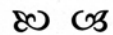


AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION



A Map of Virginia: With a
Description of the Countrey,
the Commodities, People,
Government and Religion

by John Smith

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A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the
Country, the Commodities, People,
Government and Religion

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INTRODUCTION

THE first part of this work is evidently an expanded and revised text of that "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the countries and Nations that inhabit them," which President John Smith sent home about November, 1608, to the council in London, as the result of his explorations in Chesapeake Bay in the previous summer. Smith doubtless furnished the manuscript to Dr. William Simmonds, who revised it, and it was published at the expense of T. Abbay, who went with Smith to Virginia. It is a remarkably faithful account of the topography of Virginia, and of the Indian inhabitants. The second part was the result of the combined pens of at least six gentlemen and soldiers, who were friends of Smith. It was compiled and added to by Richard Pots, one of the expedition, tested and revised by William Simmonds, D. D., and published by T. Abbay. Whenever prejudice has no occasion to exist, the narrative may be accepted as correct and faithful; but the acts and motives of Wingfield, Archer, and the leading men not of Smith's party, receive but scant justice or consideration. Men were good haters in Smith's day, and there was no such thing as moderation of expression when an enemy was aimed at.

This work was printed at Oxford, in 1612, and it is sometimes called the Oxford tract, but it is rather a book than a tract. In 1625 an abridgment of the first part was published in Samuel Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. II. In 1884 it was included by Edward Arber in his collection of John Smith's *Works*.

L. G. T.

A MAP OF VIRGINIA:

With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey.

Whereunto is annexed the proceedings of those Colonies, since their first departure from England, with the discourses, Orations, and relations of the Salvages, and the accidents that befell them in all their Journies and discoveries. Taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of

*Doctor Russell,
Tho. Studley,
Anas Todkill,
Jeffra Abot,*

*Richard Wiefn,
Will. Phettiplace,
Nathaniel Powell,
Richard Pots,*

And the relations of divers other diligent observers there present then, and now many of them in England. By W. S.

At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.¹

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE S^r. EDWARD SEMER
KNIGHT, BARON BEAUCHAMP, AND EARLE OF
HARTFORD,

LIEUTENANT TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE, IN THE COUNTIES
OF SOMERSET AND WILTSHIRE, MY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD
AND MAISTER.²

My Honourable Lord:

If Vertue be the soule of true Nobilitie as wise men say, then
blessed is your Lordship, that is every way noble, as well in vertue,

¹ This italic heading is copied from the title-page of the original. The map implied in the title and published in the pamphlet is reproduced in this volume; see the general editor's prefatory note. "W. S." is Dr. William Simmonds.

² This dedication, for a copy of which we are indebted to Mr. Victor H. Paltsits of the Lenox Library, apparently occurs only in a copy of Smith's *Map of Virginia* possessed by that library, a copy bound in vellum, with the arms of Lord Hertford on both sides, in gold. The dedication has never before been reprinted. Its inconsistency with the language of that which follows, "To the Hand," found in most copies, is obvious.

as birth, and riches. Though riches now, be the chiefest greatnes of the great: when great and little are born, and dye, there is no difference: Virtue onely makes men more then men: Vice, worse then brutes. And those are distinguished by deedes, not words; though both be good, deedes are best, and of all evils, ingratitude the worst. Therefore I beseech you, that not to seeme ungratefull, I may present your Honour with this rude discourse, of a new old subject. It is the best gift I can give to the best friend I have. It is the best service I ever did to serve so good a worke: Wherin having beene discouraged for doing any more, I have writ this little: yet my hands hath been my lands this fifteene yeares in Europ, Asia, Afric, or America.

In the harbour of your Lo:¹ favour, I hope I ever shall rest secure, notwithstanding all weathers; lamenting others, that they fall into such miseries, as I foreseeing have foretold, but could not prevent. No more: but dedicating my best abilities to the honour and service of your renowned Vertues, I ever rest

Your Lordships true and faithfull Servant,

JOHN SMITH.

TO THE HAND

LEAST I should wrong any in dedicating this Booke to one: I have concluded it shal be particular to none. I found it only dedicated to a Hand, and to that hand I addresse it. Now for that this businesse is common to the world, this booke may best satisfie the world, because it was penned in the Land it treateth of. If it bee disliked of men, then I would recommend it to women, for being dearely bought, and farre sought, it should be good for Ladies. When all men rejected Christopher Collumbus, that ever renowned Queene Izabell of Spaine, could pawne her Jewels to supply his wants; whom all the wise men (as they thought themselves) of that age contemned. I need not say what was his worthinesse, her noblenesse, and their ignorance, that so scornefully did spit at his wants, seeing

¹ Lordship's.

the whole world is enriched with his golden fortunes. Cannot this successfull example move the incredulous of this time to consider, to conceive, and apprehend Virginia, which might be, or breed us a second India? hath not England an Izabell, as well as Spaine, nor yet a Collumbus as well as Genua? yes surely it hath, whose desires are no lesse then was worthy Collumbus, their certainties more, their experiences no way wanting, only there wants but an Izabell, so it were not from Spaine.

T. A.

Because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their language, I have inserted these few words.

<i>Ka ka torawincs yowo.</i>	What	<i>Pawpecones.</i>	Pipes.
call you this.		<i>Mattassin.</i>	Copper.
<i>Nemarough.</i>	a man.	<i>Ussawassin.</i>	Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white metal.
<i>Crenepo.</i>	a woman.	<i>Musses.</i>	Woods.
<i>Marowanchesso.</i>	a boy.	<i>Attasskuss.</i>	Leaves, weeds, or grasse.
<i>Yehawkans.</i>	Houses.	<i>Chepsin.</i>	Land.
<i>Matchcores.</i> ¹	Skins, or garments.	<i>Shacquohocan.</i>	A stone.
<i>Mockasins.</i>	Shooes.	<i>Wepenter.</i>	a cookold.
<i>Tussan.</i>	Beds.	<i>Suckahanna.</i>	Water.
<i>Pokatawer.</i>	Fire.	<i>Noughmass.</i>	Fish.
<i>Attawp.</i>	A bowe.	<i>Copotone.</i>	Sturgion.
<i>Attonce.</i>	Arrowes.	<i>Weghshaughes.</i>	Flesh.
<i>Monacookes.</i>	Swords.	<i>Sawwehone.</i>	Bloud.
<i>Aumoughhowgh.</i>	A Target.	<i>Netoppew.</i>	Friends.
<i>Pawcussacks.</i>	Gunnes.	<i>Marrapough.</i>	Enimies.
<i>Tomahacks.</i>	Axes.	<i>Maskapow.</i>	The worst of the enimies.
<i>Tockahacks.</i>	Pickaxes.		
<i>Pamesacks.</i>	Knives.		
<i>Accowprets.</i>	Sheares.		

¹This word, by *Volksetymologie*, the white men made into "match-coats."

Mawchick chammay. The best of friends.

Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan uttasantasough.

In how many daies will there come hether any more
English ships?

Their numbers.

Necut. 1.

Comotinch. 6.

Ningh. 2.

Toppawoss. 7.

Nuss. 3.

Nusswash. 8.

Yowgh. 4.

Kekatawgh. 9.

Paranske. 5.

Kaskeke. [10.]

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.

Case, how many.

Keskowghes. Sunnes.

Ninghsapooeksku. 20.

Toppquough. Nights.

Nussapooeksku. 30.

Nepawweshowghs. Moones.

Yowghapooeksku. 40.

Pawpaxsoughes. Yeares.

Parankestassapooeksku. 50.

Pummahumps. Starres.

Comatinchtassapooeksku. 60.

Osies. Heavens.

Toppawousstassapooeksku. 70.

Okes. Gods.

Nusswashtassapooeksku. 80.

Quiyoughcosucks. Pettie Gods,
and their affinities.

Kekataughtassapooeksku. 90.

Righcomoughes. Deaths.

Necuttoughtysinough. 100.

Kekughes. Lives.

Necuttweunquaough. 1000.

Rawcosowghs. Daies.

Mowchick voyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher. I am verie
hungrie? what shall I eate?

Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan. where dwels Powwhatan.

Mache, nehiegh yourough, orapaks. Now he dwels a great way
hence at orapaks.

Uttapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper werowacomoco. You lie,
he staide ever at werowocomoco.

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

Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekaten wawgh

peyaquaugh. Run you then to the king mawmarynough and bid him come hither.

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

Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh. Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I wil give her white beads to make her a chaine.

THE DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA BY CAPTAINE SMITH

VIRGINIA is a Country in America, that lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44¹ 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 wee purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606.² And this is under the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this countrie doth agree well with English constitutions being once seasoned ³ 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 continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to have made them sicke, but even to end their daies, etc.

The sommer is hot as in Spaine; the winter colde as in Fraunce or England. The heat of sommer is in June, Julie, and

¹ In the charter granted April 10, 1606, Virginia is defined to be the country between 34 and 45 degrees north latitude.

² The ships left London, December 20, 1606.

³ "Seasoned" was a term current in Virginia for one hundred years later. All who came soon fell sick of the malaria of the rivers and creeks, and such as survived were called "seasoned" inhabitants. The mortality of these early days fell especially upon the servants exposed in the tobacco fields, of whom four out of five perished during the first year after their arrival, and this continued to be the case down to Sir William Berkeley's day. The opening of the fields, and the use of Peruvian bark, introduced much healthier conditions.

August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie 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 founde as extreame in Virginia. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. daies of ill weather, other 14 daies would be as Sommer.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the aire, I have seldome either seene or heard in Europe. From the Southwest came the greatest gustes with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the Northe is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-East as from the Barmadas, fogs and raines.

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

There is but one entraunce by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the South side is called Cape Henry¹ in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there, is a white hilly sand like unto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

The north Cape is called Cape Charles in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke.² Within is a country that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, for large and pleasant navigable rivers: heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines,

¹ Henry, eldest son of James I., was born in 1594. He was a promising and amiable youth, but died in 1612 in the eighteenth year of his age.

² Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles I.

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 and small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South in which the water floweth neare 200 miles and hath a channell for 140 miles, of depth betwixt 7 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 miles. From the head of the Bay at the north, the land is mountanous, and so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther off[f] from the Bay are those mounetaines. 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 miles one of an other.

The mountaines are of diverse natures, for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like miln-stones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces of christall we found as throwne downe by water from the mountaines. For in winter these mountaines are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow valleyes which yet is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistening tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, 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.¹ The vesture of the earth in most places doeth manifestly prove the nature of the soile to be lusty and very rich. The coulour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac*, *terra sigillata ad lemnia*, Fullers earth, marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the earth is a black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best

¹ The "glistening tinctures" were, however, only particles of mica.

ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees or abundance of weedes, &c.

The country is not mountanous nor yet low but such pleasant plaine hils and fertle valleyes, one prettily crossing an other, and watered so conveniently with their sweete brookes and christall springs, as if art it selfe had devised them. By the rivers are many plaine marishes containing some 20, some 100, some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are fewe, but only where the Savages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weedes being a plaine wildernes as God first made it.

On the west side of the Bay, wee said were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers, of which wee will nowe proceed to report. The first of those rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay, hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this river they call Powhatan accor[ding] to the name of a principall country that lieth upon it. The mouth of this river is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neere the land that a Sacre¹ will overshoot it at point blanck. This river is navigable 100 miles, the shoules and soundings are here needlesse to bee expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a country inhabited by a nation that they call Monacan. But where it commeth into our discoverie it is Powhatan. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, showles, &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 doe the vaines of a mans body. From the South there fals into this river, First the pleasant river of Apamatuck: next more to the East are the two rivers of Quiyoughcohanocke.² A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of Warraskoyac;

¹ A sacre, more often saker, was a small piece of artillery.

² Upper and Lower Chippokes Creeks in Prince George and Surry counties.

then the river of Nandsamund, and lastly the brooke of Chisa-peack.¹ From the North side is the river of Chickahamania, the backe river² of James Towne; another by the Cedar Isle where we lived 10 weekes upon oisters, then a convenient harbour for fisher boats or smal boats at Kecoughtan, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creeks that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their corne-fields 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 in every of those places 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: upon which side are also many places under the Werowances.

The first and next the rivers mouth, are the Kecoughtans, who besides their women and children, have not past 20. fighting men. The Paspaheghes, on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the Bay, have not passed 40. The river called Chickahamania neere 200. The Weanocks 100. The Arrowhatocks 30. The place called Powhatan, some 40. On the South side this river, the Appamatucks have 60 fighting men. The Quiyougeohanocks, 25. The Warraskoyacks 40. The Nandsamunds 200. The Chesapeacks are able to make 100. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call Werowance, except the Chickhamanians, who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called Caw-cawwassoughes.³ In somer no place affordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in winter more abundance of

¹ Elizabeth River, on which Norfolk and Portsmouth are now situated.

² Powhatan Creek came out of the woods at the head of Jamestown Peninsula, where, hindered from entering the main river by the neck of land connecting the peninsula with the mainland, it made a detour on the north of the island till it flowed into the river at the east end. That part of the creek bounding the island was called the "Back River."

³ *Kakärusu*, "he speaks repeatedly." The white men often transmuted the word into *cockarouse*.

fowle, especially in the time of frost. There was once taken 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of 2 foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of 2 or three yards long and fewe others. And in 4 or 5 houres with one nette were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Fourteene miles Northward from the river Powhatan, is the river Pamaunke, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with Catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches.¹ 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 Pamaunke, and nourisheth neere 300 able men. About 25 miles² lower on the North side of this river is Werawocomoco, where their great King inhabited when Captain Smith was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liveth at Orapakes³ by Youghtanund in the wilderness. 10 or 12 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 inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

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: the river is called Payankatanke, the Inhabitants are about some 40 serviceable men.

¹ Youghtamund (now called Pamunkey) and Mattapanient (Mattapony).

² This is a mistake. Werowocomoco was about fourteen miles from West Point. In the *True Relation*, Smith represents the distance from the parting of the river at West Point as twenty miles.

³ Orapakes is believed to have been situated in White Oak Swamp. The word was a combination of *oro*, "solitary," and *paks* (*peaks*), "a little water place."

The third navigable river is called Toppahanock.¹ (This is navigable some 130 myles.) At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoackes amongst the mountaines, but they are above the place we describe.

Upon this river on the North side are seated a people called Cuttatawomen, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the river are the Moraughtacunds, with 80 able men. Beyond them Toppahanock with 100 men. Far above is another Cuttatawomen with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is Nautaugtacund having 150 men. This river also, as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

The fourth river is called Patawomeke and is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. It is navigable 140 miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. This river is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco and hath some 130 men: beyond them Sekacawone² with 30. The Onawmanient with 100. Then Patawomeke with 160 able men. Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient rivers; The greatest of the least is called Quiyough³ [and] treadeth⁴ north west, but the river it selfe turneth North east and is stil a navigable streame. On the westerne side of this bought is Tauxenent with 40 men. On the north of this river is Secowocomoco with 40 men. Some what further Potapaco with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river is Pamacacack with 60 men. After, Moyowances with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80 able men. The river 10 miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant vally

¹ Rappahannock.

² Otherwise Chicacoan. A river in Northumberland County is still known as Coan.

³ Quia or Aquia Creek. As the charter for Maryland, in 1632, declared that the southern boundary of Maryland should begin at the westernmost fountain of the Potomac River, Lord Baltimore first claimed this creek as his southern boundary, believing it to go farther westward, — a claim which, if acquiesced in, would have much curtailed the limits of Maryland.

⁴ Trendeth.

overshaddowed in manie places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

The fifth river is called Pawtuxunt, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 or 18 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kinds of fish more than elsewhere. Upon this river dwell the people called Acquintanacksuak, Pawtuxunt and Mattapanient. 200 men was the greatest strength that could bee there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of al other were found the most civill to give intertainement.

Thirty leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red earth or clay resembling bole Armoniaek, the English called it Bolus.¹ At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines.² There is one that commeth du north, 3 or 4. daies journey from the head of the Bay, and fals from rocks and mountaines. Upon this river inhabit a people called Sasqucsahanock. They are seated 2 daies higher then was passage for the discoverers Barge, which was hardly 2 toons, and had in it but 12 men to perform this discovery, wherein they lay above the space of 12 weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale or oatmeale and water to feed them; and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the Savages and by the plentie of fish they found in all places, they made themselves provision as opportunitie served; yet had they not a marriner or any that had skill to trim their sayles, use their oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but 2 or 3. The rest being Gentlemen or as ignorant in such toyle and labour: yet necessitie in a short time, by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leave to the censure of the Reader to judge by this discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, 60 of those Sasqucsahanocks came to the discoverers with skins, Bowes, Arrowes,

¹ Now Gunpowder River.

² Hills, rather.

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 the discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well besee me their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voice in a vault, or cave, as an Eccho. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares and Woolves, some have Cassacks made of Beares heades and skinnes that a mans necke goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the nose hung a Beares Pawe: the halfe sleeves coming 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 3 quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a Bird, a Beare, a Deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out the braines of a man: with bowes, and arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neere 600 able and mighty men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes¹ their mortall enimies. 5 of their chiefe Werowances came aboard the discoverers, and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was 3 quarters of a yard about: and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man that ever we beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five quarters² long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a woolves skinne at his backe for his quiver,

¹ The Five Nations.

² After "quarters" supply "of a yard."

his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

On the East side the Bay is the river of Tockwhogh,¹ and upon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some 7 miles within the river: where they have a Fort very wel pallisadoed and mantelled with the barke of trees. Next to them is Ozinies with 60 men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river of Rapahanock; neere unto which is the river of Kuskarawaock, upon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that is the river of Tants Wighcocomoco, and on it a people with 100 men. The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river of Acohanock with 40 men, and 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.

Southward they went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags, to search² them there left by Sir Walter Raleigh; for those parts to the Towne of Chisapeack, hath formerly been discovered by Mr Heriots and Sir Raph Layne.

Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ Powhatans Territories. The Chawonokes, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Masawomekes, the Powhatans, the Sasquesahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuscarawaokes. Al those not any one understandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bays, 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.

¹ The village marked the extreme northern extension of Powhatan's power.

² "Search for."

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

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegitables and living Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none but what groweth in lowe Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rancknesse 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 and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long. Of this wood there is 2 or 3 severall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, is somewhat sweetish; which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last afford a sweete oyle, which they keep in goards to annoint their heads and joints. The fruit they eate, made in bread or otherwise. There is also some Elme, some black 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 neere 3 fadome about at the root, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a braunch. By the dwelling of the Savages are some great Mulbery 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 worke-man fell sicke: during which time, they were eaten with rats.

