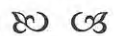


## AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION



Observations by  
Master George Percy,  
1607

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## INTRODUCTION

GEORGE PERCY was the eighth son of Henry, eighth earl of Northumberland, by his wife Catherine, eldest daughter of John Neville, Lord Latimer. He was born September 4, 1580; served for a time as a soldier in the Netherlands; sailed for Virginia in the first expedition, December 20, 1606, and was president during the terrible time from September, 1609, to the arrival of Gates in May, 1610. When Lord Delaware left Jamestown in March, 1611, Percy was again placed at the head of the colony until the arrival of Dale in May following. He left Virginia April 22, 1612, and reached England in the following summer. He never returned to Virginia, but about 1625, when war was declared with Spain, he went again to the Netherlands, where as captain of a company he distinguished himself, and lost a finger in battle. He died unmarried in 1632. The fact that he was three times trusted with the supreme command in Virginia attests the good opinion entertained of his character, courage, and abilities.

The *Observations*, etc., gives in minute detail the incidents of the first voyage to Virginia, and is the straightforward account of an eye-witness and prominent actor. The original manuscript is not preserved, and what has come down to us is only an abridgment published for the first time in 1625 by Samuel Purchas, who assigns as a reason for the omissions he made in it that "the rest is more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations." The narrative is to be found in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, IV. 1685-1690, of the original edition. It presents the fullest account we have of the voyage and of the first events of the settlement, to Newport's departure, June 22, 1607. Of the

other accounts of the earliest months of the colony, Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia*, printed in the fourth volume of the *Archaeologia Americana* and separately (Worcester, 1860), begins at that point; but it is too largely a partisan account of the author's quarrels with his fellow-members of the council to have the same sort of value as Percy's story. There is also the *Relatyon* called Newport's, though perhaps written by Archer, likewise printed in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. IV.; but this is almost confined to the exploration of James River, May 21-27. Captain John Smith's *True Relation*, the most important narrative of the early days, which begins to be explicit about where what we have of Percy leaves off, is printed next after it in this volume. Purchas's text was reprinted by Edward Arber in his edition of Smith's *Works* (Birmingham, 1884), to which Wingfield and Archer are also prefixed. It has also, of course, been reprinted in the edition of Purchas which has now (July, 1907) just finished passing through the press.

L. G. T.

OBSERVATIONS BY MASTER  
GEORGE PERCY, 1607

*Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation  
of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606.  
Written by that Honorable Gentleman, Master George Percy.*

ON Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from London,<sup>1</sup> and the fift of January we anchored in the Downes: but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time, where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger.

The twelfth day of February at night we saw a blazing Starre, and presently a storme.

The three and twentieth day<sup>2</sup> we fell with the Iland of Mattanenio,<sup>3</sup> in the West Indies. The foure and twentieth day we anchored at Dominico,<sup>4</sup> within fourteene degrees of the Line, a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels; inhabited by many Savage Indians. They were at first very scrupulous to come aboard us. Wee learned of them afterwards that the Spaniards had given them a great over-

<sup>1</sup> The fleet sailed down the Thames from London. The Downs is a celebrated roadstead for ships, extending six miles along the seacoast of Kent in England, protected on the sea side by the Goodwin Sands.

<sup>2</sup> Of March.

<sup>3</sup> Martinique.

<sup>4</sup> Dominica. Purchas says at this point in the margin, "Captaine Smith was suspected for a supposed Mutinie, though never no such matter." Smith says in his *Generall Historie*, folio 43, that "all this time from their departure from the Canaries" to June 10, he "was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe, who fained he intended to usurp the government, murder the Councill, and make himselfe King."

throw on this Ile, but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas, bringing us many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits, and Roane Cloth abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine Spanish ships that were cast away upon that Iland. We gave them Knives, Hatchets for exchange, which they esteeme much. Wee also gave them Beades, Copper Jewels which they hang through their nostrils, eares, and lips, very strange to behold. Their bodies are all painted red to keepe away the biting of Muscetos. They goe all naked without covering. The haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length, pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes. They suffer no haire to grow on their faces. They cut<sup>1</sup> their skinnes in divers workes. They are continually in warres, and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They will lap up mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes, in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Ilands in the West Indies, and Brasill, are called by the names of Canibals,<sup>2</sup> that will eate mans flesh. These people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone. They worship the Devill for their God, and have no other believe.

