Ordinance from her to serve other uses. The Garland for want of meanes, could not make her voiage to Virginia as she was appointed; wherefore he entertained her to returne to England, with all the Tabacco they had in the Ile. It was January before she departed, in which time shee failed not much to have beene twice cast away. But those strange and unavoidable mischances, rather seemed to quicken the Governours industry then to dull it. Having finished the Church begun by Captaine Kendall, with an infinite toile and labour he got three peeces out of the wracke Warwicke. Having an excellent Dutch Carpinter he entertained of them that were cast away in the Dutch Frigot; he imployed him in building of Boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want. In February they discovered a tall ship beating too and againe, as it seemed by her working, being ignorant of the Coast; some thought her a Spaniard to view their Forts, which stand most to that part she so neerely approached; some, English; but the most, some Dutch man of Warre: The wind blew so high, they durst not send out a Boat, though they much doubted she would be foule of their Rocks, but at last she bore up rommy for the Sea, and we heard of her no more. That evening, a lucky fellow it should seeme he was, that found a peece of Amber-greece of eight ounces, as he had twice before, which bringing to the Governor, he had ready money for the one halfe, after three pound an ounce, according to their order of Court, to encourage others to looke out [V. 192.] *Amber-greece found.* 378 for more, and prevent the mischiefes insueth by concealing of it.

The arrivall of two Dutch Frigots.

Within a few daies after, they descried two Frigots that came close to the shore, and sent a Letter to the Governor, writ in Italian, that they were Hollanders had beene in the West-Indies, and desired but to arrive, refresh themselves with wood and water, and so be gone. The Governor forthwith sent them to understand, that being there under his Majestie of

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England to command those Iles, he was to carrie himselfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he could shew a lawfull Commission for his being honestly and nobly employed, he and his should be kindly welcome, otherwise they were to adventure at their perills. But his Commission was so good, he staid there two moneths, and was so well fitted with Oile & Bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captaine Scoutans arrivall, with many thanks to their old friend Captaine Powell that had conducted him thither: the Colony being exceedingly in great want and distresse, bought the most part or it at reasonable rates, so Captaine Scoutan returned to the West-Indies, and Captaine Powell for his part in the Low-Countries. Whilest these things were in action, the Adventurers in England made many a long looke for their ships; at last the Garland brought them all the newes, but the Tobacco was so spoiled either in the leaking ship, or the making up, it caused a great suspicion there could none was good come from those Iles; where (were they but perfit in the cure) questionlesse it would be much better then a great quantitie of that they sell for Verinas, and many a thousand of it in London hath beene bought and sold by that title.

The differences betwixt the Ministers.

The Governor being cleere of those distractions, falls upon the restoring of the burnt Redoubt, where he cuts out a large new plat-forme, and mounts seven great peece of Ordnance upon new cariages of Cedar. Now amongst all those troubles, it was not the least to bring the two Ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Praier, 379 which all the Bishops in England could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, bethought himselfe of the Liturgie of Garnsey and Jarse, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly imbraced by them both, whereupon the Governor translated it verbatim out of French into English, and caused the eldest Minister upon Easter day to begin the use thereof at S. Georges towne, where himselfe, most of the Councill, Officers and Auditorie received the Sacrament: the which forme they continued during the time of his government.

The rebuilding the Mount.

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Much about this time, in such a faire morning, that had invited many Boats forte out to the Sea to fish, did rise such a Hericano that much indangered them all, so that one of them with two Boles were driven to Sea and never more heard of. The Ministers thus agreed, a Proclamation was published for keeping of the Sabbath, and all the defective cariages he endeavoured to have renewed, builded a small Boat of Cedar onely to goe with Ores, to be ready upon any occasion to discover any shipping, and tooke order every Fort should have the like: Also caused numbers of Cedars to be brought from divers places in flotes, to rebuild the Mount, which with an unspeakable toile, was raised seven foot higher then before, and a Falcon mounted at the foot, to be alwaies discharged for a warning to all the Forts upon the discovery of any shipping, and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toile and labour, having no Cattle but onely mens strengths, caused many petitions to the Governour, that all those generall works might cease till they had reaped their harvests, in that they were in great distresse for victuall; which hee so well answered, their owne shames did cause them desist from that importunity, and voluntarily performe as much as hee required.

