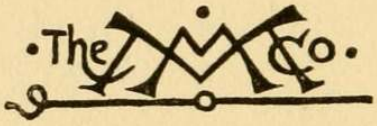
Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

From the statue by William Couper. Unveiled on Jamestown Island, Virginia, September, 1907.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

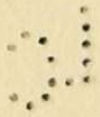
(1579–1631)

BY

ROSSITER JOHNSON

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1915

Set up and electrotyped. Published April, 1915.



Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XVIII

CHAPTER XIX

CHAPTER XX

CHAPTER XXI

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

CHAPTER I

His Early Years

Captain John Smith, of whom Thomas Jefferson said that he was, "next to Raleigh, the founder of Virginia," was one of the most extraordinary characters of either ancient or modern times. His varied fortunes, far-scattered scenes of action, and dangerous adventures, with his enormous energy, unfailing courage, and extraordinary executive ability, make the story of his life a romance that needs no fancy touches for its completion.

For some parts of the story we have only his own word, and therefore certain critical writers have thrown doubt upon its truth. But there are many bits of history that depend upon the word of one person; and when explorers return to us from unknown lands, we seldom question the truth of their narrative, though it tells of wonders we never had imagined. Moreover,

those parts of Captain Smith's career that are told by other witnesses present adventures quite as extraordinary and a character quite as masterly as he himself has shown in the parts that depend solely on his own word. Let us therefore take him in good faith, and walk with him, ride with him, sail with him, fight with him, suffer with him, from his uneasy boyhood in Lincolnshire till his quiet leave of life in London at the age of fifty-two — the same span of life that was enjoyed by his great contemporary, William Shakespeare.

John Smith was born in the little village of Willoughby, England, in sight of the North Sea, in January, 1579. His parents were in humble circumstances, yet not so poor but that his father left an estate large enough to tempt John's guardians to get rid of him that they might enjoy it themselves. He was sent to the free schools of Louth and Alford, not far away, and acquired what we should call a good common-school education.

But a desire for travel and adventure appears to have been born in him — probably increased by his familiarity with sailors and fishermen and the great sea. In his fourteenth year he sold his schoolbooks and was about to run away in

search of adventures; but before he got away from the village his father died, and this caused him to remain to enjoy the property that he inherited. As he was not yet of age, he had to have guardians to take care of him and his estate. They appear to have had more care for the estate than for the boy, as they allowed him only a very small amount of pocket money, and the next year they bound him out as an apprentice to a tradesman named Tendall, in Lynn. Here he was fifty miles from the home of his childhood, but he was even nearer the sea than he had been, and its fascination grew upon him. He besought his master to send him to sea, and when this was refused he ran away.

After some wanderings, he found an opportunity to go to France as a servant to a son of Lord Willoughby, who was an eminent commander in the wars. There were many European wars in that day; nearly every country on that continent was involved in some bloody struggle. The desire for liberty and responsible government had begun to assert itself, and despotism was dying hard.

After a few weeks of this service, in which he traveled over a great part of France, Smith was dismissed and made his way to his old home.

But he was not wanted there, as his guardians preferred to have the use of his property for themselves. They therefore gave him a small amount of money — what would be about twenty-five dollars in our day — and sent him abroad again.

This time he went to Paris, where he led a somewhat aimless life, until he made the acquaintance of a Scotchman named David Hume — probably a distant kinsman of the David Hume who is now famous as a historian. When his money was almost spent, Hume gave him letters to King James VI of Scotland (afterward James I of England), and Smith set out to return once more to Great Britain. But the spirit of adventure was his ruling passion, and there was no promise of adventure for him in his native land. He went to Havre de Grâce and determined to be a soldier, but was disappointed by the peace that was established between France and Spain.

CHAPTER II

Soldier and Traveler

Smith was now in his twentieth year, and being determined to have at least a taste of military life, he enlisted in an independent company of soldiers of fortune, or free lances, as they were called — those who would fight for any cause, or on any side, that paid the best. With this company he spent three years in the Netherlands, where the Dutch were still struggling for complete independence from Spain. But he appears not to have risen to any noteworthy rank, when he left that country and sailed for Scotland. The ship was wrecked on the coast of Northumberland, and Smith, escaping, but feeble, lay ill for some time in the Holy Isle.

The proper name of this island is Lindisfarne; it is in the North Sea, about ten miles from Berwick. At high tide it is an island two miles from the mainland; but at low tide one can walk across on the sandy neck. It has an area of about four square miles, a part of it covered by sand dunes, the remainder being fertile soil. There is a small harbor,

a little village, a fine old castle, and the ruins of an ancient abbey. It is called th Holy Isle because this abbey was founded by a company of monks in the seventh century and became famous. In the tenth century the building was ruined by an invasion of Danes, and the monks were scattered. The island is now a popular resort for sea bathing. Several other islands have been called Holy Isle — notably Guernsey and Rugen — but none so widely known as this.

As soon as Smith was able he proceeded to Scotland, landing at Leith, near Edinburgh, and presented his letters. He had a cordial reception at court; but life in court circles is expensive, and he had no money. Therefore he was obliged to return once more to his native town, where he found so little that interested him that he determined to try the life of a hermit. He discovered a pleasant glade in the heart of a forest, and there built for himself a rude hut. He had taken his horse with him, and his exercise consisted in imitating the tournament exercises of knights in the Middle Ages. He had also taken a few books, and he tells us that his favorite authors were Marcus Aurelius and Machiavelli. This makes us smile a little, as if he were taking a poison and an antidote at the same time — Marcus Aurelius being not only

the best of the Roman Emperors but perhaps the most spiritual and sincerely pious of all the heathen writers, while the very name of Machiavelli, the Italian statesman, has given us a word for craft, cunning, and cruelty.

Smith had probably had as much of this quiet life as a tireless and roving spirit like his could endure, when he fell in with an Italian named Theodore Palaloga, an interesting man, who was a retainer of the Earl of Lincoln. They went together to Tattershall, near Boston, a Lincolnshire seaport, where the Earl had a castle, and Smith appears to have expected to be taken into the Earl's service. But in this he was disappointed, and he betook himself once more to the Netherlands in search of employment and adventure.

