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The Generall Historie of Virginia
by Captain John Smith, 1624;
the Fourth Booke

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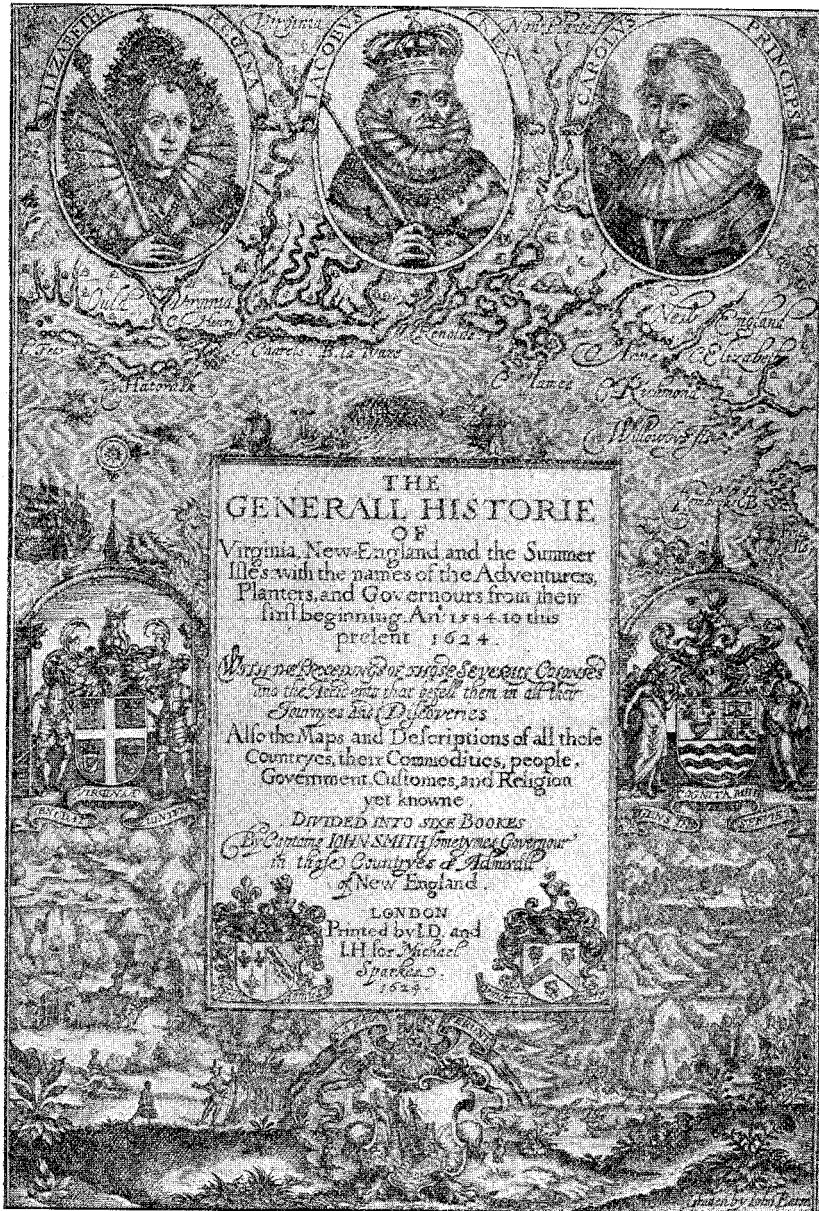
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INTRODUCTION

THE *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, compiled by Captain John Smith, was first printed at London for Michael Sparkes in 1624, with an engraved title-page, profusely decorated, which is reproduced in this book. It was projected by Smith as early as April 12, 1621, when he attempted to interest the Virginia Company in the publication. In 1626, 1627, and 1632 what purported to be new editions were issued, but they had the same text with fresh title-pages only. In 1812 J. Pinkerton included the *Generall Historie* in his *General Collection of Voyages*. In 1819 it was reprinted at Richmond, Virginia, by Rev. John Holt Rice, along with the *True Travels* of 1630. In 1884 the *Generall Historie* was included in the complete *Works* of Captain John Smith, published at London by Edward Arber. In 1907 it was again reprinted, in Glasgow. It is divided into six books. The first book tells of the early voyages to, and attempts at, English settlement in America; the second is a reprint, with variations, of the first part of the *Map of Virginia* (1612); the third is a reprint, with variations, of the second part of the *Map of Virginia*; the fourth takes up the history of the Virginia colony from the departure for England of Captain Smith about October 4, 1609, to the dissolution of the Virginia Company in May, 1624; the fifth book gives the history of the Bermuda Islands from 1593 to 1624; and the sixth book gives a history of New England, which consists of a reprint of his *A Description of New England* (1616) and *New England's Trials* (1620), with some additional matter. Though Smith

had proposed to the Virginia Company in 1621 the publication of such a work as the *Generall Historie*, it was never adopted or authorized by them.

The fourth book may be described as a compilation of extracts from the narratives of other men interspersed with the comments of Smith. It cannot be called history in the true sense for two reasons: first, because the journals of the Virginia Company — the most important source of information during the last five years — were never consulted; and second, because of the extreme partisan character of the writers. The “narratives” are written from the standpoint of that faction in the Virginia Company which was in favor of martial law, and Smith’s comments are chiefly directed to his own glorification. Nevertheless, the errors that exist are to be found mainly in the coloring given to events and the prejudiced estimates placed upon men and conditions. Cautiously taken, therefore, the book is a valuable statement of events which occurred after Smith’s departure from the colony. The fault is not so much that Smith misstates, as that he errs in his reasoning. A marked instance is his account of the “Starving Time.” Thus, he claims credit for the condition of the colony at the time of his departure to England, in October, 1609, and enthusiastically tells of the great number of settlers and supplies which he left behind, contrasting this state of affairs with the desolation at the end of the “Starving Time.” Now as a matter of fact, Smith’s right to credit expired with the coming of the Third Supply in August, at which time the colony was reduced to a very low state, being billeted out in small companies among the savages. The numbers and supplies on hand in October were chiefly brought by the newcomers, whose presence was very objectionable to Smith. After all, the supplies were wholly insufficient for the support of such a multitude of men as were unloaded at Jamestown from the fleet of Sir Thomas Gates.



TITLE PAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA

Another instance of Smith's false reasoning may be found in his comments on the revocation of the charter of the Virginia Company. He states that the company in carrying out "their owne conceits consumed more than £200,000 and neere eight thousand men's lives," and, referring to the administration of Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton, attributes the result to want of "good order and government." The simple facts are that the misfortunes of the colony, under these two eminent statesmen, were due to climatic diseases and an Indian massacre, for neither of which they were responsible.

L. G. T.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF
VIRGINIA BY CAPTAIN JOHN
SMITH, 1624; THE FOURTH BOOKE

*To make plaine the True Proceedings of the Historie for 1609.
we must follow the examinations of Doctor Simons, and two
learned Orations published by the Companie;¹ with the re-
lation of the Right Honourable the Lord De la Ware.*

*What happened in the first government after the alteration, in
the time of Captaine George Piercie their Governor.*

THE day before Captaine Smith returned² for England with the ships, Captaine Davis arrived in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from James towne, under the command of Captaine John Sickelmore alias Ratliffe, to inhabit Point Comfort. Captaine Martin and Captaine West, having lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Salvages, were returned to James towne; for the Salvages no sooner understood Smith was gone, but they all revolted, and did spoile and murder all they incountered.

Now wee were all constrained to live onely on that Smith had onely for his owne Companie,³ for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master Piercie, our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine West and Captaine Sickel-

¹ "The examinations of Doctor Simons" (or Simmonds) may mean the portions of Book III. immediately preceding. "Two learned Orations published by the Companie" most probably refers to *Nova Britannia* (London, 1609) and *A True and Sincere Declaration* (London, 1610).

² About October 4, 1609.

³ *I.e.*, the portion of the settlers retained at Jamestown.

more, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. Sickelmore upon the confidence of Powhatan, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all slaine; onely Jeffrey Shortridge escaped; and Pokahontas the Kings daughter saved a boy called Henry Spilman, that lived many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the Patawomekes. Powhatan still, as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade: so that Captaine West set saile for England. Now we all found the losse of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne provision and contribution from the Salvages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived, our commanders, officers and Salvages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Salvages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of five hundred within six moneths after Captaine Smiths departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserved for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had startch in these extremities, made no small use of it; yea, even the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him up againe and eat him; and so did divers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbes: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered ¹ her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne; for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved: now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not; but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of. This was that time, which still to this day ² we called the starving time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleaved,

¹ Salted.² 1624.

what we endured: but the occasion was our owne, for want of providence industrie and government, and not the barrenesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed us, we had never from England provision sufficient for six moneths, though it seemed by the bills of loading sufficient was sent us, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent us, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they ever overswayed and ruled the businesse, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly lived on what this good Countrie naturally afforded. Yet had wee beene even in Paradice it selfe with these Governours, it would not have beene much better withe us; yet there was amongst us, who had they had the government as Captaine Smith appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would surely have kept us from those extremities of miseries. This in ten daies more, would have supplanted us all with death.

But God that would not this Countrie should be unplanted, sent Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Sommers with one hundred and fiftie people most happily preserved by the Bermudas to preserve us: strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserved in a leaking ship, as at large you may reade in the insuing Historie of those Ilands.¹

The government resigned to Sir Thomas Gates 1610.

When these two Noble Knights did see our miseries, being but strangers in that Countrie, and could understand no more of the cause, but by conjecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing and excusing one another: They embarked us with themselves, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning James towne,² set saile for England: whereby you may see the event of the government of the former Commanders³

¹ The history of the Bermudas or Somers Islands to 1624 is contained in the fifth book of the *Generall Historie*. Gates and Somers arrived May 23, 1610.

² June 7, 1610.

³ Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer.

left to themselves; although they had lived there many yeeres, as formerly hath beene spoken (who hindred now their proceedings, Captaine Smith being gone).

At noone they fell to the Ile of Hogs, and the next morning to Mulberypoint, at what time they descried the Long-boat of the Lord la Ware; for God would not have it so abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then Governour of the Countrie, met them with three ships exceedingly well furnished with all necessaries fitting; who againe returned them to the abandoned James towne.¹

Out of the observations of WILLIAM SIMMONS
Doctor of Divinitie.²

The government devolved to the Lord la Ware.

His Lordship arrived the ninth of June 1610. accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Captaine Houlcroft, Captaine Lawson, and divers other Gentlemen of sort; the tenth he came up with his fleet, went on shore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entred into consultation for the good of the Colonie: in which secret counsell we will a little leave them, that we may duly observe the revealed counsell of God. Hee that shall but turne up his eie, and behold the spangled canopie of heaven, or shall but cast downe his eie, and consider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall shall marke how the heavens heare the earth, and the earth the Corne and Oile, and they relieve the necessities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite providence. But hee that shall further observe, how God inclineth all casuall events to worke the necessary helpe of his Saints, must needs adore the Lords infinite goodnesse. Never had any people more just cause, to cast themselves at the very foot-stoole of God, and

¹ An account of these transactions, by Delaware and his council, in the form of a letter, dated July 7, 1610, is printed in Brown's *Genesis*, pp. 404-413, and in Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 36-49.

² *I.e.*, what precedes is derived from *The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia*, by W. S. Its text is followed closely; see pp. 198-204, above.

to reverence his mercie, than this distressed Colonie; for if God had not sent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudas, within foure daies they had almost beene famished; if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to save the Fort from fiering at their shipping,¹ for many were very importunate to have burnt it, they had beene destitute of a present harbour and succour: if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would have destroyed the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safeties amongst them and a terror. If they had set saile sooner, and had lanced into the vast Ocean; who would have promised they should have incountered the Fleet of the Lord la Ware: especially when they made for Newfound land, as they intended; a course contrarie to our Navie approaching. If the Lord la Ware had not brought with him a yeeres provision, what comfort would those poore soules have received, to have beene relanded to a second destruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people passe the red Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of Canaan: It was divinely spoken of Heathen Socrates, If God for man be carefull, why should man bee over-distrustfull? for he hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

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

The Lord Governour, after mature deliberation, delivered some few words to the Companie, laying just blame upon them, for their haughtie vanities and sluggish idlenesse, earnestly intreating them to amend those desperate follies lest hee should be compelled to draw the sword of Justice and to cut off such delinquents, which he had rather draw

¹ From being set on fire at their embarkation.

to the shedding of his vitall bloud, to protect them from injuries; heartning them with relation of that store hee had brought with him, constituting officers of all conditions, to rule over them, allotting every man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully. This Oration and direction being received with a generall applause, you might shortly behold the idle and restie diseases of a divided multitude, by the unitie and authoritie of this government to be substantially cured. Those that knew not the way to goodnesse before, but cherished singularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all respective dutie and service: every man endevoureth to outstrip other in diligence: the French preparing to plant the Vines,¹ the English labouring in the Woods and grounds; every man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie. Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the sap of their bodies should bee spent for other mens profit) the settled times of working, to effect all themselves, or as the Adventurers need desire, required no more paines than from six of the clocke in the morning, untill ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure; at both which times they are provided of spirituall and corporall reliefe. First, they enter into the Church, and make their praiers unto God; next they returne to their houses and receive their proportion of food. Nor should it bee conceived that this businesse excludeth Gentlemen, whose breeding never knew what a daies labour meant: for though they cannot digge, use the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the staied spirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsell, the operation and power of their best breeding and qualities. The houses which are built, are as warme and defensive against wind and weather, as if they were tiled and slated, being covered above with strong boards, and some matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Salvages: Our

¹ This was the first attempt at cultivating grapes in Virginia.

Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. And to leave no discouragement in the heart of any, who personally shall enter into this great action, I will communicate a double comfort; first, Sir George Sommers, that worthy Admirall hath undertaken a dangerous adventure for the good of the Colonie.

Upon the 15. of June, accompanied with Captaine Samuel Argall, hee returned in two Pinaces unto the Bermudas, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths provision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arrived, but Captaine Argall was forced backe againe to James towne: whom the Lord De la Ware not long after sent to the River of Patawomeke, to trade for Corne; where finding an English boy, one Henry Spilman,¹ a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserved from the furie of Powhatan, by his acquaintance had such good usage of those kinde Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to James towne.

The other comfort is, that the Lord la Ware hath built two new Forts, the one called Fort Henry, the other Fort Charles, in honour of our most noble Prince, and his hopefull brother, upon a pleasant plaine, and neare a little Rivilet they call Southampton River; they stand in a wholesome aire, having plentie of Springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens; in which Forts it is resolved, that all those that come out of England, shall be at their first landing quartered, that the wearisomnesse of the Sea may bee refreshed in this pleasing part of the Countrie. And Sir Thomas Gates hee sent for England.² But to correct some injuries of the Paspahags, he sent Captaine Pearcie, Master Stacy, and fiftie or threescore shot: where the Salvages flying, they burnt their houses, tooke the Queene and her children prisoners, whom not long after they slew.

¹ See p. 202, note 4, *ante*.

² On July 15, 1610.

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

But his Lordship being at the fall[les], the Salvages assaulted his troopes and slew three or foure of his men. Not long after, his Honour growing very sicke, he returned for England the 28. of March; in the ship were about five and fiftie men, but ere we arrived at Fyall, fortie of us were neare sicke to death, of the Scurvie, Callenture, and other diseases: the Governour, being an English-man, kindly used us, but small reliefe we could get but Oranges, of which we had plenty; whereby within eight daies wee recovered, and all were well and strong by that¹ they came into England.

Written by WILLIAM BOX.

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

¹ By the time.

and husbandry, will furnish all our defects with honour and securitie.

Out of a Declaration published by the COUNSELL, 1610.¹

The government surrendered to Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in Virginia the tenth of May, 1611, out of Master Hamors² Booke.

Before the Lord la Ware arrived in England, the Councell and Companie had dispatched away Sir Thomas Dale with three ships, men, and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeere; all which arrived well the tenth of May 1611: where he found them growing againe to their former estate of penurie, being so improvident as not to put Corne in the ground for their bread; but trusted to the store, then furnished but with three moneths provision.³ His first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne, at the two Forts at Kecoughtan, Henry and Charles; whereby, the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, wee had an indifferent crop of good Corne.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his under-Officers, to James towne he hastened, where most of the companie were at their daily and usuall works, bowling in the streets:⁴ these hee imployed

¹ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony of Virginia* (London, 1610), pp. 21-23. That tract is reprinted in Force's *Historical Tracts*, Vol. III. Next, Smith prints an abridgment of Delaware's *Relation* (1611). It is here omitted, that tract having been printed entire on p. 205-214, above.

² Ralph Hamor was recorder or secretary of state 1611 to 1614, and his narrative, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London, 1615), praises the administration of which he was part, at the expense of the colony. The abstract of it continues from this point to p. 316, except for the two interpolations noted in subsequent foot-notes. But the order followed is not precisely Hamor's. It is: pp. 26-33, 4-18, 37-46 of Hamor's tract.

³ More than half the emigrants died during Delaware's stay in the colony, and the rest were probably too weak to do anything.

⁴ Dale arrived at Jamestown, Sunday, May 19, and found some who were well enough bowling in the street — one of the usual pastimes thought in England proper for the day. His report on the state of affairs he found in

about necessarie workes, as felling of Timber, repayring their houses ready to fall on their heads, and providing pales, posts and railes, to impale his purposed new towne, which by reason of his ignorance, being but newly arrived, hee had not resolved where to seat. Therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he spent some time in viewing the River of Nansamund, in despite of the Indians then our enemies; then our owne River to the Fal[l]es, where upon a high land, environed with the maine River, some twelve miles from the Fal[l]es, by Arsahattock, he resolved to plant his new towne.

It was no small trouble to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition, as may well witness his severitie and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all extremitie to be executed; now much mitigated: so as if his Lawes had not beene so strictly executed, I see not how the utter subversion of the Colonie should have beene prevented, witness Webbes and Prices designe the first yeere, since that of Abbots and others, more dangerous than the former.¹ Here I entreat your patience for an Apologie, though not a pardon. This Jeffrey Abbots, how ever this Author censures him, and the Governor executes him; I know he had long served both in Ireland and Netherlands. Here hee was a Sargeant of my Companie, and I never saw in Virginia a more sufficient Souldier, lesse turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or industrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that sought to abandon the Countrie, or wrong the Colonie; how ingratelously those deserts might bee rewarded, envied or neglected, or his farre inferiors preferred to over-top him, I know not: but such occasions might move a Saint, much more a man, to an unadvised passionate impatience, but how ever, it seemes he hath beene punished for his offences, that was never rewarded for his deserts. And even this Sum-

Virginia at his arrival, written May 26, may be seen in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 488-494.

¹ This is a disingenuous perversion of cause and effect. Dale's tyranny forced the men to run away, and afterwards, like other tyrants, he justified his harsh rule by its natural consequences. The remarks which follow, down to the mention of Cole's and Kitchins's plot, are Smith's, not Hamor's.

mer Cole and Kitchins plot¹ with three more, bending their course to Ocanahowan, five daies journey from us, where they report are Spaniards inhabiting. These were cut off by the Salvages, hired by us to hunt them home to receive their deserts. So as Sir Thomas Dale hath not beene so tyrannous nor severe by the halfe, as there was occasion, and just cause for it; and though the manner was not usuall, wee were rather to have regard to those, whom we would have terrified and made fearefull to commit the like offences, than to the offenders justly condemned: for amongst them so hardned in evill, the feare of a cruell painfull and unusuall death more restraines them, than death it selfe. This much I have proceeded of his endeavours, untill the comming of Sir Thomas Gates, in preparing himselfe to proceed as he intended.