[V. 193.] *The Tombe of Sir George Summers.*

Finding accidentally a little crosse erected in a by place, amongst a many or bushes, understanding there was 380 buried the heart and intrailles of Sir George Summers, hee resolved to have a better memory for so worthy a Souldier, then that. So finding also a great Marble stone brought out of England, hee caused it by Masons to bee wrought handsomely and laid over the place, which hee invironed with a square wall of hewen stone, Tombe like; wherein hee caused to bee graven this Epitaph he had composed, and fixed it upon the Marble stone; and thus it was, In the yeere 1611, Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heaven; Whose well tri'd worth that held him still imploid, Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide. Hence 't was by heavens decree, that to this place He brought new guests, and name to mutuall grace. At last his soule and body being to part, He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart.

Their manner of lawes reformed.

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Upon the sixt of June began the second Assise, that reduced them to the direct forme used in England. For besides the Governour and Councell, they have the Bailiffes of the Tribes, in nature of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shires in England, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly answered and respected; they performe also the duties of Justices of Peace, within their limits. The subordinate Officers to these in every tribe, are the Constables, Head-borowes, and Church-Wardens; these are the triers of the Tobacco, which if they allow not to be marchantable, is burnt: and these are the executioners of their civill and politicke causes.

Martiall Officers.

For points of warre and martiall affaires, they have the Governour for Lieutenant generall, the Sergeant major, Master of Ordinance, Captaines of Companies, Captaines of Forts, with their severall officers, to traine and exercise those numbers under their charge, in martiall discipline.

Civill Officers and Courts.

Concerning their Courts for decision of right and justice, the first, though last in constitution, is their generall assembly; allowed by the state in England, in the nature of a Parliament, consisting of about forty persons; viz. the Governour, the Councell, the Bailiffes of the tribes, and two Burgesses of each tribe chosen by voyces in the tribe, besides such of the Clergie as the Governour thinkes most fit, to be held once a yeere, as you shal heare more thereof hereafter. The next Court is the Assise or Jayles of deliverie, held twice every yeere, in Christmas, and Whitson weeke, for all criminall offenders, and civill causes betwixt party and party; as actions of debt, trespasse, battery, slander, and the like: and these are determined by a Jury of twelve men, and above them is also a grand Jury to examine matters of greater consequence. The last day of the Assise might also well be held a Court, for hearing the transgressions in matters of contempt, misbehaviour towards any Magistrate, riots, seditious speakers, contemners of warrants, and such like: there are also as occasion shall require, many matters heard by the Governor,

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or his Officers, and oft justice done in severall places, but those are but as daies of hearing, and as preparatives against their Courts, &c.

The second Assise.

At this last Assize eighteene were arraigned for criminall causes, a number very extraordinary considering the place; but now occasioned by reason of the hard yeere, and the store of ill chosen new commers; of these, some were censured to the whipping post, some burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was reprieved, the other hanged; this done, every man returned to his home: many trials they made againe about the Warwicke, but to small purpose, her Ordnance being lashed so fast they could not be unloosed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet some few buttes of beare being flotie they got, which though it had lien six moneths under water was very good, notwithstanding the next yeere they recovered five peeces of Ordnance.

[V. 194.] *A generall assemblie in manner a Parliament.*

Upon the first of August, according to the Companies 382 instructions from England, began the generall assembly at the towne of Saint George, which was the first these Iles ever had; consisting as is said, of the Governour, Councill, Bailiffes, and Burgesses, and a Secretarie to whom all bills were presented, and by him openly read in the house, also a Clerke to record the Acts, being thirty two in all; fifteene of which being sent into England, were by a generall consent received and enacted, the titles whereof are these following: as for all the reasons for them, they would be too tedious to recite.