Whilest we remayned at this Iland we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Sword-fish. They fought for the space of two houres. We might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold. In the end these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.

The sixe and twentieth day we had sight of Marigalanta,<sup>3</sup> and the next day, wee sailed with a slacke saile amongst the Ile of Guadalupa, where we went ashore, and found a Bath which was so hot, that no man was able to stand long by it. Our Admirall, Captaine Newport, caused a piece of Porke to be put in it; which boyled it so in the space of halfe an houre,

<sup>1</sup> Tattoo.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, in this series, p. 289, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Marie Galante, a French possession.

as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboard and sailed by many Ilands, as Mounserot<sup>1</sup> and an Iland called Saint Christopher, both uninhabited. About two o'clock in the afternoone wee anchored at the Ile of Mevis.<sup>2</sup> There the Captaine landed all his men being well fitted with Muskets and other convenient Armes; marched a mile into the Woods; being commanded to stand upon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the Indians, which is an ordinary use amongst them and all other Savages on this Ile. We came to a Bath standing in a Valley betwixt two Hills, where wee bathed our selves; and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes in England, some places hot and some colder: and men may refresh themselves as they please. Finding this place to be so convenient for our men to avoid diseases which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped our selves on this Ile sixe dayes, and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing, where we got great store of Conies, sundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts de gard<sup>3</sup> at every Capitaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the Indians, that were on the other side of the Iland. Wee saw none, nor were molested by any; but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to us by any meanes, but ranne swiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops; so we lost the sight of them; whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter, thinking there had beene a great ambush of Indians thereabouts. We past into the thickest of the Woods, where we had almost lost our selves. We had not gone above halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most pleasant Garden, being a hundred paces square on every side, having many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance of Cotton-wooll, and many *Guaiacum* trees. Wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the Garden, as though they had beene set by Art, which made us marvell very much to see it.

<sup>1</sup> Montserrat.<sup>2</sup> Nevis.<sup>3</sup> Watches.

The third day <sup>1</sup> wee set saile from Mevis. The fourth day we sailed along by Castutia <sup>2</sup> and by Saba. This day we anchored at the Ile of Virgines <sup>3</sup> in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred Ships. If this Bay stood in England, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish, and abundance of Sea Tortoises, which served all our Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wild Fowle. Wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee have seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Upon the sixth day, we set saile and passed by Becam <sup>4</sup> and by Saint John de porto rico.<sup>5</sup> The seventh day we arrived at Mona: where wee watered, which we stood in great need of, seeing that our water did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it. Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers, marched up in the Ile sixe myles, thinking to find some other provision to maintaine our victualling. As we marched we killed two wild Bores, and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. We also killed Guanans <sup>6</sup> in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade under the belly. These wayes that wee went, being so troublesome and vilde, going upon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march, but by good fortune wee lost none but one Edward Brookes Gentleman, whose fat melted within him by the great heate and drought of the Countrey. We were not able to relieve him nor our selves, so he died in that great extreamitie.

<sup>1</sup> Of April.

<sup>2</sup> St. Eustatius, a Dutch island, of which Saba is a dependency.

<sup>3</sup> Virgin Islands.

<sup>4</sup> Vieques, now belonging to the United States.

<sup>5</sup> Porto Rico.

<sup>6</sup> Iguanans, a kind of lizard.