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

The government returned againe to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

These worthy Knights being met, after their welcoming salutations, Sir Thomas Dale acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended: which designe Sir Thomas Gates well approving, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of. In the beginning of September, 1611. hee set saile, and arrived where hee intended to build his new towne: within ten or twelve daies he had invironed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince

¹ Edward Cole, Kitchins, and others had been acting as the guard to Molina, a Spanish spy, and were persuaded by him to attempt to reach the Spanish settlements in Florida; and, it being now a time of peace, they had travelled "some five days' journey to Ocanahoen," when they were "cut off" by the Indians, and brought back to Jamestown, where they were tried and six of them condemned and executed. Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 158, 211.

Henry, called it Henrico. The next worke he did, was building at each corner of the Towne a high commanding Watch-house, a Church, and Store-houses: which finished, hee began to thinke upon convenient houses for himselfe and men, which, with all possible speed hee could, he effected, to the great content of his companie, and all the Colonie.

This towne is situated upon a necke of a plaine rising land, three parts invironed with the maine River, the necke of land well impaled, makes it like an Ile; it hath three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church, and the foundation of a better laid (to bee built of Bricke), besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like. Upon the verge of the River there are five houses, wherein live the honester sort of people, as Farmers in England,¹ and they keepe continuall centinell for the townes securitie. About two miles from the towne, into the Maine, is another pale, neere two miles in length, from River to River, guarded with severall Commanders, with a good quantitie of Corne-ground impaled, sufficiently secured to maintaine more than I suppose will come this three yeeres.

On the other side of the River, for the securitie of the towne, is intended to be impaled for the securitie of our Hogs, about two miles and a halfe, by the name of Hope in Faith, and Coxendale, secured by five of our manner of Forts, which are but Palisadoes, called Charitie Fort, Mount Malado (a guest house for sicke people) a high seat and wholsome aire, Elisabeth Fort, and Fort Patience: And here hath Master Whitaker² chosen his Parsonage, impaled a faire framed Parsonage, and one hundred acres called Rocke hall, but these are not halfe finished.

About Christmas following, in this same yeere 1611. in regard of the injurie done us by them of Apamatuck, Sir Thomas Dale, without the losse of any, except some few Salvages, tooke it and their Corne, being but five miles by land from Henrico: and considering how commodious it might be for us, resolved to possesse and plant it, and at the

¹ Hamor says, "as in Farnes in England."

² Alexander Whitaker, son of William Whitaker, a celebrated Puritan divine. He was minister in Virginia from 1611 to his death in 1617.

instant called it the new Bermudas; whereunto hee hath laid out and annexed to the belonging freedome and corporation for ever, many miles of Champian¹ and Woodland ground in severall hundreds, as the upper and nether hundreds, Rochdale hundred, West Sherly hundred, and Digs his hundred. In the nether hundred he first began to plant, for there is the most Corne-ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut over from River to River, whereby we have secured eight English miles in compasse: upon which circuit, within halfe a mile of each other, are many faire houses already built; besides particular mens houses neere to the number of fiftie. Rochdale, by a crosse pale welnigh foure miles long, is also planted with houses along the pale, in which hundred our Hogs and Cattell have twentie miles circuit to graze in securely. The building of the Citie² is referred till our harvest be in, which he intends to make a retreat against any forraigneemie.

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

Since there was a ship fraughted with provision,³ and fortie men; and another since then with the like number and pro-

¹ Champaign, open lands.

² Bermuda City, subsequently Charles City, and now City Point, at the east of the mouth of the Appomattox River, across from Bermuda Hundred.

³ At this point the margin, under date 1612, notes, "Sir Thomas Smith, Treasurer," or head of the company, as he had been since the grant of the first charter in 1606. The third charter was granted in March, 1612.

vision, to stay twelve moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine Argall, which was sent not long after. After hee had recreated and refreshed his Companie, hee was sent to the River Patawomeake, to trade for Corne: the Salvages about us having small quarter, but friends and foes as they found advantage and opportunitie. But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine Argall, having entred into a great acquaintance with Japazaws, an old friend of Captaine Smiths, and so to all our Nation, ever since hee discovered the Countrie, heard by him there was Pocahontas, whom Captaine Smiths Relations intituleth the Numparell¹ of Virginia, and though she had beene many times a preserver of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was never seene at James towne since his departure.² Being at Patawomeke, as it seemes, thinking her selfe unknowne, was easily by her friend Japazaws perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship: for Captaine Argall had promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the Salvage for this Copper Kettle would have done any thing, it seemed by the Relation. For though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet hee caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, that hee offered to beat her for her importunitie, till she wept. But at last he told her, if Pocahontas would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent Pocahontas aboard, where they were all kindly feasted in the Cabbin. Japazaws treading oft on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part; the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded Pocahontas to the Gun-roome, faining to have some conference with Japazaws, which was onely that she should not perceive hee was any way guiltie of her captivitie: so sending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and us, before she ever should see Powhatan; whereat the old Jew and his wife began to howle and crie as

¹ Nonpareil. See pp. 69, 199, above. ² In the autumn of 1609.

fast as Pocahontas, that upon the Captaines faire perswasions, by degrees pacifying her selfe, and Japazaws and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore; and shee to James towne. A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter Pocahontas he loved so dearely, he must ransom with our men, swords, peeeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherously had stolne.

This unwelcome newes much troubled Powhatan, because hee loved both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after ¹ ere hee returned us any answer: then by the perswasion of the Councell, he returned seven of our men, with each of them an unserviceable Musket, and sent us word, that when wee would deliver his daughter, hee would make us satisfaction for all injuries done us, and give us five hundred bushels of Corne, and for ever be friends with us. That he sent, we received in part of payment, and returned him this answer: That his daughter should be well used; but we could not beleeve the rest of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till hee sent them, we would keepe his daughter.

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him for a longtime after: when with Captaine Argals ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie; Sir Thomas Dale, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went up into his owne River, ² to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter. With many scornfull bravado's they affronted us, proudly demanding Why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receive the ransom for her that was promised, or to have it perforce. They nothing dismayed thereat, told us, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were provided for us: but advised us, if wee loved our lives to retire; else they would use us as they had done Captaine Ratcliffe: We told them, Wee would presently have a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among us in the ship.

¹ July, 1613.

² York River.

Being thus justly provoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher up the River, where they demanded Why wee burnt their houses, and wee, Why they shot at us: They replied, it was some stragling Salvage, with many other excuses, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, Wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. Upon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to Powhatan; whose answer, they told us, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: Then they told us, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet Powhatans men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they should be brought us the next day, which was only but to delay time; for the next day they came not. Then we went higher, to a house of Powhatans, called Matchot,¹ where we saw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared us to come on shore, which wee did; no shew of feare they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly up and downe amongst us, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to have truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with us, and defend their owne as they could. Which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie away their provision; yet wee promised them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with us, they should know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets.

Upon this promise, two of Powhatans sonnes came unto us to see their sister: at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much rejoiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for ever be friends with us. And upon this, the two brethren went

¹ Matchot was an Indian village situated according to Smith's map on the south side of the Pamunkey River, but from the description in Hamor's *True Discourse*, it appears to have been on the north side.

aboard with us; and we sent Master John Rolfe and Master Sparkes to Powhatan, to acquaint him with the businesse: kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the presence of Powhatan, but they spoke with Opechancanough, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to Powhatan, all might be well. So it being Aprill, and time to prepare our ground and set our Corne, we returned to James Towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next harvest.

Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest Gentleman, and of good behaviour, had beene in love with Pocahontas, and she with him: which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his advice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approved: the bru[il]te of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent Opachisco, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill.¹ And ever since wee have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himselfe, as all his subjects.

Besides this, by the meanes of Powhatan, we became in league with our next neighbours, the Chicahamanias, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselves. These people, so soone as they heard of o[u]r peace with Powhatan, sent two messengers with presents to Sir Thomas Dale, and offered them his ² service, excusing all former injuries, hereafter they would ever be King James his subjects, and relinquish the name of Chickahamania, to be called Tassautessus, as they call us; and Sir Thomas Dale there Governour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be governed by their owne Lawes, which

¹ More correctly, "about the fifth of April" (1614). See Rolfe's letter on pp. 235-244, above.

² Offered him their service.

is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured jointly together, glad was he could slip from his

labour, or slumber over his taske he cared not how, nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much true paines in a weeke, as now for themselves they will doe in a day: neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever the harvest prospered, the generall store must maintaine them, so that wee reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie, as now three or foure doe provide for themselves. To prevent which, Sir Thomas Dale hath allotted every man three Acres of cleare ground, in the nature of Farmes, except the Bermudas:¹ who are exempted, but for one moneths service in the yeere, which must neither bee in seed-time, nor harvest; for which doing, no other dutie they pay yeerely to the store, but two barreles and a halfe of Corne.² From all those Farmers (whereof the first was William Spence, an honest, valiant, and an industrious man, and hath continued from 1607. to this present) from those is expected such a contribution to the store, as wee shall neither want for our selves, nor to entertaine our supplies; for the rest, they are to worke eleven moneths for the store, and hath one moneth onely allowed them to get provision to keepe them for twelve, except two bushels of Corne they have out of the store. If those can live so, why should any feare starving; and it were much better to denie them passage that would not, ere they come, bee content to ingage themselves to those conditions: for onely from the slothfull and idle drones, and none else, hath sprung the manifold imputations, Virginia innocently hath undergone; and therefore I would deter such from comming here, that cannot well brooke labour, except they will undergoe much punishment and penurie, if they escape the skurvie: but for the industrious, there is reward sufficient, and if any thinke there is nothing but bread, I referre you to his³ relations that discovered the Countrie first.

¹ Bermuda Hundred and Bermuda City at the mouth of the Appomattox River, or Upper and Nether Bermuda Hundreds.

² The remainder of this paragraph is not derived from Hamor.

³ Smith's.

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

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

It pleased Sir Thomas Dale, before my returne to England, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to give mee leave to visit Powhatan and his Court: being provided, I had Thomas Salvage with mee, for my Interpreter; with him and two Salvages for guides, I went from the Bermuda in the morning, and came to Matchot the next night, where the King lay upon the River of Pamaunke. His entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gave you leave, being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres¹ I have not seene you, nor heard of my owne man Namontack I sent to England,² though many ships since have beene returned thence. Having done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother Sir Thomas Dale at his first arrivall, which was a token betwixt them, when ever hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home.

It is true Sir Thomas Dale had sent him such word, and gave his Page order to give it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I never heard of it, yet I replied I did know there was such an order, but that was when upon a sudden he should

¹ 1610-1614.

² Namontack, who was slain by another Indian, Matchumps, in the Bermuda Islands, when shipwrecked with Gates, in 1609.

have occasion to send an Englishman without an Indian Guide; but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted us to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men that alwaies attend his person. The first thing he did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir Thomas Dale did, and his daughter, and unknowne sonne, and how they lived, loved and liked; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not live againe with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my comming: I told him my message was private, and I was to deliver it onely to himselfe and Papaschicher, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on.

I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir Thomas Dale hath sent you two pecies of Copper, five strings of white and blue Beads, five wooden Combes, ten Fish-hookes, a paire of Knives, and that when you would send for it, hee would give you a Grindstone; all this pleased him: but then I told him his brother Dale, hearing of the fame of his youngest daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me unto him, in testimonie of his love, as well for that he intended to marry ¹ her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for ever to dwell in his Countrie, he conceived there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an united union. I needed not entreat his answer by his oft interrupting mee in my speech, and presently with much gravitie he thus replied.

I gladly accept your salute of love and peace, which while I live, I shall exactly keepe; his pledges thereof I receive with no lesse thanks, although they are not so ample as formerly he had received: but for my daughter, I have sold her within

¹ A curious proposal of Dale's, as he had a wife and several children living in England.

this few daies to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Rawrenoke,¹ three daies journie from me. I replyed, I knew his greatnesse in restoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, because she was but twelve yeeres old, assuring him, besides the band of peace, hee should have for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. His answer was, he loved his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children, hee delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he should not often behold, he could not possibly live, which she living with us he could not do, having resolved upon no termes to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst us; therefore desired me to urge him no further, but returne his brother this answer: That I desire no firmer assurance of his friendship than the promise hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she lives shall be sufficient, when she dies, he shall have another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereave me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not distrust any injurie from me or my people; there have beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my occasion there shall never be more, (I which have power to performe it, have said it) although I should have just cause, for I am now old, and would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me injurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus much I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because you are wearie, and I sleepe, wee will thus end. So commanding us victuall and lodging, we rested that night, and the next morning he came to visit us, and kindly conducted us to the best cheere hee had.

While I here remained, by chance came an Englishman, whom there had beene surprized three yeeres agoe² at Fort Henry, growne so like, both in complexion and habit like a Salvage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee desired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and so farre urged Powhatan, that he grew discontented, and told mee, You have

¹Roanoke shells.

²1611. The margin reads, "William Parker recovered."

one of my daughters, and I am content: but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must have him away, or breake friendship; if you must needs have him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any evill befall you, thanke your selves.

I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee must expect a revenge; and his brother might have just cause to suspect him. So in passion he left me till supper, and then gave me such as hee had with a cheerefull countenance: About midnight he awaked us, and promised in the morning my returne with Parker; but I must remember his brother to send him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shaving-knife, a Frowe,¹ a Grind-stone, a Net, Fish-hookes, and such toies; which lest I should forget, he caused me write in a table-booke he had; how ever he got it, it was a faire one, I desired hee would give it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in shewing to strangers, yet in the morning when we departed, having furnished us well with provision, he gave each of us a Bucks skin as well dressed as could be, and sent two more to his sonne and daughter: And so we returned to James towne.

Written by Master RALPH HAMOR and JOHN ROLPH.

I have read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir Thomas Dale, another by Master Whitaker, and a third by Master John Rolfe; how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee never had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions and violent passions he endured for her love, as he deeply protested, was wonderful, and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized. But either the coldnesse of the adventurers, or the bad usage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight² to write thus.

¹ A wedge-shaped tool for splitting rails or staves.

² Sir Thomas Dale. What follows is an abridgment of his letter printed in Hamor, pp. 51-59.

Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby intermedling herein, have caused a number of soules transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant; howsoever they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things have animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne unto; leaving all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than see Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I have in charge revived, which would quickly happen if I should leave them; so few I have with me fit to command or manage the businesse.

Master Whitaker their Preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English Ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hether, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themselves at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures; be there not any among them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ, but I refer them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward every one according to his talent.

From Virginia, June 18. 1614.¹

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

¹This is from Rev. Alexander Whitaker's letter printed in Hamor, pp. 59-61.

*The Contents of the declaration of the Lottery published by the
Counsell.*¹

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

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

Now for the points, the first is, for as much as the Adventurers came in so slackly for the yeere past, without prejudice to the generality; in losing the blankes and prizes, we were forced to petition to the honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this Plantation, have recommended their Letsenters² to the Countries, Cities, and good townes in England, which we hope by adding in their voluntary Adventurers, will sufficiently supply us.

The second for satisfaction to all honest well affected minds, is, that though this expectation answer not our hopes, yet wee have not failed in our Christian care, the good of that Colony, to whom we have lately sent two sundry supplies, and were they but now supplied with more hands, wee should soone resolve the division of the Country by Lot, and so lessen the generall charge.

The third is our constant resolution, that seeing our credits are so farre engaged to the honourable Lords and the whole State, for the drawing this great Lottery, which we intend shall

¹ During Gates's governorship the prospects of the colony were much depressed by the mortality of the climate; and the cruelties perpetrated under the name of martial law deterred settlers from coming over. To raise money, resort was had to lotteries, but with poor results.

² Perhaps this word means distributors of lottery tickets.

be without delay, the 26. of June next, desiring all such as have undertaken with bookes to solicit their friends, that they will not with-hold their monies till the last moneth be expired, lest we be unwillingly forced to proportion a lesse value and number of our Blankes and Prises which hereafter followeth.

Welcomes.

	Crownes.
To him that first shall be drawne out with a blanke,	100
To the second,	50
To the third,	25
To him that every day during the drawing of this Lottery, shall bee first drawne out with a blanke,	10

Prizes.

	Crownes.
1 Great Prize of	4500
2 Great Prizes, each of	2000
4 Great Prizes, each of	1000
6 Great Prizes, each of	500
10 Prizes, each of	300
20 Prizes, each of	200
100 Prizes, each of	100
200 Prizes, each of	50
400 Prizes, each of	20
1000 Prizes, each of	10
1000 Prizes, each of	8
1000 Prizes, each of	6
4000 Prizes, each of	4
1000 Prizes, each of	3
1000 Prizes, each of	2

Rewards.

	Crownes.
To him that shall be last drawne out with a blanke,	25
To him that putteth in the greatest Lot, under one name,	400
To him that putteth in the second greatest number,	300

To him that putteth in the third greatest number, 200
 To him that putteth in the fourth greatest number, 100
 If divers be of equall number, their rewards are to be
 divided proportionally.

Addition of new Rewards.

	Crownes.
The blanke that shall bee drawne out next before the great Prize shall have	25
The blanke that shall be drawne out next after the said great Prize	25
The blankes that shall be drawne out immediately before the two next great Prizes, shall have each of them	20
The severall blankes next after them, each shall have	20
The severall blankes next before the foure great Prizes, each shall have	15
The severall blankes next after them, each shall have	15
The severall blankes next before the six great Prizes, each shall have	10
The severall blankes next after them, each shall have	10

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

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

All prizes, welcomes and rewards drawne where ever they dwell, shall of the Treasurer have present pay, and whosoever under one name or poesie¹ payeth three pound in ready money, shall receive six shillings and eight pence, or a silver spoone of that value at his choice.

About this time it chanced a Spanish ship, beat too and againe before point Comfort, and at last sent a shore their

¹“ Posy ” or motto used in place of an assumed name.

boat, as desirous of a Pilot. Captaine James Davis the governor, immediately gave them one: but he was no sooner in the boat, but a way they went with him, leaving three of their companions behind them; this sudden accident occasioned some distrust, and a strict examination of those three thus left, yet with as good usage as our estate could afford them. They only confessed, having lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts; and two of them were Captaines, and in chiefe authority in the fleet: thus they lived till one of them was found to be an Englishman, and had been the Spaniards Pilot for England in 88.¹ and having here induced some male-contents, to beleve his projects, to run away with a small barke, which was apprehended, some executed, and he expecting but the Hangmans curtesie, directly confessed that two or three Spanish ships was at Sea, purposely to discover the estate of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, so that of any thing more he was utterly ignorant. One of the Spaniards at last dyed; the other was sent for England, but this reprieved, till Sir Thomas Dale hanged him at Sea in his voyage homeward: the English Pilot they carried for Spaine, whom after a long time imprisonment, with much sute² was returned for England.

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

The government left to Captaine Yearly.

Now a little to commentary upon all these proceedings, let me leave but this as a caveat by the way; if the alteration of government hath subverted great Empires, how dangerous

¹ 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada.