Their Acts.

The first was against the unjust sale and letting of apprentises and other servants, and this was especially for the righting the undertakers in England. The second, concerning the disposing of aged, diseased, and impotent persons, for it being considered how carelesse many are in preferring their friends, or sending sometimes any they can procure to goe, such unserviceable people should be returned back at their charge that sent them, rather then be burdensome to the poore Inhabitants in the Iles. The third, the necessary manning the Kings Castle, being the key of the Ile, that a garison of twelve able men should

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bee there alwaies resident: and 3000. eares of corne, and 1000. pounds of Tobacco payed them by the generality yeerely, as a pension. The fourth, against the making unmerchantable Tobacco, and Officers sworne to make true trials, & burne that was naught. The fift, injoynd the erection of certaine publike bridges, and the maintenance of them. The sixt, for a continuall supply of victuall for all the Forts, to bee preserved, till some great occasion to use it. The seventh was, for two fixed dayes every yeere for the Assises. The eight, commands the making of high-waies, and prohibiting the passage over mens grounds and planted fields, as well to prevent the spoyling of gardens, as conveniencie to answer any alarum. The ninth, for the preserving young tortoises and birds, that were carelesly destroyed. The tenth, provided against vagabonds, & prohibited the entertainment of other mens servants. The eleventh, compelled the setting 383 of a due quantity of corne for every family. The twelfth, the care corne being set, enjoyned the keeping up of their poultry till it was past their reaches. The thirteenth, for the preservation of sufficient fences, & against the felling of marked trees appointed for bounds. The fourteenth, granted to a levy for a thousand pound weight of Tobacco, towards the payment of publike workes, as the bridges and the mount. The fifteenth, for the enjoying an acknowledgement and acception of all resident Governours, and the warranting him to continue, though his time be expired, till the arrivall of a legitimate successor from England, to prevent all unmeet and presumptuous elections, besides it was desired by petition in England, the new Governour should live two months as a private man after his arrivall, if his predecessor did stay so long, the better to learne and observe his course. And these are the contents of those fifteene Acts, applied as you may perceive: which the lawes of England could not take notice of, because every climate hath somewhat to it selfe in that kinde in particular; for otherwise as it is conceived, it had beene a high impudency and presumption to have medled with them, or indeed with any such as these lawes, that had with such great judgement and justice alwaies provided for.

The arrivall of the Magazin ship.

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No sooner was this businesse over, but the Magazinship is discovered, and that night came into the Harbour, but in a very weake and sickly case, having cast over board twenty or thirty of her people, and so violent was the infection, that the most part of the sailers, as well as passengers, were so sicke, or dismaid, or both, that the Master confessed, had they stayed at the Sea but a weeke longer, they had all perished. There arrived with this ship divers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wives and families; but many of them crasie by the tediousnesse of the voyage, howsoever most of them, by the excellent salubrity of the aire, then which the world hath not a better, soone after recovered; yet some there were that died presently after they got ashore, it being certainly [V. 195.] 384 the quality of the place, either to kill, or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or lesse corrupted. By this ship the Company sent a supply of ten persons for the generality, but of such bad condition that it seemed they had picked the Males out of Newgate, the Females from Bridewell: As the Governour found it his best course, to grant out the women to such as were so greedy of wives, and would needs have them for better for worse; and the men hee placed in the Kings Castle for souldiers. But this bad, weake, sickly, supply being dispersed, for their best reliefe, by the much imployment of his Boats in remooving them, many of his owne men became infected, so that for some weekes, they were not able to doe him any service at all. Strict instructions also they brought for the planting of Sugar canes, for which the lland being rockie and dry, is so unproper, that few as yet have beene seene to prosper: yet there are others hold the contrary opinion, that there is raine so ordinarily, the lles are so moist, as produceth all their plants in such infinit abundance: there is no great reason to suspect this, were it rightly used, more then the rest. Seventy thousand weight of Tobacco being prepared towards her fraught, she returned for England. No sooner was shee gone then came in another, sent by the Company and generalty, well conditioned, but shee failed not much to have beene cast away amongst those dangerous & terrible rocks; by her came also expresse command, they should entertaine no other ships, then were directly sent from the Company: this caused much grudging, and indeed a generall distraction and exclamation among the Inhabitants, to be thus constrained to buy what they wanted, and sell what they had at