In some parts, were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy, to their tasts that had tasted them all. Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plumbs:

but the other, which they call *Putchamins*,¹ 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 drawe a mans mouth awrie with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

They have Cherries, and those are much like a Damsen; but for their tastes and colour, we called them Cherries. We see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Of vines, great abundance in many parts, that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the rivers and Savage habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge grapes, wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neare as good as your French Brittish 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 *Messaminnes*; they bee fatte, and the juyce thicke: neither doth the tast 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*,² which they esteeme a great daintie. They have a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call *Rawcomenes*, 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, and *Chechinquamens* are dried to keepe. When they need them, they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the walnut 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 cal *Pawcohiscora*, and keepe it for their use. The fruit like medlers, they call *Putchamins*, they cast uppon hurdles on a mat, and

¹ Persimmons.

² Chinquapins.

preserve them as Pruines. Of their Chesnuts and *Chechin-quamens* boyled 4 houres, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white populer, and another tree like unto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere 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 extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

In the watry valleyes groweth a berry, which they call *Ocoughtanamnis*, very much like unto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them, they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. *Mattoume* groweth as our bents do in meddows. The seede is not much unlike to rie, though much smaller. This they use for a dainty bread buttered with deare suet.

During Somer there are either strawberries which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripen in May and June, Raspises, hurtes, or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholesome fruit much like a lemond. Many hearbes in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslin, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we used whose names we know not.

The chiefe roote they have for foode is called *Tockawhoughe*.¹ It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a Savage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnes 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 poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and

¹ Tuckahoe. This name was also given to a kind of fungus found at the roots of certain trees.

torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they use this ordinarily for bread.

They have an other roote which they call *wighsacan*: as thother 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 roote that groweth in the mountaines, which being dried and beate in powder turneth red: and this they use for swellings, aches, annointing their joints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very pretious and of much worth. *Musquaspenn*¹ 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.

There is also Pellitory of Spaine, Sasafrage,² and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable.

In the low Marshes, growe 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 Thumb.

Of beastes the chief are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, ther are many, but amongst the rivers few. There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*,³ much like a badger, but useth to live on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels some are neare as greate as our smallest sort of wilde rabbits; some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

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 bin seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opassom* hath an head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignes of a Cat. Under her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Mussascus*⁴ 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.

¹ Bloodroot.² Sassafras.³ Raccoon.⁴ Muskrat.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short. His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire; which to eate, the Savages esteeme a great delicate. They have many Otters, which, as the Beavers, they take with snares, and esteeme the skinnes great ornaments; and of all those beasts they use to feede, when they catch them.

There is also a beast they call *Vetchunquoyes* in the forme of 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 Wolves, and cannot barke but howle; and their wolves not much bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, Powlecats, weessels and Minkes we know they have, because we have seen 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 do any hurt: nor their flyes nor serpents anie waie pernicious; where¹ in the South parts of America, they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Of birds, the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of diverse sorts as our Falconers called them, Sparrowhawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons and Osperayes; but they all pray most upon fish. Pattridges there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are woosels or blackbirds with red shoulders, thrushes, and diverse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a wrenne, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of Swans, Craynes 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.

¹ Whereas.

Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies whose tailes are very dangerous, Brettes, mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of 3 sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a smal one so like the picture of S. George his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings: and the Todefish which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth little can be saide for certainty. There wanted good Refiners: for these that tooke upon them to have skill this way, tooke up the washings from the mounetaines and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought down; flattering themselves in their own vaine conceits to have been supposed that they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proved as their arts and judgements expected. Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford mines very rich of diverse 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 spare.

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

They divide the yeare into 5. 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 and sacrifice. Then have they plenty of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wild beastes exceeding fat.

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 roote, then do they scorch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood, they

beat up the woodes by the rootes; and in that¹ moulds, they plant their corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheat and 2 of beanes. These holes they make 4 foote one from another. Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne midle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

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 3, seldome any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being green hath a sweet juice in it, somewhat like a suger Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as wee gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they cal *Assentamens*, which are the same they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a mortar with a Polt,² lappe 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 beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat³ they first steep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a mortar. They use a small basket for their Temmes,⁴ then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receave the flower⁵ 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 bee baked, and then washing them in faire water, they

¹ Those.² Thump.³ Corn.⁴ Hulls.⁵ The meal.

drie presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*.¹ The grouts and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind away the branne, they boile 3 or 4 houres with water; which is an ordinary food they call *Ustatahamen*. But some more thrifty 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 and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle 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, til it be as drie as their jerkin beefe in the west Indies, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat.

In May also amongst their corne, they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like unto a muske millen, but lesse and worse; which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue until 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 neere 3 parts of the yeare, they only 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.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the 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, sheep, asses, hens, &c. as

¹ A misprint or mistake for *ponak*, plural of *pon*, whence our word "pone."

appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sortes, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and rivers have much marchandable fish and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of iron, &c.

Muscovia and Polonia doe yearely receave many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glasse, and such like; also Swethland¹ 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. Holand 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, whenas within one hundred miles all those are to bee had, either ready provided by nature, or else to bee prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Only of Copper wee may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both copper and better munerals are there to be had for their labor. Other Countries have it. So then here is a place a nurse for souldiers, a practise for marriners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidels to the true knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

The land is not populous, for the men be fewe; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 miles of James Towne there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many

¹ Sweden.

together they have yet no means, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile. 6 or 700 have beene the most [that] hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselves to have surprised Captaine Smyth at Pamaunke, having but 15 to withstand the worst of their furie. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene 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 Sesquesahamocks, 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 haire is generally black; but few have any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long. For Barbers they use their women, who with 2 shels will grate away the haire, 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 everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timorous, 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 conjurors should reveale it, 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 bee suspected of dishonesty 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 some time covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, 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. We have seen some use mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threeds that nothing could bee discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwaies covered about their midles with a skin and very shamefast to be seene bare. They adorne themselves most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some have their legs, hands, brests and face cunningly imbrodered with diverse workes, as beasts, serpentes, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they have 3 great holes, whereat they hange chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a smal greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke often times familiarly would kiss his lips. Others wear a dead Rat tied by the tail. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird or some large feather, with a Rattell. Those Rattells 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 fowle, 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* braied to powder mixed with oyle; this they hold in somer 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 behould.

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 springs¹ bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde raine

¹ Sprigs.

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.

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reedes 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 thother 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 smal plots of ground, some 20,¹ some 40, some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. Some times from 2 to 100 of these 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 waie, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder.

Men women and children have their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easilie delivered of childe, yet doe they love children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the rivers, and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins, that after year or two, no weather will hurt them.

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise, which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like.

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 anie such like drie thing

¹ Twenty acres.

that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they live much upon their fishing weares, and feed on fish, Turkeys and squirrels. In May and June they plant their fieldes, and live most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In June, Julie, 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 diet; even as the deare and wild beastes, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weak. 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.

For fishing and 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 inches long. These they use to shoot at squirrels on trees. An other 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 joint a Deare or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the nock of his arrow hee hath the tooth of a Bever 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 hart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deare, and the tops of Deares hornes boiled to a jelly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water.

For their wars also they use Targets that are round and made of the barks of trees, and a sworde of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they use for swords the horne of a Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some, a long stone sharpened at both ends used in the same manner.

This they were wont to use also for hatchets, but now by trucking they have plenty of the same forme, of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing¹ and scratching away the coles with stone and shels till they have made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Insteed of oares, they use paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women use to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many uses, as about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nock their arrows, in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhook or of the splinter of a bone tied to the clift of a litle stick, and with the ende of the line, they tie on the bate. 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 weares in which they get abundance of fish.

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 travel, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deare, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Rootes, 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

¹ Burning.

there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers, the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvel they can so directly passe these deserts some 3 or 4 daies 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 excelling in those quallities, they get their wives. Forty yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the mark, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Having found the Deare, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace 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 narrowe point 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 Deare by land, they follow him like blood hounds by the blood and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Pattridges, 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 Captaine Smith in the discoverie of the head of the river of Chickahamania, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire; where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

One Savage hunting alone, useth the skinne of a Deare 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, eies, eares, and every part as arteficially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne, by stalking he approacheth the Deare, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deare chance to find fault, or stande at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deare, also gazing and licking

himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, hee chaseth him by his blood and straine till he get him.

When they intend any warres, the Werowances usually have the advice of their Priests and Conjurors, and their Allies and ancient friends, but chiefly the Priestes 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 enimies, 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 Russawmeake, unto whome the Mouhemenchughes, the Massinnacacks, the Monahassanuggs, and other nations, pay tributs. Upon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributors the Tauxsnitanias, the Shackaconias, the Outponcas, the Tegoneaes, the Whonkentyaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinnungas, and diverse others, all confederats with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wild beasts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke, the Savages report, inhabit their most mortall enimies, the Massawomekes upon a great salt water, which by all likelyhood is either some part of Commada,¹ 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 Captaine Smith and his company, to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose, they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subjection. To which he concluded to effect. But the counsell then present, emulating

¹ Canada.

his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him 40 men to be hazarded 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 Massawomeks the discoverers encountred at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, 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 enimies the Powhatans are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, 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 shewd it us, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient.

Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselves into two Companies, neare a 100 in a company. The one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Either army had their Captaine. These as enimies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 abreast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles, so as 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 2 daies after, should live, but their wives and children should be prize for the Conquerers. The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders. On each flanke a Sarjeant, and in the Reare an office for leutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they use only in warres. Upon the first flight of arrowes, they gave such horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall helhounds could not have made them more terrible. When they had spent

their arrowes, they joined together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they caught their enimies by the haire of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enimie 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 whome they led them very cunningly. The Monacans disperse themselves among the fresh men, whereupon the Powhatans retired with al speed to their seconds; which the Monacans seeing, took that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the hight of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenes thereof made it seem very delightfull.

For their musicke they use a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder.¹ 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 Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpion shels. Of these they have Base, Tenor, Counter-tenor, Meane and Tribble.² These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright then delight any man. If any great commander arrive at the habitation of a Werowance, they spread a mat as the Turkes do a carpet, for him to sit upon. Upon an other right opposite they sit themselves. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this, doe 2. or more of their chieftest men make an oration, testifying their love. Which they do with such vehemency and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake.

¹ A musical pipe.

² Bass, tenor, high tenor, alto, and soprano.

So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry or starke 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 oile, to be his bedfellow.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beades, and such like; for which they give such commodities as they have, as skins, fowle, fish, flesh, and their country corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Every spring they make themselves sicke with drinking the juice of a root they call *wighsacan*, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent maner; so that in 3 or 4 daies after, they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with drop-sies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure wherof they build a stove in the form of a dovehouse with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the pacient sweate extreame. For swellings also they use smal peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloves, which pricking on the griefe, they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *wighsacan* they ordinarily heal greene wounds: but to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old ulcers or putrified hurtes are seldome seene cured amongst them. They have many professed Phisitions, who with their charmes and Rattels, with an infernall rowt of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inwarde griefe from their navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceived, that they beleaved any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in Virginia no place discovered to bee so Savage in which the Savages have not a religion, Deare, and Bow and Arrowes. All thinges that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance,

peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Divell. Him they call *Oke* and serve him more of feare than 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, copper, and beades, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformity 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 bee verie dry, and so about the most of their jointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they use to weare: their inwards they stuffe with copper beads and cover with a skin, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheetes. 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.

For their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corp[s]es being lapped in skins and mats with their jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions.

In every Territory of a werowance is a Temple and a Priest 2 or 3 or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamaunke, neare unto which is a house Temple or place of Powhatans.

Upon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60¹ foot in length, built arbor wise, after their building.

¹ In the *True Relation* Smith represents these houses as about 100 feet long.

This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priestes and kings dare come into them: nor the Savages dare not go up the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones, into the river, for feare their *Oke* should be offended and revenged of them.

In this place commonly is resident 7 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 was certain attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen or 16 or more snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse; and of weesels and other vermine 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 crown 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 Rattell, some base, some smaller.¹ 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.

It could not bee perceived that they keepe any day as more holy then other: but only in some great distresse, of want, feare of enimies, 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, 4 or 5 houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keepe time. And after their songs and dauncings ended, they goe to their Feasts.

¹ Lighter in sound.

They have also divers conjurations. One they made when Captaine Smith was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his countrymen would arive there, and what he there intended. The manner of it was thus. First they made a faire fire in a house. About this fire set 7 Priests setting him by them, and about the fire, they made a circle of meale. That done, the chiefe Priest attired as is expressed, began to shake his rattle, and the rest followed him in his song. At the end of the song, he laid downe 5 or 3 graines of wheat, and so continued counting his songs by the graines, till 3 times they incirculed the fire. Then they divide the graines by certaine numbers with little stickes, laying downe at the ende of every song a little sticke. In this manner, they sat 8, 10, or 12 houres without cease, with such strange stretching of their armes, and violent passions and gestures as might well seeme strange to him they so conjured, who but every houre expected his end. Not any meat they did eat till, late in the evening, they had finished this worke: and then they feasted him and themselves with much mirth. But 3 or 4 daies they continued this ceremony.

They have also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*: but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, other in the woodes and wildernesses. Upon these, they offer blood, deare suet, and Tobacco. These 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 outeries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, and such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whome 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 known to use.

In some part of the Country, they have yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at Quiyoughcohanock, some 10 miles from James Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of

the properest young boyes, betweene 10 and 15 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, all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This¹ made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed 5 young men to fetch these children. So every one of the five went through the guard, to fetch a child, each after other by turnes: the guard fearelessly beating them with their Bastinados, and they patiently enduring and receaving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmercifull blowes they pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while, the women weepe and crie out very passionately, providing mats, skinnes, mosse, and drie wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the tree, branches and boughs, with such violence, that they rent the body, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with the leaves. What else 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 al the company. The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not al dead, but that the *Oke* or Divell did sucke the blood from their left breast,² who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead. But the rest were kept in the wilderness by the yong men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any: and of these, were made their Priests and Conjurers. This sacrifice they held to bee so necessarie, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or Divel and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* (which are their other Gods) would let them have no Deare, Turkies, Corne nor fish: and yet besides, hee would make great slaughter amongst them.

They thinke that their Werowances and Priestes, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead,

¹ These.

² *I.e.*, from the left breast of those.

doe goe beyound the mountaines towardes the setting of the sun, and ever remaine there in forme of their Oke, with their heads painted with oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shal have beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing with all their Predecessors. But the common people, they suppose shall not live after death.

To divert them from this blind idolatrie, many used their best indeavours, chiefly with the Werowances of Quiyoughcohanock, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition much exceeded any in those Countries: who though we could not as yet prevaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleve, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrows, and many times did send to the President, at James towne, men with presents, intreating them to pray to his God for raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Divell, not knowing their Creator.

*Of the manner of the Virginians government.*¹

Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet have they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for du subjection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall government. One as Emperour ruleth over many kings or governours. Their chiefe ruler is called Powhatan, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called Powhatan. But his proper name is Wahunsonacock. Some countries he hath, which have been his ancestors, and came unto him by inheritance, as the countrie called Powhatan, Arrohatock, Appamatuke, Pamaunke, Youghtanud, and Mattapanient. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report

¹ See James Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present," in the *American Anthropologist*, n. s., IX. 129-152.

have beene his severall conquests. In all his ancient inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30, some 40 yardes long, and at every house, provision for his entertainment, according to the time. At Werowcomoco, he was seated upon the North side of the river Pamunke, some 14 miles from James Towne, where for the most part, hee was resident, but he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that were able to visit him against his will in 6 or 7 houres, that he retired himself ¹ to a place in the deserts at the top of the river Chickahamania betweene Yough-tanundand Powhatan. His habitation there is called Orapacks, where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne that it seemeth none at al. His age neare 60; of a very able and hardybody to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night upon the 4 quarters of his house are 4 Sentinels, each standing from other a flight shoot: and at every halfe houre, one from the Corps du guard doth hollowe, unto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand. If any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A mile from Orapakes in a thicket of wood, hee hath a house, in which he keepeth his kind of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beades, which he storeth up against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bowes and arrowes. This house is 50 or 60 yards in length, frequented only by Priestes. At the 4 corners of this house stand 4 Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the 3 like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made evill favordly, according to their best workmanship.

He hath as many women as he will: whereof when hee 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

¹ In January, 1609.

another on his left. As he is wearie of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When he dineth or supbeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wo[o]den platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them instead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe. His kingdome descendeth 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 and female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

He nor any of his people understand any letters wherby to write or read, only the lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth, his will is a law and must bee obeyed: not only as a king, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour kings whom they cal werowances are tyed to rule by customes, and have power of life and death as their command in that nature. But this word Werowance which we call and conster ¹ for a king, is a common worde whereby they call all commanders: for they have but fewe words in their language and but few occasions to use anie officers more then one commander, which commonly they call werowances. They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowances Powhatan, unto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, 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 obay this Powhatan. For at his feet, they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many

¹ Construe, translate.

fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles 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 beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefactor, he causeth him to be tied to a tree, and, with muscle shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth of[f] his joints one after another, ever casting what they cut of[f] into the fire; then doth he proceed 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. Wee have seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men have beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a s[w]ound, and yet never cry nor complained.

In the yeare 1608, hee surprised the people of Payankatank, his neare neighbours and subjects. The occasion was to us unknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent diverse of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambuscadoes invironed al their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoile; 24 men they slewe, the long haire of the one side of their heades 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 present to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinnnes he hanged on a line unto two trees. And thus he made ostentation as of a great triumph at Werowocomoco, shewing them to the English men that then came unto him, at his appointment: they expecting provision; he, to betray them, supposed to halfe conquer them, by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthie 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 find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce ever 10 miles from James Town, 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 knowe 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 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 plenty of gold and silver and dissolute liberty as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their owne actions there according.¹

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to pass to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselves, though they had neither time nor meanes to knowe much of themselves; yet al mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more then al 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 mony, tinne [time], and meanes have still miscaried: yet they ever return-

¹ Smith attributes the calamities of the colony to his enemies, but other causes purposely underestimated had more to do with the matter, — imported diseases, a climate singularly fatal to newcomers, the faction-breeding charter, Indian attack, and the unreasonable desire of the company in London for immediate profit. No better proof of the patriotism of the colonists could be afforded than the death-rate.

ing, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, stil to maintain their vaine glory and estimation, from time to time they have used such diligence as made them passe for truthes, 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 meerely projecting verbal¹ and idle contemplatours, 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 wittie 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 spring in Virginia, and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to us in Virginia, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of 30 of the best only, preserved in Christianitie, by their industrie, the idle livers of neare 200 of the rest: who lived neer 10 months of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded. Notwithstanding all this, and the worst furie of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but 7 or 8 men: yet subjected the Savages to our desired obedience, and receaved contribution from 35 of their kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithful, and as subjects to his Majestie, so long after as I did govern there, untill I left the Country: Since, how they have revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from Virginia, that have bin more diligent in such observations.