² Suit, *i.e.*, solicitation. For a better account of this episode, see the letter of Diego de Molina, on pp. 215-224, above, and the many documents from the Spanish archives printed by Brown in his *Genesis of the United States*.

is it then in the infancy of a common-weale? The multiplicity of Governors is a great damage to any State; but uncertaine daily changes are burdensome, because their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilst the sunne doth shine, how ever it shall faire with the generality.

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

Master George Yearly now invested Deputie Governour by Sir Thomas Dale, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they could devise for a present gaine, so that every man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir Thomas Dale had caused such an abundance of corne to

be planted, that every man had sufficient, yet the supplies¹ were sent us, came so unfurnished, as quickly eased us of our superfluitie. To relieve their necessities, he sent to the Chickahamianias for the tribute Corne Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that hee drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to Chickahamania; the people in some places used him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was but Sir Thomas Dales man, and they had payed his Master according to condition, but to give any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master; after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that Dale had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours. Yearly seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at Ozinies, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards Mamanahunt, they put themselves in the same order they see us, lead by their Captaine Kissanacomen, Governour of Ozinies, and so marched close along by us, each as threatening other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against Mamanahunt, and they passed the River. The next day we followed them; there are few places in Virginia had then more plaine ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Salvages without feare standing in troupes amongst us, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to dant us: what other practises they had I know not; but to prevent the worst, our Captaine caused us all to make ready, and upon the word, to let flie among them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners; all which being done according to our direction, the Captaine gave the word, and

¹ Supplies (of men) which were sent, etc.

wee presently discharged, where twelve lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelve more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant Boothe, the other by Robert a Polonian. Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now Opechankanough had agreed with our Captaine for the subjecting of those people, that neither hee nor Powhatan could ever bring to their obedience; and that he should make no peace with them without his advice: in our returne by Ozinies with our prisoners wee met Opechankanough, who with much adoe, fained with what paines hee had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of Ozinies, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had. Here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine Henry Spilman our Interpreter, a Gentleman had lived long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner¹ among the Salvages; and done much good service, though but badly rewarded. From hence we marcht towards James towne, we had three Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage; the one of them being more willing to be at James towne with the newes than the other, was overset, and eleven men cast away with the Boat, Corne and all their provision. Notwithstanding this put all the rest of the Salvages in that feare, especially in regard of the great league we had with Opechankanough, that we followed our labours quietly, and in such securitie that divers salvages of other Nations, daily frequented us with what provisions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for us themselves. Captaine Yearly had a Salvage or two so well trained up to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the English, and one hee kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were divers others had Salvages in like manner for their men. Thus we lived together, as if wee had beene one people, all the time Captaine Yearley

¹ See p. 202, note 4.

staid with us, but such grudges and discontents daily increased among our selves, that upon the arrivall of Captaine Argall, sent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Governour, Captaine Yearley returned for England in the yeere 1617.¹

From the writings of Captaine NATHANIEL POWELL,
WILLIAM CANTRILL, Sergeant BOOTHE, EDWARD
GURGANNEY.

During this time, the Lady Rebecca, *alias* Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master John Rolfe her husband and his friends, was taught to speake such English as might well bee understood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and civill after our English manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loved most dearely, and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were divers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arrived at London, Captaine Smith to deserve her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Majestie and her Court, and writ a little booke² to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth.

*To the most high and vertuous Princesse, Queene Anne³ of
Great Brittanie.*

MOST ADMIRER QUEENE:

The love I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Majestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must

¹ Yearley's government lasted one year, and the colony "lived in peace and the best plentye that ever it had till that time." *Breife Declaration.*

² Letter.

³ Anne was the second daughter of Frederick II., king of Denmark, and married James I. in 1589. She died March 2, 1619.

bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is,

That some ten yeeres agoe¹ being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age,² whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks³ fattig amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine; and not onely that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplied; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I

¹ *I.e.*, December, 1607.

² She was consequently at the time of this letter (1616) twenty or twenty-one years old, which is confirmed by the inscription on the engraving by Simon de Passe, and on the original portrait in England, *Ætatis suæ* 21, A^o. 1616.

³ Or rather three weeks. Smith was absent from Jamestown from December 10, 1607, to January 2, 1608.

know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee,¹ having but eightene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine and utter confusion; which if in those times, had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have line² as it was at our first arrivall to this day. Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie; all which time shee was not heard of. About two yeeres after³ shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded; and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman: a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie, what at your best leasure our approved Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesties life; and however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged any thing of the state, or any: and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert; your birth, meanes and authoritie; hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter,

¹ At Werowocomoco, about January 15, 1609.

² Lain.

³ April, 1613. See above, p. 307.

as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majestie. The most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how ever her stature:¹ if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her present love to us and Christianitie might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evill: where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Majestie and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to have writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said,

Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countryman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to

¹ Pocahontas was, therefore, not tall.

Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Counciemen will lie much.

This Salvage, one of Powhatans Councell, being amongst them held an understanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at Plimoth, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to have kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske. Comming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behaviour, hee told me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of. Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied ever to have seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly, You gave Powhatan a white Dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe; but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

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

The government devolved to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617.

The Treasurer, Councell and Companie, having well furnished Captaine Samuel Argall, the Lady Pocahontas *alias*

Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the *George*; it pleased God at Gravesend¹ to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe Thomas Rolfe therefore was left at Plimoth with Sir Lewis Stukly, that desired the keeping of it. Captaine Hamar his² vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at Plimoth. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arrived at James towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine Yearley and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an Indian. In James towne he found but five or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Store-house they used for the Church; the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco: the Salvages as frequent in their houses as themselves, whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession; the Colonie dispersed all about, planting Tobacco. Captaine Argall not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble us; we were constrained every yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie: yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir Thomas Dale, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere³ the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought us neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieve the whole Colonie. For from the tenants wee seldome had above foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was

¹ It is lately reported (July, 1907) that her grave and skeleton have been found there.

² Argall's,

³ 1618.

not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men women and Children.

This yeere ¹ having planted our fields, came a great drought; and such a cruell storme of haile, which did such spoile both to the Corne and Tobacco, that wee reaped but small profit: the Magazine that came in the *George*, being five moneths in her passage, proved very badly conditioned; but ere she arrived, we had gathered and made up our Tobacco, the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteene pence.

To supply us, the Councell and Company with all possible care and diligence, furnished a good ship of some two hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred people and the Lord la Ware. They set saile in Aprill, and tooke their course by the westerne Iles,² where the Governour of the Ile of Saint Michael received the Lord la Ware, and honourably feasted him, with all the content hee could give him. Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very sicke; thirtie died, one of which number was that most honourable Lord Governour the Lord la Ware, whose most noble and generous disposition is well knowne to his great cost, had beene most forward in this businesse for his Countries good. Yet this tender state of Virginia was not growne to that maturitie, to maintaine such state and pleasure as was fit for such a personage, with so brave and great attendance: for some small number of adventrous Gentlemen to make discoveries, and lie in Garrison ready upon any occasion to keepe in feare the inconstant Salvages, nothing were more requisite; but to have more to wait and play than worke, or more commanders and officers than industrious labourers was not so necessarie. For in Virginia, a plaine Souldier that can use a Pick-axe and spade, is better than five Knights, although they were Knights that could breake a Lance: for men of great place, not inured to those incounters, when they finde things not sutable, grow many times so discontented, they forget themselves, and oft become so carelesse, that a dis-

¹ Marginal reading, "1618. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer." ² Azores.

contented melancholy brings them to much sorrow, and to others much miserie.

At last they stood in for the coast of New-England; where they met a small Frenchman,¹ rich of Bevers and other Furres. Though wee had here but small knowledge of the coast nor countrie; yet they tooke such an abundance of Fish and Fowle, and so well refreshed themselves there with wood and water, as by the helpe of God thereby, having beene at Sea sixteene weekes, got to Virginia, who without this reliefe had beene in great danger to perish. The French-men made them such a feast, with such an abundance of varietie of Fish, Fowle and Fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wilderness could afford such wonderfull abundance of plentie. In this ship came about two hundred men, but very little provision: and the ship called the *Treasurer* came in againe not long after with fortie passengers. The Lord la Wares ship lying in Virginia three moneths,² wee victualled her with threescore bushels of Corne, and eight Hogsheads of flesh, besides other victuall she spent whilest they tarried there: this ship brought us advice that great multitudes were a preparing in England to bee sent, and relied much upon that victuall they should finde here: whereupon our Captaine³ called a Councill, and writ to the Councill here in England the estate of the Colonie, and what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not provision as well as people; and what they did suffer for want of skilfull husbandmen, and meanes to set their Ploughs on worke: having as good ground as any man can desire, and about fortie Bulls and Oxen; but they wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesses for the Cattell. Some thirtie or fortie acres wee had sowne with one Plough, but it stood so long on the ground before it was reaped, it was most shaken; and the rest spoiled with the Cattell and Rats in the Barne, but no better Corne could bee for the quantitie.

¹ A small French ship.

² From August to November, 1618.

³ Samuel Argall.

Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine at Kekough-tan, desired leave to returne to his wife at Charles hundred,¹ hee went to James towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proved that he intended to goe trade with the Indies² of Chickahamania: where making shew of the great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Salvages perceiving, partly for their trucke, partly for revenge of some friends they pretended should have beene slaine by Captaine Yearley; one of them with an English peece shot Killingbeck dead, the other Salvages assaulted the rest and slew them, stripped them, and tooke what they had. But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house³ of the towne, stole all the Indian treasure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other Indians related. On Sunday following, one Fairfax⁴ that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three small children safe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: she supposing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; presently after came three or foure of those fugitive Salvages, entred the house, and slew a boy and three children: and also another youth that stole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewise murdered. Of this disaster the Captaine sent to Opechankanough for satisfaction, but he excused the matter, as altogether ignorant of it; at the same time the Salvages that were robbed were complaining to Opechankanough, and much feared the English would bee revenged on them; so that Opechankanough sent to Captaine

¹ Bermuda Hundred.

² Indians.

³ "Their Church and Storehouse," says the margin.

⁴ In 1620 William Fairfax, yeoman and ancient planter, who "has remained 8 years in the country, and Margery, his wife, an old planter also that came into the country, married to said Fairfax," sold to Rev. Richard Buck twelve acres of land a mile from Jamestown, in the eastern part of the island, on which were "a dwelling house and another little house." (Virginia Land Grants.) In 1622 he was killed by the Indians, while living at the house of Ensign William Spence in Archer's Hope.

Argall, to assure him the peace should never be broken by him, desiring that he would not revenge the injurie of those fugitives upon the innocent people of that towne; which towne he should have, and sent him a basket of earth, as possession given of it, and promised, so soone as possibly they could catch these robbers, to send him their heads for satisfaction, but he never performed it.

SAMUEL ARGALL, JOHN ROLFE.

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

Concerning the state of our new Common-wealth, it is somewhat bettered, for we have sufficient to content our selves, though not in such abundance as is vainly reported in England. Powhatan died this last Aprill, yet the Indians continue in peace. Itopatin his second brother succeeds him, and both hee and Opechankanough have confirmed our former league. On the eleventh of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a most fearefull tempest, but it continued not past halfe an houre, which powred downe hailestones eight or nine inches about,¹ that none durst goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaves of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beast; it fell onely about James towne, for but a mile to the East, and twentie to the West there was no haile at all. Thus in peace every man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note. Some private differences happened betwixt Captaine Bruster and Captaine Argall, and Captaine Argall and the Companie here in England; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any use, and therefore unfit to be remembered.² In December³ one Captaine Stallings,

¹ Such storms were apparently more frequent in colonial days than in later times. There is record of a storm in 1667, which poured down hailstones so large that they beat holes in the roofs of the houses.

² Particulars of the suit of Brewster against Argall and of the relations between Argall and the company in London, may be found in the first volume of the *Records of the Virginia Company* (Washington, 1906), published by the Library of Congress from the manuscript in its possession. For the period 1619-1624, these records are the chief and authoritative source for the history of the Virginia Company.

³ 1617.

an old planter in those parts, being employed by them of the West cuntry for a fishing voyage in New-England, fell foule of a Frenchman whom hee tooke, leaving his owne ship to returne for England, himselfe with a small companie remained in the French barke, some small time after upon the coast, and thence returned to winter in Virginia.

The government surrendered to Sir George Yearley.

For to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619,¹ there arrived a little Pinnace privatly from England about Easter² for Captaine Argall; who taking order for his affaires, within foure or five daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine Nathaniel Powell. On the eighteenth of Aprill, which was but ten or twelve daies after, arrived Sir George Yearley, by whom we understood Sir Edwin Sandys was chosen Treasurer, and Master John Farrar his Deputy; and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent us, which did ravish us so much with joy and content, we thought our selves now fully satisfied for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithstanding, such an accident hapned Captaine Stallings, the next day his ship was cast away, and he not long after slaine in a private quarrell. Sir George Yearly to beginne his government, added to be of his counsell, Captaine Francis West, Captaine Nathaniel Powell, Master John Pory, Master John Rolfe, and Master William Wickam, and Master Samuel Macoeke, and propounded to have a generall assembly with all expedition. Upon the twelfth of this Moneth, came in a Pinnace of Captaine Bar-

¹ The margin reads, "1619. Sir Edwin Sands [Sandys, then pronounced Sands] Treasurer. Master John Farer [Ferrar] Deputie." This marks a great turning-point in the history of the Virginia Company, Sir Thomas Smith and his party being defeated in the spring election, and the opposite party becoming dominant, under the leadership of the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the Ferrars, John and Nicholas. The history of all these struggles may be traced in E. D. Neill's *Virginia Company of London* (Albany, 1869), and in the *Records of the Virginia Company*.

² Easter Sunday (old style) was March 28, in 1619.

graves;¹ and on the seventeenth Captaine Lownes,² and one Master Evans, who intended to plant themselves at Waraskoyack: but now Ophechankanough will not come at us, that causes us suspect his former promises.

In May came in the *Margaret* of Bristoll, with foure and thirty men, all well and in health; and also many devout gifts: and we were much troubled in examining some scandalous letters sent into England, to disgrace this Country with barrenesse, to discourage the adventurers, and so bring it and us to ruine and confusion. Notwithstanding, we finde by them of best experience, an industrious man not other waies imploied, may well tend foure akers of Corne, and 1000. plants of Tobacco; and where they say an aker will yeeld but three or foure barreles,³ we have ordinarily foure or five, but of new ground six, seven, and eight, and a barrell of Pease and Beanes, which we esteeme as good as two of Corne, which is after thirty or forty bushels an aker, so that one man may provide Corne for five; and apparell for two by the profit of his Tobacco. They say also English Wheat will yeeld but sixtene bushels an aker, and we have reaped thirty: besides to manure the Land, no place hath more white and blew Marble⁴ than here, had we but Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to use them, and traine up our cattell to draw them; which though we indeavour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobaco. And yet of that, many are so covetous to have much, they make little good; besides there are so many sofisticating Tobaco-mungers in England, were it never so bad, they would sell it for Verinas,⁵ and the trash that remaineth should be Virginia: such devilish bad mindes we know some of our owne Country-men doe beare, not onely to the businesse, but also to our mother England her selfe; could they or durst they as freely defame her.

The 25. of June came in the *Triall* with Corne and Cattell

¹ Captain George Bargrave.

² Captain Christopher Lawne.

³ "A barrell they account foure bushels," says the margin.

⁴ Marl.

⁵ A high-grade Cuban tobacco.

all in safety, which tooke from us cleerly all feare of famine; then our governour and councell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated thought ¹ expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine Ward was sent to Monahigan ² in new England, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to small purpose, for they wanted Salt. The *George* also was sent to New-found-land with the Cape Merchant: there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seven weekes. About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars: ³ and Japazous King of Patawomeck, came to James towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his River, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one Poule, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very jealous ⁴ the Salvages would surprize us. The Governours have bounded foure Corporations; ⁵ which is ⁶ the Companies, the University, the Governours and Gleabe land. Ensigne Wil. Spencer, and Thomas Barret a Sergeant, with some others of the ancient Planters being set free, weare the first farmers that went forth; and have chosen places to their content: so that now knowing their owne land, they strive who should exceed in building and planting. The fourth of November, the *Bona nova* came in with all her people lusty and well; not long after one Master Dirmer ⁷ sent out by some

¹ That were thought. This is the general assembly whose records have been printed on previous pages of this volume, pp. 245-278.

² Monhegan Island, off the coast of Maine.

³ This was the first introduction of negro slavery into Virginia. See Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, pp. 6-9, and p. 282, *ante*.

⁴ Fearful.

⁵ Elizabeth City, James City, Charles City, and Henrico. See Tyler, *The Cradle of the Republic*, pp. 117, 118.

⁶ In which are, etc. Sir Edwin Sandys had this spring proposed a university or college for Virginia, and a grant of land at Henrico had been made for its support.

⁷ Thomas Dermer during this voyage sailed up the Hudson River, and after visiting Virginia sailed to England, where he brought news of the Dutch trading posts on the Hudson, and the value of the fur trade. Therefore

of Plimoth for New-England, arrived in a Barke of five tunnes, and returned the next Spring. Notwithstanding the ill rumours of the unwholsomnesse of James towne, the new commers that were planted at old Paspaheghe,¹ little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country. In December, Captaine Ward returned from Patawomeck, the people there dealt falsly with him, so that hee tooke 800. bushels of Corne from them perforce. Captaine Woddiffie² of Bristol came in not long after, with all his people lusty and in health: and we had two particular Governours sent us, under the titles of Deputies to the Company, the one to have charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies.³ Now you are to understand, that because there have beene many complaints against the Governours, Captaines, and Officers in Virginia: for buying and selling men and boies, or to bee set over from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in England a thing most intolerable; or that the tenants or lawfull servants should be put from their places, or abridged their Covenants, was so odious, that the very report thereof brought a great scandall to the generall action. The Councill in England did send many good and worthy instructions for the amending of those abuses, and appointed a hundred men should at the Companies charge be allotted and provided to serve and attend the Governour during the time of his government, which number he was to make good at his departure,

Captain Samuel Argall, with many English planters, prepared to make a settlement on the Hudson, but in 1623 a number of French-speaking Walloons came over and constituted the first regular Dutch colony in America.

¹ "Old Paspahegh," where the Paspahegh Indians had their chief town previous to the arrival of the English, was the site of Argall's "Gift" or "Town."

² Captain John Woodlief arrived in Virginia in the *Margaret* of Bristol on December 4, 1619, bringing the first colony for Berkeley Hundred, established by a private company of which Sir William Throckmorton, Richard Berkeley, William Tracy, George Thorpe, and John Smyth of Nibley were the leading members.

³ George Thorpe was appointed manager of the college lands (set aside this year for the support of a college), and Captain Thomas Newce manager of the company's lands.

and leave to his Successor in like manner; fifty to the Deputy-Governour of the Colledge land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treasurer, to the Secretary five and twenty, and more to the Marshall and Cape merchant; which they are also to leave to their successors; and likewise to every particular Officer such a competency, as he might live well in his Office, without oppressing any under their charge: which good law I pray God it be well observed, and then we may truly say in Virginia, we are the most happy people in the world.¹

By me JOHN ROLFE.

There went this yeere by the Companies records, 11. ships, and 1216. persons to be thus disposed on: Tenants for the Governours land fourescore, besides fifty sent the former spring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the Colledge a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wives ninety,² servants for publike service fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring up thirty of the infidels children: the rest were sent to private Plantations.