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what price the Magazin pleased, and to debarre true men from comming to them for trade or reliefe, that were daily received in all the harbours in England. So long this ship stayed going for fraught and wages, the Master not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, the Governour was ready to send her away by Proclamation. Thus ended the first yeere of the government of C. Butler.

70000. weight of Tobacco. 385 1620. The building of three bridges and other works.

With the first of the second yeere were held the Assises, where all the Bailiffes were fined for not giving a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was also an order to restraine the excessive wages all handicrafts men would have: and that the Churchwardens should meet twice a yeere, to have all their presentments made perfect against the Assises. The Assises done, all the ablest men were trained in their armes, and then departed to their owne homes. The towne thus cleered, he made certaine new carriages for some demy Culverings, and a large new store-house of Cedar for the yeerely Magazines goods; finished Warwicks Fort begun by Master More, and made a new platforme at Pagits Fort, also a faire house of lime and stone for the Townes-house. The three bridges appointed by the generall assembly, was followed with such diligence, though they were more then an hundred, or an hundred and twenty foot in length, having the foundation and arches in the Sea, were raised and accomplished, so that man or beast with facility might passe them.

The generall Assises, and the proceedings.

At Whitsonday was held the fourth generall Assise at Saint Georges, where were tryed twenty severall causes; foure or five were whipped or burnt in the hand, for breaking of houses: also an order was made, that the party cast in the triall of any cause, should pay to every of the Jurours foure pence: moreover, that not past ten leaves at the most should grow upon a plant of Tobacco, and that also in the making it up, a distinction should diligently be observed of two kinds, a better and a worse: then they built a strong stone house for the Captaine of the Kings Castle and corps du guard; and repaired what defects they could finde in the platformes and carriages.

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Captaine Powell so oft mentioned, having beene in the West-Indies for the States of Holland, came to an anchor within shot of their Ordnance, desiring admittance for wood and water, of which hee had great need, but the Governor would not permit him, so he weighed and 2 B [V. 196.] 386 departed, whereat the company were so madded, it was not possible to constraine them to cease their exclamations against the Companies inhibition, till they were weary with exclaming: But still for their better defence, not thinking themselves sufficiently secure, having finished two new plat-formes more, arrived the Magazin ship, but her Master was dead, and many of the Passengers, the rest for most part very sicke; and withall, a strange and wonderfull report of much complaint made against the Governor to the Company in England, by some of them returned in the last yeeres shipping: but it was eight daies before she could get in by reason of ill weather, being forced againe to Sea; so that time, they kept every night continually great fires, she might see the Ile as well by night as day; but at last she arrived, and he plainly understood, he had more cause a great deale to looke for misconstruction of all his service then an acknowledgment, much lesse a recompence any better then his predecessors; but it is no new thing to requite the best desert with the most vildest of ingratitude.

A strange deliverance of a Spanish wracke.

The very next daies night after the arrivall of the Magazins ship, newes was brought the Governor by a dismaied Messenger from Sands his Tribe, that one hundred Spaniards were landed in that part, and divers ships discovered at Sea, whereupon he presently manned the Forts, and instantly made thitherward in person with twentie men, determining as he found cause to draw together more strength by the way. Being got thither by the breake of the next day, in stead of an enemy which he expected, he met onely with a company of poore distressed Portugals and Spaniards, who in their passage from Carthagena in the West-Indies, in consort with the Spanish fleet of Plait; by the same storme that had indangered the Magazin ship, lost theirs upon those terrible Rocks, being to the number of seventy persons, were strangely preserved; and the manner was thus.