¹ Speculating and theoretical.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN VIRGINIA

*Since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our
Lord 1606, till this present 1612, with all their accidents that
befell them in their Journies and Discoveries.*

*Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations of the
Bordering neighbours, and how they became subject to the
English.*

*Unfolding even the fundamentall causes from whence have
sprang so many miseries to the undertakers, and scandals
to the businesse: taken faithfully as they were written out
of the writings of Thomas Studley the first provant maister,
Anas Todkill, Walter Russell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell
Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas
Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich: Pots and the labours of divers
other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia.
And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in
England that were actors in this busines. By W. S.*

At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.¹

TO THE READER

LONG hath the world longed, but to be truely satisfied what
Virginia is, with the truth of those proceedings, from whence
hath flowne so manie reports of worth, and yet few good effects
of the charge, which hath caused suspition in many well willers
that desire yet but to be truely satisfied therein. If any can

¹ This italic heading is taken from the title-page of the original.
Part II. has a separate title-page and pagination, but was issued with the
Map and Description. As to "W. S.," see p. 76, note 1.

resolve this doubt it is those that have lived residents in the land: not salers, or passengers, nor such mercenary contemplators, that only bedeck themselves with others plumes. This discourse is not from such, neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to peruse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale; nor in conscience, but approve. By the advise of many grave and understanding gentlemen, that have pressed it to the presse, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in it[s] owne rude phrase then other waies. For that nothing can so purge that famous action from the infamous scandal some ignorantly have conceited, as the plaine simple and naked truth. For defect whereof the businesse is still suspected, the truth unknowne, and the best deservers discouraged, and neglected, some by false reports, others by conjecture, and such power hath flattery to ingender of those, hatred and affection, that one is sufficient to beguile more then 500 can keepe from being deceived.

But this discourse is no Judge of mens manners, nor catalogue of their former courses; only a reporter of their actions in Virginia, not to disgrace any, accuse any, excuse any, nor flatter any; for which cause there is no wrong done but this, shortnesse in complaining, and so sparing in commending as only the reader may perceive the truth for his paines, and the action purged of foule slander; it can detract from none that intendeth there to adventure their fortunes; and to speake truly of the first planters, that brake the yce and beate the path, howsoever many difficulties obscured their indevours, he were worse then the worst of Ingrates, that would not spare [their] memory that have buried themselves in those forrain regions. From whose first adventures may spring more good blessings then are yet conceived. So I rest thine, that will read, peruse, and understand me. If you finde false orthography or broken

English, they are small faultes in souldiers, that not being able to write learnedly, onlie strive to speake truely, and be understood without an Interpreter.

T. ABBAY.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN VIRGINIA

taken faithfully out of the writings of Thomas Studly, Capemarchant, Anas Todkill, Doctor Russell, Nathaniell Powell, William Phetiplace, and Richard Pot[s], with the laboures of other discreet observers, during their residences.

CHAPTER I

It might wel be thought, a countrie so faire (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable,¹ would long ere this have bene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memorie of those that affected it. But because all the world doe see a defeailement; this following Treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the businesse hath bene carried, where no doubt they will easily understand and answer to their question, howe it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, the first mover of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Mr Edward-maria Wingfield, Captaine John Smith, and diverse others, who depended a yeare upon his projects, but 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 patent, gave commission for establishing Councils, to direct

¹ When Smith represents the Indians of Virginia as "tractable," he subjects his opinion to question.

here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that time, three ships ¹ were provided, one of 100 Tonns, 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 governement were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne untill they arived in Virginia.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set saile, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time, Mr Hunt our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormie 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 with 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.

Wee watred at the Canaries, wee traded with the Salvages at Dominica; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selvs amongst these west-India Iles; in Gwardalupa we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Ile called Monica, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of birds in 3 or 4 houres. In Mevis,² Mona, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a Crocadil, called a Gwayn,³ Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the company was not a little

¹ The *Sarah Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery*.

² Nevis.

³ An iguana, a kind of large lizard.

discomforted, seeing the Marriners had three daies passed their reckoning, and found no land, so that Captaine Ratcliffe (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 extream storme to hul 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 anchoring, Mr Wingfield, Gosnoll, and Newport, with 30 others, recreating themselves on shore, were assalted by 5 Salvages, who hurt 2 of the English very dangerously. That night ¹ was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to bee the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jurie, but determined by the major part of the Councell in which the Precedent ² had 2 voices. Untill the 13 of May, they sought a place to plant in, then the Councell was sworne, M. Wingfield was chosen President, and an oration made, whie Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councell as the rest.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited us kindly. The Precidents 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, with Smith, and 20 others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers smal habitations they passed, in 6 daies they arrived at a towne called Powhatan, consisting of some 12 houses pleasantly seated on a hill; before it, 3 fertil Iles,

¹ April 26, 1607.

² President.

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 mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a smal boate: this they call the Falles. The people in al parts kindly intreated them, til being returned within 20 miles 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 arived 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 been slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in drie fats.

Hereupon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the ordinance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults and Ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toile wee had, with so smal a power to guard our workmen adaies, watch al night, resist our enimies 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 being spent in this manner, Captaine Newport (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships. Now Captaine Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries, was restrained¹ as a prisoner, upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute), who fained he intended to usurpe the government, murder the Councell, and make himselfe king, 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

¹ Smith was under arrest from about March 24, 1607, when they reached Dominica, to June 20, when he was admitted to the council.

was committed. 13 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 receave a check, rather then by particulating his designes, make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrowe his reputation. But he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the uttermost of their crueltie. Hee wisely prevented their pollicies, though he could not suppress their envies; yet so wel he demeaned himselfe in this busines, as all the company did see his innocencie, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation. Many untruthes were alleaged against him, but being so apparently disproved begat a generall hatred in the harts of the company against such unjust commanders. Many were the mischiefes that daily sprong 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 receaved the Communion: the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in Virginia, 100. the 15 of June 1607.¹

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

Mr Edward Maria Wingfield.		Mr Robert Hunt Preacher.	
Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll.		Mr George Percie.	
Cap. John Smyth.	Coun- cell.	Anthony Gosnoll.	
Cap. John Rat[c]liffe.		Cap. Gabriell Archer.	} Gent.
Cap. John Martin.		Robert Ford.	
Cap. George Kendall.		William Bruster.	
		Dru Pickhouse.	
		John Brookes.	

¹ Smith here missed the time by a week. Newport left Virginia June 22, 1607.

Thomas Sands.	Gent.	James Read, Blacksmith	Labourers.
John Robinson.		Jonas Profit, Sailor	
Ustis Clovill.		Tho. Couper, Barber.	
Kellam Throgmorton.		John Herd, Bricklayer.	
Nathaniel Powell.		William Garret, Bricklayer.	
Robert Behethland.		Edward Brinto, Mason.	
Jeremy Alicock.		William Love, Taylor.	
Thomas Studley.		Nic. Skot, Drum. ¹	
Richard Crofts.			
Nicholas Houlgrave.		John Laydon.	
Thomas Webbe.		William Cassen.	
John Waler.		George Cassen.	
William Tankard.		Tho. Cassen.	
Francis Snarsbrough.		William Rods.	
Edward Brookes.		William White.	
Richard Dixon.		Ould Edward.	
John Martin.		Henry Tavin.	
George Martin.		George Golding.	
Anthony Gosnold.		John Dods.	
Thomas Wotton, Sierg.		William Johnson.	
Thomas Gore.		Will. Unger.	
Francis Midwinter.			
		Will. Wilkinson, Surgeon.	
William Laxon.	Carpenters.	Samuell Collier.	Boyes.
Edward Pising.		Nat. Pecoock.	
Tho. Emry.		James Brumfield.	
Rob. Small.		Rich. Mutton.	
Anas Todkill			
John Capper			

with diverse others to the number of 105.²

¹ Drummer.

² A longer list, 82 names against 67 given here, is printed in Smith's *Generall Historie*, pp. 43, 44.

CHAPTER II

What happened till the first supply.

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortun'd that, within tenne daies, scarce ten amongst us coulde either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed us. And thereat none need mervaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this; whilst the ships staied, our allowance was somewhat bettered by a daily proportion of bisket which the sailers would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for mony, saxefras, fures, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of relife but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have bin canonized for Saints. But our President would never have bin admitted, for ingrossing to his privat¹ Otemeale, sacke, oile, aquavitæ, beefe, eggs, or what not, but the kettel; that indeede he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pinte of wheat, and as much barly, boyled with water, for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weeks in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines, so that we might truely call it rather so much bran than corne. Our drinke was water, our lodgings, castles in the aire. With this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extremity of the heate had so weakned us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native country, or any other place in the world. From May to September, those that escaped lived upon Sturgion and sea-Crabs. 50. in this time we buried. The rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnas by flight (who all this time, had neither felt want nor sicknes), so moved our

¹ *I.e.*, to his own use. This charge President Wingfield indignantly denied.

dead spirits, as we deposed him;¹ and established Ratcliffe in his place: Gosnoll being dead,² Kendall deposed, Smith newly recovered; Martin and Ratcliffe was, by his care, preserved and relieved. 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 indeavours, in that desperate extreimity, so changed the harts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councel to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainly they are too ill advised to nourish such il conceipts. First, the fault of our going was our owne. What could bee thought fitting or necessary wee had, but what wee should finde, what we should want, where we shoulde bee, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two monthes, with victuall to live, and the advantage of the spring to worke: we wcare at sea 5. monthes, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant.

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

The new President, and Martin, being little beloved, of weake judgement in dangers and lesse industry 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 alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his own share, so that, in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Salvages superfluity beginne to decrease,³ (with

¹September 10, 1607. ²August 22, 1607. ³After "decrease" supply "he."

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 sailers, the want of a sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Salvages), apparell for his men, and other necessities, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but 6 or 7 in company, he went down the river to Kecoughtan, where at first they scorned him, as a starved man, yet he so dealt with them, that the next day they loaded his boat with corne. And in his returne, he discovered and kindly traded with the Weras-koyks.¹ In the meane time, those at the fort so glutted the Salvages with their commodities, as they became not regarded.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth, the company being well recovered, caused the Pinas to bee 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 Chickahamine. Yet what he carefully provided, the rest carelesly spent. Wingfield and Kendall living in disgrace, (seeing al 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 Pinas (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade), to alter her course, and to go for England. Smith unexpectedly returning² had the plot discovered to him. Much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of fauken³ and musket shot, he forced them stay or sinke in the river. Which action cost the life of captaine Kendall.⁴ These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good judgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The

¹ Warascoyacks. ² November, 1607. ³ Falcon, a small cannon.

⁴ Who was shot to death about December 1, 1607.

President and captaine Archer not long after intended also to have abandoned the country, which project also was curbed and suppressed by Smith. The Spanyard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, which he found so plentiful in the river of Chickahamine, 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 fat as we could eat them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty¹ 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 Chickahamine river, and taxed by the Councell, to bee too slow in so worthie 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 ashore till his returne; himselfe, with 2 English and two Salvages, went up higher in a Canowe. But hee was not long absent, but his men went ashore, whose want of government gave both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages, to surprise one George Casson, and much failed not to have cut off[f] the boat and all the rest. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, 20 myles in the desert, had his 2 men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall. Who finding he was beset with 200 Salvages, 2 of them hee slew, stil defending himselfe with the aid of a Salvage his guid, whome hee bounde to his arme and used as his buckler, till at last slipping into a bogmire, they tooke him prisoner. When this newes came to the fort, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued. A month²

¹ Silken dressed.

² The exact period seems to have been from December 10 to January 2, a little more than three weeks.

those Barbarians kept him prisoner. Many strange triumphes and conjurations they made of him: yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procure his owne liberty, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him as a demi-God. So returning safe to the Fort¹ once more staid the Pinnas her flight for England, which, til his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the weather, and so great the frost

His relation of the plentie he had seene, especially at Werowocomoco, where inhabited Powhatan (that till that time was unknowne)² so revived againe their dead spirits as all mens feare was abandoned. Powhatan having sent with this Captaine, divers of his men loaded with provision, he had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie messengers to bring but 2 or 3 of our great ordenances; but the messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes was used with guifts to assure them our loves. Thus you may see what difficulties stil crossed any good indeavour, and the good successe of the businesse, and being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction, yet you see by what strange meanes God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiencie of them admitted in commission, that errorr could not be prevented by their electors, there being no other choice, and all were strangers each to others education, quallities, or disposition. And if any deeme it a shame to our nation, to have any mention made of these enormities, let them peruse the histories of the Spanish discoveries and plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, discords, 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, mallice³ and ignorance might else produce to the scandall and reproach of those whose actions and valiant resolution deserve

¹ January 2, 1608; "he once more staid," etc.

² *I.e.*, personally.

³ Which malice, etc.

a worthie respect. Now whether it had beene better for Captaine Smith to have concluded with any of their severall projects to have abandoned the Countrie with some 10 or 12 of them [that] we cal the better sort; to have left Mr Hunt our preacher, Mr Anthony Gosnoll (a most honest worthy and industrious gentleman) with some 30 or 40 others, his countrie men, to the furie of the Salvages, famin, and all manner of mischiefes and inconveniences, or starved 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 others to consider.

THOMAS STUDLEY.¹

CHAPTER III

The arrivall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne.

All this time, our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Councell in England were as diligent and carefull to supplie us. Two tall ships they sent us, with neere 100 men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessarie, both for them and us. The one commanded by Captaine Newport: the other, by Captaine Nelson, an honest man and an expert marriner, but such was the leewardnesse of his ship, that (though he were within sight of Cape Henry), by stormy contrarie windes, was forced so farre to sea as the West Indies was the next land,² for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine Newport got in, and arived at James towne³ not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith; to whome the Salvages, every other day, brought such plentie of bread, fish, turkies, squirrels, deare, and other wild beasts: part they gave him

¹ As Studley died August 28, 1607, he could have been the authority for only the first page of the narrative. The rest was probably by Anas Todkill.

² After "land" supply "he made." The margin names the *Phoenix* as Nelson's ship.

³ January 2, 1608.

as presents from the king; the rest, hee as their market clarke, set the price how they should sell.

So he had enchanted those pore soules (being their prisoner) in demonstrating unto them the roundnesse of the world, the course of the moone and starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenes of the seas, the quallities of our ships shot and powder, the devision of the world, with the diversity of the people, their complexions customes and conditions. All which hee fained to be under the command of Captaine Newport, whom he tearmed to them his father; of whose arrivall it chanced he so directly prophecied, as they esteemed him an oracle. By these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, [that] he might command them what his listed. That God that created al these things, they knew he adored for his God; whom they would also tearme in their discourses, the God of captaine Smith. The President and Councel so much envied his estimation amongst the Salvages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good therof) that they wrought it into their understandings, by their great bounty in giving 4. times more for their commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authority as much exceed [ed] his, as their bounty and liberality. Now the arrivall of [t]his first supply so overjoyed us, that we could not devise too much to please the mariners. We gave them liberty to track ¹ 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 sold for an ounce. Thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of Newports greatnes; wherewith Smith had possessed Powhatan: especially by the great presents Newport often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinas to go and visit him. So that this Salvage also desired to see him. A great bruit there was to set him forward. When he went, he was accompanied with captaine Smith and Mr Scrivener (a very wise understanding gentleman newly ar-

¹ Truck.

rived, and admitted of the Councell), and 30. or 40. chosen men for that garde. Arriving at Werowocomo[co], Newport's concept of this great Salvage bred many doubts and suspicions of treacheries. Which Smith, to make appeare was needlesse, with 20. men well appointed, undertooke to encounter (with that number) the worst that could happen. There names were

Nathaniell Powell.
Robert Beheathland.
William Phettiplace.
Richard Wyffin.
Anthony Gosnoll.

John Taverner.
William Dier.
Thomas Coe.
Thomas Hope.
Anas Todkell.

with 10. others whose names I¹ have forgotten. These being kindly received a shore; with 2. or 300. Salvages were conducted to their towne. Powhatan strained himselfe to the uttermost of his greatnes, to entertain us, with great shouts of Joy, orations of protestations, and the most plenty of victuall hee could provide to feast us. Sitting upon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbroydred (after their rude manner) with pearle and white beades, his attire a faire Robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, at his head and feet a handsome young woman: on each side his house sate 20. of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beades about their necks; before those sate his chieftest men, in like order, in his arbor-like house. With many pretty discourses to renew their olde acquaintaunce; the great kinge and our captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge a ground, then renewing their feasts and mirth, we quartred 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 Savage was then given unto Powhatan, who Newport called his son, for whom Powhatan gave him Namontacke his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd subtile capacity. 3. or 4. daies were spent in feasting, dancing, and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet

¹ Evidently Anas Todkill.

discreetly (in his Salvage manner), as made us all admire his natural gifts, considering his education. As scorning to trade as his subjects did, he bespake Newport in this manner.

Captaine Newport it is not agreable with my greatnes in this peddling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you a great werowans. Therefore lay me down all your commodities together, what I like I will take, and in recompence give you that I thinke fitting their value.