Two persons unknowne have given faire Plate and Ornaments for two Communion Tables, the one at the Colledge, the other at the Church of Mistris Mary Robinson,³ who towards the foundation gave two hundred pound. And another unknowne person sent to the Treasurer five hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing up of the salvage children in Christianity. Master Nicholas Farrar deceased, hath by his Will given three hundred pounds to the Colledge, to be paid when

¹ The object of assigning men and land to the different standing officers was to save the people from being taxed for their support. The experiment, however, proved a failure, and the land thus reserved was ultimately granted away to private persons.

² These ninety young maidens were sold with their consent to the settlers as wives, at the cost of their transportation, viz.: one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco (equivalent to \$500 in present currency). Cargoes of this interesting merchandise continued to arrive for many years.

³ This church was in Southampton Hundred; *i.e.*, the country from Weyanoke to Chickahominy River. There is still preserved a cup, the gift of Mrs. Mary Robinson to this church, with the hall-mark 1617.

there shall be ten young Salvages placed in it, in the meane time foure and twenty pound¹ yeerely to bee distributed unto three discreet and godly young men in the Colony, to bring up three wilde young infidels in some good course of life; also there were granted eleven Pattents, upon condition to transport people and cattle to increase the Plantations.²

A desperat Sea-fight³ betwixt two Spanish men of warre, and a small English ship, at the Ile of Dominica, going to Virginia, by Captaine Anthony Chester.

Having taken our journey towards Virginia in the beginning of February, a ship called the *Margaret and John*, of one hundred and sixty tuns, eight Iron Peeces and a Falcon, with eightie Passengers besides Sailers; After many tempests and foule weather, about the foureteenth of March⁴ we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we edged towards her to see what she was, but she presently set saile, and ran us quickly out of sight. This made us keepe our course for Mettalina, and the next day passing Dominica, we came to an anchor at Guardalupo, to take in fresh water. Six French-men there cast away sixteene moneths agoe came aboard us; they told us a Spanish man of Warre but seven daies before was seeking his consort, and this was she we descried at hull. At Mevis we intended to refresh our selves,

¹ The interest on £300 at the rate of eight per cent., a rate then usual, and made the legal rate a few years later, by 21 Jac. I. c. 17.

² "But few performe them," says the margin.

³ This sea-fight was accounted in its day among the most notable exploits of the English people. Two accounts were published, one at Amsterdam and the other at London. In 1707 there was printed in Dutch at Leyden an account which is said to have been "narrated by a distinguished passenger." See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, IX. 203-214. An account also was written by Thomas Hothersall "late zityson and grocer of London being an I witness and interpreter of the exployte." Brown MS. to editor. The quotation made by Brown in his *First Republic*, p. 415, was doubtless from this writer.

⁴ The margin has the note, "1620. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer [*i.e.*, of the Virginia Company] and Master John Ferrar Deputy."

having beene eleven weeks ¹ pestered in this unwholsome ship; but there we found two tall ships with the Hollanders colours; but necessitie forcing us on shore, we anchored faire by them, and in friendly manner sent to hale them: but seeing they were Spaniards, retiring to our ship, they sent such a volley of shot after us, that shot the Boat, split the Oares, and some thorow the clothes, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great Ordnance, that many times over-racked our ship, which being so cumbred with the Passengers provisions, our Ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it should have beene. But perceiving what they were, we fitted our selves the best we could to prevent a mischief. Seeing them warp themselves to windward, we thought it not good to be boarded on both sides at an anchor; we intended to set saile, but that the Vice-Admirall battered so hard our starboord side, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their unkindnesse with such faire shot from a Demiculvering,² that shot her betweene wind and water, whereby she was glad to leave us and her Admirall together. Comming faire by our quarter, he tooke in his Holland flag, and put forth his Spanish colours, and so haled us.

We quietly and quickly answered him, both what wee were, and whither bound; relating the effect of our Commission, and the cause of our comming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of Spaines Subjects, nor any. She commanded us amaine³ for the King of Spaine. We replied with inlarging the particulars what friends both the Kings our Masters were; and as we would doe no wrong, we would take none. They commanded us aboard to shew our Commission; which we refused, but if they would send their Boat to us willingly they should see it. But for answer they made two great shot at us, with a volley of small shot, which caused us to leave the decks; then with many ill words they laid us aboard,⁴ which caused us to raise our maine saile, and give the word to our small shot which lay close and ready, that paid

¹ From February to April, 1620.

² A demi-culverin was a cannon of about 4000 pounds.

³ To lower the top-sail.

⁴ Ran alongside of us.

them in such sort, they quickly retired. The fight continued halfe an houre, as if we had beene invironed with fire and smoke, untill they discovered the waste of our ship naked, where they bravely boorded us loofe for loofe, hasting with pikes and swords to enter; but it pleased God so to direct our Captaine, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed under our halfe deck, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose under the Port holes, encountred them so rudely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and their whole company beaten backe. Many of our men were hurt, but I am sure they had two for one.

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

Amongst the rest, one Lucas, our Carpenters Mate, must not be forgotten, who perceiving a way how to annoy them; As they were thus puzzled and in a confusion, drew out a Minion¹ under the halfe decke, and there bent it upon them in such a manner, that when it was fired, the cases of stones and

¹ A small cannon weighing about 1500 pounds and shooting a four-pound ball.

peeces of Iron fell upon them so thick, as cleared the decke, and slew many; and in short time we saw few assailants, but such as crept from place to place covertly from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may commend our enemies, they had done something worthy of commendations; yet either wanting men, or being overtaken with the unlooked for valour of our men, they now began to shrink, and give us leave to be wanton with our advantage. Yet we could onely use but foure peece of Ordnances, but they served the turne as well as all the rest: for she was shot so oft betweene wind and water, we saw they were willing to leave us, but by reason she was fast in the latch of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung aloofe, she could not cleare her selfe as she wrought to doe, till one cut the Cable with an axe, and was slaine by freeing us. Having beene aboard us two houres and an halfe, seeing her selfe cleere, all the shot wee had, plaied on both sides, which lasted till we were out of shot; then we discovered the Vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply us with their Ordnances, and put us in minde we had another worke in hand. Whereupon we separated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ship with the rest, and were so well encouraged wee waied them amaine.¹ The Admirall stood aloofe off, and the other would not come within Falcon² shot, where she lay battering us till shee received another paiment from a Demiculvering, which made her beare with the shore for smooth water to mend her leakes. The next morning they both came up againe with us, as if they had determined to devour us at once, but it seemed it was but a bravado, though they forsooke not our quarter for a time within Musket shot; yet all the night onely they kept us company, but made not a shot. During which time we had leasure to provide us better than before: but God bethanked they made onely but a shew of another assault, ere suddenly the Vice-admirall fell a starne, and the other lay shaking in the wind, and so they both left

¹ Signalled them to come ahead.

² A falcon was a cannon weighing about 1000 pounds.

us. The fight continued six houres, and was the more unwelcome, because we were so ill provided, and had no intent to fight, nor give occasion to disturbe them. As for the losse of men, if Religion had not taught us what by the providence of God is brought to passe, yet daily experience might informe us, of the dangers of wars, and perils at sea, by stormes tempests, shipwracks, encounters with Pirats, meeting with enemies, crosse winds, long voiages, unknowne shores, barbarous Nations, and an hundred inconveniences, of which humane pollicies are not capable, nor mens conjectures apprehensive. We lost Doctor Bohun,¹ a worthy valiant Gentleman, (a long time brought up amongst the most learned Surgeons and Physitions in Netherlands, and this his second journey to Virginia :) and seven slaine out right; two died shortly of their wounds; sixteene was shot, whose limbs God be thanked was recovered without maime, and now settled in Virginia. How many they lost we know not, but we saw a great many lie on the decks, and their skuppers runne with bloud. They were about three hundred tunnes apeece, each² sixteene or twentie Brasse-peece. Captaine Chester, who in this fight had behaved himselfe like a most vigilant, resolute, and a couragious souldier, as also our honest and valiant Master, did still so comfort and incourage us by all the meanes they could. At last, to all our great contents, we arrived in Virginia, and from thence returned safely to England.³

That most generous and most honourable Lord, the Earle of Southampton, being pleased to take upon him the title of Treasurer, and Master John Farrar his Deputy, with⁴ such instructions as were necessary, and admonitions to all Officers

¹ Dr. Bohun received a mortal wound, and Captain Chester embraced him and exclaimed, "Oh, Dr. Bohun, what a disaster is this." The noble doctor replied, "Fight it out, my brave man, the cause is good, and the Lord receive my soul." Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II. 830.

² *I.e.*, each had.

³ Next follows in the *Generall Historie* (pp. 130-138 of the original), an alphabetical list of the adventurers for Virginia, or subscribers to the Virginia Company, here omitted.

⁴ Sent.

to take heede of extortion, ingrosing commodities, forestalling of markets, especially to have a vigilant care,¹ the familiarity of the Salvages living amongst them made them not way to betray or surprize them, for the building of Guest-houses to relieve the weake in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no discoveries, nor knew no more then ² the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could ever see any returne for all this continuall charge and trouble; therefore they sent to be added to the Councell seven Gentlemen, namely Mr Thorp, Captaine Nuce, Mr Tracy, Captaine Middleton, Captaine Blount, Mr John Pountas, and Mr Harwood, with men, munition, and all things thought fitting; but they write from Virginia, many of the Ships were so pestered with diseased people, and thronged together in their passage, there was much sicknesse and a great mortality, wherefore they desired rather a few able sufficient men well provided, then great multitudes. And because there were few accidents³ of note, but private advertisements by letters, we will conclude this yeere, and proceed to the next.

Collected out of the COUNCELS letters for Virginia.

The instructions and advertisements for this yeere⁴ were both from England and Virginia, much like the last: only whereas before they had ever a suspicion of Opechankanough, and all the rest of the Salvages, they had an eye over him more then any; but now they all write so confidently of their assured peace with the Salvages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery; so that every man planteth himselfe where he pleaseth, and followeth his businesse securely. But the time of Sir George Yearley being neere expired, the Council here made choise of a worthy young Gentleman Sir Francis Wyat to succeed him, whom they forthwith furnished and provided, as they had done his Predecessors, with all the necessary instructions all these times had

¹ Supply "that."

² Than.

³ Happenings.

⁴ The margin has the note, "1621. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer. Master John Ferrar Deputy."

acquainted them, for the conversion of the Salvages; the suppressing of planting Tobacco, and planting of Corne; not depending continually to be supplied by the Salvages, but in case of necessity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath beene promised and expected should have beene fed and relieved by the English, not the English by them; and carefully to redresse all the complaints of the needlesse¹ mortality of their people: and by all diligence seeke to send something home to satisfie the Adventurers, that all this time had only lived upon hopes, grew so weary and discouraged, that it must now be substance that must maintaine their proceedings, and not letters, excuses and promises; seeing they could get so much and such great estates for themselves, as to spend after the rate of 100. pounds, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. nay some 2000. or 3000.² pounds yearely, that were not worth so many pence when they went to Virginia, can scarce containe themselves either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of such superfluity, within a lesse compasse than our curious, costly, and consuming Gallants here in England, which cannot possibly be there supported, but either by oppressing the Comminalty there, or deceiving the generality here (or both).

Extracted out of the COUNCELS Letters for Virginia.

From Virginia, by the relations of the Chieftains there, and many I have conferred with, that came from thence hither, I have much admired to heare of the incredible pleasure, profit and plenty this Plantation doth abound in, and yet could never heare of any returne but Tobacco: but it hath oft amazed me to understand how strangely the Salvages hath beene taught the use of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling peeeces; and our men rooting in the ground about Tobacco like Swine. Besides, that the

¹ It was, as observed before, a part of the council's policy to "promote" the country at the expense of the settlers.

² Three thousand pounds sterling at that time was equivalent to \$75,000 in present values.

Salvages that doe little but continually exercise their bow and arrowes, should dwell and lie so familiarly amongst our men that practised little but the Spade; being so farre asunder, and in such small parties dispersed, and neither Fort, exercise of armes used, Ordnances mounted, Courts of guard,¹ nor any preparation nor provision to prevent a forraine enemy, much more the Salvages howsoever: for the Salvages uncertaine conformity I doe not wonder; but for their constancy and conversion, I am and ever have beene of the opinion of Master Jonas Stockam² a Minister in Virginia, who even at this time, when all things were so prosperous, and the Salvages at the point of conversion, against all their Governours and Councels opinions, writ to the Councell and Company in England to this effect.

May 28, Master Stockams relation.

We that have left our native country to sojourne in a strange land, some idle spectators, who either cowardly dare not, or covetously will not adventure either their purses or persons in so commendable a worke; others supporting Atlas of this almost unsupportable burdens as your selves, without whose assistance this Virginia Firmament, in which some, and I hope in short time will shine many more glorious Starres, though there be many Italiannated and Spaniolized Englishmen envies our prosperities, and by all their ignominious scandals they can devise seekes to dishearten what they can, those that are willing to further this glorious enterprize, to such I wish according to the decree of Darius, that whosoever is an enemy to our peace, and seeketh either by getting monopolicall paten[t]s, or by forging unjust tales to hinder our welfare, thath is house were pulled downe, and a paire of gallowes made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

¹ Pickets.

² Jonas Stockden, son of William Stockden, of Berkswell in the county of Warwick, England, author of a letter several times printed, which asserted the futility of any attempt to civilize or convert the Indians until their head men were put to death. He appears to have been the earliest exponent of the idea that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian."

As for those lasie servants, who had rather stand all day idle, than worke, though but an houre in this Vineyard; and spend their substance riotously, than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your Treasury: I leave them, as they are, to the eternall Judge of the world. But you, right worthy, that hath adventured so freely; I will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which, it may be, you expect should flow unto you with a full tide; for the conversion of the Salvages, I wonder you use not the meanes,¹ I confesse you say well to have them converted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it;² as for the gifts bestowed on them they devoure them, and so they would the givers if they could: and though they³ have endeavoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to convert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers. We have sent boies amongst them to learne their Language, but they returne worse than they went; but I am no Statesman, nor love I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can finde no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse: and I am perswaded if Mars and Minerva⁴ goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, then those verball Mercurians⁵ in their lives; and till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion.

*The government of Sir Francis Wyat.*⁶

About October arrived Sir Francis Wyat, with Master George Sands,⁷ appointed Treasurer, Master Davison⁸ Secre-

¹ *I.e.*, for their conversion.

² *I.e.*, the fair means.

³ Those in Virginia who were interested in the work.

⁴ Force and learning.

⁵ Messengers.

⁶ Sir Francis Wyatt was governor of Virginia from 1621 to 1626, and from 1639 to 1642. He was son of George Wyatt, Esquire, and grandson of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was beheaded in the reign of Queen Mary for instigating a rebellion to prevent her marriage with Philip II. of Spain.

⁷ George Sandys, the poet, brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, and youngest son of the archbishop of York. While in Virginia he experimented in raising silkworms, had charge of the glass factory, and wrote his translation of *Ovid*.

⁸ Christopher Davison, eldest son of Sir William Davison, secretary of state under Queen Elizabeth. He died before 1624.

tary, Doctor Pot¹ the Physician, and Master Cloyburne the Surgian;² but much provision was very badly conditioned, nay the Hogs would not eat that Corne they brought, which was a great cause of their sicknesse and mortality; and whatsoever is said against the Virginia Corne, they finde it doth better nourish than any provision is sent thither. The Sailers still they complaine are much to blame for imbesling the provisions sent to private men, killing of Swine, and disorderly trucking; for which some order would be taken.

In them nine Ships that went with Sir Francis Wyat not one Passenger died. At his arrivall he sent Master Thorpe to Opechancanough, whom hee found much satisfied with his comming, to confirme their leagues as he had done his Predecessors, and so contented his people should coinhabit amongst them, and hee found more motions of Religion in him than could be imagined. Every man betaking himselfe to his quarter, it was ordered, that for every head they should plant but 1000. Plants of Tobacco, and upon each plant nine leaves, which will be about 100. weight; the Corne being appointed but at two shillings and six pence the bushell, required such labour, it caused most men neglect it, and depend upon trade: where were it rated at ten shillings the bushell, every man would indeavour to have plenty to sell to the new commers, or any that wanted; and seldome any is transported from England, but it standeth in as much, besides the hazard; and other necessaries the Ships might transport of that burden. The 22. of November arrived Master Gookin out of Ireland, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of provision and cattle, and planted himselfe at Nupors-newes:³ the Cotton trees in a yeere grew so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man: here any thing

¹ Dr. John Pott, afterwards deputy-governor in 1629.

² This should be William Clayborne, the surveyor.

³ This was the first settlement at Newport News. The name either is derived from that of Captain Newport, or means New Port Newce, if, as is sometimes said, Daniel Gookin came from Newcestown in Ireland. His son Daniel migrated later to Massachusetts, where he became a prominent public man, and died a major-general in 1687.

that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better. For the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases.¹ And so wee will conclude this yeere with the shipping and numbers sent.

Out of the COUNCELS Letters from Virginia.

This yeere was sent one and twenty saile of Ships that employed more than 400. sailers and 1300. men, women and children of divers faculties, with fourescore cattle; the *Tiger* fell in the Turkes hands, yet safely escaped: and by the returne of their letters from thence, the company is assured there can bee no fitter places of Mines, Wood and Water for Iron than there; and the French men² affirme no Country is more proper for Vines, Olives, Silke, Rice and Salt, &c. of which the next yeere they promise a good quantity.

Gifts.

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the *Royall James* from the East-Indies, gave towards the building of a free Schoole 70 pound, eight shillings, and six pence;³ and an unknowne person to further it, sent thirtie pounds; and another in like manner five and twentie pounds; another refusing to be made knowne, gave fortie shillings yeerely for a Sermon before the Virginia companie: also another that would not be knowne, sent for the College at Henrico, many excellent good religious bookes, worth ten pound, and a most curious

¹ Climatic influences were, nevertheless, the chief trouble, and the writer wisely limits the health of the place to the old planters, who by sickness had become "seasoned" to the malaria of the river.

² These men had been sent by the Virginia Company to instruct the settlers how to raise grapes and make wine. They were natives of Languedoc, and were seated at Buckroe, near Point Comfort.

³ The Reverend Patrick Copeland or Copland had incited these East India voyagers to make this subscription, for the history of which see *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 532.

Map of al that coast of America. Master Thomas Bargave¹ their Preacher there deceased, gave a Librarie valued at one hundred Markes: and the Inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thousand and five hundred pounds, to build a house for the entertaining of strangers. This yeere also there was much suing for Patents for Plantations, who promised to transport such great multitudes of people: there was much disputing concerning those divisions, as though the whole land had beene too little for them: six and twentie obtained their desires, but as yet not past six hath sent thither a man; notwithstanding many of them would have more, and are not well contented; whom I would intreat, and all other wranglers, to peruse this saying of honest Claudius.

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

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

Having but ten men meanly provided, to plant the Secretaries land on the Easterne shore neere Acomack² (Captaine Wilcocks plantation), the better to secure and assist each other, Sir George Yearley intending to visit Smiths Iles,³

¹ The Reverend Thomas Bargrave was a brother of Captain George Bargrave, came out to Virginia in 1619, and died in 1621.

² The reference here is to the peninsula east of Chesapeake Bay, which the Indians called Accomac, now occupied by two counties of Virginia, Northampton and Accomac. Here in the early part of 1621 Sir George Yearley laid out some of the company's land, and in the fall of 1621 John Pory completed the work by settling ten men thereon as tenants.