Then he became acquainted with three Frenchmen of the kind that we call "confidence men." They assumed high characters, and pretended that they could put him into military service advantageously. It seems strange that so able a man, who already had seen much of the world, could be deceived by such characters; but so it was, and he sailed with them for France. When the vessel arrived there, they went ashore first, taking Smith's baggage with them; and when he was able to land, some time later — for the captain of the vessel was a

confederate of the confidence men and held him back — they had disappeared, taking with them nearly all his possessions. This left him nothing to do but go about, trying to make friends and looking for an opportunity to ship on board a man-of-war. In those forlorn days he had one comfort, however. By chance he met one of the three robbers, in a lonely place, and Smith immediately drew his sword and compelled the fellow to fight for his life. The combat ended — as it should have ended, both in justice and in romance — by Smith's giving the robber a serious wound.

The Earl of Ployer, who had lived in England, befriended Smith and gave him money, and he then traveled extensively in France, being interested in the people, the natural scenery, the forts and the castles. When he arrived at Marseilles, on the Mediterranean, he took passage in a ship for Italy; and from this he met with one of his most surprising adventures. Stormy weather came on, and was so severe that the captain was afraid to proceed, so he ran the vessel to the sheltered side of the little, uninhabited island of St. Mary. Still the bad weather continued, and many of the passengers became impatient. Among them was a company of pilgrims going to Rome. These blamed Smith for the delay, saying he was a Huguenot, and there-

fore very bad, and they could hope for no better weather while he was on board. They therefore threw him into the sea, as Jonah was thrown (Jonah i, 15). But he was a powerful swimmer and he got ashore on the island, and the next day a merchantman that arrived and anchored there took him on board. We do not read that the pilgrims obtained any better weather by casting Smith into the sea.

On board the merchantman Smith's conversation proved so interesting that he quickly won the heart of the commander, Captain La Roche, and they became fast friends. They passed down the western coast of Italy, stopping at several ports, sailed among the Grecian isles, and then cast anchor in the Strait of Otranto. Here Smith discovered that the ship he was on had a double character — merchantman and pirate. She waited there till a richly laden vessel from Venice appeared. Captain La Roche hailed her and asked to speak; but the Venetian, who guessed correctly what La Roche wanted, answered with a shot, which killed one man of the pirate's crew. La Roche then opened with broadsides, which were answered in kind, until La Roche had lost fifteen men and the Venetian twenty, whose ship also was so badly damaged that she was likely to sink. She surrendered there-

fore, and the pirates made haste to take off the most valuable parts of her cargo, and worked at it a day and a night. They obtained velvets and other costly cloths in abundance and considerable gold and silver money; and Smith says they then let her go, having still as much cargo as would have loaded the pirate ship again. He appears to have had no scruples about assisting in this robbery and accepting a share of the booty thus obtained — five hundred sequins, about twelve hundred dollars — and what he calls "a little box worth nearly as much more." When the return voyage was made he landed at Antibes, in France. In those days piracy, as well as some other evil practices, was not held in abhorrence, and afterward Smith's colony in Virginia suffered indirectly from it, because ships that were sent out with much-needed provisions, instead of going directly to their destination, sailed off southward, cruising in the West Indies to capture some richly laden Spanish galleon.

With so much money in hand — which probably had as much purchasing power as five thousand dollars would have to-day — Smith could do no less than indulge his passion for travel. He went into Italy as far south as Naples, visited all the cities, and records his interest in nearly everything that he saw.

He then made his way to Gratz, the capital of Styria, in eastern Austria-Hungary, a fine old city, in and around which armies contended at various times from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. With his talent for making friends rapidly, Smith soon added to his list an Englishman and an Irish priest, and through them he came to the notice of Baron Kissell, a commander of artillery, who sent him to Vienna, where he enlisted in a regiment commanded by the Earl of Meldritch. This was the beginning of his longest and most important military experience. The Turks were invading Europe, and German armies were confronting them in Hungary. The town of Olumpagh (or Olimacum), near Lake Platten, was closely besieged by a strong Turkish force, and General Kissell's first duty was to relieve it. Here, according to his own story, first came into play Smith's varied ingenuity. He had invented a system of signaling with torches, and by good fortune he had explained it to Lord Ebersbraugh when he made his acquaintance in Gratz, and Ebersbraugh was now in command in the besieged city.

This system was very simple. The letters from A to L were numbered (1 to 12), and also those from M to Z (1 to 14). The first set were represented by a single torch, the second set by two torches, and

the number of times the torches were raised and lowered indicated the letter. Thus, for D a single torch would be raised and lowered four times. For O two torches would be raised and lowered three times. Three torches were raised and lowered to signify "this is the end of a word."

Smith explained this system to General Kissell and to the Earl of Meldritch, who had brought his regiment to assist Kissell's artillery. They adopted it, and sent Smith, with a party, to a neighboring hill to communicate with the besieged garrison. They soon got a reply, and then, by their signals, told Ebersbraugh the plan that had been formed for his relief. As Kissell had only ten thousand men to meet the Turks, he needed the assistance of the garrison, which was to sally out when he attacked; and full instructions to that effect were given to Ebersbraugh by means of the torches. The attack was to be made on the Turks at one side of the town, and Smith devised a means of making them think it was to be on the opposite side. To long lines he fastened bits of match with a little powder, and after dark these lines were fastened to stakes that held them breast high, in a plain on that side of the town. At a signal these were fired, and the Turks, supposing the flashes were from musketry, prepared to meet an attack

from that side. Then Ebersbraugh and his garrison sallied out on the other side and joined Kissell's forces for a determined sudden attack on the Turks in their trenches, all of whom were either killed or put to flight. Then Kissell's men marched into the town; and the Turks on the other side, who had been deceived by Smith's stratagem, abandoned the siege and marched away. For his part in this success, Smith was made a captain.

Both sides now prepared for a more vigorous prosecution of the war. The Turks brought up heavy reënforcements, and the Emperor Rudolph II organized three armies to meet them. One of these armies was led by the Duc de Mercœur, whom Captain Smith calls Duke of Mercury, and numbered about thirty thousand men. The first task set for this army — which included the Earl of Meldritch's regiment, in which Captain Smith served — was to besiege Alba Regalis, a strong place held by the Turks. Here the fighting was frequent and serious, as the besieged Turks made many sallies and sometimes gained partial victories.