Captaine Smith being our interpreter, regarding Newport as his father, knowing best the disposition of Powhatan, told us his intent was but to cheat us; yet captaine Newport thought to out-brave this Salvage in ostentation of greatnes, and so to bewitch him with his bounty, as to have what he listed: but so it chanced, Powhatan having his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, as I thinke it better cheape in Spaine, for we had not 4. bushels for that we expected 20. hogsheads [for]. This bred some unkindnes betweene our two captaines, Newport seeking to please the humor of the unsatiable Salvage, Smith to cause the Salvage to please him, but smothering his distast to avoide the Salvages suspition, glaunced in the eies of Powhatan many Trifles; who fixed his humour upon a few blew beads. A long time he importunatly desired them, but Smith seemed so much the more to affect them: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beads, he brought over my king for 2 or 300 bushels of corne, yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of Opechanchynough, king of Pamaunke, whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads: and so we returned to the fort.¹ Where this New Supply being lodged with the rest, [had] accidently fired the quarters, and so the Towne, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallizadoes (though 10. to 12 yardes distant), with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision. Good Mr Hunt our preacher, lost

¹ On March 9, 1608.

all his library, and al that he had but the cloathes on his backe, yet [did] none ever see him repine at his losse. This hapned in the winter, in that extreame frost, 1607.¹ Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane only of Oatmeale, meale, and corne, yet the ship staying there 14. weeks (when shee might as well have been gone in 14. daies), spent the beefe, porke, oile, aquavitæ, fish, butter and cheese, beere, and such like, as was provided to be landed us. When they departed, what their discretion could spare us, to make a feast or two with bisket, pork, beefe, fish, and oile, to relish our mouths; of each somewhat they left us, yet I must confess those that had either mony, spare clothes, credit to give bills of payment, gold rings, furies, or any such commodities, were ever welcome to this removing taverne. Such was our patience to obey such vile commanders, and buy our owne provision at 15 times the valew, suffering them feast, we bearing the charge, yet must not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats and other casualties occasioned the losse. But the vessell 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. For all this plentie, our ordinarie was but meale and water; so that this great charge little relieved our wants, whereby, with the extreame of the bitter cold aire, more than halfe of us died, and tooke our deathes, in that piercing winter. I cannot deny but both Skrivener and Smith did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the major part,² that their hornes were too short. But the worst mischief was our gilded refiners, with their golden promises, made all men their slaves in hope of recompence. There was no talke, no hope, nor worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold. Such a brute of gold, as one mad fellow desired to bee buried in the sandes, least they should by their art make gold of his bones. Little need there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, their wages run on, our victuall consume 14 weekes, that the Marriners might say, they

¹ 1607-1608.

² The majority of the council

built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neare to nothing in 14 daies. Were it that Captaine Smith would not applaud all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials, nor golden consultations I knowe not: but I heard him question with Captaine Martin and tell him, except he would shew him a more substantiall triall, hee was not inamored with their durtie skill. Breathing out these and many other passions, never any thing did more torment him, than to see all necessarie businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt. Till then wee never accounted Captaine Newport a refiner, who being fit to set saile for England, and wee not having any use of Parliaments, plaies, petitions, admirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor Justices of peace, sent M. Wingfield, and Captaine Archer with him, for England, to seeke some place of better imployment.

CHAPTER IV

The arival of the Phœnix, her returne, and other accidents.

The authoritie nowe consisting in refining Captaine Martin and the still sickly President, the sale of the stores commodities maintained their estates as inheritable revenews. The spring approching, and the ship departed, M. Skrivener and Capt. Smith divided betwixt them the rebuilding our towne, the repairing our pallisadoes, the cutting downe trees, preparing our fields, planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and re-cover our store-house. Al men thus busie at their severall labours, M. Nelson arived ¹ with his lost Phœnix, (lost I say, for that al men deemed him lost), landing safely his men. So well hee had mannaged his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company, that his victuall (to ² that was left us before) was sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had nothing but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a marriner) caused

¹ April 20, 1608.

² Added to.

us admire him. Wee would not have wished so much as he did for us. Nowe to relade this ship with some good tidings, the President (yet not withstanding¹ with his dignitie to leave the fort), gave order to Captaine Smith and M. Skrivener to discover and search the commodities of Monacans countrie beyond the Falles. 60 able men was allotted their number, the which, within 6 daies exercise, Smith had so well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whome they should encounter. Yet so unseasonable was the time, and so opposite was Captain Martin to every thing but only to fraught his ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine Smith rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present despatch, than either with durt, or the reports of an uncertaine discoverie. Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this hapned.

Powhatan to expresse his love to Newport, when he departed, presented him with 20 Turkeys, conditionally to returne him 20 Swords, which immediately were sent him.² Now after his departure, hee presented Captaine Smith with the like luggage, but not finding his humour obaied, in sending him weapons, he caused his people with 20. devises to obtain them. At last, by ambuscadoes at our very ports, they would take them perforce, surprise us at work or any way, which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no rule. The command from England was so straight not to offend them, as our authority bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then peace breakers. This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chaunced they medled with Captaine Smith, who, without farther deliberation, gave them such an incounter, as some he so hunted up and downe the Ile, some he so terrified with whipping beating and imprisonment, as for revenge, they surprised two of his forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our ports to force Smith to redeliver 7 Salvages which for their villanies he detained prisoners. But to try their furies, in

¹ *I.e.*, it not standing.

² "An ill example, to sell swords to Salvages," says the margin.

lesse then halfe an houre, he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the 2. prisoners, desiring peace without any farther composition for their prisoners, who being threatned and examined their intents, and plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by Powhatan, to obtaine him our owne weapons to cut our own throats, with the manner how, where, and when, which wee plainly found most true and apparant. Yet he sent his messengers and his dearest Daughter Pocahuntas to excuse him of the injuries done by his subjects, desiring their liberties, with the assuraunce of his love. After Smith had given the prisoners what correction hee thought fit, used them well a day or two after, and then delivered them [to] Pocahuntas, for whose sake only, he fained to save their lives and graunt them liberty. The patient Councel, that nothing would move to warre with the Salvages, would gladly have wrangled with captaine Smith for his cruelty, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them ¹ in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them. The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and captaine Smith, shee was quickly reladed; Mr Scrivener was neither Idle nor slow, to follow all things at the fort. The ship falling to the Cedar Ile, captaine Martin having made shift to be sicke neare a yeare, and now neither pepper, suger, cloves, mace, nor nugmets ² ginger, nor sweet meates in the country: (to enjoy the credit of his supposed art) at his earnest request, was most willingly admitted to returne for England. Yet having beene there but a yeare, and not past halfe a year since the ague left him, that he might say somewhat he had seene, hee went twice by water to Paspahagh a place neere 7 miles from James towne, but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night. Thus much I thought fit to expresse, he expresly commanding me to record his journies, I being his man, and he sometimes my master.

THOMAS STUDLY, ANAS TODKILL.

¹ The Indians.

² Nutmegs.

Their names that were landed in this supply:

Matthew Scrivener, appointed to be of the Councell.

Michael Phetyplace.		Robert Alberton, a Perfumer.	
William Phetyplace.		Richard Belfield, Goldsmith.	
Ralfe Morton.		Ramon Goodyson.	
William Cantrill.		John Speareman.	
Richard Wyffin.		William Spence.	
Robert Barnes.		Richard Brislow.	
George Hill.		William Simons.	
George Pretty.		John Bouth.	
John Taverner.		William Burket.	
Robert Cutler.		Nicholas Ven.	
Michael Sickelmore.		William Perce.	
Thomas Coe.		Francis Perkins.	
Peter Pory.		Francis Perkins.	Labour- ers.
Richard Killingbeck.	Gent.	William Bentley.	
William Causey.		Richard Gradon.	
Doctor Russell.		Rowland Nelstrop.	
Richard Worley.		Richard Salvage.	
Richard Prodger.		Thomas Salvage.	
William Bayley.		Richard Miler.	
Richard Molyneux.		William May.	
Richard Pots.		Vere.	
Jefry Abots.		Michael.	
John Harper.		Bishop Wyles.	
Timothy Leds.		John Powell.	
Edward Gurganay.		Thomas Hope.	Tailers.
George Forest.		William Beckwith.	
John Nickoles.		William Yonge.	
William Gryvill.		Lawrence Towtales.	
Daniel Stalling, Jueller.		William Ward.	
William Dawson, Refiner.		Christopher Rodes.	
Abraham Ransacke, Refiner.		James Watkins.	
William Johnson, Goldsmith.		Richard Fetherstone.	
Peter Keffer, a Gunner.		James Burne.	

Thomas Feld.	} Apothecaries.	Richard Dole, a blacke Smith and divers others, to the number of 120.
John Harford.		
Post Gittnat, a C[hir]urgion.		
John Lewes, a Couper.		
Robert Cotten, a Tobacco-pipe- maker.		

CHAPTER V

The accidents that happened in the Discoverie of the bay.

The prodigality of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store, that Smith and Scrivener had a while tyed both Martin and him to the rules of proportion, but now Smith being to depart, the Presidents authorite so overswayed Mr Scriveners discretion, as our store, our time, our strength and labours, was idly consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of June 1608. Smith left the fort, to performe his discoverie; with this company.

Walter Russell Doctour of Physicke.

Ralp Morton.	} Gent.	Anas Todkill.	} Sould.
Thomas Momford.		Robert Small.	
William Cantrill.		James Watkins.	
Richard Fetherstone.		John Powell.	
James Bourne.		James Read, blacke smith.	
Michael Sicklemore.		Richard Keale, fishmonger.	
		Jonas Profit, fisher.	

These being in an open barge of two tunnes burthen, leaving the *Phenix* at Cape-Henry, we crossed the bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Iles called Smiths Iles.¹ The first people we saw were 2. grimme and stout Salvages

¹ In 1611 Sir Thomas Dale established a settlement under Lieutenant Craddock at Smith's Island near Cape Charles for the purpose of making salt out of sea-water. He called this settlement "Dale's Gift."

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 in time seemed very kinde, and directed us to Acawmacke, the habitation of the Werowans, where we were kindly intreated. This king was the comliest proper civill Salvage wee incountred. His country is a pleasant fertill clay-soile. Hee told us of a straunge accident lately happened him, and it was: Two deade children, by the extreame passions of their parents, or some dreaming visions, phantasie, or affection moved them againe to revisit their dead carkases, whose benumbed bodies reflected to the eies of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vital spirits. This, as a miracle, drew many to behold them: all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped. They spake the language of Powhatan wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, Iles, and rivers that often did us exceeding pleasure. Passing along the coast, searching every inlet and bay fit for harbours and habitations: seeing many Iles in the midst of the bay, we bore up for them, but ere wee could attaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning happened, that with great daunger, we escaped the unmercifull raging of that ocean-like water. The next day, searching those inhabitable Iles (which we called Russels Isles) to provide fresh water, the defect whereof forced us to follow the next Easterne channell, which brought us to the river Wighcocomoco. The people at first with great furie seemed to assault us, yet at last with songs, daunces, and much mirth, became very tractable. But searching their habitations for water, wee could fill but 3,¹ and that such puddle that never til then wee ever knew the want of good water. We digged and search many places but ere the end of two daies, wee would have refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco. Being past these Isles, falling with a high land upon the maine, wee found a great pond of fresh water,

¹ *I.e.*, three barricoes.

but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some bath. That place we called Point ployer. Being thus refreshed, in crossing over from the maine to other Iles, the wind and waters so much increased with thunder lightning and raine, that our fore-mast blew overbord, and such mightie waves overwrought us in that smal barge; that with great labour wee kept her from sinking, by freeing out the water. 2 daies we were inforced to inhabit these uninhabited Iles, which (for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and il weather) we called Limbo. Repairing our fore saile with our shirts, we set saile for the maine, and fel with a faire river on the East called Kuskaranaocke. By it inhabit the people of Soraphanigh, Nause, Arsek, and Nautaquake, that much extolled a great nation called Massawomekes, in search of whome wee returned by Limbo. But finding this easterne shore shallow broken Iles, and the maine for most part without fresh water, we passed by the straights of Limbo, for the weasterne shore. So broad is the bay here, that we could scarce perceive the great high Clifles on the other side. By them, wee anchored that night, and called them Richards Clifles. 30 leagues we sailed more Northwards, not finding any inhabitants, yet the coast well watred, the mountaines very barren, the vallies very fertil, but the woods extreame thicke, full of Woolves, Beares, Deare, and other wild beasts. The first inlet we found, wee called Bolus, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke. When we first set saile, some of our gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home. But having lien not above 12 daies in this smal Barge, oft tired at their oares, their bread spoiled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could digest it), did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeak them in this manner.

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable historie of Sir Ralfe Lane, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discoverie of Morattico, alleaging, they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaves, would richly feed them in their

returnes; what shame would it be for you (that have beene so suspitious of my tendernesse) to force me returne with a months provision, scarce able to say where we have bin, nor yet heard of that wee were sent to seeke. You cannot say but I have shared with you of the worst¹ is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, 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 those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits; for returne I wil not, (if God assist me) til I have seene the Massawomekes, found Patawomeck, or the head of this great water you conceit to be endlesse.

3 or 4 daies we expected ² wind and weather, whose adverse extremitities added such discouragements to our discontents as 3 or 4 fel extreame sicke, whose pitiful complaints caused us to returne, leaving the bay some 10 miles broad at 9 or 10 fadome water.

The 16 of June, we fel with the river of Patawomeck. Feare being gon, and our men recovered, wee were all contente to take some paines to knowe the name of this 9 mile broad river. We could see no inhabitants for 30 myles saile. Then we were conducted by 2 Salvages up a little bayed creeke toward Onawmament, where all the woods were laid with Ambuscadoes to the number of 3 or 400 Salvages, but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, showting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many divels. They made many bravadoes, but to appease their furie, our Captaine prepared (with a seeming willingnesse, as they) to encounter them. The grazing of the bullets upon the river, with the ecco of the woods so amazed them, as down went their bowes and arrowes; and exchanging hostage, James Watkins was sent 6. myles up the woods, to their kings habitation. Wee were kindly used by these Salvages, of whom we understood, they were commaunded to betray us, by Powhatans direction,

¹ After "worst" supply "that."

² Experienced.

and hee so directed from the discontents of James towne. The like incounters we found at Patawomeck, Cecocawone, and divers other places; but at Moyaones, Nacothtant, and Taux, the people did their best to content us. The cause of this discovery was to search a glistering mettall, the Salvages told us they had from Patawomeck (the which Newport assured that he had tryed ¹ to hold halfe silver), also to search what furies, metals, rivers, Rockes, nations, woods, fishings, fruits, victuals, and other commodities the land afforded, and whether the bay were endlesse, or how farre it extended. The mine we found 9 or 10 myles up in the country from the river, but it proved of no value.² Some Otters, Beavers, Martins, Luswarts, and sables we found and, in diverse places, 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 or variety, had any of us ever seene in any place, swimming in the water, then in the bay of Chesapeack, but there not to be caught with frying-pans. To expresse al our quarrels, treacheries and incounters amongst those Salvages, I should be too tedious; but in briefe, at al times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace, yet wee lost not a man. At our first meeting, our captaine ever observed this order, to demaunde their bowes and arrowes, swords, mantles, or furies, with some childe for hostage: whereby he could quickly perceive when they intended any villany.

Having finished this discovery, (though our victuall was neare spent) he intended to have seene his imprisonments acquaintance upon the river of Toppahannock. But our boate (by reason of the ebbe) chancing to ground upon a many shoules lying in the entrance, we spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the sands. Our captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with

¹ Tested.

² "Antimony," says the margin.

his sword, set us all a fishing in that manner. By this devise, we tooke more in an houre then we all could eat. But it chanced, the captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition), being much of the fashion of a thornebacke with a longer taile whereon is a most poysoned sting of 2. or 3. inches long, which shee strooke an inch and halfe into the wrist of his arme. The which, in 4. houres, had so extreemly swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as we al with much sorrow concluded¹ his funerall, and prepared his grave in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed), which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious oile, Doctour Russel applyed, ere night his tormenting paine was so wel asswaged that he eate the fish to his supper: which gave no lesse joy and content to us, then ease to himselfe. Having neither Surgeon nor surgerie but that preservative oile, we presently set saile for James Towne. Passing the mouth of Pyankatanck and Pamaunke rivers, the next day we safely arrived at Kecoughtan. The simple Salvages seeing our captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his shin), our number of bowes, arrowes, swords, targets, mantles and furs, would needs imagine we had bin at warres. The truth of these accidents would not satisfie them; but impatiently they importuned us to know with whom wee fought. Finding their aptnes to beleieve, we failed not (as a great secret) to tel them any thing that might affright them, what spoile wee had got and made of the Masawomeekes. This rumor went faster up the river then our barge. That arrived at Weraskoyack, the 20 of Julie, where trimming her with painted streamers and such devises, we made the Fort jealous of a Spanish frigot; where we all safely arrived the 21. of July. There wee found the Last Supply al sicke; the rest, some lame, some bruised, al unable to do any thing but complain of the pride and unreasonable needlesse cruelty of their sillie President² that had riotously consumed the store; and to fulfill his follies, about building

¹ Anticipated.

² Ratcliffe.

him an unnecessarie pallas in the woodes, had brought them all to that miserie, that had not we 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) our Bay had stretched to the South sea, appeased their fury; but conditionally that Ratliffe should be deposed, and that captaine Smith would take upon him the gouvernement. Their request being effected, hee substituted Mr Scrivener, his deare friend, in the Presidencie; equally distributing those private provisions the other[s] had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist Scrivener (who the[n] lay extreame lie tormented with a callenture):¹ and in regard of the weaknes of the company, and heat of the yeare, they being unable to worke, he left them to live at ease, but imbarcked himselfe to finish his discoverie.

Written by WALTER RUSSELL and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAPTER VI

What happened the second voyage to discover the Bay.

The 20.² of July, Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery, with 12. men. Their names were

Nathaniell Powell.	} Gent.	Anas Todkill.	} Sould.
Thomas Momford.		Edward Pysing.	
Richard Fetherstone.		Richard Keale.	
Michaell Sicklemore.		Anthony Bagnall.	
James Bourne.		James Watkins.	
		William Ward.	
		Jonas Profit.	

The winde beeing contrary, caused our stay 2 or 3 daies at Kecoughtan, the werowans feasting us with much mirth. His people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged

¹ Fever.