³ Near Cape Charles. Here, in 1614, Sir Thomas Dale established a party of men under Lieutenant Craddock for the purpose of making salt out of sea water, and called the settlement Dale's Gift. It is probable, however, that the settlement was not continued.

fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with Estinien Moll a French-man, to finde a convenient place to make salt in.

Not long after Namenacus the King of Pawtuxunt, came to us to seeke for Thomas Salvage¹ our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led us into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed us his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie upon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Having taken a muster of the companies tenants; I went to Smiths Iles, where was our Salt-house: not farre off wee found a more convenient place, and so returned to James towne.

Being furnished the second time, wee arrived at Aquo-hanock, and conferred with Kiptopeke their King. Passing Russels Ile and Onaucoke,² we arrived at Pawtuxunt: the discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine Smiths discoveries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe. But here arriving at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus, and Wamanato his brother, long wee staid not ere they came aboard us with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, full of boyled Oisters. Strict order was given none should offend us, so that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to discover what I could in their confines. Wamanato brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and used me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day, he presented me twelve Bever skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the first Chapter of Genesis expounded

¹ Dr. Brown is inclined to think that Ensign Thomas Savage was the first permanent settler on the Eastern Shore. His son was John Savage, and the family is still represented in Virginia.

² Onancock.

of Adam and Eve, and simple mariage; to which he replied, hee was like Adam in one thing, for he never had but one wife at once: but he, as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better understood. The next day, the two Kings with their people, came aboard us, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne Salvage challenged Namenacus the breach of three promises, *viz.* not in giving him a Boy, nor Corne though they had plentie, nor Moutapass (a fugitive called Robert Marcum, that had lived 5. yeeres amongst those northerly nations): which hee cunningly answered by excuses. Womanato it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staid alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, They were things all men aspired unto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gave me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse us.

Some things being stolne from us, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things hee much admired our discretions, and gave us a guide that hee called brother, to conduct us up the River: by the way we met with divers that stil tould us of Marcum: and though it was in October, we found the Countrie very hot, and their Corne gathered before ours at James towne. The next day, we went to Paccamaganant, and they directed us to Assacomoco, where their King Cassatowap had an old quarrell with Ensigne Salvage, but now seeming reconciled, went with us, with another Werowance, towards Mattapanient, where they perswaded us ashore upon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre we had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of Salvages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two Werowances at libertie, that all this while had line ¹ in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie,

2 A

¹ Lain.

because we would convert them by courtesie. Leaving them as we found them, very civill and subtill, wee returned the same way wee came to the laughing Kings on the Easterne shore, who told us plainly, Namanicus would also have allured him into his Countrie, under colour of trade, to cut his throat. Hee told us also Opechancanough had imployed Onianimo to kill Salvage; because he brought the trade from him to the Easterne shore, and some disgrace hee had done his sonne and some thirteene of his people before one hundred of those Easterlings,¹ in rescuing Thomas Graves whom they would have slaine: where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene Pamaunkes to fight, but they durst not; so that all those Easterlings so derided them, that they came there no more.

This Thomas Salvage, it is sixteene yeeres since he went to Virginia, being a boy, hee was left with Powhatan for Namontacke, to learne the language: and as this Author² affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe hath served the publike without any publike recompence, yet had an arrow shot through his body in their service. This laughing King at Accomack, tels us the land is not two daies journey over in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people; so that by the narrownesse of the Land there is not many Deere, but most abundance of Fish and Fowle. Kiptope³ his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who seeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himselfe, freely resigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himselfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree; nor is hee carelesse of any thing concernes the state, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counciller, as hee is an affectionated Brother, bearing the greater burden in government, though the lesser honour: where cleane contrary they on the Westerne shore,⁴ the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Those are the best husbands⁵ of any Salvages

¹ Indians of the Eastern Shore.

² John Pory.

³ Kiptopeke.

⁴ *I.e.*, the main part of Virginia, on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay.

⁵ Providers.

we know: for they provide Corne to serve them all the yeare, yet spare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the most civill and tractable people we have met with; and by little sticks will keepe as just an account of their promises, as by a tally. In their mariages they observe a large distance, as well in affinitie as consanguinitie; nor doe they use that devilish custome in making black Boyes.¹ There may be on this shore about two thousand people: they on the West would invade them, but that they want Boats to crosse the Bay; and so would divers other Nations, were they not protected by us. A few of the Westerly Runnagados had conspired against the laughing King: but fearing their treason was discovered, fled to Smiths Iles, where they made a massacre of Deere and Hogges; and thence to Rickahake, betwixt Cissapeack² and Nansamund, where they now are seated under the command of Itoyatin.³ And so I returned to James Towne, where I found the government rendred to Sir Francis Wyat. In February⁴ also he travelled to the South River Chawonock, some sixtie miles over land; which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleasant Country, yeelding two harvests in a yeare, and found much of the Silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly used by the people, and so returned.

Captaine Each sent to build a Fort to secure the Countrey.

It was no small content to all the Adventurers to heare of the safe arivall of all those ships and companies, which was thought sufficient to have made a Plantation of themselves: and againe to second them, was sent Captaine Each in the *Abigale*, a ship of three or foure hundred tunnes, who hath undertaken to make a Block-house amongst the Oyster banks, that shall secure the River. The furnishing him with Instruments, cost three hundred pounds; but the whole charge and

¹ The reference here is to the religious exercises dedicating boys to the priesthood. Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 95.

² Chesapeake.

³ Otherwise called Itopatin, or Opitchapan.

⁴ The margin has the note, "1622. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and Nicholas Farrar Deputy."

the ships returne, will be neere two thousand pounds. In her went Captaine Barwicke with five and twentie men for the building ships and Boats, and not other waies to be imployed: and also a selected number to build the East Indie Schoole,¹ but as yet from Virginia little returnes but private mens Tobacco, and faire promises of plentie of Iron, Silke, Wine, and many other good and rich commodities, besides the speedy conversion of the Salvages, that at first were much discouraged from living amongst them, when they were debarred the use of their peeces; therefore it was disputed as a matter of State, whether such as would live amongst them should use them or not, as a bait to allure them; or at least such as should bee called to the knowledge of Christ. But because it was a great trouble for all causes to be brought to James Towne for a triall, Courts were appointed in convenient places to releevethem: but as they can make no Lawes in Virginia till they be ratified here; so they thinke it but reason, none should bee inacted here without their consents, because they onely feele them, and must live under them. Still they complaine for want of Corne, but what must be had by Trade, and how unwilling any Officer when he leaveth his place, is to make good his number of men to his Successor, but many of them during their times to help themselves, undoes the Company: for the servants you allow them, or such as they hire, they plant on their private Lands, not upon that belongeth to their office, which crop alwaies exceeds yours, besides those which are your tenants to halfes, are forced to row them up and downe,² whereby both you and they lose more then halfe. Nor are those officers the ablest or best deserving, but make their

¹ This school was to be built at Charles City (City Point) and to have dependence on the college at Henrico. The first contribution came from some of the East India Company returning from India in the *Royal James*. See p. 350, note 3. Hence the name "East India School." A rector (Rev. Patrick Copland) for the college, a master and usher for the school, tenants for the college lands, and a manager for the same were selected and all but the rector sent to Virginia; but the Indian massacre of 1622 destroyed them all, and effectually crushed out the college and the school.

² Up and down the river, from one plantation to another.

experience upon the companies cost, and your land lies unmanured to any purpose, and will yeeld as little profit to your next new officers.

*The massacre upon the two and twentieth of March.*¹

The Prologue to this Tragedy,² is supposed was occasioned by Nemattanow, otherwise called Jack of the Feather, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Salvages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the English. This Captaine comming to one Morgans house, knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded Morgan to goe with him to Pamauke to trucke, but the Salvage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to Morgans house, where he found two youths his Servants, who asked for their Master: Jack replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would have had him to Master Thorp:³ But Jack so moved their patience, they shot him; so he fell to the ground, put⁴ him in a Boat to have him before the Governor, then seven or eight miles from them. But by the way Jack finding the pangs of death upon him, desired of the Boyes two things: the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the English. At the losse of this Salvage, Opechankanough much grieved and repined, with great threats of revenge; but the English returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes he could of love and peace: yet within fourteene daies after he acted what followeth.

Sir Francis Wyat at his arrivall⁵ was advertised,⁶ he found the Countrey settled in such a firme peace, as most men there

¹ Good Friday.

² Marginal note in the original, "The death of Nematanow, writ by Master Wimp."

³ George Thorpe, manager of the college lands.

⁴ And they put him, etc.

⁵ October, 1621.

⁶ Informed.

thought sure and unviolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Salvages being every way bettered by us, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or never a sword, and seldomer a peece, except for a Deere or Fowle; by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground invited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses generally open to the Salvages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers; which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conversion of the Salvages as they supposed.

Having occasion to send to Opechankanough about the middle of March, hee used the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or ¹ he dissolved it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contrived our destruction, even but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one Browne that lived among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master. Yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselves over the River, to consult on the devillish murder that insued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselves converted to Christianitie) prevented; and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March, as also in the evening before, as at other times they came unarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other provisions to sell us: yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe; so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner also they slew many of our people at severall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters

¹ Before.

each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with us, for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conversion: and by this meanes fell that fatall morning under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, three hundred forty seven men, women and children; mostly by their owne weapons; and not being content with their lives, they fell againe upon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkases into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne unto them, from whom they had daily received many benefits; but spightfully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie: being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which have preserved their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie upon them, but these miscreants put on a more unnaturall brutishnesse then beasts, as by those instances may appeare.

That worthy religious Gentleman M. George Thorp, Deputie to the Colledge lands, sometimes one of his Majesties Pensioners, and in command one of the principall in Virginia; did so truly effect¹ their conversion, that whosoever under him did them the least displeasure, were punished severely. He thought nothing too deare for them, he never denied them any thing; in so much that when they complained that our Mastives did feare² them, he to content them in all things, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would have had all the rest guelt to make them the milder, might he have had his will. The King³ dwelling but in a Cottage, he built him a faire house after the English fashion: in which he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired, as locking and unlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no device in the world comparable to it.

¹ Affect.

² Frighten.

³ Opechancanough.

Thus insinuating himselfe into this Kings favour for his religious purpose, he conferred oft with him about Religion, as many other in this former Discourse had done: and this Pagan confessed to him (as he did to them) our God was better then theirs, and seemed to be much pleased with that Discourse, and of his company, and to requite all those courtesies; yet this viperous brood did, as the sequell shewed, not onely murder him, but with such spight and scorne abused his dead corps as is unfitting to be heard with civill eares. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman upon his fatall houre, was warned by his man, who perceiving some treachery intended by those hell-hounds, to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare he should be apprehended, and so saved his owne life; yet his Master out of his good meaning was so void of suspition and full of confidence, they had slaine him or ¹ he could or would beleve they would hurt him. Captaine Nathaniel Powell ² one of the first Planters, a valiant Souldier, and not any in the Countrey better knowne amongst them; yet such was the error of an overconceited power and prosperitie, and their simplicities, they not onely slew him and his family, but butcher-like haged their bodies, and cut off his head, to expresse their uttermost height of cruelty. Another of the old company of Captaine Smith, called Nathaniel Causie, being cruelly wounded, and the Salvages about him, with an axe did cleave one of their heads, whereby the rest fled and he escaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or stand upon their guard. In one place, where there was but two men that had warning of it, [they] defended the house against sixty or more that assaulted it. M. Baldwin at Warraskoyack, ³ his

¹ Before.

² He came with the first settlers in 1607 to Virginia, and for ten days acted as governor after the departure of Captain Samuel Argall for England at Easter in 1619. He married Joyce, daughter of William Tracy, one of the proprietors of Berkeley Hundred, who was massacred with her. His place of 600 acres called Powell Brook lay on the creek which bears his name not far from the mouth of the Appomattox River.

³ The plantations in Isle of Wight County on the south side of the James from Lawne's Creek to Day's Point were called Warrascoyack.

wife being so wounded, she lay for dead; yet by his oft discharging of his peece, saved her, his house, himselfe, and divers others. At the same time they came to one Master Harisons house, neere halfe a mile from Baldwines, where was Master Thomas Hamer¹ with six men, and eightene or nineteene women and children. Here the Salvages with many presents and faire perswasions, fained they came for Capt. Ralfe Hamer to go to their King, then hunting in the woods: presently they sent to him, but he not comming as they expected, set fire of a Tobacco-house, and then came to tell them in the dwelling house of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it but Master Hamer, not suspecting any thing, whom the Salvages pursued, shot them full of arrowes, then beat out their braines. Hamer having finished a letter hee was a writing, followed after to see what was the matter, but quickly they shot an arrow in his back, which caused him returne and barricado up the doores, whereupon the Salvages set fire on the house. Harisons Boy finding his Masters peece loaded, discharged it at randome, at which bare report the Salvages all fled, Baldwin still discharging his peece, and Mr. Hamer with two and twentie persons thereby got to his house, leaving their owne burning. In like manner, they had fired Lieutenant Basse² his house, with all the rest there about, slaine the people, and so left that Plantation.

Captaine Hamer all this while not knowing any thing, comming to his Brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the Salvages chasing some yet escaped, retired to his new house then a building, from whence he came; there onely with spades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himselfe and his Company till the Salvages departed. Not long after, the Master from the ship had sent six Musketers, with which he recovered their Merchants store-house, where he armed ten more; and so with thirtie more unarmed workmen, found his Brother and the rest at Baldwins. Now seeing all they had was burnt and consumed, they repaired to James

¹ Brother of Captain Ralph Hamor.

² Nathaniel Basse, who had his settlement at Basse's Choice on the west side of Pagan River Bay.

Towne with their best expedition; yet not far from Martins hundred, where seventy three were slaine, was a little house and a small family, that heard not of any of this till two daies after.

All those, and many others whom they have as maliciously murdered, sought the good of those poore brutes, that thus despising Gods mercies, must needs now as miscreants be corrected by Justice: to which leaving them, I will knit together the thred of this discourse.

At the time of the massacre, there were three or foure ships in James River, and one in the next; and daily more to come in, as there did within foureteene daies after; one of which they indevoured to have surprised: yet were the hearts of the English ever stupid, and averted from beleeving any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kinde usage to Christianitie. But divers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great worke in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honor and glory to his name, and a more flourishing estate and safetie to themselves, and with more speed to convert the Salvage children to himselfe, since he so miraculously hath preserved the English; there being yet, God be praised, eleven parts of twelve remaining,¹ whose carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to have bene the greatest cause of their destructions: yet you see, God by a converted Salvage that disclosed the plot, saved the rest, and the Pinnacle then in Pamaunkes River, whereof (say they) though our sinnes made us unworthy of so glorious a conversion, yet his infinite wisdom can neverthesse bring it to passe, and in good time, by such meanes as we thinke most unlikely: for in the delivery of them that survive, no mans particular carefulnesse saved one person, but the meere goodnesse of God himselfe, freely and miraculously preserving whom he pleased.

The Letters of Master George Sands, a worthy Gentleman, and many others besides them returned, brought us this

¹ "Eleven parts of twelve" would be 3817 persons, which seems to be a great exaggeration. In March, 1622, there were only 1240 persons resident in Virginia, and of them 347 were killed by the Indians, March 22, which reduced the number to 893. Brown, *First Republic*, p. 464.

unwelcome newes, that hath beene heard at large in publike Court, that the Indians and they lived as one Nation: yet by a generall combination in one day plotted to subvert the whole Colony, and at one instant, though our severall Plantations were one hundred and fortie miles up on River on both sides.

But for the better understanding of all things, you must remember these wilde naked natives live not in great numbers together; but dispersed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie in a company. Some places have two hundred, few places more, but many lesse; yet they had all warning given them one from another in all their habitations, though farre asunder, to meet at the day and houre appointed for our destruction at al our severall Plantations; some directed to one place, some to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly. Some entring their houses under colour of trading, so tooke their advantage; others drawing us abroad under faire pretences; and the rest suddenly falling upon those that were at their labours.

Six of the counsell¹ suffered under this treason, and the slaughter had beene universall, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian, who lying in the house of one Pace, was urged by another Indian his Brother, that lay with him the night before, to kill Pace, as he should doe Perry which was his friend, being so commanded from their King: telling him also how the next day the execution should be finished. Perrys Indian presently arose and reveales it to Pace, that used him as his sonne; and thus them that escaped was saved by this one converted Infidell. And though three hundred fortie seven were slaine, yet thousands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preserved; for which Gods name be praised for ever and ever.

Pace upon this, securing his house, before day rowed to James Towne, and told the Governor of it, whereby they were prevented, and at such other Plantations as possibly intelligence could be given: and where they saw us upon our

¹ These were George Thorpe, Nathaniel Powell, John Berkeley, Samuel Macock, John Rolfe, Michael Lapworth.

guard, at the sight of a peece they ranne away; but the rest were most slaine, their houses burnt, such Armes and Munitiō as they found they tooke away, and some cattell also they destroyed. Since, wee finde Opechankanough the last yeare¹ had practised with a King on the Easterne shore, to furnish him with a kind of poison, which onely growes in his Country to poison us. But of this bloody acte never grieffe and shame possessed any people more then themselves, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presenting of a staffe in manner of a peece, nor an uncharged peece in the hands of a woman. (But I must tell those Authors, though some might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better spirits.)²

Thus have you heard the particulars of this massacre, which in those respects some say will be good for the Plantation, because now we have just cause to destroy them by all meanes possible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had never happened, for they have given us an hundred times as just occasions long agoe to subject them, (and I wonder I can heare of none but Master Stockam and Master Whitaker of my opinion.) Moreover, where before we were troubled in clearing the ground of great Timber, which was to them of small use: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Country. Besides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beasts and Fowles will exceedingly increase if we beat the Salvages out of the Country: for at all times of the yeare they never spare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in season or out of season; with them all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they have used to kill eight in tenne more then we, or else the wood would most plentifully abound with victuall; besides it is more easie to civilize them by conquest then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their civilizing will require a long time and much industry. The manner how to suppress them is so often related and approved, I omit it here: And you have twenty

¹ 1621.

² A comment by Smith.

examples of the Spaniards how they got the West-Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slavery for them, themselves living like Souldiers upon the fruits of their labours. This will make us more circumspect, and be an example to posteritie: (But I say, this might as well have beene put in practise sixteene yeares agoe as now).

Thus upon this Anvill shall wee now beat our selves an Armour of proefe hereafter to defend us against such incur-sions, and ever hereafter make us more circumspect: but to helpe to repaire this losse, besides his Majesties bounty in Armes he gave the Company out of the Tower, and divers other Honorable persons have renewed their adventures, we must not omit the Honorable Citie of London, to whose end-lesse praise wee may speake it, are now setting forward one hundred persons: and divers others at their owne costs are a repairing; and all good men doe thinke never the worse of the businesse for all these disasters.