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About Sunne-set their ship beating amongst the Rocks, some twenty of the Sailers got into the Boat with what 387 treasure they could, leaving the Captaine, the Master, and all the rest to the mercy of the Sea. But a Boy not past foureteene yeares of age that leaped after to have got into the Boat, missing that hope, it pleased God he got upon a Chest a drift by him, whereon they report he continued two daies, and was driven neere to the cleane contrary part of the Ile, where he was taken up neere dead, yet well recovered. All this night the ship sticking fast, the poore distressed in her the next day spying land, made a raft, and were those gave the alarum first a shore about three of the clocke in the afternoone. The morning after, about seven of the clocke came in the Boat to a place called Mangrove Bay; and the same day their Carpenter was driven a shore upon a Planke neere Hog-Bay. There was a Gentlewoman that had stood wet up to the middle upon the raft from the ship to the shore, being big with childe; and although this was upon the thirteenth of September, she tooke no hurt, and was safely delivered of a Boy within three daies after. The best comfort could be given them in those extremities they had, although some of the baser sort had beene rifling some of them before the Governours arrivall; Also the Spanish Captaine and the chiefe with him, much complained of the treachery of his men to leave him in that manner, yet had conveyed with them the most of the money they could come by, which he easily missed; whereupon hee suddenly caused all them he accused, to be searched, and recovered to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds starling, which he delivered into the Captaines hands, to be imployed in a generall purse towards their generall charge: during their stay in the Iles, some of the better sort, nine or ten weeks dined at his owne table, the rest were billited amongst the Inhabitants at foure shillings the weeke, till they found shipping for their passage, for which they paid no more then the English paid themselves; and for the passage of divers of them, the Governor was glad to stand bound to the Master; some others that were not able to procure such friendship, were 388 [V. 197.] so constrained to stay in the Iles, till by their labours they had got so much as would transport them; and thus they were preserved, releevd, and delivered.

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How they solemnized the powder treason, and the arrivall of two ships.

In the moneth insuing arrived the second ship, and she also had lost her Master, and divers of her Passengers; in her came two Virginian Women to be married to some would have them, that after they were converted and had children, they might be sent to their Countrey and kindred to civilize them. Towards the end of this moneth came in the third ship with a small Magazin, having sold what she could, caried the rest to Virginia, and never did any of those Passengers complaine either of their good diet, or too good usage at sea; but the cleane contrary still occasioned many of those extremities. The fift of November the damnable plot of the powder treason was solemnized, with Praiers, Sermons, and a great Feast, whereto the Governor invited the chiefe of the Spaniards, where drinking the Kings health, it was honored with a quicke volly of small shot, which was answered from the Forts with the great Ordnance, and then againe concluded with a second volley of small shot; neither was the afternoone without musicke and dancing, and at night many huge bone-fires of sweet wood.

The Spaniards returne, and in danger againe. 1621.

The Spaniards to expresse their thankfulness at their departure, made a deed of gift to the Governor of whatsoever he could recover of the wracked ship, but the ships as they went out came so dangerously upon a Rock, that the poore Spaniards were so dismaied, swearing this place was ominous unto them, especially the women, that desired rather to goe a shore and die howsoever, than adventure any further in such a labyrinth of dangers, but at last she got cleere without danger, and well to England; the other went to Virginia, wherein the Governor sent two great Chests filled with all such kinds and sorts of Fruits and Plants as their Ilands had; as Figs, Pomgranats, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar-canes, Plantanes, Potatoes, Papawes, Cassado roots, red Pepper, the Prickell Peare, and the like. The ships thus dispatched, hee goeth into 389 *Three English Murderers found in the Spanish wracke.* the maine, and so out to sea to the Spanish wracke. He had beene there before presently after her ruine, for never had ship a more sudden death, being now split in peeces all under water. He found small hope to recover any thing, save a Cable and an

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Anchor, and two good Sacars; but the wind was so high hee was forced to returne, being ten miles from the shore, onely with three Murderers, which were knowne to be the same Captaine Kendall had sold to Captaine Kerby, whose ship was taken by two men of warre of Carthagera, the most of his men slaine or hanged, and he being wounded, died in the woods. Now their Pilot being at this service, got thus those three Murderers to their ship, and their ship thus to the Bermudas, as the Spaniards remaining related to the Governour and others.