² Or rather 24th.

of the Massawomeckes. In the evening, we firing 2. or 3. rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted, and desired to assist us. The first night, we anchored at Stingeray Ile, the next day, crossed Patawomecks river, and hasted for the river Bolus. Wee went not much farther, before wee might perceive the Bay to devide in 2. heads, and arriving there, we founde it divided in 4, all which we searched so far as we could saile them. 2. of them wee found uninhabited, but in crossing the bay to the other, wee incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of Massawomecks. We seeing them prepare to assault us, left our oares, and made way with our saile to incounter them, yet were we but five (with our captaine) could stand; [f]or within 2. daies after wee 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 barge side, 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 shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could drawe them to come unto us. At last, they sent 2 of their company unarmed in a Canowe: the rest all followed to second them, if need required. These 2 being but each presented with a bell, brought aborde all their fellowes, presenting the captain with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrows, clubs, targets, and beare-skins. Wee understood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified unto us they had been at warres with the Tockwoghs, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds. But the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

Entring the River of Tockwogh, the Salvages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed us. It chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly. But when they see us furnished with the Massawomeckes weapons, and we faining the invention of Kecoughtan to have taken them perforce; they con-

ducted us to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barks of trees, with Scaffolds like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally. Their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, fures, and what they had, kindly entertained us, spreading mats for us to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

Many hatchets, knives, and peeces of yron and brasse, we see, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanockes, a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the Massawomeckes. The Sasquesahanocks inhabit upon the chiefe spring of these 4., two daies journey higher then our Barge could passe for rocks. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him an other interpreter to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come to visit us, for their language are different. 3. or 4. daies we expected their returne. Then 60. of these giantlike-people came downe, with presents of venison, Tobacco pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows. 5 of their Werowances came boldly aboard us, to crosse the bay for Tockwogh, leaving their men and Canowes, the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.¹

Our order was, dayly, to have prayer, with a psalm, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered. Our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in most passionate manner, to hold up their hands to the sunne, with a most feareful song. Then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded til their song was finished. Which don, with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voice, began an oration of their loves. That ended, with a great painted beares skin, they covered our Captaine. Then one ready with a chaine of white beads (waighing at least 6 or 7 pound) hung it about his necke; the others had 18 mantles made of divers sorts of skinnies sowed together. All these, with many other toyes, they laid at his feet, stroking their

¹ *I.e.*, durst not attempt to cross in canoes.

ceremonious handes about his necke, for his creation to be their governour, promising their aids, victuals, or what they had, to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the Massawomecks. But wee left them at Tockwogh, they much sorrowing for our departure, yet wee promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made us of Atquanahucke, Massawomecke, and other people, signifying they inhabit the river of Cannida, and from the French to have their hatchets and such like tooles by trade.¹ These knowe no more of the territories of Powhatan then his name, and he as little of them.

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. Wee promised them, as also the Patawomecks, the next yeare to revenge them of the Massawomecks. Our purposes were crossed in the discoverie of the river of Toppahannock, for wee had much wrangling with that peevish nation; but at last, they became as tractable as the rest. It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertill, and a goodly navigable river. Toward the head thereof, it pleased God to take one of our sicke (called M. Fetherstone), where in Fetherstons bay, we buried him, in the night, with a volly of shot. The rest (notwithstanding their ill diet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, in so many dangers, never resting but alwaies tossed to and againe) al well recovered their healthes. Then we discovered the river of Payankatank, and set saile for James Towne. But in crossing the bay in a faire calme, such a suddaine gust surprised us in the night, with thunder and raine, as wee were halfe imployed in freeing out water, never thinking to escape drowning; yet running before the winde, at last we made land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light only, we kept from the splitting shore, until it pleased God in that black darknes, to preserve us by that light to find Point com-

¹ In the previous month, July, 1608, Champlain had laid the foundations of Quebec. See *Voyages of Champlain*, in this series, pp. 131, 132.

fort. And arived safe at James Towne, the 7 of September, 1608: where wee found M. Skrivener and diverse others well recovered, many dead, some sicke; the late President prisoner for muteny; by the honest diligence of Master Skrivener, the harvest gathered; but the stores provision much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captain Ratliffe) but only this discoverie: wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters, this small number passed in that small barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (til then to any Christian utterly unknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure¹ of the courteous and experienced reader, than I would be tedious, or partiall being a partie.

By NATHANIELL POELL, and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAPTER VII

The Presidencie surrendred to Captaine Smith. The arrivall and returne of the second supply: and what happened.

The 10. of September 1608. by the election of the Councel, and request of the company, Captaine Smith received the letters patents, and tooke upon him the place of President, which till then by no meanes he would accept, though hee were often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratcliffes pallas staide, as a thing needlesse: the church was repaired, the storehouse re-covered; building prepared for the supply we expected. The fort reduced to the forme of this figure,² the order of watch renued, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained. The whole company every Satturday exercised in a field prepared for that purpose; the boates trimmed for trade, which

¹ Judgment.

² "Quere," says the margin, indicating that the drawing suggested in the manuscript had not reached the printer.

in their Journey encountred the second supply, that brought them back 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 certainty of the south sea, or one of the lost company of Sir Walter Rawley, I know not, nor why he brought such a 5. pieced 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, Ewer, Bed, Clothes, and such costly novelties, they had bin much better well spared, then so ill spent: for we had his favour much better onlie for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected us as much as nothing at all. As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch, to make pitch and tarre, glasse, milles, and sope-ashes, was most necessarie and well. But to send them and seaventy more without victuall, to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not have hurt us, had they bin 200., though then we were 130 that wanted for our selves. For we had the Salvages in that Decorum, (their harvest beeing newly gathered) that we feared not to get victual sufficient, had we bin 500. Now was there no way to make us miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation. To loose that time, spend that victuall we had, tire and starve our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs, how or by whom they were invented I know not. But Captaine Newport we only accounted the author, who to effect these projects, had so gilded all our hopes with great promises, that both company and Councel concluded ¹ his resolution. I confesse we little understood then ourestates, to conlude his conclusion against al the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the counsell, one Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne, two ancient

¹ Adopted.

souldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the busines, being newly arrived. Ratcliffe was also permitted to have his voice, and Mr Scrivener desirous to see strange countries. So that although Smith was President, yet the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed. As for cleering Smiths objections, how pitch, and tarre, wanscot, clapbord, glasse, and sope ashes could be provided to relade the ship; or provision got to live withal when none was in the Country, and that which we had, spent before the ships departed: The answer was, Captaine Newport undertook to fraught the Pinnace with corne, in going and returning in his discoverie, and to refraught her againe from Werawocomoco; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his ship, inferring that Smiths propositions were only devises to hinder his journey, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie Smith had used to the Salvages in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes. For which, al workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for his guard. And Smith, to make cleere these seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperat as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing he was to further them to effect their projects, because the coronation would consume much time, undertooke their message to Powhatan (to intreat him to come to James Towne to receive his presents) accompanied only with Captaine Waldo, M. Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuel Collier. With these 4, hee went overland against Werawocomoco, there passed the river of Pamaunke in the Salvages Canowes, Powhatan being 30 myles off[f], who presently was sent for. In the meane time, his women entertained Smith in this manner.

In a faire plaine field, they made a fire, before which, he sitting uppon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing Powhatan with all his power came to surprise them; but the beholders, which were many, men women and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke. 30 young women came naked out of the woods (only covered

behind and before with a few greene leaves), their bodies al painted, some white, some red, some black, some partie colour, but every one different. Their leader had a faire paire of stagges hornes on her head, and an otter skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, and bow and arrowes in her hand. The next, in her hand a sword, another, a club, another a pot-stick, all hornd alike. The rest, every one with their severall devises. These feindes, with most hellish cries and shouts, rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and daunce. Having spent neere an houre, in this maskarado; as they entered, in like manner departed. Having reaccomodated themselves, they solemnely invited Smith to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nimphees more tormented him than ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, *love you not mee*. This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish and flesh in wooden platters, beans and pease there wanted not (for 20 hogges), nor any Salvage daintie their invention could devise; some attending, others singing and dancing about them. This mirth and banquet being ended, with firebrands (instead of torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

The next day, came Powhatan. Smith delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him Namontack, desiring him come to his Father Newport to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the Monacans. Whereunto the subtile Salvage thus replied

If your king have sent me presents, I also am a king, and this my land. 8 daies I will stay to receave them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a baite. As for the Monacans, I can revenge my owne injuries, and as for Atquanuchuck, where you say your brother was slain, 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 desirous to give each other content in Complementall courtesies), and so Captaine Smith returned with this answer.

Upon this Captaine Newport sent his presents by water, which is neare 100 miles, with 50 of the best shot himselfe went by land, which is but 12 miles, where he met with our 3 barges to transport him over. All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed and furniture set up, his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him, (being perswaded by Namontacke they would doe him no hurt). But a fowle¹ trouble there was to make him kneele to receave his crowne. He, neither knowing the majestie nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and Newport put the Crowne on his head; when, by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start up in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gave his old shoes and his mantle to Captain Newport. But perceiving his purpose was to discover the Monacans, hee laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then Namontack. And so, after some complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents, he presented Newport with a heape of wheat eares, that might contain 7 or 8 bushels, and as much more we bought, ready dressed, in the town, wherewith we returned to the fort.

The ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first gentlewoman and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine Newport with al the Councell, and 120 chosen men, set forward for the discovery of Monacan, leaving the President at the fort with 80. (such as they were) to relade

¹ Great.

the shippe. Arriving at the falles, we marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe, and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two townes wee discovered of the Monacans, the people neither using us well nor ill, yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie Werowances, and lead him bound, to conduct us the way. And in our returne searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining, having one William Callicut a refiner, fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth wee digged, hee perswaded us to beleieve he extracted some smal quantitie of silver (and not unlikely better stuffe might bee had for the digging). With this poore trial, we were contented to leave this faire, fertill, well watred countrie. Comming to the Falles, the Salvages fained there were diverse ships come into the Bay to kill them at James Towne. Trade they would not, and find their corn 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 tired with toile famine and discontent to have only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as the President foretold us.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed many as were able, some for glasse, others for pitch, tarre, and sope ashes, leaving them with the fort,¹ to the Councels oversight. But 30 of us he conducted 5. myles from the fort to learn to make clapboard, cut downe trees, and ly in woods. Amongst the rest, he had chosen Gabriell Beadell, and John Russell the only two gallants of this last supply, and both proper gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, 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 commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drowne the eccho; for remedy of which sin, the President devised howe to have everie mans oathes numbered, and at night, for every oath

¹ *I.e.*, those who were at the fort.

to have a can of water powred downe his sleeve. With which, every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an oath in a weeke.

By this, let no man think that the President, or these gentlemen spent their times as common wood-hackers at felling of trees, or such like other labours, or that they were pressed to anything as hirelings or common slaves; for what they did (being but once a little inured), it seemed, and they conceited it, only as a pleasure and a recreation. Yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must bee prest to it by compulsion.¹ Master Scrivener, Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne at the fort; every one in like manner, carefully regarded their charge. The President, returning from amongst the woodes, seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay Idle, and would do nothing), presently imbarcked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Councell, to send Mr Persey² after him, with the next barge that arrived at the fort. 2 barges he had himselfe, and 20 men. But arriving at Chickahamina, that dogged nation was too wel acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was Powhatans pollicy 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.³ And so landing his men, and ready to charge them, they immediately fled. But then they sent their imbassadours, with corne, fish, fowl, or what they had, to make their peace; (their corne being that year bad) they complained extreamly of their owne wants, yet fraughted our boats with 100 bushels of corne, and in like manner Mr Persies, that not long after us arrived. They having done the best they could to content us, within 4. or 5. daies, we returned to James Towne.

¹ "One gentleman better than 20 lubbers," says the margin.

² George Percy, author of the *Observations* printed at the beginning of this volume.

³ *I.e.*, on his trip up the Chickahominy in December, 1607.

Though this much contented the company (that then feared nothing but starving) yet some so envied his good succeſſe, that they rather deſired to ſtarve, then his paines ſhould prove ſo much more effectually then theirs. Some projects there was, not only 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.

All this time our old taverne¹ made as much of all them that had either mony or ware as could bee deſired; and by this time they were become ſo perfect on all ſides (I meane Souldiers, Sailers, and Salvages,) as there was ten 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 pollicy in the mariners, to report in England wee had ſuch plenty, and bring us ſo many men without victuall, when they had ſo many private factors in the fort, that within 6. or 7. weekes after the ſhips returne, of 2. or 300. hatchets, chiſſels, mattocks, and pickaxes, ſcarce 20 could be found; for pike-heads, knives, 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 fures, baskets, muſſaneekeſ,² young beaſtes, for ſuch like commodities, as exchange them with the ſailers, for butter, cheese, biefe, porke, aquavitæ, beere, biſket, and oat-meale, and then faine, all was ſent them from their friends. And though Virginia afford no furs for the ſtore, yet one mariner in one voyage hath got ſo many, as hee hath confeſſed to have ſolde in England for 30*l*.

Thoſe are the Saint-ſeeming worthies of Virginia, that have notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and pay; but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented. None hath bin in Virginia (that hath not

¹ Referring to trade conducted deſpite the orders of the council.

² Squirrels.

observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true, and yet the scorne and shame was the poore souldiers, gentlemen, and carelesse governours, who were all thus bought and solde, the adventurers cousened,¹ and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all the world Judge how this businesse coulde prosper, being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Mr Scrivener was sent with the barges and Pinas to Wera-wocomoco, where he found the Salvages more ready to fight then trade, but his vigilancy was such, as prevented their projectes, and by the meanes of Namontack, got 3. or 4. hogs-heads of corne, and as much Red paint, which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Captaine Newport being dispatched with the tryals of pitch, tarre, glasse, frankincense, and sope ashes, with that clapbord and wainscot [which] could bee provided, met with Mr Scrivener at point Comfort, and so returned for England, leaving us in all 200, with those hee brought us.

The names of those in this supply are these.

Captaine Peter Winne.	}	were appointed to bee of the Councell.
Captaine Richard Waldo.		

Mr Francis West.	}	Gent.	Henry Ley.	}	Gent.
Thomas Graves.			Harmon Haryson.		
Rawley Chroshaw.			Daniell Tucker.		
Gabriell Bedle.			Hugh Wollystone.		
John Russell.			John Hoult.		
John Bedle.			Thomas Norton.		
William Russell.			George Yarrington.		
John Gudderington.			George Burton.		
William Sambage.			Henry Philpot.		
Henry Collings.			Thomas Maxes.		

¹ Cheated.

Michael Lowicke.	} Gent.	Master Powell.	} Tradesm.
Mr Hunt.		Davi Ellys.	
Thomas Forest.		Thomas Gipson.	
William Dowman.			
John Dauxe.		Thomas Dowse.	} Labourers.
Thomas Abbay.		Thomas Mallard.	
		William Taler.	
Thomas Phelps.	} Tradesm. ¹	Thomas Fox.	
John Part.		Nicholas Hancock.	
John Clarke.		Walker.	
Jefry Shortridge.		Williams.	
Dius Oconor.		Morrell.	
Hugh Wynne.		Rose.	
Davi Uphu.		Scot.	
Thomas Bradley.		Hardwin.	
John Burras.			} Boys.
Thomas Lavander.		Milman.	
Henry Bell.		Hellyard.	

Mistresse Forest and Anne Buras her maide, 8. Dutchmen and Poles, with divers to the number of 70. persons.

Those poore conclusions so affrighted us all with famine, that the President provided for Nansamund, tooke with him Captaine Winne, and Mr Scrivener (then returning from Captaine Newport). These people also long denied him trade (excusing themselves to bee so commanded by Powhatan) til we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell us some, then wee should take all. So loading our boats with 100 bushels, we parted friends, and came to James Towne; at which time, there was a marriage between John Laydon and Anne Burrowes, being the first marriage we had in Virginia.

Long he staid not, but fitting himselfe and captaine Waldo with 2. barges, from Chawopo, weanocke and all parts there, was found neither corne nor Salvage, but all fled

¹ *I.e.*, artisans.

(being jealous of our intents) till we discovered the river and people of Appametuck, where we found little. That they had we equally devided betwixt the Salvages and us, but gave them copper in consideration. Mr Persie and Mr Scrivener went also abroad, but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this proc[r]astinating of time, was no course to live, resolved with Captaine Waldo (who he knew to be sure in time of need), to surprise Powhatan and al his provision; but the unwillingnes of Captaine Winne, and Mr Scrivener (for some private respects), 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, bring him a grinstone, 50. swords, some peece, a cock and a hen, with copper and beads, he would loade his shippe with corne. The President not ignoraunt of his devises, yet unwilling to neglect any opportunity, presently sent 3. Dutchmen and 2. English (having no victuals to imploy them, all for want thereof being idle). Knowing there needed no better castel then that house, to surprize Powhatan, to effect this project, he took order with Captaine Waldo, to second him, if need required. Scrivener, he left his substitute, and set forth with the Pinnas, 2. barges, and six and forty men, which only were such as voluntarily offered themselves for his journey, the which (by reason of Mr Scriveners ill successe) was censured very desperate. They all knowing Smith would not returne empty howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed to find excuses to stay behinde.

CHAPTER VIII

Captaine Smiths journey to Pamaunke.

The 29 of December, hee set forward for Werawocomoco: his company were these.

M

In the Discovery barge, himselfe.

Robert Behethland.	Gent.	Anas Todkill.	Sould.
Nathaniell Powell.		William Love.	
John Russell.		William Bentley.	
Rawly Crashaw.		Geoffery Shortridge.	
Michael Sicklemore.		Edward Pising.	
Richard Worlie.		William Warde.	

In the Pinnace.

Mr George Persie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland; Mr Frauncis West, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware.

William Phetiplace, Captaine of the Pinnaes.

Jonas Profit, Master.

Robert Ford, clarkke of the councell.

Michael Phetiplace.	Gent.	Henry Powell.	Sould.
Geoffery Abbot, Serg.		David Ellis.	
William Tankard.		Thomas Gipson.	
George Yarrington.		John Prat.	
James Bourne.		George Acrigge.	
George Burton.		James Reade.	
Thomas Coe.	Sould.	Nicholas Hancocke.	
John Dods.		James Watkins.	
Edward Brinton.		Anthony Baggly, Serg.	
Nathaniel Peacocke.		Thomas Lambert.	
		Edward Pising, Serg.	

4 Dutchmen and Richard Salvage were sent by land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.

This company being victualled but for 3. or 4. daies, lodged the first night at Weraskoyack, where the President tooke sufficient provision. This kind Salvage did his best to divert him from seeing Powhatan, but perceiving he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner, Captaine Smith, you shall finde Powhatan to use you kindly, but trust him not, and bee sure hee have no opportunitie to seaze on your armes, for hee hath sent for you only to cut your throats. The Captaine thanked him for his good counsell, yet the better to try his

love, desired guides to Chowanoke, for he would sent a present to that king to bind him his friend. To performe this journey was sent Michael Sicklemore, a very honest, valiant, and painefull soldier: with him, two guides, and directions howe to search for the lost company of Sir Walter Rawley, and silke grasse. Then wee departed thence, the President assuring the king [of] his perpetuall love, and left with him Samuell Collier his page, to learne the language.