What growing state was there ever in the world which had not the like? Rome grew by oppression, and rose upon the backe of her enemies: and the Spaniards have had many of those counterbuffes, more than we. Columbus, upon his returne from the West-Indies into Spaine, having left his people with the Indies, in peace and promise of good usage amongst them, at his returne backe found not one of them living, but all treacherously slaine by the Salvages. After this againe, when the Spanish Colonies were increased to great numbers, the Indians from whom the Spaniards for trucking stufte used to have all their corne, generally conspired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famish them; themselves living in the meane time upon Cassava, a root to make bread, onely then knowne to themselves. This plot of theirs by the Spaniards oversight, that foolishly depended upon strangers for their bread,¹ tooke such effect, and brought them to such misery by the rage of famine, that they spared no un-

¹ "A lamentable example too oft approved [*i.e.*, proved]," says the margin.

cleane nor loathsome beast, no not the poisonous and hideous Serpents, but eat them up also, devouring one death to save them from another; and by this meanes their whole Colony well-neere surfeted, sickned and died miserably. And when they had againe recovered this losse, by their incontinency an infinite number of them died on the Indian disease, we call the French Pox, which at first being a strange and an unknowne malady, was deadly upon whomsoever it lighted. Then had they a little flea called Nigua, which got betweene the skinne and the flesh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making swellings and putrifactions, to the decay and losse of many of their bodily members.

Againe, divers times they were neere undone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the Commanders. Columbus, to whom they were also much beholden, was sent with his Brother in chaines into Spaine; and some other great Commanders killed and murdered one another. Pizzaro was killed by Almagros sonne, and him Vasco ¹ beheaded; which Vasco was taken by Blasco, and Blasco was likewise taken by Pizaros Brother: And thus by their covetous and spightfull quarrels, they were ever shaking the maine pillars of their Common-weale. These and many more mischiefes and calamities hapned them, more then ever did to us, and at one time being even at the last gaspe, had two ships not arrived with supplies as they did, they were so disheartned, they were a leaving the Countrey: yet we see for all those miseries they have attained to their ends at last, as is manifest to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth; and whereas before few could be hired to goe to inhabit there, now with great sute they must obtaine it; ² but where there was no honesty, nor equity, nor sanctitie, nor veritie, nor pietie, nor good civilitie in such a Countrey, certainly there can bee no stabilitie.

Therefore let us not be discouraged, but rather animated by those conclusions, seeing we are so well assured of the

¹ By Vasco the writer means Vaca de Castro, Pizarro's successor as governor of Peru; by Blasco, the viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela.

² Permission to go.

goodnesse and commodities may bee had in Virginia; nor is it to be much doubted there is any want of Mines of most sorts, no not of the richest, as is well knowne to some yet living that can make it manifest when time shall serve: and yet to thinke that gold and silver Mines are in a country otherwise most rich and fruitfull, or the greatest wealth in a Plantation, is but a popular error; as is that opinion likewise, that the gold and silver is now the greatest wealth of the West Indies at this present. True it is indeed, that in the first conquest the Spaniards got great and mighty store of treasure from the Natives, which they in long space had heaped together; and in those times the Indians shewed them entire and rich Mines, which now by the relations of them that have beene there, are exceedingly wasted, so that now the charge of getting those Metals is growne excessive, besides the consuming the lives of many by their pestilent smoke and vapours in digging and refining them, so that all things considered, the cleere gaines of those metals, the Kings part defraied, to the Adventurers is but small, and nothing neere so much as vulgarly is imagined. And were it not for other rich Commodities there that enrich them, those of the Contraction House¹ were never able to subsist by the Mines onely; for the greatest part of their Commodities are partly naturall, and partly transported from other parts of the world, and planted in the West-Indies, as in their mighty wealth of Sugar canes, being first transported from the Canaries; and in Ginger and other things brought out of the East-Indies, in their Cochanele, Indicos, Cotton, and their infinite store of Hides, Quick-silver, Allum, Woad, Brasill woods, Dies, Paints, Tobacco, Gums, Balmes, Oiles, Medicinals and Perfumes, Sassaparilla, and many other phys-icall drugs: These are the meanes whereby they raise that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and silver to the great and cleare revenue of their King. Now seeing the most of

¹“Contraction” for “Contractation.” The Casa de Contratacion at Seville was the India House of Spain, where the Board of Colonial Trade held its sessions and administered in economic respects the Spanish colonial empire.

those commodities, or as usefull, may be had in Virginia by the same meanes, as I have formerly said; let us with all speed take the priority of time, where also may be had the priority of place, in chusing the best seats of the Country; which now by vanquishing the salvages, is like to offer a more faire and ample choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentleness and faire compartments could attaine unto.

The numbers that were slaine in those severall Plantations.

1 At Captaine Berkleys Plantation, himselfe and 21. others, seated at the Falling-Crick, 66. miles from James City.	22
2 Master Thomas Sheffelds Plantation, some three miles from the Falling-Crick, himselfe and 12. others.	13
3 At Henrico Iland, about two miles from Sheffelds Plantation.	6
4 Slaine of the College people, twenty miles from Henrico.	17
5 At Charles City, and of Captaine Smiths men.	5
6 At the next adjoyning Plantation.	8
7 At William Farrars house.	10
8 At Brickley hundred, ¹ fifty miles from Charles City, Master Thorp and	10
9 At Westover, a mile from Brickley.	2
10 At Master John Wests Plantation.	2
11 At Captaine Nathaniel Wests Plantation.	2
12 At Lieutenant Gibs his Plantation.	12
13 At Richard Owens house, himselfe and	6
14 At Master Owen Macars house, himselfe and	3
15 At Martins hundred, seven miles from James City.	73
16 At another place.	7
17 At Edward Bonits ² Plantation.	50
18 At Master Waters his house, himselfe ³ and	4
19 At Apamatucks River, at Master Perce his Plantation, five miles from the College.	4

¹ Berkeley Hundred.

² Bennett's.

³ This was a mistake. Edward Waters escaped.

20 At Master Macocks Divident, Captaine Samuel Macock and	4
21 At Flowerda hundred, Sir George Yearleys Plantation.	6
22 On the other side opposite to it.	7
23 At Master Swinhows house, himselfe and	7
24 At Master William Bickars house, himselfe and	4
25 At Weanock, of Sir George Yearleys people.	21
26 At Powel Brooke, Captaine Nathaniel Powel, and	12
27 At South-hampton hundred.	5
28 At Martin Brandons hundred.	7
29 At Captaine Henry Spilmans house.	2
30 At Ensigne Spences house.	5
31 At Master Thomas Perse his house by Mulbery Ile, himselfe and	4

The whole number 347.

Men in this taking bettered with affliction,
Better attend, and mind, and marke Religion,
For then true voyces issue from their hearts.
Then speake they what they thinke in inmost parts,
The truth remaines, they cast off fained Arts.

This lamentable and so unexpected a disaster caused them all beleve the opinion of Master Stockam, and drave them all to their wits end. It was twenty or thirty daies ere they could resolve what to doe, but at last it was concluded, all the petty Plantations should be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good five or six places, where all their labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible upon such a sudden to bring also their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in possession with them; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined and destroyed by the Salvages. Only Master Gookins at Nuports-newes would not obey the Commanders command in that, though hee had scarce five and thirty of all sorts¹ with him, yet he thought

¹ Boys and men.

himselfe sufficient against what could happen, and so did to his great credit and the content of his Adventurers. Master Samuel Jorden gathered together but a few of the straglers about him at Beggers-bush, where he fortified and lived in despite of the enemy. Nay, Mistrisse Proctor, a proper, civill, modest Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the English Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselves; as the Salvages did when they were gone, in whose despite they had kept it and what they had, a moneth or three weekes after the Massacre; which was to their hearts a grieffe beyond comparison, to lose all they had in that manner, onely to secure others pleasures.

Now here in England it was thought,¹ all those remainders might presently have beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places most convenient with what they had, having such strong houses as they reported they had, which with small labour might have beene made invincible Castles against all the Salvages in the Land: and then presently raised a company, as a running Armie to torment the Barbarous and secure the rest, and so have had all that Country betwixt the Rivers of Powhatan and Pamaunke to range and sustaine them; especially all the territories of Kecoughtan, Chiskact and Pasphege, from Ozenies to that branch of Pamaunke, coming from Youghtanund, which strait of land is not past 4. or 5. miles, to have made a peninsula much bigger then the Summer Iles, invironed with the broadest parts of those two maine Rivers, which for plenty of such things as Virginia affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then sufficient for ten thousand men. This, were it well understood, cannot but be thought better then to bring five or six hundred to lodge and live on that, which before would not well receive and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but spend that they have upon hopes out of England, one evill begetting another, till the disease is past cure. There-

¹ The margin has a note against this paragraph, "The opinion of Captaine Smith."

fore it is impossible but such courses must produce most fearefull miseries and extreme extremities; if it prove otherwise, I should be exceeding glad. I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other mens actions being not present, but they have done as much of me; yea many here in England that were never there, and also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed: and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for speaking my opinion; seeing the old Proverbe doth allow losers leave to speake, and Du Bartas ¹ saith,

Even as the wind the angry Ocean moves,
Wave hunteth Wave, and Billow Billow shoves,
So doe all Nations justell each the other,
And so one people doe pursue another,
And scarce a second hath the first unhoused,
Before a third him thence againe have roused.

Amongst the multitude of these severall Relations, it appeares Captaine Nuse ² seeing many of the difficulties to ensue, caused as much Corne to be planted as he could at Elizabeths city, and though some destroyed that they had set, fearing it would serve the Salvages for Ambuscadoes, trusting to releefe by trade, or from England (which hath ever beene one cause of our miseries, for from England wee have not had much: and for trading, every one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and provisions to performe it; and those that have, use them onely for their owne private gaine, not the publike good), so that our beginning this yeere doth cause many to distrust the event of the next. Here wee will leave Captaine Nuse for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine Norton, a valiant industrious Gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, besides Physicke and Chirurgery, which for

¹ Guillaume du Bartas, whose epic, *La Création*, translated into English by Joshua Sylvester, was one of the most popular poems of the time.

² Captain Thomas Newce, a member of the Council.

the publike good he freely imparted to all *gratis*, but most bountifully to the poore; and let us speake a little of Captaine Croshaw amongst the midst of those broiles in the River of Patawomeke.

Being in a small Barke called the *Elizabeth*, under the command of Captaine Spilman, at Cekacawone,¹ a Salvage stole aboard them, and told them of the Massacre; and that Opechanough had plotted with his King and Countrey to betray them also, which they refused: but them of Wighcocomoco at the mouth of the river had undertaken it. Upon this Spilman went thither, but the Salvages seeing his men so vigilant and well armed, they suspected themselves discovered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, so contented his desire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but seeing no more to be had, Croshaw went to Patawomek, where he intended to stay and trade for himselfe, by reason of the long acquaintance he had with this King that so earnestly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine and director against the Pazaticans, the Nacotchtanks,² and Moyaons his mortall enemies. Of this oportunity Croshaw was glad, as well to satisfie his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to Opechanough, and adhere him unto us, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies; so onely Elis Hill stayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to Elizabeths City; here shall they rest also a little, till we see how this newes was entertained in England.

It was no small grieffe to the Councell and Company, to understand of such a supposed impossible losse, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible; and yet having such warnings, especially by the death of Nemat-tanow, whom the Salvages did thinke was shot-free,³ as he had perswaded them, having so long escaped so many dangers without any hurt. But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not so discourage the noble adventurers, nor divers others still to undertake new severall Plantations;

¹ Chicacoan.

² Nacostans.

³ Immune from shot.

but that divers ships were dispatched away, for their supplies and assistance thought sufficient. Yet Captaine Smith did in-treat and move them to put in practise his old offer; seeing now it was time to use both it and him, how slenderly heretofore both had beene regarded, and because it is not impertinent to the businesse, it is not much amisse to remember what it was.¹

The project and offer of Captaine John Smith, to the Right Honourable and Right Worshipfull Company of Virginia.

If you please I may be transported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next Michaelmas,² with victuall, munition, and such necessary provision; by Gods assistance, we would endeavour to inforce the Salvages to leave their Country, or bring them in that feare and subjection that every man should follow their businesse securely. Whereas now halfe their times and labours are spent in watching and warding, onely to defend, but altogether unable to suppress the Salvages: because every man now being for himselfe will be unwilling to be drawne from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horses for all the rest, without any certainty of some better reward and preferment then I can understand any there can or will yet give them.

These³ I would imploy onely in ranging the Countries, and tormenting the Salvages, and that they should be as a running Army till this were affected; and then settle themselves in some such convenient place, that should ever remaine a garison of that strength, ready upon any occasion against the Salvages, or any other for the defence of the Countrey, and to see all the English well armed, and instruct them their use.⁴ But I would have a Barke of one hundred tunnes, and meanes to build sixe or seven Shalops, to transport them where there should bee occasion.

Towards the charge, because it is for the generall good, and what by the massacre and other accidentes, Virginia is

¹ The *Records of the Virginia Company* seem to contain no trace of these proposals of Smith, nor of the response to them which follows.

² September 29, 1622. ³ *I.e.*, soldiers. ⁴ *I.e.*, in the use of firearms.

disparaged, and many men and their purses much discouraged, however a great many doe hasten to goe, thinking to bee next heires to all the former losses, I feare they will not finde all things as they doe imagine; therefore leaving those gilded conceits, and dive into the true estate of the Colony; I thinke if his Majestie were truly informed of their necessitie, and the benefit of this project, he would be pleased to give the custome¹ of Virginia; and the Planters also according to their abilities would adde thereto such a contribution, as would be fit to maintaine this garison till they be able to subsist, or cause some such other collections to be made, as may put it with all expedition in practice: otherwise it is much to be doubted, there will neither come custome, nor any thing from thence to England within these few yeares.

Now if this should be thought an imploiment more fit for ancient² Souldiers there bred, then such new commers as may goe with me; you may please to leave that to my discretion, to accept or refuse such voluntaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trialls of these events, and discharge such of my company that had rather labour the ground then subdue their enemies: what releefe I should have from your Colony I would satisfie, and spare them (when I could) the like courtesie. Notwithstanding these doubts, I hope to feede them as as well as defend them, and yet discover you more land unknowne then they all yet know, if you will grant me such priviledges as of necessity must be used.

For against any enemy we must be ready to execute the best can be devised by your state there, but not that they shall either take away my men, or any thing else to imploy as they please by vertue of their authority: and in that I have done somewhat for New-England as well as Virginia, so I would desire liberty and authority to make the best use I can of my best experiences, within the limits of those two Patents, and to bring them both in one Map, and the Countries betwixt them, giving alwaies that respect to the Governors and government, as an Englishman doth in Scotland, or a Scotch-

¹ Custom-house dues.

² Experienced.

man in England, or as the regiments in the Low-countries¹ doe to the Governors of the Townes and Cities where they are billited, or in Garrison, where though they live with them, and are as their servants to defend them, yet not to be disposed on at their pleasure, but as the Prince and State doth command them. And for my owne paines in particular I aske not any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the Salvages.

Their Answer.

I cannot say, it was generally for the Company, for being published in their Court,² the most that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and some would have been very large Adventurers in it, especially Sir John Brookes and Master David Wyffin, but there were such divisions amongst them, I could obtaine no answer but this, the charge would be too great; their stocke was decayed, and they did thinke the Planters should doe that of themselves if I could finde meanes to effect it; they did thinke I might have leave of the Company, provided they might have halfe the pillage, but I thinke there are not many will much strive for that imploiment, for except it be a little Corne at some time of the yeere is to be had, I would not give twenty pound for all the pillage is to be got amongst the Salvages in twenty yeeres: but because they supposed I spake only for my owne ends, it were good those understand providents³ for the Companies good they so much talke of, were sent thither to make triall of their profound wisdomes and long experiences.

About this time also was propounded a proposition concerning a Sallery of five and twenty thousand pounds to be raised out of Tobacco, as a yeerely pension to bee paid to certaine Officers for the erecting a new office, concerning the sole importation of Tobacco, besides his Majesties custome, fraught, and all other charges. To nominate⁴ the undertakers, fa-

¹ *I.e.*, the British auxiliary troops which for many years were maintained in the service of the Dutch Republic.

² Stockholders' meeting.

³ Understanding providents, *i.e.*, wise providers.

⁴ Name.

vourers and opposers, with their arguments (*pro*) and (*con*) would bee too tedious and needlesse being so publikely knowne; the which to establish, spent a good part of that yeere, and the beginning of the next. This made many thinke wonders of Virginia, to pay such pensions extraordinary to a few here that were never there, and also in what state and pompe some Chieftaines and divers of their associates live in Virginia; and yet no money to maintaine a Garrison, pay poore men their wages, nor yet five and twenty pence to all the Adventurers here, and very little to the most part of the Planters there, bred such differences in opinion it¹ was dissolved.

Now let us returne to Captaine Croshaw at Patawomek, where he had not beene long ere Opechancanough sent two baskets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, assuring him of the Massacre he had made, and that before the end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries: this fearefull message the King told this Captaine, who replied, he had seene both the cowardise and trechery of Opechancanough sufficiently tried by Captaine Smith,² therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his favour cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his with their owne swords; if he were slaine, he would leave a letter for his Country men to know, the fault was his owne, not the Kings. Two daies the King deliberated upon an answer, at last told him the English were his friends, and the Salvage Emperour Opitchapam, now called Toyatan, was his brother; therefore there should be no bloud shed betwixt them: for hee returned the Presents, willing the Pamaunkes to come no more in his Country, lest the English, though against his will, should doe them any mischief.

Not long after, a Boat going abroad to seeke out some reliefe amongst the Plantations, by Nuports-newes met such ill weather, though the men were saved they lost their boat, which the storme and waves cast upon the shore of Nandsamund: where Edward Waters one of the three that first stayed

¹ The charter.

² At Pamunkey in 1609.

in Summer Iles, and found the great peece of Amber-greece, dwelling in Virginia at this Massacre, hee and his wife these Nandsamunds kept Prisoners till it chanced they found this Boat; at which purchase they so rejoyced, according to their custome of triumph, with songs, dances and invocations. They were so busied, that Waters and his wife found opportunity to get secretly into their Canow, and so crossed the River to Kecoughtan, which is nine or ten miles: whereat the English no lesse wondred and rejoyced, then the Salvages were madded with discontent. Thus you may see how many desperate dangers some men escape, when others die that have all things at their pleasure.

All men thinking Captaine Croshaw dead, Captaine Hamer arriving with a Ship and a Pinnace at Patawomeke, was kindly entertained both by him¹ and the King; that Don Hamar told the King he came for Corne; the King replied hee had none, but the Nacotchtanks and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would give them 40. or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them. Those Salvages, with some of the English, they sent; who so well played their parts, they slew 18. of the Nacotchtanks,² some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them; where the Patawomeks were so eager of revenge, they drive them not onely out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods; thus taking what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to Patawomek, where they left Captaine Croshaw, with foure men more, the rest set saile for James towne. Captaine Croshaw now with five men and himselfe found night and day so many Alarums, he retired into such a convenient place, that with the helpe of the Salvages, hee had quickly fortified himselfe against all those wilde enemies. Captaine Nuse his Pinnace meeting Hamar by the way, understanding all this, came to see Captaine Croshaw: after their best enterchanges of courtesies, Croshaw writ to Nuse the estate of the place where he was, but understanding by them the poore estate of the Colony, offered if they would send

¹ Croshaw.² Necostans.

him but a bold Shallop, with men, armes and provision for trade, the next Harvest he would provide them Corne sufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of June, there was little or none in all the Country.

This being made knowne to the Governour and the rest, they sent Captaine Madyson with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those Croshaw a good time taught the use of their armes, but receiving a letter from Boyse his Wife,¹ a prisoner with nineteene more at Pamaunke, to use meanes to the Governour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to James towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to Pamaunke, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade Opachankanough to send two of his with two of the Patawomekes, to treat about those prisoners, and the rest should remaine their hostage at Pamaunke. But the Commanders, at James towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the Patawomekes backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine Croshaw to his owne habitation.