Their Assises, and other passages.

Having raised three small Bulwarkes at Southhamptons Fort, with two Curtaines, and two Ravilings, which indeed is onely the true absolute peece of fortification in the Iles; Christmas being come, and the prefixed day of the Assise; divers were whipped and burnt in the hand, onely three young boyes for stealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging reprivd. The Governour then sent his Lieutenant all over the maine to distribute Armes, to those were found most fit to use them, & to give order for their rendezvous, which were hanged up in the Church. About this time it chanced a pretty secret to be discovered to preserve their corne from the fly, or weavell, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the yeere before having made a Proclamation that all Corne should be gathered by a certaine day, because many lazy persons ranne so after the ships to get Beere and Aquavitæ, for which they will give any thing they have, much had beene lost for want of gathering. This yeare having a very faire crop, some of the Inhabitants, none of the best husbands, hastily gathered it for feare of the penaltie, threw it in great heaps into their houses unhusked, and so let it lie foure or five moneths, which was thought would have spoiled it: where the good husbands husked it, and with much labour hung 390 [V. 198.] it up, where the Flies did so blow on it, they increased to so many Weavels, they generally complained of great losse; but those good fellowes that never cared but from hand to mouth, made their boasts, that not a graine of theirs had beene touched nor hurt, there being no better way to preserve it then by letting it lie in its huske, and spare an infinite labour formerly had beene used. There were also very luckily

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about this time found out divers places of fresh water, of which many of the Forts were very destitute, and the Church-wardens and Side-men were very busie in correcting the prophaners of the Sabbath, Drunkards, Gamesters, and such like. There came also from Virginia a small Barke with many thanks for the presents sent them; much Aquavitæ, Oile, Sacke and Bricks they brought in exchange of more Fruits and Plants, Ducks, Turkies and Limestone, of which she had plenty, and so returned. During the aboad of the stay of this ship, the mariage of one of the Virginia maides was consummated with a husband fit for her, attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner could be provided; they made also another triall to fish for Whales, but it tooke no more effect then the former: this was done by the Master of the Virginia ship that professed much skill that way, but having fraughted his ship with Lime-stone, with 20000. weight of Potatoes, and such things as he desired, returned for Virginia.

A strange Sodomy.

Aprill and May were spent in building a strong new Prison, and perfecting some of the Fortifications, and by the labour of twenty men in fourteene daies was got from the Spanish wracke foure excellent good Sacres, and mounted them at the Forts. Then began the generall Assize, where not fewer then fifty civill, or rather uncivill actions were handled, and twenty criminall prisoners brought to the bar; such a multitude of such vild people were sent to this Plantation, that he thought himselfe happy his time was so neere expired: three of the foulest acts were these: the first for the rape of a married woman, 391 which was acquitted by a senselesse Jury; the second for bugging a Sow, and the third for Sodomy with a boy, for which they were hanged; during the time of the imprisonment of this Buggerer of the Sow, a Dung-hill Cocke belonging to the same man did continually haunt a Pigge of his also, and to the wonder of all them that saw it who were many, did so frequently tread the Pigge as if it had beene one of his Hens, that the Pigge languished and died within a while after, and then the Cocke resorted to the very same Sow (that this fellow was accused for) in the very same manner; and as an addition to all this, about the same time two Chickens were hatched, the one whereof had two heads, the other