The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan, 6 or 7 daies the extreame wind, raine, frost, and snowe caused us to keepe Christmas amongst the Salvages, where wee were never more merrie, nor fedde on more plentie of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild foule, and good bread, nor never had better fires in England then in the drie warme smokie houses of Kecoughtan. But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curious¹ (in any weather) to lie, 3 or 4 nights together, upon any shore, under the trees, by a good fire. 148 fowles, the President, Anth. Bagly, and Edward Pising did kill at 3. shoots. At Kiskiack, the frost forced us 3 or 4 daies, also to suppress the insolencie of those proud Salvages, to quarter in their houses and guard our barge, and cause them give us what wee wanted; yet were we but 12 with the President, and yet we never wanted harbour² where we found any houses.

The 12 of Januarie we arrived at Werawocomoco, where the river was frozen neare halfe a mile from the shore. But to neglect no time, the President with his barge, so farre had approached, by breaking the Ice, as the eb left him amongst those ooze shoules; yet, rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example, hee taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot, through this muddie froye³ ooze. When the barge floted, he appointed 2 or 3 to returne her aboard the Pinnace, where, for want of water, in melting the salt ice they made fresh water. But in this march, M. Russell (whome none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill and exceeding heavie, so overtoiled himselfe, as

¹ Fastidious.

² Shelter.

³ Frozen.

the rest had much adoe (ere he got a shore) to regain life into his dead benumbed spirits. Quarters 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 ordinarie manner, he began to aske, when wee would bee gon, faining hee sent not for us, neither had hee any corne, and his people much lesse, yet for 40 swords he would procure us 40 bushels. The President, shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him, how it chaunced he became so forgetful; thereat, the king concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and swords, valuing a basket of corne more pretious then a basket of copper, saying he could eate his corne, but not his copper.

Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtil Salvage, began to deale with him after this manner.

Powhatan, though I had many courses to have made my provision; yet beleaving 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 my owne. What your people had, you have engrossed, forbidding them our trade, and now you thinke by consuming the time, wee shall consume for want, not having [wherewith] to fulfill your strange demandes. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall knowe, those I have, can keepe me from want: yet steale, or wrong you, I will not, nor dissolve that friendship wee have mutually promised, except you constraine mee by your bad usage.

The king having attentively listned to this discourse, promised that both hee and his Country would spare him what they could; the which within 2 daies, they should receave. Yet, Captaine Smith, (saith 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 do informe me, your comming 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 cheere 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, quartring that night in the kings houses. The next day, he reviewed his building, which hee little intended should proceed. For the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparation to surprise us, little thinking wee could escape both him, and famine, to obtaine his favour, revealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and projects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so good a judgement, spirit, and resolution (and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labour, and ever well used, both he and his countrimen) that the President knewe not whome better to trust, and, not knowing any fitter for that imploiment, had sent him as a spie, to discover Powhatans intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after.

Whilst we expected the comming in of the countrie, we wrangled out of the king 10 quarters of corne for a copper kettle; the which the President perceiving him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcity) hee would accept of as much more the next yeare, or else the country of Monacan. The King exceeding liberall of that hee had not, yeelded him Monacan. Wherewith each seeming well contented, Powhatan began to expostulate the difference betwixt peace and war, after this manner.

Captaine Smith, you may understand that I, having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those 3 generations but my selfe, I knowe the difference of peace and warre better then any in my Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long must die. My brethren, namely Opichapam, Opechankanough, and Kekataugh, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successours. I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your love to them, no lesse then mine to you: but this

brute from Nansamund, that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that perforce, you may quietly have with love, or to destroy them that provide you food? What can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woodes, whereby you must famish, by wronging us your friends? And whie are you thus jealous of our loves, seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? Think you I am so simple not to knowe it is better to eate good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh, and be merrie with you, have copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend; then bee forced to flie from al, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you that I can neither rest eat nor sleepe, but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, everie one crie, there comes Captaine Smith: then must I flie I knowe not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my miserable life, leaving my pleasures to such youths as you, which, through your rash unadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably ende, for want of that you never knowe how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loves, and everie 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 gunnes and swords, as to invade your foes.

To this subtil discourse, the President thus replied.

Seeing you will not rightly conceive of our words, wee strive to make you knowe 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 finde it everie daie violated by some of your subjects; yet wee finding your love and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being ungratefull, that for your sake only, wee have curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they ¹ knowne as wel the crueltie we use to our enimies as our true love and curtesie to our friendes. 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 wee intended you anie hurt, long ere this we coulde have effected it. Your people comming to me at James towne, are entertained with their bowes and arrowes without

¹ Your Indians.

exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with us, to weare our armes as our apparell. As for the dangers of our enimies, 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.

Manie other discourses they had, til at last they began to trade. But the king seing his will would not bee admitted as a lawe, our guard dispersed, nor our men disarmed; he, sighing, breathed his mind once more, in this manner.

Captaine Smith, I never used anie of Werowances so kindlie as your selfe; yet from you, I receave the least kindnesse of anie. Captaine Newport gave me swords, copper, cloths, a bed, tooles, or what I desired; ever taking what I offered him: and would send awaie his gunnes when I intreated him. None doth denie to laie at my feet, or do, what I desire, but onelie you; of whom I can have nothing but what you regard not: and yet you wil have whatsoever you demand. Captain Newport you call father, and so you call me: but I see, for all us both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendlie as you saie, sende hence your armes that I may beleeeve you: for you see the love I beare you, doth cause mee thus nakedlie forget my selfe.

Smith (seeing this Salvage but trifled the time, to cut his throat) procured the Salvages to breake the ice, that his boat might come to fetch both him and his corne; and gave order for his men to come ashore, to have surprised the king: with whom also, he but trifled the time till his men landed; and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan, you must knowe 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 bestowe on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visite mee as I doe you, you should knowe it is not our customes to sell our cur-

tesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Country with you for your gard, I will not dislike of 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 smal care you had of such a child, caused my men perswade me to shift for my selfe.

By this time, Powhatan having knowledge his men were readie; whilst the ice was breaking, his luggage, women and children fledde. And to avoid suspition left 2 or 3 of his women talking with the Captaine, whilst he secretly fled, and his men as secretlie beset the house. Which being at the instant discovered to Captaine Smith; with his Pistol, Sword and Target, he made such a passage amongst those naked divels that they fled before him, some one waie, some another: so that without hurt, he obtained ¹ the Corps du guard. When they perceived him so well escaped, and with his 8 men (for he had no more with him), to the uttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter. And Powhatan, to excuse his flight and the suddaine comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a greate bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke us to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a barge and men departing and comming unto us.)

Captaine Smith, our Werowans is fled, fearing your guns; and knowing when the ice was broken, there would come more men, sent those of his, to guard his corne from the pilfrie that might happen without your knowledge. Now though some bee hurt by your misprison; yet he is your friend, and so wil continue. And since the ice is open, hee would have you send awaie your corne; and if you would have his companie, send also your armes, which so affrighteth this people that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should.

Nowe having provided baskets for our men to carrie the corne, they kindlie offered their service to gard our armes,

¹ Reached.

that none should steale them. A great manie they were, of goodlie well appointed fellowes, as grim as divels: yet the verie sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few words, caused them to leave their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their own backes. Wee needed not importune them to make quick despatch. But our own barge being left by the ebb, caused us to staie till the midnight tide carried us safe aboard.¹ Having spent that halfe night with such mirth as though we never had suspected or intended anything; we left the Dutchman to build, Brinton to kil fowle for Powhatan as by his messengers he importunately desired; and left directions with our men to give Powhatan all the content they could, that we might injoy his company at our returne from Pamaunke.

CHAPTER IX

How we escaped surprising at Pamaunke.

Wee had no sooner set saile, but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (2. stout Dutch men) to the fort: who fained to Captaine Winne that al things were well, and that Captaine Smith had use for their armes: wherefore they requested newe (the which were given them). They told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell. By this colourable excuse, they obtained 6. or 7. more to their confederacie, such expert theefes that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder, and such like. They had Salvages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day, they returned unsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow; and, in the interim, to convey them a competencie of all things they could: for which service, they should live with Powhatan as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen the Col-

¹ *I.e.*, to the pinnace.

ony. Samuëll their other consort, Powhatan kept for their pledge; whose diligence had provided him 300. of their kinde of hatchets; the rest, 50. swords, 8. peeeces, and 8. pikes. Brinton and Richard Salvage seeing the Dutch-men so strangely diligent to accommodate the Salvages these weapons, attempted to have got to James Towne; but they were apprehended: Within 2. or 3. daies, we arrived at Pamaunke: the king¹ as many daies entertained us with feasting and much mirth. And the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with Mr Persie, Mr West, Mr Russell, Mr Beheathland, Mr Powell, Mr Crashaw, Mr Ford, and some others, to the number of 15., went up to Opechancanoughs house (near a quarter of a mile from the river); where we² founde nothing but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned. Not long we staide ere the king arrived, and after him, came divers of his people loaded with bowes and arrowes; but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine beganne with him, in this manner.

Opechancanough, the great love you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceipt by your actions. Last yeare, you kindly fraughted our ship; but now you have invited me 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 bargaines for your people.

The king seemed kindly to accept this offer; and the better to colour his project, sold us what they had to our own content: promising the next day, more company, better provided. The barges and Pinneas being committed to the charge of Mr Phetiplace: the President, with his old 15, marched up to the kings house; where we found 4 or 5 men newly come with great baskets. Not long after came the king, who, with a strained

¹ *I.e.*, Opechancanough.

² Probably Richard Wiffin, W. Phettiplace and Anas Todkill, who wrote this portion of the work and probably went along with the party to Pamunkey.

cheerefulnes, held us with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise, till Mr Russell brought us in news that we were all betraied, for at least 6. or 700.¹ of well appointed Indians had invironed the house and beset the fields. The king conjecturing what Russell related, we could wel perceive how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent. Whereat, some of our companie seeming dismaide with the thought of such a multitude, the Captaine encouraged us after this manner.

Worthy countrymen, 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 do but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious councell,² with their open-mouthed minions, will make mee such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in England, as wil break my neck. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherin I pray, aide me with your opinions. Should wee begin with them and surprize this king, we cannot keep him and defend well our selves. If we should each kill our man, and so proceede with al in this house, the rest will all fly: then shall we get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and then starve for victuall. As for their fury, it is the least danger. For well you know, being alone assaulted with 2 or 300 of them, I made them compound to save my life; and we are now 16 and they but 700. at the most; and assure your selves God wil so assist us, that if you dare but to stand to discharge your peeeces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoever, if there be occasion, let us fight like men, and not die like sheep: but first I will deale with them to bring it to passe, we may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle³ be valiant.

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die. Whereupon the captaine approaching the king, bespoke him in this manner.

¹ Probably this number is greatly exaggerated.

² The council at this time consisted of Scrivener, Winn, and Waldo, who are spoken of quite highly by Smith's friends. The council in London had given strict orders to keep on good terms with the savages.

³ You will.

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 directions. Take therefore your arms, you see mine. My body shalbe as naked as yours, the Ile in your river is a fit place, if you be contented; and the conqueror, of us two, shalbe Lord and Master over all our men. Otherwaies drawe all your men into the field, if you have not enough, take time to fetch more; and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of corne: against all which, I will stake the value in copper. You see I have but 15 men, and our game shalbe, the conqueror take all.

The king, being guarded with 50 or 60 of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspition of unkindnesse, by a great present at the dore, they intreated him to receive. This was to draw him without the dore, where the present was garded with at the least 200 men, and 30 lying under a greate tree that lay thwart as a Barricado, each his arrow nocked ready to shoot. Some, the President commanded to go and see what kinde of deceit this was, and to receive the present; but they refused to do it: yet divers offered, whom he would not permit: but commanding Mr Persie and Mr West to make good the house, tooke Mr Poell and Mr Beheathland to guard the dore; and in such a rage, snatched the king by his vambrace,¹ in the midst of his men, with his pistoll ready bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling king, neare dead with feare, amongst all his people; who delivering the Capitaine his bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their armes, little dreaming anie durst in that manner have used their king: who then, to escape himselfe, bestowed his presents in good sadnesse. And having caused all his multitude to approach disarmed, the President argued with them to this effect.

I see, you Pamaunkies, the great desire you have to cut my throat, and my long suffering your injuries have imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I have forborne your insolencies is

¹ *I.e.*, the leather covering from the elbow to the wrist protecting the arm from the bow; elsewhere called "bracer."

the promise I made you, before the God I serve, to be your friend, till you give me just cause to bee your enimie. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe mee; you cannot hurt mee: if I breake it, he will destroie me. But if you shoot but one arrow to shed one drop of blood of any of my men, or steale the least of these beades or copper I spurne before me with my foot; you shall see, I wil not cease revenge, if once I begin, so long as I can heare where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of Pamaunke. I am not now at Rasseneac ¹ halfe drownd with mire, 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 denials of your treacherie doth half perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoote hee that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed; and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carkases. Yet if as friends you wil come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give me the first occasion.

Upon this, awaie went their bowes and arrowes; and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. But 2 or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overweariet him, as he retired himself to rest, leaving Mr. Beheathland and Mr Powel to accept their presents. But some Salvage perceiving him fast asleepe, and the guard carelessly dispersed, 40 or 50 of their choice men each with an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house; with 2 or 300 others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast they made in, did so shake the house as they awoke him from his sleep; and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, betooke him straight to his sword and target; Mr Crashaw and some other charging in like manner, they thronged faster back, then before forward. The house thus clenched, the king and his ancients, with a long oration came to excuse this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse: the company againe renuing their presents of their best provision. And whatsoever we gave them, they seemed well contented with it.

¹ Rawsenac.

Now in the meane while, since our departure, this hapned at the fort. Mr Scrivener willing to crosse ¹ the surprizing of Powhatan, 9 daies after the Presidents departure, would needs visit the Ile of hogges; ² and took with him Captaine Waldo (though the President had appointed him to bee readie to second his occasions) with Mr Antony Gosnoll and eight others: but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the boat sunke; but where, or how, none doth knowe, for they were all drowned. Onlie this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overloaded, and would scarce have lived in that extreme tempest had she beene emptie: but by no perswasion could hee bee diverted, though both Waldo and 100 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 bee found would undertake it: but the journey was often refused of all in the fort, untill Mr Wiffin undertooke alone the performance thereof. Wherein he was encountred with many dangers and difficulties; and in all parts as hee passed, as also that night he lodged with Powhatan, perceived such preparation for warre that assure[d] him some mischief was intended: but with extraordinarie bribes and much trouble, in three daies travell, at length, he found us in the midst of these turmoiles. This unhappie newes, the President swore him to conceale from the rest; and so, dissembling his sorrow with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, went safely aboard with all his companie.

Now so extreamely Powhatan had threatned the death of his men, if they did not, by some meanes, kill Captaine Smith, that the next day they appointed the Countrie should come to trade unarmed: yet unwilling to be treacherous but that they were constrained, hating fighting almost as ill as hanging; such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning, the sunne had not long appeared, but the fieldes appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt us ashore. The President

¹ Counterwork. ² Hog Island, about seven miles from Jamestown.

determined to keepe aboard; but nothing was to bee had without his presence, nor would they not indure the sight of a gun. Then the President, seeing many depart, and being unwilling to lose such a booty, so well contrived the Pinnace and his barges with Ambuscadoes; as only with Mr Persie, Mr West, and Mr Russell armed, he went ashore. Others unarmed, he appointed to receive what was brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and (the bancke serving as a trench for retreat) hee drewe them faire open to his ambuscadoes. For he not being to be perswaded to go to visit their king, the King¹ came to visit him, with 2 or 300 men, in the forme of two halfe-moons, with some 20 men and many women loaded with great painted baskets. But when they approached somewhat neare us, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fieldes in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with fear as they were scarce able to nock their arrowes. Smith standing with his 3 men readie bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our ambuscado; who, upon the word, discovered themselves, he retiring to the banke: which the Salvages no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage.

That night, we sent to the fort Mr Crashaw and Mr Foard; who, in the midway betweene Werawocomoco and the fort, met 4 or 5. of the Dutch mens confederates going to Powhatan: the which (to excuse² those gentlemens Suspition, of their running to the Salvages) returned to the fort, and there continued.

The Salvages hearing our barge depart in the night,³ were so terriblie afraide that we sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and canowes), that the next day the King sent our Capitaine a chaine of pearle to alter his purpose and stay his men; promising, though they wanted themselves, to fraught our ship, and to bring it aboard to avoid suspition: so that, 5 or 6

¹ Opechancanough.

² Remove.

³ With Crowshaw and Ford.

daies after, from al parts of the countrie within 10 or 12 miles, in the extreame cold frost and snow, they brought us provision on their naked backes.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison bin sufficient, the President with Master West and some others had been poysoned. It made them sicke but expelled it selfe. Wecuttanow, a stout yong fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with 40 or 50. of his choice companions, seeing the President with but a few men at Pontauncat, so prowdlie braved it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving, in the midst of his companie, did not onlie beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe: whereupon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to have so well escaped; and the townsmen remaining presentlie fraughted our barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing manie excuses to excuse Wecuttanow, being son to their chiefe king but Powhatan,¹ and told us if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to us to punish as wee pleased.

Men maie thinke it strange there should be this stir for a little corne: but had it been gold with more ease wee might have got it; and had it wanted,² the whole colonie had starved. We maie be thought verie patient to indure all those injuries. Yet onlie with fearing³ them, we got what they had: whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should have lost our selvs. We searched also the countries of Yough-tanund and Mattapamient, where the people imparted what little they had with such complaints and tears from women and children, as he had bin too cruell to be a Christian that would not have bin satisfied and moved with compassion.⁴ But had this happened in October, November, and December, when that unhappie discoverie of Monacan was made; wee

¹ *I.e.*, their chief next in power to Powhatan.

² Been lacking.

³ Frightening.