All this time we have forgot Captaine Nuse,² where we left him but newly acquainted with the Massacre, calling all his next adjoyning dispersed neighbours together, he regarded not the pestring his owne house, nor any thing to releev them, and with all speed entrenched himselfe, mounted three peece of Ordnance, so that within 14. daies, he was strong enough to defend himselfe from all the Salvages, yet when victuall grew scant, some that would forrage without order, which he punished, neere occasioned a mutiny. Notwithstanding, he behaved himselfe so fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houses for them he daily expected from England, a faire Well of fresh water mantled with bricke, because the River and Cricks are there brackish or salt; in all which things he plaid the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or any thing; wherein though his courage and heart were steeled, he found his body was not made of Iron, for hee had many

¹ Sarah, the wife of Cheney Boys.

² He commanded at Elizabeth City.

sicknesses, and at last a Dropsie, no lesse grieffe to himselfe, then sorrow to his Wife and all under his government. These crosses and losses were no small increasers of his malady, nor the thus abandoning our Plantations, the losse of our Harvest, and also Tobacco which was as our money; the Vineyard our Vineyetours¹ had brought to a good forwardnesse, bruised and destroyed with Deere, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, disorderly persons or wild beasts; so that as we are I cannot perceiue but the next yeere² will be worse, being still tormented with pride and flattery, idlenesse and covetousnesse, as though they had vowed heere to keepe their Court with all the pestilent vices in the world for their attendants, enchanted with a conceited statelinesse, even in the very bottome of miserable senselesnesse.

Shortly after, Sir George Yearly and Captaine William Powel³ took each of them a company of well disposed Gentlemen and others to seeke their enemies. Yearley ranging the shore of Weanock, could see nothing but their old houses which he burnt, and so went home: Powel searching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whose heads hee cut off, burnt their houses, and so returned; for the Salvages are so light and swift, though wee see them (being so loaded with armour) they have much advantage of us though they be cowards.

I confesse this is true,⁴ and it may cause some suppose they are grown invincible: but will any goe to catch a Hare with a Taber and a Pipe? for who knowes not though there be monsters both of men and beasts, fish and fowle, yet the greatest, the strongest, the wildest, cruellest, fiercest and

¹ The French vinedressers at Buckroe.

² 1623.

³ Captain William Powell came to Virginia with Gates in 1611, and in 1616 was made captain of the fort at Jamestown. Pace first told him of the plot of the Indians in 1622 to murder the whites. When they appeared before the fort in the morning, he dispersed them with the ordnance. He held lands afterward in Surry County, which appears to have been named after his native county in England.

⁴ Against this paragraph the original has the marginal note, "The opinion of Captaine Smith." With the next paragraph we return to narratives by dwellers in Virginia, edited by Smith.

cunningest, by reason, art and vigilancy, courage and industry hath beene slaine, subjected or made tame: and those are still but Salvages as they were, onely growne more bold by our owne simplicities, and still will be worse and worse till they be tormented with a continuall pursuit, and not with lying inclosed within Palizados, or affrighting them out of your sights, thinking they have done well [who] can but defend themselves: and to doe this to any purpose, will require both charge, patience and experience. But to their proceedings.

About the latter end of June, Sir George Yearley accompanied with the Councell, and a number of the greatest Gallants in the Land, stayed three or four daies with Captaine Nuse, he making his moane to a chiefe man amongst them for want of provision for his Company, the great Commander replied hee should turne them to his greene Corne, which would make them plumpe and fat: these fields being so neere the Fort, were better regarded and preserved then the rest, but the great mans command, as we call them, were quickly obeied, for though it was scarce halfe growne either to the greatnesse or goodnesse, they devoured it greene though it did them small good. Sir George with his company went to Accomack to his new Plantation, where he staid neere six weekes:¹ some Corne he brought home; but as he adventured for himselfe, he accordingly enjoyed the benefit. Some pety Magazines² came this Summer, but either the restraint by Proclamation, or want of Boats, or both, caused few but the Chieftaines to be little better by them. So long as Captaine Nuse had any thing we had part; but now all being spent, and the people forced to live upon Oisters and Crabs, they became so faint no worke could be done; and where the Law was, no worke, no meat, now the case is altered, to no meat, no worke: some small quantity of Milke and Rice the Captaine had of his owne, and that he would distribute *gratis* as he saw occasion; I say *gratis*, for I know no place else, but it was sold for ready paiment. Those eares of Corne that had escaped till August, though not ripe

¹ His descendants intermarried with most of the families of the Eastern Shore.

² Private stores.

by reason of the late planting, the very Dogs did repaire to the Corne fields to seeke them as the men till they were hanged: and this I protest before God is true that I have related, not to flatter Nuse, nor condemne any, but all the time I have lived in Virginia, I have not seene nor heard that any Com-mander hath taken such continuall paines for the publike, or done so little good for himselfe; and his vertuous wife was no lesse charitable and compassionate according to her power. For my owne part, although I found neither Mulberies planted, houses built, men nor victuall provided, as the honourable Adventurers did promise mee in England; yet at my owne charge, having made these preparations, and the silk-Wormes ready to be covered, all was lost, but my poore life and children, by the Massacre, the which as God in his mercy did preserve, I continually pray we may spend to his glory. The 9. of September, we had an alarum, and two men at their labours slaine; the Captaine,¹ though extreme sicke, sallied forth, but the Salvages lay hid in the Corne fields all night, where they destroyed all they could, and killed two men more. Much mischiefe they did to Master Edward Hills cattle, yet he alone defended his house though his men were sicke and could doe nothing, and this was our first assault since the Massacre.

About this time Captaine Madyson passed by us, having taken Prisoners, the King of Patawomek, his sonne, and two more, and thus it happened. Madyson not liking so well to live amongst the Salvages as Croshaw did, built him a strong house within the Fort, so that they were not so sociable as before, nor did they much like Poole the Interpre[te]r. Many Alarums they had, but saw no enemies: Madyson before his building went to Moyaones, where hee got provision for a moneth, and was promised much more; so he returned to Patawomek and built this house, and was well used by the Salvages. Now by the foure great men the King sent to Pamaunke for the redemption of the Prisoners, Madyson sent them a letter, but they could neither deliver it nor see them: so long they stayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad

¹ Newce.

usage, that hee swore by the Skyes, if they returned not well, he would have warres with Opechankanough so long as he had any thing. At this time two of Madysons men ranne from him, to finde them he sent Master John Upton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica,¹ where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the Necosts,² enemies to the Patawomeks; this expulsed King though he professed much love to the Patawomeks, yet hee loved not the King because he would not helpe him to revenge his injuries, but to our Interpreter Poole hee protested great love, promising if any treason were, he would reveale it; our guide conducted this *Bandyto*³ with them up to Patawomek and there kept him; our Fugitives we found the Patawomeks had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from Pamaunke. Not long after, this expulsed King desired private conference with Poole, urging him to sweare by his God never to reveale what hee would tell him, Poole promised he would not; then quoth this King, those great men that went to Pamaunke, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with Opechankanough how to kill you all here, and these are their plots.

First, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fishing to their furthest towne, and there set upon them, and cut off the rest; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many strangers would trade their Furres, where they will perswade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile also, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set upon you, yet of all this, said he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Conjurer.

This being made known to the Captain, we all stood more punctually upon our guard, at which the Salvages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the Pamaunkes, whereat they seemed contented;

¹ Country of the Necostans, where Washington now stands.

² Necostans, sometimes called Anacostans.

³ Bandit, Indian robber.

and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fishing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from James towne with the two Salvages sent home with Captaine Croshaw: by those the Governour sent to Madyson, that this King should send him twelve of his great men; word of this was sent to the King at another towne where he was, who not comming presently with the Messenger, Madyson conceited¹ hee regarded not the message, and intended as he supposed the same treason. The next morning the King² comming home, being sent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to James towne, the King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leave him destitute of aid, having so many enemies about him; the Captaine told him he would leave a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelve great men for the Governour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them; then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne, said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall have, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, whereupon Madyson went forth and locked the doore, leaving the King, his sonne, and foure Salvages, and five English men in the strong house, and setting upon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children. The King demanding the cause, Poole told him the treason, crying out³ to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but having slaine and made flye all in the towne, hee⁴ returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend. Then Madyson willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboard, which he presently did, and it was performed: so Madyson departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should

¹ Concluded.² *I.e.*, the king of the Potomacs.³ And he (the Indian) cried out.⁴ *I.e.*, Captain Madison.

returne at libertie ; notwithstanding he brought them to James towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine Hamer, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land.

But, alas the cause of this was onely this
They understood, nor knew what was amisse.

Ever since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of Spaine would invade them, or our English Papists indeavour to dissolve them. But neither all the Counsels of Spaine, nor Papists in the world could have devised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there ever have beene a better plot, to have overthrowne Opechankanough then Captaine Croshaws, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see Virginia made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory.

Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer little was done, but securing themselves and planting Tobacco, which passes there as current Silver, and by the oft turning and winding¹ it, some grow rich, but many poore: notwithstanding ten or twelve ships or more hath arrived there since the massacre, although it was Christmas ere any returned, and that returne greatly revived all mens longing expectation here in England: for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recovered, and finding the Salvages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. To lull them the better in securitie, they sought no revenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best Souldiers they could, that would leave their private businesse, and adventure themselves amongst the Salvages to surprise their Corne, under the conduct of Sir George Yearley, being imbarked in convenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprise; they went first to Nandsamund, where the people set fire on their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled

¹ *I.e.*, handling.

with what they could carry; so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for revenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses remained unburnt, and so departed. Quartering about Kecoughtan, after the Watch was set, Samuëll Collyer one of the most ancientest Planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Governor of a Towne, when the Watch was set, going the round, unfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine.

Thence they sailed to Pamaunke, the chiefe seat of Opechan-kanough, the contriver of the massacre: the Salvages seemed exceeding fearefull, promising to bring them Sara,¹ and the rest of the English yet living, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to give them any satisfaction they could. Many such devices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelve daies, till they had got away their Corne from all the other places up the River, but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they² saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Salvages that fled before them, some few of those naked Devils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they listed, burning their empty houses before them as they went, to make themselves sport: so they escaped, and Sir George returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enjoyned before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges. Thus by this meanes the Salvages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations.

What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully revenged of the Salvages

¹ Sara Boys, who had been made a captive.

² *I.e.*, the English.

before they returned, I know not;¹ nor could ever heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy Ferdinando Courtus² had scarce three hundred Spaniards to conquer the great Citie of Mexico, where thousands of Salvages dwelled in strong houses. But because they were a civilised people, had wealth, and those meere Barbarians³ as wilde as beasts have nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion: which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not live to put in practice, yet it may be hereafter usefull for some; but howsoever I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is.

Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would have sent first one hundred to Captaine Rawley Chroshaw to Patawomek, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would have struck that love and admiration into the Patawomeks, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated upon the other side the River, they would willingly have beene friends, or have given any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them, Captaine Argall, Chroshaw, nor Hamar, never found themselves in fifteene yeares trials: nor is it likely now they would have so hostages their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany; but suppose they had, who would have desired a better advantage then such an advertisement, to have prepared the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but five men in it durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as wel too jealous as too carelesse. Such another Lope Skonce⁴ would I have had at Onawmanient, and one hundred men more to have made

¹ Again we have the marginal note, "The opinion of Captaine Smith."

² Cortés.

³ *I.e.*, the Indians of Virginia.

⁴ A fort.

such another at Atquacke upon the River of Toppahanock,¹ which is not past thirteene miles distant from Onawmanient:² each of which twelve men would keepe, as well as twelve thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily have beene done, if not by courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wilde Fowle began to repaire to every creeke, that men if they would doe any thing, could not want victuall. This done, there remained yet one hundred who should have done the like at Ozinieke,³ upon the River of Chickahamania, not past six miles from the chiefe habitations of Opechankanough. These small Forts had beene cause sufficient to cause all the Inhabitants of each of those Rivers to looke to themselves. Then having so many Ships, Barks, and Boats in Virginia as there was at that present, with what facility might you have landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely five or six Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of Mattapanyent, fortie more that of Youghtanund, and fortie more to keepe their randivous at Pamaunke it selfe. All which places lie so neere, they might heare from each other within foure or five houres; and not any of those small parties, if there were any valour, discretion, or industry in them, but as sufficient as foure thousand, to force them all to contribution, or take or spoile all they had. For having thus so many convenient randevous to releeeve each other, though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they rest, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houses upon all those Rivers in two or three

¹ Rappahannock.

² An Indian district on the south side of the Potomac where the county of King George now is.

³ The Chickahominy River, after emerging from the swamps around Richmond, flows parallel to the James until it reaches a station on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, known as Lanexa, the site of the Indian village of Ozinies or Ozinieke, from which it flows at nearly right angles to its former course eight miles to the James River. From Lanexa to the York the distance is not more than six miles.

daies? Then without fires they could not live, which they could not so hide but wee should finde, and quickly so tire them with watching and warding, they would be so weary of their lives, as either fly all their Countries, or give all they had to be released of such an houely misery. Now if but a small number of the Salvages would assist us, as there is no question but divers of them would; And to suppose they could not be drawne to such faction, were to beleve they are more vertuous then many Christians, and the best governed people in the world, All the Pamaunkes might have beene dispatchd as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to have dealt with any other enemies at our pleasure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation.

If you think this strange or impossible, 12 men with my selfe I found sufficient, to goe where I would adaies,¹ and surprise a house with the people, if not a whole towne, in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath beene related: And it seemes by these small parties last amongst them, by Captaine Crashow, Hamar, and Madyson, they are not growne to that excellency in policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wives and children apprehended. I know I shall bee taxed for writing so much of my selfe: but I care not much, because the judiciall know there are few such Souldiers as are my examples, have writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my selfe.

Some againe finde as much fault with the Company for meddling with so many Plantations together, because they that have many Irons in the fire some must burne; but I thinke no if they have men enow know how to worke them, but howsoever, it were better some burne then have none at all. The King of Spaine regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes under his obedience, and for the Salvage Countries he hath subjected, they are more then enow for a good Cosmographer to nominate,² and is three Mole-hills so much to us, and so many Empires so little for him? For my

¹ Any day.

² Enumerate.

owne part, I cannot chuse but grieve, that the actions of an Englishman should be inferior to any, and that the command of England should not be as great as any Monarchy that ever was since the world began, I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Christendome, but to suppress her disturbers, and conquer her enemies.

For the great Romans got into their hand
The whole worlds compasse, both by Sea and Land,
Or any seas, or heaven, or earth extended,
And yet that Nation could not be contented.

Much about this time, arrived a small Barke of Barnestable, which had beene at the Summer Iles, and in her Captaine Nathaniel Butler,¹ who having beene Governour there three yeares, and his Commission expired, he tooke the opportunity of this ship to see Virginia. At James Towne he was kindly entertained by Sir Francis Wyat the Governour. After he had rested there fourteene daies, he fell up with his ship to the River of Chickahamania, where meeting Captaine William Powell, joyning together such forces as they had to the number of eighty, they set upon the Chickahamanians, that fearefully fled, suffering the English to spoile all they had, not daring to resist them. Thus he returned to James towne, where hee staid a moneth, at Kecoughtan as much more, and so returned for England.²

But riding at Kecoughtan, Master John Argent, sonne to Doctor Argent, a young Gentleman that went with Captaine Butler from England to this place, Michael Fuller, William Gany, Cornelius May, and one other going ashore with some goods late in a faire evening, such a sudden gust did arise, that drive³ them thwart the River, in that place at least three or foure miles in bredth, where the shore was so shallow at a low water, and the Boat beating upon the Sands, they left her,

¹ His tract, *The Unmasking of Virginia*, was a cause of much trouble to the Virginia Company. See its *Records*, and the next piece in this volume.

² February, 1623.

³ Drove.

wading neere halfe a mile, and oft up to the chin. So well it hapned, Master Argent had put his Bandileir of powder in his hat, which next God was all their preservations: for it being February, and the ground so cold, their bodies became so benumbed, they were not able to strike fire with a steele and a stone hee had in his pocket; the stone they lost twice, and thus those poore soules groping in the darke, it was Master Argents chance to finde it, and with a few withered leaves, reeds, and brush, make a small fire, being upon the Chisapeaks shore, their mortall enemies, great was their feare to be discovered. The joyfull morning appearing, they found their Boat and goods drive ashore, not farre from them, but so split shee was unserviceable: but so much was the frost, their clothes did freeze upon their backs, for they durst not make any great fire to dry them, lest thereby the bloody Salvages might discry them, so that one of them died the next day; and the next night, digging a grave in the Sands with their hands, buried him. In this bodily feare they lived and fasted two daies and nights, then two of them went into the Land to seeke fresh water; the others to the Boat to get some meale and oyle. Argent and his Comrado found a Canow, in which they resolved to adventure to their ship, but shee was a drift in the River before they returned. Thus frustrate of all hopes, Captaine Butler the third night ranging the shore in his Boat to seeke them, discharged his Muskets; but they supposing it some Salvages had got some English peeces, they grew more perplexed then ever: so he returned and lost his labour. The fourth day they unloaded their Boat, and stopping her leakes with their handkerchiefes, and other rags, two rowing, and two bailing out the water; but farre they went not ere the water grew upon them so fast, and they so tired, they thought themselves happy to be on shore againe, though they perceived the Indians were not farre off by their fires. Thus at the very period of despaire, Fuller undertooke to sit a stride upon a little peece of an old Canow; so well it pleased God the wind and tide served, by padling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation God so guided him

three or foure houres upon this boord, he arrived at their ship, where they no lesse amazed then he tired, they tooke him in. Presently as he had concluded with his Companions, he caused them discharge a peece of Ordnance if he escaped: which gave no lesse comfort to Master Argent and the rest, then terror to those Plantations that heard it, (being late) at such an unexpected alarum; but after with warme clothes and a little strong water they had a little recovered him, such was his courage and care of his distressed friends, he returned that night againe with Master Felgate to conduct him to them: and so giving thanks to God for so hopelesse a deliverance, it pleased his Divine power, both they and their provision came safely aboard, but Fuller they doubt will never recover his benumbed legs and thighes.

Now before Butlers arrivall in England, many hard speeches were rumored against him for so leaving his charge, before he received order from the Company. Divers againe of his Souldiers as highly commended him, for his good government, art, judgement and industry. But to make the misery of Virginia appeare that it might be reformed in time, how all those Cities, Townes, Corporations, Forts, Vineyards, Nurseries of Mulberies, Glasse-houses, Iron forges, Guest-houses, Silke-wormes, Colleges, the Companies great estate, and that plenty some doe speake of here, are rather things in words and paper then in effect, with divers reasons of the causes of those defects; if it were false, his blame nor shame could not be too much: but if there bee such defects in the government, and distresse in the Colony, it is thought by many it hath beene too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation then disputation: but however, it were not amisse to provide for the worst, for the best will help it selfe. Notwithstanding, it was apprehended so hardly, and examined with that passion, that the brute thereof was spread abroad with that expedition, it did more hurt then the massacre; and the fault of all now by the vulgar rumour, must be attributed to the unwholesomnesse of the ayre, and barrennesse of the Countrey: as though all England were naught, because the Fens and Marshes are un-

healthy; or barren, because some will lie under windowes and starve in Cheapside, rot in Goales, die in the street, high-waies, or any where, and use a thousand devices to maintaine themselves in those miseries, rather then take any paines to live as they may by honest labour, and a great part of such like are the Planters of Virginia, and partly the occasion of those de-failments.