Here again Captain Smith's ingenuity came into play, and he invented what he called his "fiery dragons." He gave this name to certain earthen pots, forty or fifty of them, which he filled with gunpowder, brimstone, turpentine, and other sub-

stances that are extremely dangerous in connection with fire. The mass contained bullets as well. The whole pot was then covered with a cloth so smeared with wax, oil, and brimstone that the mass was highly inflammable. When it was ready to launch at the enemy, it was set on fire, and then woe to those who were in its vicinity a few moments later! For these "fiery dragons" he placed in slings as near as he could get to those quarters of the town where, as he had learned from escaping Christians, were usually the greatest assemblages of Turks. At midnight, on a signal, these strange missiles were thrown into the town, and Captain Smith says it was "a perfect sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the air, but presently after their fall the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered Turks was most wonderful to hear."

At the opposite side of the city was a fortified suburb, specially protected by a shallow lake. A night attack at this point was planned; and by throwing into the lake great bundles of brush they made a sort of rough road or causeway, so that the soldiers were able to cross it and surprise the enemy. Captain Smith's narrative thus describes the action: "The city, of no such strength as the suburbs, with their own ordnance [cannon] was so battered that it was taken perforce, with such

merciless execution as was most pitiful to behold. The Bashaw notwithstanding drew together a party of five hundred before his own palace, where he intended to die; but seeing most of his men slain before him by the valiant Captain Earl Meldritch, who took him prisoner with his own hands and with the hazard of himself saved him from the fury of other troops, that did pull down his palace and would have rent him in pieces had he not been thus preserved. The Duke thought his victory much honored with such a prisoner, and took order he should be used like a prince."

The victorious army not only occupied the city but put it into a state of repair, which it badly needed after being in the possession of the Turks for sixty years.

Meanwhile a large Turkish army was on its way to relieve the garrison just defeated, or to retake the city. The army in which Captain Smith was serving promptly marched out to meet this new force, and there was fierce fighting in the plain of Girke. Here Captain Smith was wounded and his horse was killed. After this, the Christian army was divided; a part of it went westward to assist at the siege of Caniza, and the Earl of Meldritch with six thousand men marched more than a hundred miles eastward into Transylvania, where

there was a tangled dispute as to the right of government, and this had given the Turks an opportunity to establish themselves there. Prince Sigismund Battori was struggling to drive them out, and Meldritch joined him, with an understanding that his men should have all the property they could capture from the Turks.

CHAPTER III

The Siege of Regal

As the country had been in a distracted state for several years, it happened that there were various armed bands — guerrillas, we should call them — having each its little stronghold in the hills. Some were apparently devoted to the Emperor Rudolph, some to the claims of Sigismund, some were Tartars, some Turks, and some simply bandits. By skillful movements the Earl drove many of these to take refuge in a fortified town in the plain of Regal, to which, after a battle, he laid siege. He had seventeen thousand men and a train of artillery which he mounted as siege guns. While the besiegers were patiently working at their preparations for attack, and the besieged were deriding their slowness, the Turkish commander in the fortress sent out a challenge which Captain Smith thus reports: "To delight the ladies, who did long to see some courtlike pastime, the Lord Turbishaw did defy any captain that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head."

Lots were drawn to determine who should be the champion of the besiegers and meet Turbishaw in single combat, and the choice fell upon Captain Smith. Everything was arranged much as we read of tournaments in the Middle Ages. The besieging army was drawn up on the plain, and the ramparts were occupied by soldiers and ladies who would look down upon the contest. The Bashaw, mounted on a fine horse, rode out to the sound of music, and exhibited himself gorgeously attired and wearing wings on his shoulders made of eagle feathers set in silver. One soldier walked before him carrying his lance, and two others attended on either side of his horse. Captain Smith, with a flourish of trumpets, rode out to meet him, accompanied only by one man to carry his lance. After the usual courteous salute, the signal was given, and at the first onset Captain Smith drove his lance straight through his opponent and threw him to the ground. Then he dismounted, unbuckled the Bashaw's helmet, and cut off his head.

A friend of the Bashaw's named Groalgo then challenged Captain Smith to fight with him, his object being to regain the Bashaw's head, and his offer being that his own head and his horse and armor should belong to Smith if he proved victorious. This proposal was accepted. The men first charged

with lances, and, when these were broken, used their pistols. A shot disabled the Turk's bridle arm, so that he could no longer manage his horse, and then Captain Smith threw him off, and got his head, his horse, and his armor. But he at once gave back to the Turk's friends all but the head. This was in accordance with their ideas of chivalry, to show that he was not fighting for plunder, but only for military glory and the success of his commander. The result of these two duels — so unexpected — sobered the Turks, who sent no more challenges. But Smith now became challenger in his turn. In his quaint language he tells us how and why he did it: "To delude time, Smith, with so many incontradictible persuading reasons, obtained leave that the ladies might know he was not so much enamored of their servants' heads but if any Turk of their rank would come to the place of combat to redeem them, should have also his, upon like conditions, if he could win it."

This challenge was accepted, and the champion who was sent out to meet it was named Bonny Mulgro. It has always been a rule, in dueling, that the man who is challenged has the privilege of naming the weapons to be used. Captain Mulgro (he must have been at least a captain, as Smith required an antagonist of equal rank) would

not fight with lances, for he had seen that Smith was master of that weapon; and he himself was expert in wielding a battle-ax. Therefore he chose battle-axes, pistols, and swords.

The next day was the time named for the fight, and, as before, there was an interested crowd of spectators on each side. The Turks felt confident that their champion would be triumphant this time, and he himself showed by his bearing that he had no doubt as to the result.

The combatants, who were on horseback, rushed together when the signal was given by a flourish of the trumpet. They fired their pistols at the same instant, but neither was hit. Then they swung their battle-axes and gave blow for blow in rapid succession. It seemed every minute as if skulls must be split or arms lopped off, until Mulgro, by a lucky stroke, knocked Smith's ax out of his hand. Then the Turks, thinking the contest was virtually ended, broke out into tremendous cheering. But Smith, suddenly nerving himself for a final effort, managed his horse so as to avoid further blows, drew his sword, drove at his antagonist in a wild rush, and sent the blade straight through his body. Mulgro got off from his horse, but was able to stand only a few seconds, when he toppled over and was dead. Smith's description of the close of the

fight — a mingling of self-praise and acknowledgment of divine assistance — is characteristic. He says: "The Turk prosecuted his advantage to the utmost of his power, yet the other — what by the readiness of his horse, and his judgment and dexterity in such a business beyond all men's expectations — by God's assistance not only avoided the Turk's violence but, having drawn his own falchion, pierced the Turk so under the cutlets through back and body that, although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere he lost his head, as the rest had done."