The ninth day, in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat to the Ile of Moneta,<sup>1</sup> some three leagues from Mona, where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting up to the top of the Mountaine or Ile, being a high firme Rocke, ste[e]p, with many terrible sharpe stones. After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes. They flew over our heads as thicke as drops of Hale; besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse. Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

The tenth day we set saile, and disimboged<sup>2</sup> out of the West Indies, and bare oure course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropicke of Cancer. The one and twentieth day, about five a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders, in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull<sup>3</sup> that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day, wee sounded; and the three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth day; but we could find no ground. The five and twentieth day, we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom.<sup>4</sup> The six and twentieth day of Aprill, about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia. The same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc<sup>5</sup> directly, without any let or hinderance. There wee landed and discovered<sup>6</sup> a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and

<sup>1</sup> Monica.

<sup>2</sup> By this expression the fleet is likened to a stream of water which "pours out" into the ocean.

<sup>3</sup> To lie to, with sails furled.

<sup>4</sup> The margin says, "We were driven to try" [*i.e.*, to lie to] "that night: and by the storme were forced neere the shoare, not knowing where we were."

<sup>5</sup> Chesapeake Bay.

<sup>6</sup> Throughout this volume, it is important to bear in mind that in the texts here printed "discovered" almost always means "explored."

goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Savages creeping upon all foure, from the Hills, like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouthes, charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captaine Gabrill Archer in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left us.

The seven and twentieth day we began to build up our Shallop. The Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles up into the land. We could not see a Savage in all that march. We came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a roasting Oysters. When they perceived our comming, they fled away to the mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire. We eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth<sup>1</sup> day we lunched our Shallop. The Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discovered up the Bay. We found a River<sup>2</sup> on the Southside running into the Maine; we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim. Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place five mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree. We saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was five and fortie foot long by the Rule. Upon this plot of ground we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones. Wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles. Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes and found that the Savages had beene there burning downe the grasse, as wee thought either to make their

<sup>1</sup> Rather the twenty-eighth, of April.

<sup>2</sup> Lynnhaven River in Princess Anne County.

plantation there, or else to give signes to bring their forces together, and so to give us battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of divers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I have seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes. Going a little further we came into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in England. All this march we could neither see Savage nor Towne. When it grew to be towards night, we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put us out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the River. Wee rowed over to a point of Land, where wee found a channell, and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelve fathom: which put us in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort.<sup>1</sup>

The nine and twentieth day we set up a Crosse at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. Thirtieth day, we came with our ships to Cape Comfort; where we saw five Savages running on the shoare. Presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned; so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship, but they were at first very timersome, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart; upon that they laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to us, making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Savages Kecoughtan.<sup>2</sup> Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing over a River running into the Maine, where these Savages swam over with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes.

When we came over to the other side, there was a many of other Savages which directed us to their Towne, where we

<sup>1</sup> In 1608 a fort called "Algernourne" was established here by Captain George Percy, and it is now the site of Fort Monroe, built in 1819 by the federal government.

<sup>2</sup> The town was located at the mouth of Hampton River on the east side, and was three miles from Point Comfort. The Soldiers' Home occupies very nearly the ancient site. In the Indian language the word meant "great town." At the time of the arrival of the settlers it was commanded by Pochins, a son of Powhatan.

were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid upon the ground: the chiefest of them sate all in a rank; the meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had, and of their bread which they make of their Maiz or Gennea wheat.<sup>1</sup> They would not suffer us to eat unlesse we sate down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After we were well satisfied they gave us of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artifically of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they shewed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One of the Savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils. One thing of them I observed; when they were in their dance they kept stroke with their feet just one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces and bodies, every one of them had a severall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Capitaine gave them Beades and other trifling Jewells. They hang through their eares, Fowles legs; they shave the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long tied up with an artificiall knot, with a many of Fowles feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their privities are covered with Beasts skinnnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth. Some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry lively colours, very beautiful and pleasing to the eye, in a braver fashion then they in the West Indies.