⁴ The Indians were improvident, and their grief was real.

might have fraughted a ship of 40 tuns, and twice as much might have bin had from the rivers of Toppahannock, Patawomeck, and Pawtuxunt. The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Salvages 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 Wiffin and Mr Coe a shore, to discover and make waie for his intended project. But they found that those damned Dutchman had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house and werawocomoco, and to carrie awaie all his corne and provision: and the people, they found, by their means, so ill affected, that had they not stood well upon their guard, they had hardlie escaped with their lives. So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an unfit time to revenge their abuses, helde on his course for James Towne: we having in this Jornie (for 25l of copper, 50l of Iron and beads) kept 40 men 6. weekes;¹ and dailie feasted with bread, corne, flesh, fish, and fowle. Everie man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision, no trade being allowed but for the store; and we delivered at James Towne to the Cape Marchant, 279 bushels of corne.

Those temporall² proceedings, to some maie seeme too charitable, to such a dailie daring trecherous people; to others unpleasant that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransaking, and destroying (as did the Spaniards) the simple bodies of those ignorant soules; nor delightful, because not stuffed with relations of heaps and mines of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities as the Portugals and Spaniards found in the East and West Indies. The want wherof hath begot us, that were the first undertakers, no lesse scorne and contempt, than their noble conquests and valiant adventures (beautified with it), praise and honor. Too much, I confesse,

¹ From December 29, 1608, to about February 8, 1609. ² Temporizing.

the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit. And to cleare us from the worlds blind ignorant censure, these few words may suffice to any reasonably understanding.

It was the Spaniards good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, whoe had manured the ground with that providence that it afforded victuall 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 their countries affoorded: so that what the Spaniard got was only the spoile and pillage of those countrie 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 bin peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of pretious Jewels and rich commodities as was the Indies: then, had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might bee 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 lande, even as God made it. Where we found only an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold, or silver, or any commodities; and carelesse of anything but from hand to mouth, but for bables of no worth; nothing to encourage us but what accidentally wee found nature afforded. Which ere wee could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our adventurers; we were to discover the country, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable civil and industrious, and teach them trades that the fruits of their labours might make us 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 countrie: which doubtless will be as commodious for England as the west Indies for Spaine, if it be rightly managed; notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions that will argue the contrarie, as formerly such like have done against the Spaniards and Portugals. But to con-

clude, against all rumor of opinion I only say this for those that the three first yeares began this plantation: notwithstanding al their factions, mutenies, and miseries, so gently corrected and well prevented, peruse the Spanish *Decades*, the relations of M. Hacklut;¹ and tell mee how many ever, with such smal meanes as a barge of 2 Tunnes, sometimes with 7. 8. 9, or but at most 15 men, did ever discover so many faire and navigable rivers, subject so many severall kings people and nations to obedience and contribution, with so little blood shed.

And if in the search of those Countries, wee had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it, as obedience and contribution; but if wee have overskipped it, we will not envy them that shall chance to finde it. Yet can wee not but lament it was our ill fortunes to end, when wee had but only learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By RICHARD WIFFIN, WILLIAM PHETTIPLACE, and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAPTER X

How the Salvages became subject to the English.

When the shippes departed² al the provision of the store but that the President had gotten, was so rotten with the last somers rain, and eaten with rats and wormes as the hogs would scarcely eat it; yet it was the souldiers diet till our returnes: so that wee found nothing done, but victuall 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

¹ Hakluyt. "The Spanish Decades" means such works as the *Decades* of Peter Martyr and the general histories of Oviedo and Herrera, organized in decades of ten books each.

² November, 1608.

was abandoned: and the company divided into tennes, fiftenees, or as the businesse required, 4 houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise. But the untowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President to make a generall assembly; and then he advised them as followeth.

Countrimen, 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, or the adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloth. I speake not this to you all; for diverse of you, I know, deserve both honor and reward better then is yet here to bee had; but the greater part must be more industrious, or starve. Howsoever you have bin heretofore tolerated by the authoritie of the Councell from that I have often commanded you: yet seeing nowe the authoritie resteth wholly in my selfe, you must obay this for a law, that he that will not worke, shall not eate, except by sicknesse he be disabled. For the labours of 30 or 40 honest and industrious men shall not bee consumed to maintaine 150 idle varlets. Now though you presume the authoritie here is but a shaddow, and that I dare not touch the lives of any but my own must answer it; the letters patents each week shall be read 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 Councells to protect you, nor curbe my indeavours. Therefore hee that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

Hee made also a table ¹ as a publike memoriall of every mans deserts, to encourage the good, and with shame to spurne on the rest to amendment. By this, many became very industrious: yet more by severe punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevail to deceive him. Yet the Dutchmens consorts so closely still convai[e]ld powder, shot, swords, and tooles; that though we could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late.

¹ Notice board.

All this time, the Dutchmen remaining with Powhatan, received them, instructing the Salvages their use. But their consorts not following them as they expected, to know the cause, they sent Francis their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised Salvage like, to the glasse-house,¹ a place in the woods neere a myle from James Towne, where was the randavus for all their unsuspected villany. 40 men, they procured of Powhatan to lie in Ambuscadoe for Captaine Smith; who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but hee sent to apprehend him. Who found he was gon; yet to crosse² his returne to Powhatan, Captaine Smith presently dispatched 20 shot after him. And then returning but from the glasse-house alone, hee incountred the King of Paspasheigh, a most strong stout Salvage; whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a fauchion,³ attempted to have shot him. But the President prevented his shot by grappling with him; and the Salvage as well prevented him from drawing his fauchion, and perforce bore him into the river to have drowned him. Long they struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles upon the sandes, would have fled: but the President held him by the haire and throat til the Poles came in. Then seeing howe pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the fort. The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose villany (though all this time it was suspected), yet he fained such a formall excuse that for want of language⁴ Win had not rightly understood them: and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to save their lives, they were constrained to accommodate [him with] his armes; of whome he extreamely complained to have detained them perforce, and that hee made his escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to have returned but only walked in the woods to gather walenuts. Yet for all this faire tale, there was so smal appearance of truth, hee went by the

¹ The glass-house was erected about this time on the mainland, at the west end of the connecting neck.

² Prevent.

³ Falchion.

⁴ He spoke Dutch or German (High Dutch).

heeles.¹ The king also he put in fetters, purposing to regaine the Dutch-men, by the saving his life. The poore Salvage did his best, by his daily messengers to Powhatan, but all returned² that the Dutchmen would not return: neither did Powhatan stay them; and bring them fiftie myles on their backes,³ they were not able. Daily this kings wives children and people came to visit him with presents, which hee liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the king finding his gard negligent, though fettered yet escaped. Captaine Win thinking to pursue him, found such troopes of Salvages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flights of arrowes. Captaine Smith hearing of this, in returning to the fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners: the one called Kemps, the other Kinsock; the two most exact villaines in the countrie. With those, Captaine Win and 50 chosen men attempted that night to have regained the king, and revenged his injurie. And so had done, if he had followed his directions, or bin advised by those two villaines (that would have betraied both their king and kindred for a peece of copper); but hee trifling away the night, the Salvages, the next morning by the rising of the sunne, braved him come a shore to fight. A good time both sides let flie at other; but wee heard of no hurt. Only they tooke two Canows, burnt the kings house; and so returned.

The President fearing those bravadoes would but incourage the Salvages, begun himself to trie his conclusions; whereby 6 or 7 Salvages were slaine, as many made prisoners; burnt their houses; tooke their boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at James Towne for his owne use: and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe upon al that had injured him. But in his journey, passing by Paspaign towards Chickahamina, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their ambuscadoes: but seeing him regardlessly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselves in their bravest manner, to trie their valours. He could not but

¹ Was put in irons.

² Answered.

³ Overland from Oropaks.

let flie, and ere he could land, the Salvages no sooner knewe him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a stout young man called Ocanindge; whose worthie discourse deserveth to be remembered. And this it was.

Captaine Smith, my master is here present in this company, thinking it Captaine Win, and not you; and of him, hee intended to have beene revenged, having never offended him. If hee have offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the fowles flie, and the very beastes strive to escape the snare and live: then blame not him being a man. Hee would entreat you remember your 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 knowe 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 worst 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 wee bring you. If you promise us peace, we will beleieve you; if you proceed in reveng, we will abandon the Countrie.

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

Ariving at James Towne, complaint was made to the President that the Chickahaminos, who al this while continued trade and seemed our friendes, by colour thereof were the only theeves; and amongst other things, a pistol being stolne and the theefe fled, there were apprehended 2 proper young fellows that were brothers, knowne to be his confederats. Now to regain this pistoll, the one we imprisoned; the other was sent, to returne againe within 12 houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some charcole for fire. Ere midnight his brother returned with the pistoll: but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoke he had made, and so pittiously burnt that wee found

him dead. The other most lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth in such bitter agonies, that the President, to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steal, he would make him alive againe: but little thought hee could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with aquavitæ and vinegar, it pleased God to restore him againe to life: but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not understanding any thing hee spoke or heard; the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie, upon promise of their good behaviour afterward, the President promised to recover him; and so caused him to be laid 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 amongst all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine Smith could make a man alive that is dead. 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 wee neither demaunded 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 countrie became absolutely as free for us, as for themselves.

CHAPTER XI

What was done in three monthes having victuall. The store devoured by rats. How we lived 3 monthes of such naturall fruits as the countrie afforded.

Now weeso quietly followed our businesse that in 3 monthes, we made 3 or 4 Last¹ of pitch, and tarre, and sope ashes; produced a triall of glasse; made a well in the forte of excellent

¹ A last of pitch or tar is fourteen barrels; of ashes, twelve.

sweete water, which till then was wanting; built some 20 houses; re-covered our Church; provided nets and weares for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeves and the Salvages, built a blocke house in the necke of our Ile,¹ kept by a garrison, to entertaine the Salvages trade, and none to passe or repasse, Salvage nor Christian, without the Presidents order; 30 or 40 acres of ground, we digged and planted; of 3 sowes, in one yeare increased 60 and od pigges; and neere 500 chickens brought up themselves, without having any meate² given them: but the hogges were transported to Hog Ile, where also we built a blocke house, with a garrison, to give us notice of any shipping; and for their exercise, they made clapbord, wainscot, and cut downe trees against the ships comming. We built also a fort for a retreat, neare a convenient river, upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended:³ but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay. In searching our casked corne, wee found it halfe rotten: and the rest so consumed with the many thousand rats, increased first from the ships, that we knewe not how to keepe that little wee had. This did drive us all to our wits ende; for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded.⁴ Untill this time Kemps and Tassore were fettered prisoners, and daily wrought; and taught us how to order and plant our fields: whom now, for want of victuall, we set at libertie; but so wel were they used, that they little desired it. And to express their loves, for 16 daies continuance, the Countrie brought us (when least) 100 a daie of squirrils, Turkies, Deare, and other wilde beastes. But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. 60 or 80 with Ensigne Laxon were sent downe the river to live upon oysters: and 20 with

¹ Jamestown Peninsula.

² Food.

³ A mile up Gray's Creek (formerly Rolfe's Creek), opposite to Jamestown, is a bluff still called Smith's Fort, protected by water on three sides. It appears under this name in the land-grants as early as 1635.

⁴ This condition of things was not very creditable to Smith's circum-spection.

lieutenant Percie to trie for fishing at point Comfort, but in 6 weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their net. Mr West, with as many, went up to the falles; but nothing could bee found but a few berries and acornes. Of that in the store, every one had their equall proportion. Till this present, by the hazard and endeavour of some 30 or 40, this whole number had ever been fed. Wee had more Sturgeon then could be devoured by dogge and man; of which, the industrious by drying and pownding, mingled with caviare, sorrel and other wholesome hearbs, would make bread and good meate. Others would gather as much Tockwough roots in a day as would make them bread a weeke. So that of those wilde fruites, fish, and berries these lived very well, in regard of such a diet. But such was the most 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, and have eaten one another. Of those wild fruites, the Salvages often brought us: and for that the President would not fulfill the unreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly gluttons, to sell not only our kettles, howes, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, peeeces, and the very ordenance and houses (might they have prevailed but to have beene but idle) for those salvage fruits, they would have imparted all to the Salvages. Especially for one basket of corne they heard of to bee at Powhatans, 50 myles from our fort: though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours; yet to have had the other halfe, they would have sold 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 Countrey. Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one Dyer, a most craftie knave, and his ancient maligner; whom he worthely punished: and with the rest, he argued the case, in this manner,

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starve

you; or that Powhatan at this present hath come for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not have it, if I knewe where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malicious as now I see a great many: yet it shall not so much passionate me, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan; nor that I will longer forbear to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you raile. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I have saved yours; when (might your owne wils have prevailed) you would have starved, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selvs those fruits the earth doth yeeld; you shall not only gather for your selves, but for those that are sicke. As yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you, and all my English extraordinarie provision¹ that I have, you shall see mee devide among the sick.

And this Salvage trash you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes, your stomacks can digest it; and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shal not starve, but equally share of all our labours; and every one that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next daie, shall be set beyond the river, and for ever bee banished from the fort: and live there or starve.

This order, many murmured, was very cruell. But it caused the most part so well bestir themselves that of 200 men (except they were drowned), there died not past 7 or 8. As for Captaine Win and Mr Ley, they died ere this want happened: and the rest died not for want of such as preserved the rest. Many were billitted among the Salvages, whereby we knewe all their passages, fieldes, and habitations; how to gather and use their fruits as well as themselves.

So well those poore Salvages used us, that were thus Billited, as divers of the souldiers ran away, to search² Kemps our old prisoner. Glad was this Salvage to have such an occasion to testifie his love, for instead of entertaining them and such things as they had stolne, with all the great offers and promises they made them (to revenge their injuries upon

¹ Private provisions.

² Search for.

Captaine Smith): First, he made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrymen, by them, how he was used; feeding them with this law, who would not worke must not eat, till they were neere starved; continuallie threatning to beate them to death. Neither could they get from him, til perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them; as manie others that intended also to have followed them, were rather contented to labour at home then adventure to live Idle among the Salvages; of whom there was more hope to make better christians and good subjects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselves both. For so afeard were all those kings and the better sorte of their people to displease us, that some of the baser sort that we have extreamlie hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire us, that 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, by that testimonie of their loves.

Mr Sicklemore well returned from Chawonock, but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them [that] were left by Sir Walter Rawley.¹ So that Nathaniell Powell and Anas Todkill were also, by the Quiyoughquohanocks, conducted to the Mangoages to search them there. But nothing could we learne but they were all dead. This honest, proper, good promiskeeping king, of all the rest, did ever best affect us, and though to his false Gods he was yet very zealous; yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bowe and arrowes: often sending our President manie presents to praie to his God for raine, or his corne would perish; for his Gods were angrie all this time. To reclaime the Dutchmen, and one Bentley an other fugitive, we imploied one William Volda (a Switzer by birth), with pardons and promises to regaine them. Litle we then suspected this double villanie of anie villain, who plainly taught us, in the most trust was the greatest treason. For this wicked hypocrit, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd condition of his cursed countrimen,

¹ In 1587. See p. 17, note 2.

having this opportunitie, by his imploiment to regaine them, conveyghed them everie thing they desired to effect their project to destroye the colonie. With much devotion they expected the Spanyard, to whom they intended to have done good service. But to begin with the first oportunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced us to disperse our selves, importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not onlie destroye our hogs, fire our towne, and betraie our Pinneas: but bring to his service and subjection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted manie discontentes; and manie were agreed to their divelish practise. But Thomas Douese and Thomas Mallard, whose christian harts much relenting at such an unchristian act, voluntarily revealed it to Captaine Smith: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading Douese and Malard to proceed in the confederacie, onlie to bring the irreclamable Dutch men and inconstant Salvages in such a maner amongst his ambuscadoes as he had prepared, as not manie of them shoulde ever have returned from out our peni[n]sula. But this brute comming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut off[f] those Dutchmen, as amongst manie that offered to cut their throates before the face of Powhatan, Master Wiffin and Jefra Abot were sent to stab or shoot them. But these Dutch men made such excuses, accusing Volday (whom they supposed had revealed their project), as Abbot would not; yet Wiffin would, perceiving it but deceipt. The king understanding of this their imploiment, sent presentlie 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 anie, to occasion his displeasure. But ere this busines was brought to a point, God having seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine Argall ¹ to fish for Sturgion, with a ship well furnished with wine and bisket; which, though it was not sent us, such

¹ The celebrated Captain Samuel Argall, navigator, destroyer (1613) of the French settlements on Mt. Desert and at Port Royal, deputy-governor of Virginia 1617-1619, and a member from 1622 of the Council for New England.

were our occasions we tooke it at a price : but left him sufficient to returne for England. Still dissembling Valdo his villany ; but certainlie hee had not escaped, had the President continued.

By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissentions ; howe he wrestled and overcame (without blood shed) all that hapned : also what good was done, how few died, what food the country naturally affordeth ; what small cause there is men should starve, or be murdered by the Salvages, that have discretion to manage this¹ courage and industry. The 2. first years though by his adventures he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavours. Yet this wrought in him that experience and estimation among the Salvages, as otherwaies it had bin impossible he had ever effected that he did. Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some parts of Africa and America, as in the most partes of Europe and Asia, by land or sea, had taught him much : yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture² by experience ; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin. And though hee left these unknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his unlawfull successors ; whoe onlie by living in James Towne, presumed to know more then al the world could direct them ; though they had all his souldiers, with their triple power, and twise triple better meanes : by what they have done in his absence, the world doth see ; and what they would have done in his presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions — it doth justlie approve what cause he had to send them for England. But they have made it more plaine since their returne : having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunity that his labours had effected. As I am sorry their actions have made it so manifest, so am I unwilling to say what reason doth compell me to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partial, reasonlesse, or malitious.

¹ Manage *with*.

² Lesson.

CHAPTER XII

The Arival of the third supply.

To redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the government: and devolved the authoritie to the Lord De-la-ware. Who for his deputie, sent Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers.¹ With 9 ships and 500 persons, they set saile from England in May 1609. A small catch perished at sea in a *Herycano*. The Admiral,² with 150 men, with the two knights and their new commission, their bills of loading with al manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, arived not. With the other 7, as Capitaines, arived Ratliffe (whose right name was Sickelmore), Martin, and Archer: who as they had been troublesome at sea, beganne againe to marre all ashore. For though, as is said, they were formerly deposed and sent for England: yet now returning againe, graced by the title of *Captaines of the passengers*, seeing the admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strengthned themselves with those newe companies, so railing and exclaiming against Captaine Smith, that they mortally hated him ere ever they see his face. Who understanding by his scouts, the arivall of such a fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposing them Spaniards, hee so determined and ordered his affaires as wee little feared their arivall, nor the successe of our incounter: nor were the Salvages any way negligent or unwilling to aide and assist

¹ This is an error. Sir Thomas Gates was given the first commission as governor of Virginia. Lord Delaware was second governor, though the office was given him for life. Sir Thomas Gates, a soldier in the Elizabethan and Low-Country wars, was one of the original incorporators of the Virginia Company, and is named first in the charter; governor, 1609–1610, 1611–1614; a member of the Council of New England established in 1620. Sir George Somers had commanded important naval expeditions in the last years of Queen Elizabeth, and had been a member of Parliament under King James.

² Admiral in the sense of flagship; the *Sea Venture*, wrecked on the Bermuda Islands.

us with their best power. Had it so beene, wee had beene happy. For we would not have trusted them but as our foes; whereas receiving those as our countrymen and friends, they did their best to murder our President, to surprise the store, the fort, and our lodgings; to usurp the government, and make us all their servants, and slaves to our owne merit. To 1000 mischiefes these lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies: and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes one, the next day another, to day the old commission, to morrow the new, the next day by 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 have beene guiltie of their bloods. Happy had we bin had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned and (as we were) left to our fortunes: for on earth was never more confusion or miserie 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 smal hope this newe commission would arive, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed. It would bee too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue; the chiefe whereof he quickly laid by the heeles, til his leasure better served to doe them justice. And to take away al occasions of further mischiefe, Mr Persie had his request granted, to returne for England: and Mr West¹ with 120 went to plant at the falles; Martin with neare as many to Nansamund; with their due proportions of all provisions, according to their numbers.

Now the Presidents yeare being neere expired, he made Martin President: who knowing his own insufficiencie, and

¹ Francis West, afterward deputy-governor of Virginia, a younger brother of Lord Delaware.

the companies scorne, and conceit of his unworthinesse, within 3 houres, resigned it againe to Captane Smith: and at Nansamund thus proceeded. The people being contributors used him kindly. Yet such was his jealous feare and cowardize, in the midst of his mirth, hee did surprize this poore naked king, with his monuments, houses, and the Ile he inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with fear as imboldned the Salvages to assalt him, kill his men, redeeme their king, gather and carrie away more then 1000 bushels of corne, hee not once daring to intercept them: but sent to the President, then at the Falles, for 30 good shotte, which from James towne immediatly were sent him. But hee so well imploud them, as they did just nothing; but returned, complaining of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company, and so left them to their fortunes.

Master West having seated his men at the Falles, presently returned to revisit James Towne. The President met him by the way, as he followed him to the falles: where he found this company so inconsiderately seated in a place, not only subject to the rivers inundation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences.

For remedy whereof, he sent presently 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 countrie for a proportion of copper. That allstealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receive their punishment. That every house as a custome¹ 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 discretion.

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies² refuse, contemning both him, his kind care, and authoritie. The worst they could to shew their spite, they

¹ Tax.

² West's men.

did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with 5 men, he either durst, or would adventure as he did (knowing how greedy they were of his blood) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by their multitudes, being 120, they forced him to retire. Yet in that retreat, hee surprised one of the boates, wherewith hee returned to their shippe wherein was their provisions, which also hee tooke. And well it chaunced hee found the marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibility he had ever escaped. Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane of the most worthy in Judgement, reason, or experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old souldiers, and seeing with their eies his actions so wel managed with discretion (as Captaine Wood, Captaine Web, Captaine Mone, Captaine Phitz-James, Mr Partridge, Mr White, Mr Powell, and divers others): when they perceived the malice and condition of Ratliffe, Martin, and Archer, left their factions, and ever rested his faithfull friends. But the worst was, the poore Salvages that dailie brought in their contribution to the President. That disorderlie company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses, and keeping some prisoners, that they dailie complained to Captaine Smith he had brought them for protectors worst enimies then the Monocans themselves: which though till then, for his love, they had indured, 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 misdemeanores, as they offered, if hee would conduct them, to fight for him against them. But having spent 9. daies in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselves with their great guilded hopes of seas, mines, commodities, or victories they so madly conceived; then, seing nothing would prevaile with them, he set saile for James Towne. Now no sooner was the ship under saile, but the Salvages assaulted those 120 in their fort, finding some stragling abroad in the

woods, they slew manie; and so affrighted the rest as their prisoners escaped, and they scarce retired, with the swords and cloaks of these they had slaine. But ere we ¹ had sailed a league, our shippe grounding, gave us once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so strangelie amazed with this poore simple assault as they submitted themselves upon anie tearmes to the Presidents mercie: who presentlie put by the heels ² 6 or 7 of the chiefe offenders. The rest he seated gallantlie at Powhatan in their Salvage fort, they built and pretilie fortified with poles and barks of trees sufficient to have defended them from all the Salvages in Virginia, drie houses for lodgings, 300 acres of grounde readie to plant; and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Nonsuch. The Salvages also he presentlie appeased, redelivering to every one their former losses. Thus al were friends, new officers appointed to command, and the President againe readie to depart. But at that instant arrived Mr West, whose good nature, with the perswasions and compassion of ³ those mutinous prisoners, was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboiles ⁴ arose. For the rest, being possessed of al their victuall, ammunition and everie thing; they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President left them to their fortunes: they returning againe to the open aire at West Fort, abandoning Nonsuch; and he to James Towne with his best expedition. But this hapned him in that Journie: ⁵

Sleeping in his boat, for the ship was returned 2 daies before, accidentallie one fired his powder bag; which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes 9. or 10. inches square, in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths, he leaped over board into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him, he was neere drownd. In this estat, without either Chirurgeon or chirurgery, he was to

¹ Richard Pott and William Phettiplace.

² Put in irons.

³ By the perswasions of, and through his compassion for.

⁴ Dissensions.

⁵ About the beginning of September, 1609.

go neare 100. miles.¹ Ariving at James Towne, causing² all things to bee prepared for peace or warres,³ to obtain provision. Whilest those things were providing, Martin, Ratliffe, and Archer being to have their trials, their guiltie consciences fearing a just reward for their deserts, seeing the President unable to stand, and neare bereft of his senses by reason of his torment; they had plotted to have murdered him in his bed. But his hart did faile him,⁴ that should have given fire to that mercilesse pistol. So, not finding that course to be the best, they joined together to usurp the gouvernement, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselves by accusing him. The President had notice of their projects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but permit them to take off[f] their heads that would resist his commaund; yet he would not permit them: but sent for the masters of the ships, and tooke order with them, for his returne for England.

Seeing there was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery in the fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next daie; his commission to be suppressed, he knew not why; himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded, he knew not how; and a new commission graunted, they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides so grievous were his wounds and so cruell his torment few expected he could live; nor was hee able to follow his businesse, 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 own actions and presence were as requisit as his experience and directions, which now could not be: he went presently aboard, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutiners and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded Master Persie to stay, and be their President: and within lesse then an howre was this mutation begun and concluded. For when the company

¹ The distance by water from Powhatan to Jamestown was about 68 miles.

² He caused.

³ After "warres" supply "and."

⁴ Coe or Dyer.

understood Smith would leave them, and see the rest in Armes called Presidents and councellors; divers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him resigne them his commission. Who, after many salt and bitter repulses, that their confusion should not be attributed to him (for leaving the country without government and authority), having taken order to bee free from danger of their malice, he was not unwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any. But had that unhappy blast not hapned, he would quickly have quallified 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 paid for it.

What shall I say? but thus we lost him that, in all his proceedings, made Justice his first guid, and experience his second; ever hating basenesse, sloth, 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 actions more than wordes, and hated falshood and counsage worse then death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose losse our deaths. Leaving us¹ thus, with 3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in the store, 490 and odde persons, 24 peeces of ordinances, 300 muskets snaphanches and fire lockes,² shot powder and match sufficient; curats, pikes, swords, and moryons more then men; the Salvages their language and habitations wel knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers, nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes

¹ About October 4, 1609.

² A snaphance was fired by flint and steel, a firelock by means of a match. Curat, below, means a cuirass; a morion was a steel cap.

to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chicken, some goates, some sheep. What was brought or bread there remained.¹ But they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume that we had; tooke care for nothing, but to perfit² some colourable complaints aganst Captaine Smith. For effecting whereof, 3 weekes longer they stayed the 6 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 discreations.

Now all those Smith had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and liberty to say or sweare any thing; and from a whole armefull of their examinations this was concluded.

The mutiners at the Falles complained he caused the Salvages assalt them, for that hee would not revenge their losse (they being but 120, and he 5 men and himselfe): and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for perjurie and pilfering. The dutchmen that he had appointed to bee stabd for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with rats baine. The prudent Councel that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. Coe and Dyer that should have murdered him, were highly preferred for swearing they heard one say, he heard Powhatan say, that he heard a man say, if the king would not send that corne he had, he should not long enjoy his copper crowne, nor those robes he had sent him: yet those also swore hee might have had corne for tooles but would not. (The truth was, Smith had no such ingins³ as the King demanded, nor Powhatan any corne. Yet this argued he would starve them.) Others complained hee would not let them rest in the fort (to starve), but force them to the oyster banks, to live or starve (as he lived himselfe). For though hee had of his owne private provisions sent from

¹ As many of these articles had been brought in by the newcomers, Smith was not entitled to the full credit. According to his own statement the colony was "at its wit's end," by the rats, and quartered all about among the Indians, when the newcomers arrived.

² Perfect. ³ Engines, *i.e.*, tools.

England, sufficient; yet hee gave it all away to the weake and sicke: causing the most untoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the unknowne parts of the rivers and woods, that they lived (though hardly), that otherwaies would have starved ere they would have left their beds, or at most the sight of James Towne, to have got their own victuall. Some prophetical spirit calculated hee had the Salvages in such subjection, hee would have made himselfe a king, by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter. (It is true she was the very Nonparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith; that ever loved and used all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected: and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to have surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it. But her marriage could no way have intituled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might. If he would, he might have married her, or have done what him listed; for there was none that could have hindred his determination.) Some that knewe not any thing to say, the Councel instructed and advised what to sweare. So diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember hee had ever done or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath it was applied to their fittest use. Yet not past 8 or 9 could say much, and that nothing but circumstances which all men did knowe was most false and untrue. Many got their passes by promising in England to say much against him. I have presumed to say this much in his behalfe, for that I never heard such foule slanders so certainly beleaved and urged for truthes by many a hundred that doe still not spare to spread them, say them, and sweare them; that I thinke doe scarce know him though they meet him: nor have they ether cause or reason but their wills, or zeale to rumor or opinion. For the honorable and better sort of our Virginian adventurers, I think they understand it as I have writ it. For instead of accusing

him, I have never heard any give him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselves that were sent home only to testify against him.

RICHARD POTS, W. P[HETTIPLACE].

When the ships departed, Davis arrived in a small Pinnace with some 16 proper men more: to those were added a company from James Towne under the command of Captaine Ratliffe, to inhabit Point Comfort.¹ Martin and Mr West having lost their boates, and neere halfe their men amongst the Salvages, were returned to James Towne; for the Salvages no sooner understood of Captaine Smiths losse, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could encounter. Now were we all constrained to live only of that which Smith had only for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now have we 20 Presidents with all their appurtenances; for Mr Persie was so sicke he could not goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Mr West and Ratliffe, each with a pinnace, and 30 or 40 men well appointed, sought abroad to trade: how they carried the businesse I knowe not, but Ratliffe and his men were most[ly] slaine by Powhatan; those that escaped returned neere starved in the Pinnace. And Mr West finding little better successe, set saile for England. Now wee all found the want of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Salvages; wee had nothing but mortal wounds with clubs and arrowes. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived; our commanders and officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted, till all was devoured. Then swords, arrowes, peeces, or any thing we traded to the Salvages; whose bloody fingers were so imbrued in our bloods, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscreation, and the losse of our ships; of 500, within 6 months after ² there remained not many more then 60. most miserable and poore creatures. It were

¹ Ratcliffe built a fort at Point Comfort after the ships departed in October, 1609, which was called "Algernourne Fort."

² From October, 1609, to May, 1610.

to[o]vild to say what we endured : but the occasion was only our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and governement ; and not the barrennesse and defect of the countrie, as is generally supposed. For till then, in 3 yeares (for the numbers were landed us)¹ we had never landed sufficient provision for 6 months : such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellowes the marriners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries ; that notwithstanding ever swaid and over-ruled the businesse. Though we did live as is said, 3 yeares chiefly of what this good countrie naturally affordeth : yet now had we beene in Paradiſe it ſelfe (with thoſe governours) it would not have beene much better with us : yet was there ſome amongst us, who had they had the governement, would ſurely have kept us from thoſe extremities of miseries, that in 10 daies more would have ſupplanted us all by death.

But God that would not it ſhould bee unplanted, ſent Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers, with a 150 men, moſt happily perſerved by the Ber[m]londoes to preſerve us. Strange it is to ſay how miraculoſly they were preſerved, in a leaking ſhip, in thoſe extreme ſtormes and tempeſts in ſuch overgrowne ſeas 3 daies and 3 nights by bayling out water. And having given themſelves to death, how happily when leaſt expected, that worthy Captaine Sir George Somers having l[a]ſt all that time cuning² the ſhip before thoſe ſwalowing waves, diſcovered thoſe broken Iles :³ where how plentifully they lived with fiſh and fleſh, what a paradiſe this is to inhabit, what industrie they uſed to build their 2 ſhips, how happily they did transport them to James Towne in Virginia,⁴ I refer you to their owne printed relations.

But when thoſe noble knights did ſee our miseries (being ſtrangers to the country) and could underſtand no more of the cauſe but by their conjecture of our clamors and complaints, of accusing or excuſing one another : they imbarked us with themſelves, with the beſt means they could, and abandoning James Towne, ſet ſaile for England.

¹ *I.e.*, in conſideration of the numbers of new coloniſts that were landed to us.

² Directing the ſteering.

³ The Bermudas.

⁴ Where they arrived May 23, 1610.

But yet God would not so have it, for ere wee left the river; we met the Lord de-la-ware, then governour for the countrie, with 3 ships exceeding well furnished with al necessaries fitting: who againe returned them to the abandoned James Towne, the 9 of June, 1610. accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Wainman, and divers other gentlemen of sort.¹ Sir George Somers and Captaine Argall he presentlie dispatcheth to require the Bermondas to furnish them with provision: Sir Thomas Gates for England to helpe forward their supplies; himselfe neglected not the best was in his power for the furtherance of the busines and regaining what was lost. But even in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an incounter with a scurvy sicknesse, that made him unable to weld² the state of his bodie, much lesse the affaires of the colonie, so that after 8. monthes sicknesse, he was forced to save his life by his returne for England.

In this time Argall not finding the Bermondas, having lost Sir George Somers at sea, fell on the coast of Sagadahock;³ where refreshing himselfe, found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a tast whereof, hee returned to James towne, from whence the Lord De-la-ware sent him to trade in the river of Patawomecke. Where finding an English boy⁴ those people had preserved from the furie of Powhatan, by his acquaintance, had such good usage of those kind Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with corne; wherewith he returned to James Towne: and so for England, with the Lord Governour. Yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent Sir Thomas Dale⁵ with

¹ Quality.

² Weld, *i.e.*, to manage.

³ Maine.

⁴ Henry Spelman, son of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary; given to Powhatan by Smith in August, 1609. After several years of life among the savages and of service to the colony as interpreter, he was killed by the Anacostan Indians in 1623.

⁵ Sir Thomas Dale was a soldier in the service of the United Netherlands in the period 1588-1595, an attendant upon Prince Henry in Scotland, 1595-1603, and again in the Dutch military service, 1603-1611. After his six years of distinguished service to Virginia, 1611-1617, he sailed early in 1618 to the East in command of the East India Company's fleet. After valiant exploits, he died at Masulipatam in August, 1619.

3 ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeare: all which arived the 10 of May, 1611.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition, there was prepared for Sir Thomas Gates, 6 tall ships with 300 men, and 100 kyne, with other cattell, with munition and all manner of provision could bee thought needfull, and they arived about the 1 of August next after, safely at James towne.

Sir George Somers all this time was supposed lost: but thus it hapned. Missing the Bermondas, hee fell also, as did Argall, with Sagadahock: where being refreshed, would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search; and there safely arived.¹ But overtoiling himselfe, on a surfeit died. And this Cedar ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any iron but only one bolt in her keele, yet well endured thus tossed to and againe in this mightie Ocean, til with his dead bo[die] she arived in England at line: ² and at Whitechurch in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with many volies of shot, and the rights of a souldier. And upon his Tombe was bestowed this Epitaph

*Hei mihi Virginia, quod tam cito præterit ætas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæviet inde et hyems.
At ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores, Floryda terra tuos.*

Alas Virginia Somer so soone past,
Autume succeeds and stormy winters blast,
Yet Englands joyfull spring with Aprill shewres,
O Floryda, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

Since, there was a ship fraughted with provision and 40 men, and another since then, with the like number and provision, to stay in the Countrie 12 months with Captaine Argall.

The Lord governour himselfe doth confidently determine to goe with the next, or as presently as he may, in his owne

¹ At the Bermudas.

² At last.

person, with sundry other knights and gentlemen, with ships and men so farre as their meanes will extend to furnish. As for all their particular actions since the returne of Captaine Smith; for that they have beene printed from time to time, and published to the world, I cease farther to trouble you with any repetition of things so well knowne, more then are necessary. To conclude the historie, leaving this assurance to all posteritie, howe unprosperously things may succeed, by what changes or chances soever; the action is honorable and worthie to bee approved, the defect whereof hath only beene in the managing the businesse: which I hope now experience hath taught them to amend, or those examples may make others to beware, for the land is as good as this booke doth report it.

Captaine Smith I returne you the fruit of my labours, as Mr Croshaw¹ requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which have walked and observed the land of Virginia with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceived of the expedition, give me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict: the land is good: as there is no citties, so no sonnes of Anak: al is open for labor of a good and wise inhabitant: and my prayer shall ever be, that so faire a land, may bee inhabited by those that professe and love the Gospell.

Your friend,
W. S.

¹ Raleigh Croshaw.