For these exploits, Smith was summoned to the headquarters of the commanding general. He was escorted thither by four regiments; and three soldiers, each leading a horse, carried three Turks' heads on the point of their lances. The general welcomed him warmly, embraced him according to the custom of the time, and gave him a fine horse with costly trappings, a new sword, and a belt set with gems worth three hundred ducats (about $700). Smith also received promotion to the rank of major. And some time afterward, when Sigismund, Waywode (Prince) of Transylvania, arrived at the seat of war and learned of these services, he gave Smith a patent (as it was called) authorizing him to bear a coat of arms in which the principal figure was

three Turks' heads. To this, Sigismund added a miniature portrait of himself, set in gold, and promise of an annual pension of three hundred ducats. But from the ruin of his own fortunes he was not able to pay the pension very long. Smith says, however, that the Prince afterward gave him fifteen hundred ducats to make good his losses.

When the twenty-six siege guns, by closer approaches and incessant firing for fifteen days, had made great breaches in the walls of the city, an attack was made one dark night, and the German soldiers poured in through the breaches. The Turks were taken somewhat by surprise — at least their commander was. Smith tells it in this characteristic way: "Their slothful governor lay in a castle on top of a high mountain, and, like a valiant prince, asketh 'What's the matter?' when horror and death stood amazed at each other, to see who should prevail to make him victorious." — There was heavy loss on both sides.

Moyses ordered his entire force to make a determined assault by rushing up the long slope in front of the tall promontory. This was the most dangerous approach to the enemy, but if it could be made was likely to be the most successful. As the men marched up, the enemy rolled down upon them great logs, heavy bowlders, and even, at last, bags

of powder — anything they could get that would break the ranks and knock over the men. The commands of Barons Budendorpe and Oberwein lost about half of their men before they reached the top.

Perhaps the Turks got their idea from the story of the famous battle of Morgarten, in Switzerland, nearly three centuries before, where the Swiss rolled down rocks upon the Austrian army passing through the valley, so that thirteen hundred were enabled to defeat about fourteen thousand. This was the first battle for Swiss independence, and every year it is celebrated in a chapel that has been built for the purpose in the valley.

But in this battle the Turks were not so successful as the Swiss had been. Despite their great losses, the attacking troops moved up steadily till, as Smith expresses it, they "advanced to the push of the pike," that is, fought hand to hand. The Turks were equally brave and fought them steadily, till fresh regiments came up, commanded by Earl Meldritch, Becklefield, and Zarvana, and joined furiously in the fight. Then the Turks gave way and fled into the castle. Here they hung out a white flag and asked for terms of surrender.

General Moyses refused any terms, kept up the fight, and finally completely overcame the Turks.

Then all the surviving men of the garrison were killed, and their heads were fastened to stakes and displayed on the walls. This was done because the Turks, when they captured the city, had treated the Christian garrison in that same way. Smith says: "Moyses, having repaired the ramparts and thrown down the works in his camp, put in it a strong garrison. Though the pillage he had gotten in the town was much, it having been for a long time an impregnable den of thieves, yet the loss of the army so intermingled the sour with the sweet as forced Moyses to seek a further revenge, that he sacked Veratio, Solmos, Kupronka, and with two thousand prisoners, mostly women and children, came to Esenberg, not far from the Prince's palace, where he encamped."

CHAPTER IV

War in Transylvania

Soon thereafter military affairs in those provinces became as badly tangled as they were after the war with the Turks in 1913 — more than three centuries later. Factions were at war with one another in the beautiful territory of Transylvania, and Emperor Rudolph sent a powerful army to subdue them. General Moyses met this army, but was defeated, and then, with many of his troops, went over to the Turks. But Earl Meldritch's regiment, with which Smith was still serving, remained loyal to the Emperor. The Sultan of Turkey appointed a waywode (prince, governor) of Wallachia, whose rule was so oppressive that there was a popular insurrection against it and he fled to Moldavia. Then Lord Rodoll (German) was made Waywode of Wallachia, but he had to fight for possession of the country, as the Turkish Waywode returned with an army. The struggle was very severe, and there were barbarous practices on both sides. On one occasion, when Meldritch's

force was entrapped and surrounded, so that it must either perish wholly or cut its way through the enemy, Captain Smith's ingenuity came again to the rescue. He covered several hundred branches of trees, or bushes, with wildfire and fixed them on the heads of the soldiers' lances, and in the night the troops boldly charged with these. The fire frightened the Turkish horses and made them unmanageable, which enabled the Christians to pass through on their way to a junction with Rudolph's forces at Rottenton.

But while this army was still distant eight or ten miles from its destination it was overtaken and attacked by a Turkish army of forty thousand, and the most destructive battle of the campaign resulted in a complete victory for the Turks. Smith's own description of it is better than any that can be written now. He says: —

"In the valley of the Veristhorne, betwixt the river of Altus and the mountains of Rottenton, was this bloody encounter, where most of the dearest friends of the noble Prince Sigismund perished. Meldritch ordered his eleven thousand in the best manner he could. At the foot of the mountain, upon his flanks and before his front, he pitched sharp stakes, their heads hardened in the fire, and bent against the enemy, as three battalions of piles;

amongst the which also there were digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes were ranged his footmen, that upon the charge were to retire as there was occasion.

"The Tartar, having ordered his forty thousand for his best advantage, appointed Mustapha Bashaw to begin the battle with a general shout, all their ensigns displaying, drums beating, trumpets and hautboys sounding. Nederspolt and Mavazo, with their regiments of horse, most valiantly encountered and forced them to retire. The Tartar Begolgi, with his squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberless arrows, was as bravely encountered by Veltus and Oberwein, which bloody slaughter continued more than an hour, till the matchless multitude of the Tartars so increased that they retired within their squadrons of stakes, as was directed.