<sup>1</sup> Maize was the West Indian name for Indian corn. Gennea (Guinea) wheat was a tall grass grown in Africa and familiar to us as broom corn.

The fourth day of May we came to the King or Werowance of Pasphe:<sup>1</sup> where they entertained us with much welcome. An old Savage made a long Oration, making a fowle noise, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. Whilst we were in company with the Pasphe, the Werowance of Rapahanna<sup>2</sup> came from the other side of the River in his Canoe. He seemed to take displeasure of our being with the Pasphe. He would faine have had us come to his Towne. The Captaine was unwilling. Seeing that the day was so far spent, he returned backe to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of Rapahanna sent a Messenger to have us come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gave him trifles which pleased him. Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: this said Messenger guided us where our determination was to goe. When wee landed, the Werowance of Rapahanna came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I have seene of Savages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaîne of Beads about his necke, his face painted blew, be-

<sup>1</sup> The territory of the Pasphe (Paspaheghs, or Pasbyhaes) stretched along the north side of James River from about Warwick River, where the territory of the Kecoughtans ended, to Sturgeon Point. Their chief town, "Old Paspaheghs," had been located until a short time before the arrival of the English on the north shore, almost a mile from Jamestown Island; but, at the time of the narrative, their chief town was at Sandy Point, a much more fertile region, about ten miles above Jamestown, on the north side of the river.

<sup>2</sup> The country on the south side of the James opposite to Paspahegh belonged to the Quiyoughcohanock Indians, whose chief town was at Claremont. The Rapahanna chief was a stranger, who came to the James from the Rappahannock River in order to assist in resisting the landing of the explorers.

sprinkled with silver Ore as wee thought, his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle, and in either eare a Birds Claw through it beset with fine Copper or Gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of civill government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behaviour. He caused his Mat to be spread on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Majestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to us to come to his Towne. Hee went foremost, and all the rest of his people and our selves followed him up a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, having most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines. Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that ever was seene in any Countrey. When wee came to Rapahannos Towne, hee entertained us in good humanitie.

The eight day of May we discovered up the River. We landed in the Countrey of Apamatica.<sup>1</sup> At our landing, there came many stout and able Savages to resist us with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest one of the chieftest, standing before them cross-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanded of us our being there, willing us to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietnesse.

The twelfth day we went backe to our ships, and discovered a point of Land, called Archers Hope,<sup>2</sup> which was sufficient

<sup>1</sup> The "country of Apamatica" was the region of the Appomattox River. Thirty miles up the river is Petersburg; at its mouth is City Point, first called Charles City.

<sup>2</sup> This point is made by a creek, at the head of which five miles inland is situated the city of Williamsburg, made the capital of Virginia in 1699 after the burning of the State House at Jamestown.

with a little labour to defend our selves against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines in bignesse of a mans thigh, running up to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and divers other Fowles and Birds of divers and sundrie collours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry,<sup>1</sup> and of divers other hewes naturally without any art using.

We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges. If it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had settled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in Paspilhaes Countrey, some eight miles<sup>2</sup> from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

The fourteenth day, we landed all our men, which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was convenient. The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Savages sayling close to our quarter. Presently there was an alarum given; upon that the Savages ran away, and we [were] not troubled any more by them that night. Not long after there came two Savages that seemed to be Commanders, bravely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire upon their heads, which came as Messengers from the Werowance<sup>3</sup> of Paspilhæ, telling us that their Werowance was comming and would be merry with us with a fat Deare.

The eighteenth day, the Werowance of Paspilhæ came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Savages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes, thinking at that time to execute their villany. Pas-

<sup>1</sup> Watchet is pale blue; murry is dark red.

<sup>2</sup> The settlement was placed about five miles above the mouth of Archer's Hope Creek at the west end of the island, where the channel of the river comes close to the shore. The margin gives the name, "Their plantation at James Towne." The early narrators also call the settlement James Fort.