In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this,¹ Captaine Henrie Spilman a Gentleman, that hath lived in those Countries thirteene or fourteene yeares, one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men, hee was sent to trucke in the River of Patawomek, where he had lived a long time amongst the Salvages. Whether hee presumed too much upon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be revenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately, or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all several relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for they returned, report they left him ashore about Patawomek, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but five in the Barke. The Salvages, ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gave fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Salvages leapt over-boord, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes and swum a shore; and presently after they heard a great brute² amongst the Salvages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke. Whereupon they weighed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is uncertaine.

Thus things proceed and vary not a jot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not.

¹ Marginal reading, "1623. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer."

² Noise.

A particular of such necessaries as either private families, or single persons, shall have cause to provide to goe to Virginia, whereby greater numbers may in part conceive the better how to provide for themselves.

Apparell.¹

A Monmoth Cap.	1s. 10d.	<i>Victuall for a whole yeare for</i>
3 falling bands.	1s. 3d.	<i>a man, and so after the</i>
3 shirts.	7s. 6d.	<i>rate for more.</i>
1 Waste-coat.	2s. 2d.	8 bushels of meale. 2l.
1 suit of Canvase.	7s. 6d.	2 bushels of pease. 6s.
1 suit of Frize. ²	10s.	2 bushels of Otemeale. 9s.
1 suit of Cloth.	15s.	1 gallon of <i>Aquavita</i> . 2s. 6d.
3 paire of Irish stockings.	4s.	1 gallon of oyle. 3s. 6d.
4 paire of shooes.	8s. 8d.	2 gallons of Vineger. 2s.
1 paire of garters.	10d.	<u>3l. 3s.</u>
1 dozen of points. ³	3d.	<i>Armes for a man; but if halfe</i>
1 paire of Canvas sheets.	8s.	<i>your men be armed it is</i>
7 ells of Canvas to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in Virginia, serving for two men.	8s.	<i>well, so all have swords and peeeces.</i>
5 ells of course Canvas to make a bed at Sea for two men.	5s.	1 Armor compleat, light. 17s.
1 course rug at sea for two men.	6s.	1 long peece five foot and a halfe, neere Musket bore. 1l. 2s.
<u>4l.</u>		1 Sword. 5s.
		1 Belt. 1s.
		1 Bandilier. ⁴ 1s. 6d.
		20 pound of powder. 18s.
		60 pound of shot or

¹ The margin explains, "Apparrell for one man, and so after the rate for more."

² Frieze, a coarse woollen cloth.

³ Laces for fastening the clothing.

⁴ Bandoleer, a broad leather belt formerly worn by soldiers over the left shoulder.

Lead, Pistoll and Goose shot.	5s.	3 Gimblets at 2d. a peece.	6d.
	<u>3l. 9s. 6d.</u>	2 Hatchets at 21d. a peece.	3s. 6d.
<i>Tooles for a family of six per- sons, and so after the rate for more.</i>		2 frowes ² to cleave pale 18d. each.	3s.
5 broad howes at 2s. a peece.	10s.	2 hand Bills 20d. a peece.	3s. 4d.
5 narrow howes at 16d. a peece.	6s. 8d.	1 Grindstone.	4s.
2 broad axes at 3s. 8d. a peece.	7s. 4d.	Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2l.
5 felling axes at 18d. a peece.	7s. 6d.	2 Pickaxes.	<u>3s.</u>
2 steele handsawes at 16d. a peece.	2s. 8d.		<u>6l. 2s. 8d.</u>
2 two handsawes ¹ at 5s. a peece.	10s.	<i>Household implements for a family of six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.</i>	
1 whipsaw, set and filed; with box, file and wrest.	10s.	1 Iron pot.	7s.
2 hammers 12d. a peece.	2s.	1 Kettell.	6s.
3 shovels at 18d. a peece.	4s. 6d.	1 large Frying-pan.	2s. 6d.
2 spades at 18d. a peece.	3s.	1 Gridiron.	1s. 6d.
2 Augers at 6d. peece.	1s.	2 Skellets.	5s.
6 Chissels at 6d. a peece.	3s.	1 Spit.	2s.
2 Percers stocked 4d. a peece.	8d.	Platters, dishes, spoones of wood.	<u>4s.</u>
			1l. 8s.
		For Sugar, Spice, and Fruit, at Sea for six men.	12s. 6d.
		So the full charge after this rate for each person, will	

¹ *I.e.*, two two-hand saws.² A wedge-shaped tool for splitting rails or staves.

amount to about the summe	visions for a man, will be
of	about halfe a tun, which
12l. 10s. 10d.	
The passage of each man	is
is	6l.
So the whole charge will	amount to about
20l.	

Now if the number be great; Nets, Hooks, and Lines, but Cheese, Bacon, Kine and Goats must be added. And this is the usuall proportion the Virginia Company doe bestow upon their Tenents they send.

A briefe relation written by Captaine Smith to his Majesties Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, concerning some aspersions against it.

Honourable Gentlemen, for so many faire and Navigable Rivers so neere adjoyning, and piercing thorow so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny unwholsome Marshes, I have not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes, and Wharfage, if they will use the meanes, where there is no more ebbe nor floud, Nature in few places affoords any so convenient. For salt Marshes or Quagmires, in this tract of James Towne River I know very few; some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable than hurtfull: and I thinke there is more low Marsh ground betwixt Eriffe and Chelsey,¹ then Kecoughton and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the River.

Being enjoyned by our Commission not to unplant nor wrong the Salvages, because the channell was so neere the shore, where now is James Towne, then a thick grove of trees; wee cut them downe, where the Salvages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of us in two houres. At this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little better stufte in bread for five men a meale; and thus we lived neere three

¹ Erith and Chelsea are on the Thames, the one below London, the other above.

moneths: our lodgings under boughes of trees, the Salvages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor understood; occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sicke and die.

Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the Salvages, that we got provision which recovered the rest being most sicke. Six weeks¹ I was led captive by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled; yet it pleased God to make their great Kings daughter the means to returne me safe to James towne, and releeve our wants: and then² our Common-wealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and five.

Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelve men in a boat of three tuns, I spent fourteene weeks in those large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the River we dwell upon: where no Christian knowne ever was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died.

The Salvages being acquainted, that by command from England we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions; cause Powhatan fly his Countrey, and take the King of Pamaunke Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of Paspahigh in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied us contribution, and the offending Salvages sent to James towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares I staid there, I had not a man slaine.

All those conclusions being not able to prevent the bad events of pride and idlenesse, having received another supply of seventie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the strict directions from England to doe that was impossible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who lived upon Oysters

¹ Three weeks, rather,—from December 10, 1607, to January 2, 1608.

² January 2, 1608. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 175.

in June and July,¹ with a pint of corne a week for a man lying under trees, and 120 for the most part living upon Sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks but seven died.

It is true, we had of Toolles, Armes, and Munition sufficient, some Aquavitae, Vineger, Meale, Pease, and Otemeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths; though by the bills of loading the proportions sent us, would well have contented us: notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Ashes, Wainskot, Clapboord, Silke grasse, Iron Ore, some Sturgion and Glasse, Saxefras, Cedar, Cypris, and blacke Walnut; crowned Powhatan; sought the Monacans Countrey, according to the instructions sent us, but they caused us neglect more necessary workes: they had better have given for Pitch and Sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in Denmarke: Wee also maintained five or six severall Plantations.²

James towne being burnt, wee rebuilt it and three Forts more: besides the Church and Store-house, we had about fortie or fiftie severall houses to keepe us warme and dry, invironed with a palizado of fourteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of fresh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peece of Ordnance (of Culvering, Demiculvering, Sacar and Falcon), and most well mounted upon convenient plat-formes: planted one hundred acres of Corne.³ We had but six ships to transport and supply us, and but two hundred seventy seven men, boies, and women: by whose labours Virginia being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes; yet because we had done no more, they called in our Commission, tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed us neere as many offices and Officers as I had

¹ 1609.

² In May, 1609, Smith divided the settlers into small parties, but it was to escape starvation rather than to establish settlements.

³ In the earlier narratives the area of cultivation was put at forty acres.

Souldiers, that neither knew us nor wee them, without our consents or knowledge. Since,¹ there have gone more then one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people. Now if you please to compare what hath beene spent, sent, discovered, and done this fiteene yeares, by that we did in the three first yeares: and every Governor that hath beene there since, give you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in Virginia.

Then came in Captaine Argall, and Mr Sedan, in a ship of Mr Cornelius, to fish for Sturgion; who had such good provision, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furnished then ever.

Not long after came in seven ships, with about three hundred people; but rather to supplant us then supply us: their Admirall with their authoritie being cast away in the Bermudas, very angry they were we had made no better provision for them. Seven or eight weekes we withstood the inundations of these disorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with Gun-powder, which occasioned me to returne for England.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas, I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, with three ships, seven Boats, Commodities to trade, harvest newly gathered, eight weeks provision of Corne and Meale, about five hundred persons, three hundred Muskets, shot powder and match with armes for more men then we had. The Salvages their language and habitation well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants: six Mares and a Horse, five or six hundred Swine, many more Powltry, what was brought or bred, but victuall, there remained.

Having spent some five yeares, and more then five hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about New England, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares I have here and there not spared any thing

¹ *I.e.*, by 1624.

according to my abilitie, nor the best advice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might have beene prevented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeeve me till now too deerely they have paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I have rather left all then undertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries have I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor ever any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither have them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and divisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of Virginia, if present remedy bee not found, as they have hindred many hundreds, who would have beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I have made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence; and beare with their errors till I have done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, upon such grounds as I have propounded: which is to have but fiftene hundred men to subdue againe the Salvages, fortifie the Countrey, discover that yet unknowne, and both defend and feed their Colony, which I most humbly refer to his Majesties most judiciaall judgement, and the most honourable Lords of his Privy Councill, you his trusty and well-beloved Commissioners, and the Honourable company of Planters and well-willers to Virginia, New-England and Sommer-Ilands.

Out of these Observations it pleased his Majesties Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, to desire my answer to these seven Questions.

Quest. 1. *What conceive you is the cause the Plantation hath prospered no better since you left it in so good a forwardnesse?*

Answ. Idlenesse and carelesnesse brought all I did in three yeeres, in six moneths to nothing; and of five hundred I left, scarce threescore remained; and had Sir Thomas Gates not got from the Bermudas, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be supplied.

Quest. 2. *What conceive you should be the cause, though the Country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco?*

Answ. The oft altering of Governours it seemes causes every man make use of his time, and because Corne was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushell, and Tobacco at three shillings the pound; and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, presuming Tobacco will furnish them with all things: now make a mans labour in Corne worth threescore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they have Corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and keepe their people in health to doe any thing; but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Quest. 3. *What conceive you to have beene the cause of the Massacre, and had the Salvages had the use of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?*

Answ. The cause of the Massacre was the want of marshall discipline; and because they would have all the English had by destroying those they found so carelesly secure, that they were not provided to defend themselves against any enemy; being so dispersed as they were. In my time, though Captaine Nuport furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitives did the like, and some Peeces they got accidentally: yet I got the most of them againe; and it was death to him that should shew a Salvage the use of a Peece. Since, I understand, they became so good shot, they were employed for Fowlers and Huntsmen by the English.

Quest. 4. *What charge thinke you would have settled the government both for defence and planting when you left it?*

Answ. Twenty thousand pound would have hyred good labourers and mechanicall men, and have furnished them with cattle and all necessaries; and 100. of them would have

done more then a thousand of those that went: though the Lord Laware, Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale were perswaded to the contrary; but when they had tried, they confessed their error.

Quest. 5. *What conceive you would be the remedy and the charge?*

Answ. The remedy is to send Souldiers and all sorts of labourers and necessaries for them, that they may be there by next Michaelmas,¹ the which to doe well will stand you in five thousand pound: but if his Majesty would please to lend two of his Ships to transport them, lesse would serve; besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Quest. 6. *What thinke you are the defects of the government both here and there?*

Answ. The multiplicity of opinions here, and Officers there, makes such delaies by questions and formalitie, that as much time is spent in complement as in action; besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, having six pounds for every Passenger, and three pounds for every tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured then one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, provisions and Magazines, whereby the Ships are so pestred, as occasions much sicknesse, diseases and mortality: for though all the Passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with Orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. As for the letters of advice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleeve there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were wel, to which error here they have beene ever much subject; and there not to beleeve, or not to releeve the true and poore estate of that Colony, whose fruits were commonly spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their adventures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice; but it is so with all men. But howsoever they thinke or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I

¹ 1624.

am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others have not onely spent the most of their estates, but the most part have lost their lives and all, onely but to make way for the triall of more new conclusions: and he that now will adventure but twelve pounds ten shillings, shall have better respect and as much favour then he that sixteene yeere agoe adventured as much, except he have money as the other hath; but though he have adventured five hundred pound, and spent there never so much time, if hee have no more and not able to begin a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of Court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new devices have consumed both mony and purse; for at first there were but six Patentees, now more then a thousand; then but thirteene Counsailors, now not lesse then an hundred: I speake not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those Officers which did they manage their owne estates no better then the affaires of Virginia, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it. But this is most evident, few Officers in England it hath caused to turne Banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would leave their places; neither yet any of their Officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home. But fewer Adventurers here will adventure any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improvident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themselves, they die or live but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old Planters can releve them were too much simplicity; for who here in England is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, have they never so much; much lesse in Virginia where they want for themselves. Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, covetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please (yea even men, women and children for who will give most), occasions no small mischief amongst the Planters.

As for the Company, or those that doe transport them, provided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receive

their charges againe with advantage,¹ or that masters there should not have the same privilege over their servants as here: but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent over for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard how they shall be maintained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits sutable: therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselves, then suffered any longer to use that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well settled Common-wealth to misery, much more Virginia.

Quest. 7. *How thinke you it may be rectified?*

Answ. If his Majestie would please to intitle it to his Crowne,² and yearely that both the Governours here and there may give their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in maintaining one hundred men for the Governour, one hundred for two Deputies, fifty for the Treasurer, five and twenty for the Secretary, and more for the Marshall and other Officers who were never there nor adventured any thing; but onely preferred by favour to be Lords over them that broke the ice and beat the path, and must teach them what to doe. If any thing happen well, it is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not five hundred of them have so much as one of the others. Also that there bee some present course taken to maintaine a Garrison to suppress the Salvages, till they be able to subsist, and that his Majesty would please to remit his custome; or it is to be feared they will lose custome and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them: not such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in England. Yet when the foundation is laid, as I have said, and a common-wealth established, then such there may better be constrained to labour then here; but to rectifie a common-wealth with debaused people is impossible, and no wise man would throw himselfe into such a society, that intends honestly

¹ Profit.

² Resume Virginia to himself.

and knowes what he undertakes. For there is no Country to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence must be by labour.

For the government I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland, men here conceiting Virginia as they are, erecting as many stately Offices as Officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the Countrey: where a Constable were as good as twenty of their Captaines; and three hundred good Souldiers and labourers better then all the rest, that goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they spend Michaelmas rent in Mid-summer Moone, and would gather their Harvest before they have planted their Corne.

As for the maintenance of the Officers, the first that went never demanded any, but adventured good summes: and it seemes strange to me, the fruits of all their labours, besides the expence of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those collaterall Officers could not maintaine themselves so well as the old did; and having now such liberty to doe to the Salvages what they will, the others had not.¹ I more then wonder they have not five hundred Salvages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance; and as many more to returne some content and satisfaction to the Adventurers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor see nothing but miserable complaints: therefore under your correction to rectifie all, is with all expedition to passe the authority to them who will releve them, lest all bee consumed ere the differences be determined. And except his Majestie undertake it, or by Act of Parlament some small tax may be granted throughout his Dominions, as a Penny upon every Poll, called a head-penny; two pence upon every Chimney, or some such collection might be raised, and that would be sufficient to give a good stocke, and many servants to sufficient men of any facultie, and transport them freely for paying onely homage to the Crowne of England, and such

¹ Which the others had not.

duties to the publike good as, their estates increased, reason should require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly goe to spend their lives there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeere, then all those pety particular undertakings will effect in twenty.

For the Patent the King may, if he please, rather take it from them that have it, then from us who had it first; pretending to his Majesty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did: and for any thing I can conceive had we remained still as at first, it is not likely we could have done much worse; but those oft altering of governments are not without much charge, hazard and losse. If I be too plaine, I humbly crave your pardon; but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the Nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their Purses and assistances many of them have beene to advance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferiour persons: amongst whom questionlesse also many have done their utmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and understanding; yet grosse errors have beene committed, but no man lives without his fault. For my owne part, I have so much adoe to amend my owne, I have no leisure to looke into any mans particular,¹ but those in generall I conceive to be true. And so I humbly rest

Yours to command,

J. S.

Thus those discords, not being to be compounded among themselves; nor yet by the extraordinary diligences, care and paines of the noble and right worthy Commissioners, Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Goston, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir Henry Bourghier and Sir William Pit: a Corante² was granted against Master Deputy Farrar,

¹ Particular fault.

² A *quo warranto*. For the events attending the dissolution of the Virginia Company, see Miss Kingsbury's introduction to the *Records*, and Neill's *Virginia Company of London*.

and 20. or 30. others of that party, to plead their causes before the right Honourable the Lords of His Majesties Privy Councill. Now notwithstanding all the Relations, Examinations, and intercepting of all Letters whatsoever came from thence, yet it seemes they were so farre unsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preservation of the Colony, as to give content and doe all men right, they sent two Commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the Colony. Upon whose returne after mature deliberation, it pleased his royall Majesty to suppress the course of the Court at Deputy Farrars: and that for the present ordering the affaires of Virginia, untill he should make a more full settlement thereof, the Lord Viscount Mandevile, Lord President of his Majesties Privie Councill, and also other Privy Councillors, with many understanding Knights and Gentlemen, should every Thursday in the afternoone meet at Sir Thomas Smiths in Philpot lane: where all men whom it should concerne may repaire, to receive such directions and warrant for their better security; as more at large you may see in the Proclamation to that effect, under the great Seale of England, dated the 15. of July, 1624.¹ But as for the relations last returned, what numbers they are, how many Cities, Corporations, townes, and houses, cattle and horse they have; what fortifications or discoveries they have made, or revenge upon the Salvages; who are their friends or foes; or what commodities they have more then Tobacco; and their present estate or what is presently to be put in execution: in that the Commissioners are not yet fully satisfied in the one, nor resolved in the other, at this present time when this went to the Presse, I must intreat you pardon me till I be better assured.

Thus far I have travelled in this Wildernesse of Virginia, not being ignorant for all my paines this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaves; that I have writ too much of some, too little of others, and many

¹ In Hazard's *Historical Collections*, I. 183, or Rymer's *Fœdera*, XVII. 609.

such like objections. To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any have concealed their approved experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me: as for every fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leave them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I never undertooke any thing yet any¹ could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were these my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2. yeeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would judge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I must leave all to the triall of time, both my selfe, Virginia's preparations, proceedings and good events; praying to that great God the protector of all goodnesse to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and Country deserveth, and my heart desireth.

¹ Wherein any.