"The bloody Tartar, as scorning he should stay so long for victory, with his massive troops prosecuted the charge. But it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes whose disordered troops were there so mangled that the Christians, with a loud shout, cried 'Victoria!' and with five or six field pieces planted upon the rising of the mountain did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battle with that

fury that Meldritch, seeing there was no possibility long to prevail, joined his small troops in one body, resolved directly to make his passage or die in the conclusion, and thus in gross [all together] gave a general charge and for more than half an hour made his way plain before him, till the main battle of the Crim Tartar, with two regiments of Turks and Janizaries, so overmatched them that they were overthrown. The night approaching, the Earl with thirteen or fourteen hundred horse swam the river. Some were drowned, all the rest were slain or taken prisoners. Thus in this bloody field near thirty thousand men perished.

"In this dismal battle, where many Earls, Barons, Colonels, Captains, brave gentlemen and soldiers, were slain, give me leave to remember the names of our own countrymen with him [Captain Smith] in those exploits, that, as resolutely as the best, in defense of Christ and his gospel, ended their days — as, Baskerfield, Hardwicke, Thomas Milemer, Robert Multineux, Thomas Bishop, Francis Compton, George Davison, Nicholas Williams, and one John, a Scot, did what men could do, and, when they could do no more, left their bodies in testimony of their minds. Only Ensign Carleton and Sergeant Robinson escaped.

"But Smith among the slaughtered dead bodies

and many a gasping soul, with toil and wounds lay groaning among the rest, till, being found by the pillagers, he was able to live; and perceiving by his armor and habit that his ransom might be better to them than his death, they led him prisoner with many others. Well they used him till his wounds were cured; and at Axopolis they were all sold for slaves, like beasts in a market-place, where every merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, caused other slaves to struggle with them to try their strength. He [Smith] fell to the share of Bogall Bashaw, who sent him forthwith to Adrianople, so for Constantinople to his fair mistress for a slave. By twenty and twenty chained by the necks, they marched in file to this great city, where they were delivered to their several masters, and he to the young Charatza Tragabigzanda."

CHAPTER V

Captured and Enslaved

The young lady to whom Captain Smith had been presented as a slave became very much interested in him and was curious to know his history. As both she and Smith spoke Italian, it was easy for them to converse; and she took so much delight in the story of his adventures that she made excuses for not leaving him. She would pretend to feeling ill, so that she could not go to the baths with the other ladies, or to weep over the graves of their friends. To us it does not seem much of a concession to give up so mournful a pleasure, though it was doubtless one of the customs of her country. She asked Smith whether he was really a Bohemian lord, as Bogall Bashaw had told her, and how it was that Bogall took him prisoner; and when he informed her that he was no Bohemian lord, but a plain Englishman, and that Bogall, instead of capturing him in battle, had simply bought him at Axopolis, she had no further use for Bogall. And she tested Smith's story by inquiring of others who spoke English, Dutch, or Italian, and who had been

associated with him in the army; and they all told her that his story was true. Then she found she had no work for Smith, and she was afraid that her mother would sell him — for she was not yet of age and could not own any property. She therefore sent him to her brother, Tymor Bashaw, at Nalbrits in Tartaria. And she wrote to her brother, asking him to treat Smith kindly, to let him learn the Turkish language, and to keep him till she should come of age. It appears that the brother suspected that she meant to marry Smith when he should have become a Turk; and that he did not approve of any such plan. He therefore treated Smith very cruelly; he had his head and beard shaved, put around his neck an iron ring with a long, bowed stake attached to it, and made him wear a coat of goat's hair. Tymor had nearly a hundred slaves, and Smith was treated the most harshly of all. Captain Smith's narrative of his journey to Nalbrits is interesting, though some of the places that he mentions can not now be found on the map. Either he mistook the names or misremembered them, or they have been changed. Of course he was not in condition to make notes as he went along. We can only take the story as he wrote it. He says — speaking of himself, as usual, in the third person: —

"In all this journey, having little more liberty than his eyes' judgment since his captivity, he might see the towns with their short towers, and a most plain, fertile, and delicate country, especially that most admired place of Greece now called Roumania; but from Varna nothing but the Black Sea water, till he came to the two Capes of Taur and Pergilos, where he passed the Strait of Niger, which (as he conjectured) is some ten leagues long and three broad, betwixt two low lands. The channel is deep, but at the entrance of the Sea Dissabacca there are many great shoals and many great black rocks, which the Turks said were trees, weeds, and mud, thrown from the inland countries by the inundations and violence of the current and cast there by the eddy. They sailed by many low isles, and saw many more of those muddy rocks, and nothing else but salt water, till they came betwixt Susax and Curuske, only two white towns at the entrance of the river Bruapo appeared.

"In six or seven days' sail he saw four or five seeming strong castles of stone, with flat tops and battlements about them; but arriving at Cambia, he was — according to their custom — well used. The river was there more than half a mile broad. The castle was of a large circumference, [the walls] fourteen or fifteen feet thick in the foundation;

Courtesy of The Century Co.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, ADMIRAL OF NEW ENGLAND.

some six feet from the wall is a palisade, and then a ditch about forty feet broad, full of water. On the west side of it is a town, all of low, flat houses, which, as he conceived, could be of no great strength, yet it keeps all those barbarous countries about it in admiration and subjection.

"After he had staid there three days, it was two days more before his guides brought him to Nalbrits, where Tymor then was resident in a great, vast stony castle with many great courts about it, environed with high stone walls where were quartered their arms when they first subjected those countries, which only live to labor for those tyrannical Turks."

After describing the various foods and drinks of the masters, he says the slaves and other working people were fed almost entirely on a peculiar broth. Some of this broth they tempered with cuskus pounded, and, putting the fire off from the hearth, poured there a bowlful, then covered it with coals till it was baked, and this, stewed with the remainder of the broth and small pieces of flesh, was considered an extraordinary dainty.

Of the clothing of the Tartars, Smith gives this picturesque description: — "The better sort are attired like Turks, but the plain Tartar hath a black sheepskin over his back, and two of the legs

tied about his neck, the other two about his middle, and the legs tied in like manner behind him; then two more, made like a pair of vases, serve him for breeches; with a little close cap to his skull, of black felt. And they use exceeding much of this felt for carpets, for bedding, for coats, and for idols."

Of their way of life he tells us: — "The inland countries have no houses but carts and tents, which they ever remove from country to country, as they see occasion, driving with them infinite troops of black sheep, cattle, and goats, eating up all before them as they go. For the Tartars of Nagi, they have neither town nor house, corn nor drink, but flesh and milk. They live all in a kind of villages, called hordias, three or four hundred in a company, in great carts fifteen or sixteen feet broad. Each hordia hath an officer whom they obey as their king. One or two thousand of those glittering white carts drawn with camels, deer, bulls and goats, they bring round in a ring where they pitch their camp, and the officer, with his chief alliances, is placed in the midst."