<sup>3</sup> The word "werowance" among the Virginia Indians was equivalent to the word "sachem" in New England.

pihæ made great signes to us to lay our Armes away. But we would not trust him so far. He seeing he could not have convenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take. As the Savages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company,<sup>1</sup> which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him over the arme. Presently another Savage seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The Werowance of Paspilha saw us take to our Armes, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a pathway like to an Irish pace:<sup>2</sup> wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring us. Wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, having the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing over with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had been in any Garden or Orchard in England. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits unknowne. Wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out sweet Gummes like to Balsam. Wee kept on our way in this Paradise. At length, wee came to a Savage Towne, where wee found but few people. They told us the rest were gone a hunting with the Werowance of Paspilha. Westayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries and other things. In the meane time one of the Savages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and ranne mainly through the Woods. Then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray us. Wee made all haste away wee could. One of the Savages brought us on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco and other fruits and herbes. He gathered Tobacco, and distributed to every one of us; so wee departed.

<sup>1</sup> "These Savages," says the margin, "are naturally great thieves."

<sup>2</sup> Pass, or passage.



The twentieth day the Werowance of Paspaha sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any love they bare us. They faine would have layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery. One of our Gentlemen having a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it up against a tree, willing one of the Savages to shoot; who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him up a steele Target; he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pieces. He presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage; so hee went away in great anger. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially. Paspaha was as good as his word; for hee sent Venison, but the Sawse came within a few dayes after.

At Port Cotage<sup>1</sup> in our Voyage up the River, we saw a Savage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow and a reasonable white skinne,<sup>2</sup> which is a Miracle amongst all Savages.

This River which wee have discovered is one of the famous-est Rivers that ever was found by any Christian. It ebbs and flowes a hundred and threescore miles, where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Wheresoever we landed upon this River, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar,

<sup>1</sup> The writer of *A Relatyon of the Discovery of our River* says (Arber, xlii) that he gave the name of "Poor Cottage" to a place on the James River about twenty miles below the falls.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly a descendant of one of the lost colony of Roanoke. On the theory, not generally agreed to, that that colony was not wholly destroyed, and that descendants of some of its members are still to be found in North Carolina, see Weeks, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its Fate and Survival," in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, V. 441-480.

Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance, which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees unknowne; and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowres of divers colours and kindes. There are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries, and Fruitcs unknowne. There are many branches of this River, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of fish of all kindes; as for Sturgeon, all the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I have seene many great and large Medowes having excellent good pasture for any Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Muskats, and wild beasts unknowne.

The foure and twentieth day wee set up a Crosse at the head of this River, naming it Kings River, where we proclaimed James King of England to have the most right unto it. When wee had finished and set up our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for James Fort. By the way, wee came to Pohatans Towre, where the Captaine went on shore suffering none to goe with him. Hee presented the Commander of this place, with a Hatchet which hee tooke joyfully, and was well pleased.

But yet the Savages murmured at our planting in the Countrey, whereupon this Werowance made answere againe very wisely of a Savage, Why should you bee offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force. They take but a litle waste ground, which doth you nor any of us any good.

I saw Bread made by their women, which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually, one Kingdome against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus. After they pound their wheat into flowre, with hote water they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and Cakes, then they put it into a pot of seething water: when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone, there they harden it as well as in an Oven.

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids. The Maids you shall alwayes see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts; then with paintings of sundry lively colours, they rub it into the stampe which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh where it is sered.

The Savages beare their yeeres well, for when wee were at Pamunkies, wee saw a Savage by their report was above eight score yeeres of age. His eyes were sunke into his head, having never a tooth in his mouth, his haire all gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Savage have any haire on their faces. I never saw, read, nor heard, any have the like before. This Savage was as lusty and went as fast as any of us, which was strange to behold.