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crowed very loud and lustily within twelve houres after it was out of the shell. A desperate fellow being to bee arraigned for stealing a Turky, rather then he would endure his triall, secretly conveighed himselfe to Sea in a little Boat, and never since was ever heard of, nor is he ever like to be, without an exceeding wonder, little lesse then a miracle. In June they made another triall about the Spanish wracke, and recovered another Sacre and a Murderer, also he caused to be hewed out of the maine Rocke a paire of large staires for the convenient landing of goods and passengers, a worke much to the beauty and benefit of the towne. With twenty chosen men, and two excellent Divers, the Governour went himselfe to the wracke Warwick, but they could recover but one Murderer, from thence he went to the Sea-adventure, the wracke of Sir George Summers, the hull though two or three fathomes in the water, they found unperished and with much a doe weighed a Sacre, her sheat Anchor, divers barres of Iron and pigs of Lead, which stood the Plantation in very great stead. Towards the end of July he went to seeke for a wracke they reported lay under water with her hatches spiked up, but they could not finde her, but from the Spanish wracke lay there by they weighed three faire Sacres more, and so returned through the Tribes to Saint Georges: some were also imployed *More trialls about the wracks*. 392 to seeke out beds of Oisters for Pearle, some they found, some seed Pearle they got, but out of one little shell above all the rest they got about 120. small Pearle, but somewhat defective in their colour.

[V. 199.] *The Planters complaints*.

The time of Captain Butlers government drawing neere an end, the Colony presented unto him divers grievances, to intreat him to remember to the Lords and Company in England at his returne: also they appointed two to be joyned with him, with letters of credence to solicit in their behalfe those grievances following: First, they were defrauded of the food of their soules: for being not fewer then one thousand and five hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor never had but two, and they so shortned of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would have forsaken them. Secondly, neglected in the safety of their lives by wants of all sorts of munition.

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Thirdly, they had beene censured contrary to his Majesties Lawes, and not allowed them the benefit of their booke as they are in England, but by Captaine Butler. Fourthly, they were frustrated of many of their covenants, and most extremely pinched and undone by the extortion of the Magazine, for although their Tobacco was stinted but at two shillings sixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleased. Fifthly, their fatherlesse children are left in little better condition then slaves, for if their Parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be discharged: these things being perfected, there grew a great question of one Heriot for plotting of factions and abusing the Governour, for which he was condemned to lose his eares, yet he was used so favourably he lost but the part of one in all.

The returne of Captaine Butler.

By this time it being growne past the wonted season of the comming in of ships from England, after a generall longing and expectation, especially of the Governour, whose Commission being neere upon expiration, gave him cause to wish for a meane of deliverance from so troublesome and thanklesse an imploiment as he had hitherto found it; a saile is discovered, and long it was not before shee arrived in the Kings Castle-Harbour: this Barke was set out by two or three private men of the Company, and having landed her supplies, was to goe for Virginia; by her the Governour received certaine advertisements of the carriage and behaviour of the Spaniards, which he had relieved as you have heard the yeere before; that quite contrary both to his merit, their vow, and his owne expectation, they made clamours against him, the which being seconded by the Spanish Ambassadour, caused the State to fall in examination about it; whereupon having fully cleared their ingratitude and impudency, and being assured of the choice of a successor that was to be expected within five or six weekes; hee was desirous to take the opportunity of this Barke, and to visit the Colony in Virginia in his returne for England: leaving the government to Captaine Felgat, Captaine Stokes, Master Lewis Hewes, Master Nedom and Master Ginner, but now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finished, viz. The Kings Castle wherein were mounted upon sufficient

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Platformes sixteene peece of Ordnances: In Charles Fort two; In Southampton Fort five, betwixt which and the Castle passeth the Chanell into the Harbour, secured by three and twenty peeces of good artillery to play upon it. In Cowpers Ile is Pembrocks Fort, where is two Peeces. The Chanell of Saint George is guarded by Smiths Fort, and Pagits Fort, in which is eleven peece of Ordnance. Saint George towne is halfe a league within the Harbour, commanded by Warwicks Fort, where are three great Peeces, and on the Wharfe before the Governours house eight more, besides the warning Peece by the mount, and three in Saint Katharines; so that in all there are ten Fortresses and two and fifty peeces of Ordnance sufficient and serviceable: their formes and situations you may see more plainlier described in the Map; and to defend those, he left one thousand five hundred persons with neere a hundred boats, and the Ile well replenished with store of such fruits, provisions and 394 Poultry, as is formerly related; yet for so departing and other occasions, much difference hath beene betwixt him and some of the Company, as any of his Predecessors, which I rather wish were reconciled, then to be a reporter of such unprofitable dissentions.