Captain Smith's escape from captivity was remarkable. He never had had any hope of deliverance except through Tragabigzanda's interest in him, and this hope was feeble, as she probably did

not know how he was suffering. He often discussed the question of escaping with several Christians who had been a long time in captivity, but they could not suggest any way of escape. After a time he became a thresher at a grange in a large field more than three miles from Tymor's house. The Bashaw often made the round of his granges, to see for himself how the work was carried on and to punish any of the laborers that had not done as much as he thought they should. On one occasion he found fault with Captain Smith's work, called him vile names, and beat him severely. This was more than a man like Smith could bear. The threshing there was done, not with the light flail that we are familiar with, but with a heavy bat. Suddenly raising this, Smith brought it down on the head of the Bashaw and killed him. He then dressed himself in Tymor's garments, hid the body under the straw, filled his knapsack with wheat, closed the doors, mounted a horse, and rode away.

He rode three days through a wilderness without meeting any person, and then, by good fortune, came upon a great highway called Castragan, which runs a long distance through that region. At every crossing there was a signpost, with arms pointing different ways, and on every arm, instead of words (for not many of the inhabitants could

read), there was a picture to show where that road would lead. Thus the arm that pointed toward the country of the Crim Tartars bore a picture of a half-moon. That which pointed toward Persia showed a black man with white spots. That which pointed toward China had a picture of the sun; and that which pointed toward Muscovia was marked with a cross. All these were known to the people as prominent figures in the banners of the various countries.

Captain Smith, like the other slaves, wore an iron collar that was marked in a way to show whose slave he was, or on what plantation he belonged; and had he met anybody in his wanderings, this would have been recognized and he probably would have been returned to slavery. At the end of sixteen days, following the sign of the cross, he arrived at Escopolis, on the River Don, where there was a military post with a garrison of Muscovites. The commander, called by Smith the governor, heard his story, questioned him, and then ordered his irons taken off and treated him kindly, while, as Smith remarks, "the good Lady Callamata largely supplied all his wants."

CHAPTER VI

Travel and Piracy

With letters from the governor, telling how he had found him, and bespeaking a friendly reception for him everywhere, Smith traveled through several provinces till he arrived at Hermonstat, in Transylvania. He says of himself on this journey: "In all his life he seldom met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment; and not any governor where he came but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges — seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity." This does not sound much like Goldsmith's picture of travel in those countries —

> "where the rude Carinthian boor
> Against the houseless stranger shuts the door."

But Goldsmith's traveler did not have the advantage of passes and letters of introduction from a governor.

It was not safe for single travelers to pass through those provinces. They had to go in caravans or large companies, sometimes with a guard of soldiers.

The region was very poor, with small villages here and there. The dwellings were log houses, one story high, made from the abundant fir trees, the roofs of which were of split boards fastened together with wooden pins, for iron nails were hardly known there. Some of the towns — Donko, Escopolis, and Letch, particularly — were fortified with double walls of logs, the space between being filled in with earth and stones. They were cross-timbered — as of course they had to be, or the pressure of the filling would have burst them — and were so strong that nothing but fire could destroy them. Outside the walls was a deep ditch, with a palisade of fir trees. Just why there should be such elaborate protection where there was so little to be protected, is a curious question. Yet we often see something like this in our own country. The poorest houses, which evidently contain nothing that any one would care to steal, are often guarded by fierce watchdogs. Smith tells us that other villages in that strange region, while less strongly protected, were surrounded by deep ditches, the earth from which formed a rude rampart, and palisades. Some of these fortifications were surmounted by a few small cannons and great slings for throwing stones; and the inhabitants had a few muskets and many Russian bows and arrows.

Where the roads passed over boggy places, many of which were extensive, they were corduroyed with fir logs. Smith says that, outside of the towns, he would hardly see six houses in two days' travel. Considering the poverty of the country, it surprised him to see how the lords, governors, and captains were civilized, well dressed and had jewels, furs, horses, and curiously wrought furniture. He remarks that the people were all either lords or slaves.

Captain Smith passed through Hungary and Austria till he arrived at Lipswick, where he found his good friend, Prince Sigismund, who gave him letters telling what good services he had performed and what honors he had received, and gave him also fifteen hundred ducats — about $2500. The captain then traveled extensively in Germany, France, and Spain.

"Being thus satisfied with Europe and Asia," as he says, he crossed into Africa, where he supposed a war was in progress and he might get military employment. At the same time, he was always on the lookout for interesting things in architecture, history, and the customs of the people. He tells many curious stories of what he saw there, of which we have room for but one here: "The King's palace [in Morocco] is like a city in itself, and the

Christian church, on whose flat, square tower is a great branch of iron, whereon are placed the three golden balls of Africa. The first is near three ells in circumference, the next above it somewhat less, the uppermost the least over them, as it were an half ball, and over all a pretty, gilded pyramid. Against those golden balls hath been shot many a shot. Their weight is recorded seven hundred weight of pure gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any conspirator attain that honor as to get them down. They repeat that the Prince of Morocco betrothed himself to the King's daughter of Ethiopia; he dying before their marriage, she caused those three golden balls to be set up for his monument."

Captain Smith was not pleased with the condition of military affairs in Morocco, and he appears not to have taken any part in them. He says that "by reason of the uncertainty and the perfidious, treacherous, bloody murders, rather than war, amongst those barbarous Moors, Smith returned with Merham and the rest to Saffee, and so aboard his ship, to try some other conclusions at sea."

Captain Merham, who commanded a French man-of-war, invited Captain Smith and a few of his friends to go aboard, and there he entertained them handsomely until it was too late for them to

go ashore. Smith says it was a beautiful evening, but before midnight a great storm arose, so that they were obliged to slip their cable and go to sea. The storm continued until it had driven them southward to the Canary Islands. When it abated, Smith soon learned that the man-of-war on which he was serving was in reality a pirate ship, and the captain was cruising in search of plunder. The first prize that came their way was a small vessel, loaded with wine. When they had helped themselves to this cargo, they chased several other vessels, and captured two; but from them they got little except the information that there were five Dutch men-of-war near the Islands. The captain therefore gave orders to sail for Bojadore, on the African coast. Before they arrived there, two vessels came in sight, and Captain Merham hailed them. They saluted courteously, said they were merchantmen in distress, and asked Merham to come aboard and take whatever he wanted. But Merham was too cunning to be deceived by them. He recognized them for Spanish men-of-war, and put his ship about very speedily, attempting to get away from them. But the Spaniards were the better sailers and soon overtook him. Smith, who calls the two Spanish ships the *Admiral* and the *Vice Admiral*, gives of the battle a pretty full account.