The fifteenth of June we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle wise, having three Bulwarkes, at every corner, like a halfe Moone, and foure or five pieces of Artillerie mounted in them. We had made our selves sufficiently strong for these Savages. We had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines.<sup>1</sup> It sprang a mans height from the ground. This Countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Munday the two and twentieth of June, in the morning, Captaine Newport in the Admirall departed from James Port for England.

<sup>1</sup> The highest part of Jamestown peninsula is not over ten feet above the level of the sea; so that "the two mountaines" were only slight elevations of the soil.

Captaine Newport being gone for England, leaving us (one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages, we hoped after a supply which Captaine Newport promised within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further us, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of England, as the Indies to the King of Spaine. If this River which wee have found had been discovered in the time of warre with Spaine, it would have beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies.

The seven and twentieth of July the King of Rapahanna demanded a Canoa, which was restored, lifted up his hand to the Sunne (which they worship as their God), besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people, when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keep their Oath better upon this promise. These people have a great reverence to the Sunne above all other things: at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting up their hands and eyes to the Sunne, making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco; then they began to pray, making many Devillish gestures with a Hellish noise, foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The sixt of August there died John Asbie of the bloudie Flixe.<sup>1</sup> The ninth day died George Flowre of the swelling. The tenth day died William Bruster Gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day.

The fourteenth day, Jerome Alikock, Ancient, died of a wound, the same day, Francis Midwinter, Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly.

<sup>1</sup> Bloody flux or dysentery. Most of these names appear in the list of the first planters, printed in the first chapter of *The Proceedings of the English Colonie*, *post*, or in the fuller list which Smith gives on folios 43, 44, of his *Generall Historie*. These, however, read Jeremy Alicock, Edward Morish, Thomas Gore, Dru Pickhouse, Kellam Throgmorton, William Rodes and Thomas Studley.

The fifteenth day, their died Edward Browne and Stephen Galthorpe. The sixteenth day, their died Thomas Gower Gentleman. The seventeenth day, their died Thomas Mounslic. The eighteenth day, there died Robert Pennington, and John Martine Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died Drue Piggase Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold,<sup>1</sup> one of our Councell: he was honourably buried, having all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot.

After Captaine Gosnols death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine Kendall, which afterwards was committed about hainous matters which was proved against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died Edward Harington and George Walker, and were buried the same day. The six and twentieth day, died Kenelme Throgmortine. The seven and twentieth day died William Roods. The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Stoodie, Cape Merchant.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob Sergeant. The fift day, there died Benjamin Beast. Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched every three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soever came, [and] warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water, to five men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the River, which was at a floud verie

<sup>1</sup> Captain Gosnold had exerted great influence in establishing the London Company. In 1602 he had made a voyage to New England, for an account of which see Brereton's *Briefe and True Relation* in the volume of this series entitled *Early English and French Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Studley. The cape merchant was the company's general keeper of the stores.

salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five moneths in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the Savages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and out-cries of our sick men without reliefe, every night and day, for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by divers Kings in the Countrie, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort.

The eleventh day,<sup>1</sup> there was certaine Articles laid against Master Wingfield<sup>2</sup> which was then President; thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captaine John Ratcliffe was chosen President.

The eighteenth day, died one Ellis Kinistone,<sup>3</sup> which was starved to death with cold. The same day at night, died one Richard Simmons. The nineteenth day, there died one Thomas Mouton.

<sup>1</sup> Of September, 1607.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Maria Wingfield was born about 1560 and was a brave soldier, who served in Ireland and then in the Netherlands. He was elected May 14, 1607, first president of the first council in the first English colony in America. Suspected of being a Catholic, he lost his influence among the settlers and was deposed. See his *Discourse of Virginia*, mentioned in the introduction to this section.

<sup>3</sup> Smith gives this name as Kingston.

William White (having lived with the Natives) reported to us of their customes. In the morning by breake of day, before they eate or drinke, both men, women, and children, that be above tenne yeares of age, runnes into the water, there washes themselves a good while till the Sunne riseth, then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God. Likewise they doe at the setting of the Sunne.