[V. 200.]

For Till trechery and faction, and avarice be gone, Till envy and ambition, and backbiting be none, Till perjury and idlenesse, and injury be out, And truly till that villany the worst of all that rout; Unlesse those vises banisht be, what ever Forts you have, A hundred walls together put will not have power to save.

Master John Barnard sent to be Governour.

1622. *The Lord Cavendish Treasurer. Master Nicholas Farrar Deputy.*

TO supply this place was sent by the noble adventurers John Bernard, a Gentleman both of good meanes and quality, who arrived within eight daies after Butlers departure with two ships, and about one hundred and forty passengers with armes and all sorts of munition and other provisions sufficient. During the time of his life which was but six weekes in reforming all things he found defective, he shewed himselfe so judiciaall and industrious

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as gave great satisfaction, and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and vertue and the Plantation much advanced; but so it hapned that both he and his wife died in such short time they were both buried in one day and one grave, and Master John Harrison chosen Governour till further order came from England.

What hapned in the government of Master John Harrison.

1623 Sir Edward Sackvil Treasurer. Master Gabriel Barber Deputy.

They are still much troubled with a great short worme that devours their Plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in the ground, and though early in the morning they kill so many, they would thinke there were no more, yet the next morning you shall finde as many. 395 The Caterpillers to their fruits are also as pernicious, and the land Crabs in some places are as thicke in their Borowes as Conies in a Warren, and doe much hurt; besides all this, there hapned this yeere a very heavy disaster, for a ship wherein there had beene much swearing and blaspheming used all the voyage, and landed what she had to leave in those Iles, jovially froliking in their Cups and Tobacco, by accident fired the Powder, that at the very instant blew up the great Cabin, and some one way and some another, it is a wonder to thinke how they could bee so blowne out of the gun-rooms into the Sea, where some were taken up living, so pitifully burned, their lives were worse then so many deaths, some died, some lived, but eightene were lost at this fatall blast, the ship also immediatly sunke with threescore barrels of meale sent for Virginia, and all the other provision in her was thus lost.

Note.

Now to consider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch, have beene lost and preserved in those invincible Iles, yet never regarded them but as monuments of miseries, though at this present they all desire them; How Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers being ready to sinke in the sea were saved, what an incredible abundance of victuall they found, how it was first planted by the English, the strange increase of Rats, and their sudden departure, the five men came from England in a boat, the escape of Hilliard, and

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the rest of those accidents there hapned, a man would thinke it a tabernacle of miracles, and the worlds wonder, that from such a Paradise of admiration who would thinke should spring such wonders of afflictions as are onely fit to be sacrificed upon the highest altars of sorrow, thus to be set upon the highest Pinacles of content, and presently throwne downe to the lowest degree of extremity, as you see have beene the yeerely succeedinges of those Plantations; the which to overcome, as it is an incomparable honour, so it can be no dishonour if a man doe miscarry by unfortunate accidents in such honourable actions, the which renowne [V. 201.] and vertue to attaine hath caused so many attempts by divers Nations besides ours, even to passe through the very amazement of adventures. Upon the relation of this newes the Company hath sent one Captaine Woodhouse, a Gentleman of good repute and great experience in the warres, and no lesse provident then industrious and valiant: then returned report, all goeth well there. It is too true, in the absence of the noble Treasurer, Sir Edward Sackvill, now Earle of Dorset, there have beene such complaints betwixt the Planters and the Company, that by command the Lords appointed Sir Thomas Smith againe Treasurer, that since then according to their order of Court he is also elected, where now we must leave them all to their good fortune and successe, till we heare further of their fortunate proceedings.

1624. *Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer, and Master Edwards Deputy.*

FINIS.

END OF VOLUME I.

RD-274.