"Merham, the old fox, seeing himself in the lion's paws, sprang his luff; the other tacked after him and came up close on his nether quarter, gave his broadside, and so luffed up to windward. The *Vice Admiral* did the like, and at the next bout the *Admiral*, with a noise of trumpets, and all his ordnance, murderers, and muskets, boarded him on his broadside; the other in like manner on his lee quarter; and it was so dark there was little light, but fire and smoke. Long he stayed not before he fell off, leaving four or five of his men sprawling over the grating."

For an hour the Spaniards battered away at Merham's vessel, and then boarded him again. They threw four small anchors on the deck, and then, sheering off, tried to pull off the grating of which the anchors had taken hold. But at the same time the *Admiral's* yard had become entangled in the shrouds of the French vessel, and while this held them close to each other Merham fired two crossbar shots across the Spaniard's deck, striking down many of the crew, and discharged against his bow several peculiar bolts made for the purpose of tearing ragged holes in a ship's side. Then there was danger that the two vessels would sink together. Seeing this, the Spaniard slipped off the chains by which he held the anchors, and Mer-

ham's men quickly cut the ropes that held his yard, so that the vessels fell away from each other.

While the *Admiral*, hauling off to a distance, was stopping his leaks, the *Vice Admiral* kept up a brisk fire to prevent the Frenchman from getting away. The broadsides were returned, and the fight was continued from noon till six o'clock. Then the *Admiral* came up again and all night pursued Merham, who laid his course for Mamora. But the wind was very light, and when morning dawned they were near Cape Noa.

Then the battle began again, and at the end of an hour the Spaniard called upon Merham to surrender, promising quarter and honorable treatment. But he knew better than to trust any such promise. Raising a glass to his lips and mockingly drinking to their health, he gave them another broadside. They quickly came up with him and boarded again. Some of them climbed up to the tops, to unsling the mainsail; whereupon Merham and some of his men, who were in the roundhouse, shot them as if they were birds in a tree, and they came tumbling down on the deck.

The Spaniards attacked the roundhouse so furiously that the men in it retreated to the cabin and blew it up. Then the sailors in the forecastle, who also were heavily attacked, blew up a part of

the grating, which hurled into the air many Spaniards who were on it. By this time there was so much flame and smoke that the Spaniards made haste to leave the ship. Merham and his men made equal haste to put out the fire with water and wet cloths, and as the enemy was still firing at them they covered the open places with old sails and prepared to keep up the contest. The Spaniards next hung out a flag of truce; but Merham stuck to his determination to trust to nothing but the power of his guns, and after the battle had continued through the next afternoon and half of the night, the Spaniards hauled off and disappeared in the distance.

Merham found that he had lost twenty-seven men killed and sixteen wounded, while a hundred and forty large shot had struck the ship. A wounded Spaniard who remained with them said that about a hundred men on the *Admiral* had been killed or wounded, and the ship had been in danger of sinking. Merham mended his sails, put the vessel in order, and, turning about, came to the port of Saffee, in Morocco. Captain Smith then returned to England.

This was the man whose skill and energy were necessary to the founding of the first English colony in America, that the English character and the English language might take possession of a great

continent and powerfully influence, perhaps ultimately determine, the civilization of the entire world. And this brief narrative of his early labors and achievements tells us how he was trained and disciplined for the more important task of his later life.

CHAPTER VII

Early Attempts in America

To appreciate fully the value and significance of the Jamestown settlement, we must learn the story of the similar enterprises that preceded it, and know why they resulted in failure. That story must be told briefly here.

Every schoolboy knows that Christopher Columbus left Spain in August, 1492, sailed directly westward, and in October discovered an outlying island of the West Indies. Perhaps he knows, also, that though Columbus discovered some of the other islands, he never touched the continent of North America. We now know that a little earlier and a little later than the year 1000 A.D. Norsemen were on our coast, perhaps coming as far south as Rhode Island; but they made only a feeble attempt to settle here, and left no trace of their presence. The fact of their coming was learned only from the ancient sagas (poems) in Iceland. Thus their adventure had no influence whatever on the development of civilization or expansion of territory for the

civilized races of mankind; and hence it may be disregarded except as a curious incident entirely aside from the grand trail of history.

The achievement of Columbus, five hundred years later, was followed by such consequences as make it the most important ever accomplished by the genius of one man in all history. He was an Italian by birth; but he sailed in the employ of the Spanish government, and all that he discovered he claimed for Spain. Then followed the fiercest of Spanish explorers and adventurers, whose only object was to find and carry home the riches of the New World — gold and silver especially — which were taken from the natives without compensation of any kind and often with murderous cruelty.

After the Spaniards came the French explorers and adventurers, with motives not much better; and on the southern part of this northern continent they came sometimes into conflict with the Spaniards, which resulted in cruel murders and revenges.

Three things these adventurers sought in the New World — precious metals, the fountain of perpetual youth, and a passage to the East Indies. They had no idea how far westward the continent extended, and wherever they came upon a deep bay or a wide river, they hoped that by following it up they should come out on the other side. Balboa, a Spaniard,

had stood on the Isthmus of Darien and discovered the Pacific Ocean. Another Spaniard, Ponce de León, led the chase in search of the fountain of youth, and he and his men drank eagerly of every spring they could find in Florida. Still another Spaniard, De Soto, discovered the Mississippi River, died on its banks, and was buried in its waters.

The English were slowest of all to think of profiting by Columbus's discovery, and nearly a century rolled by after that event before ships from England crossed the Atlantic for discovery and conquest. But when they did turn their attention to the New World, while they still hoped to find there a passage to India, and to gather mineral treasures, they went with the idea of planting colonies, which the Spaniards and the French had not dreamed of. And this, which is the only sure conquest, finally gave them possession of the largest and fairest part of the new continent.

As early as 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot (born in Venice, but residents of England and sailing in the service of the English government) had landed on the coast of Labrador, and discovered Newfoundland. But nothing was done at that time to claim the country for the English. About ninety years later (1583) Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a small fleet and a few colonists, landed in the

harbor of St. John's, Newfoundland, and claimed the whole island as British territory. But on the return voyage all the vessels were lost except one, and Sir Humphrey himself perished. It is related that he insisted on taking his place in the smallest of the vessels, of only ten tons, and when the storm was at its height he was seen with a book in his hand, saying to his shipmates, "Heaven is as near by sea as by land." This incident is the subject of one of Longfellow's finest ballads, a part of which may be quoted here: —

Eastward from Campobello
  Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed;
Three days or more westward he bore,
  Then, alas! the land-wind failed.

Alas! the land-wind failed,
  And ice-cold grew the night,
And never more, on sea or shore,
  Should Sir Humphrey see the light.

He sat upon the deck,
  The book was in his hand.
"Do not fear! Heaven is as near,"
  He said, "by water as by land."

Southward, for ever southward,
  They drift through dark and day,
And like a dream, in the Gulf Stream
  Sinking, vanish all away.

Sir Humphrey's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, made the earliest practical and determined effort to plant an English colony on this continent. In 1584 he obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter "for the discovery and planting of new lands in America." This gave him "free liberty and license from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every or any of them, shall seem good; and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy for ever." This was the usual form in which kings and queens gave away what they did not possess and what they knew little or nothing about. And, in return, the explorers who found lands that were inhabited only by people who did not speak their language nor profess their religion, at once declared those lands to be the property of their sovereign. The most monstrous example of this practice was seen when Balboa, discovering the Pacific at Panama, waded out into it a few yards, and proclaimed that he thereupon took possession, for his sovereign, the King of Spain, of that entire ocean and all countries, whatever they might be, that bordered upon

it! This would have given him not only the whole of North, South, and Central America, but also Japan, China, Siberia, Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, the Philippines, and a multitude of smaller islands. The common sarcasm of our day, "Does he want the Earth?" would have been lost on him.

In April of that year (1584) Sir Walter sent out his first expedition — two ships commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. They still followed the old course, first sailing south to the Canary Islands, then across to the West Indies, and then north to the coast of what is now North Carolina, and landed on Roanoke Island, where the Indians received them in the most friendly manner. This expedition was only for discovery and exploration, and in a few weeks the ships returned to England, taking with them two Indians. They gave such glowing accounts of the country — which henceforth was called Virginia — that plans were laid at once for sending out a colony. All was ready by the next spring, and a fleet of seven vessels sailed in April, 1585, "with one hundred householders and many things necessary to begin a new state." Sir Richard Grenville, a kinsman of Raleigh's, commanded the expedition, which still followed the old route by way of the

West Indies. It arrived at its destination in June, and the first act was to restore to their friends the two Indians who had been taken to England. A hundred and eight men were put ashore, commanded by Captain Ralph Lane, and the Indians were as friendly as before. But a foolish act by Grenville changed all that. A silver cup was taken from his encampment, probably stolen by one of the Indians who could not resist the temptation. Thereupon Sir Richard, to punish the theft, burned one of the native villages. Therefore, when in August he sailed away with his ships he left a defenseless colony in the midst of Indians no longer friendly. Before long they were attacked by eighteen hundred warriors, whom, with the advantage of firearms against bows and arrows, they were able to defeat and drive away. But this put an end to their obtaining corn from the Indians, and they were brought very near to starvation. Fortunately, a fleet commanded by Sir Francis Drake, which was returning from the West Indies, stopped there, and at the earnest solicitation of the colonists Drake took them all on board and carried them back to England.

Undismayed by this failure, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out another colony, which sailed in the spring of 1587. Captain John White was the

commander and was appointed governor of the colony, with a council of twelve men. They landed in July, and at once discovered the graves of fifteen men who had been left there by a relief expedition that arrived after Lane and his company had departed. White thought he should take vengeance for the massacre of the fifteen, and sent out an armed force who found a party of Indians and fired upon them, killing or wounding several. It was soon learned that these Indians belonged to a friendly tribe, and thus the mischief begun by the folly of Grenville was greatly increased. Here, this same year, was born Virginia Dare, the first white child born in America. Governor White was sent to England for supplies, but he never returned to the colony, and the sending of the much-needed supplies was delayed by war between England and Spain. When at last the three relief ships arrived there (August, 1590), the whole colony had disappeared. The only trace was the word "Croatan" cut in large letters on a tree. This appeared to say that the colonists had gone to that island, and a feeble attempt was made to find them there; but a storm arose, the search was given up, and the mystery never was explained.

The failure that attended all these efforts of the hopeful and energetic Raleigh was probably due

largely, if not wholly, to the fact that he did not himself accompany and command any of his expeditions. It was a serious illustration of the homely saying, "If you wish anything to be done right, do it yourself." And the main reason that he did not go with the ships was, that he was a great favorite with Queen Elizabeth, and she was not willing to let him risk himself in such adventures. A later attempt at English colonization in that region would also have resulted in disastrous failure, but for the good judgment, determined energy, and resourcefulness of one man. That man was Captain John Smith.

CHAPTER VIII

The First Virginia Company

Although the failure of Raleigh's attempts at colonization in America was discouraging, his ships had brought to England so much information concerning the resources of Virginia that it was evident that a rich field for settlement across the ocean lay ready for a colony that should be better provided, more skillfully led, and more fortunate.

If there was one Englishman who saw this opportunity more clearly than others, that man was Captain John Smith. As early as 1604 he began to urge his countrymen to take advantage of their good fortune by sending out a strong colony. His first associates in the enterprise were Edward Maria Wingfield, the Rev. Robert Hunt, and Bartholomew Gosnold. The last named was an experienced navigator, had been associated with Walter Raleigh, and had crossed the Atlantic by the more direct route, sailed along the coast of what is now New England, landed on Cape Cod, and planted a small colony on an island in Buzzard's

Bay, which, however, was soon divided by quarrels and returned to England.

After two years of effort, a charter was obtained from King James in April, 1606. The letters patent, as the charter was called, were issued to Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and others. It was intended to establish a mercantile corporation, but the result was the establishment of the earliest English colony in America. The charter was very liberal, so far as the geographical grant was concerned. It gave the proprietors all the coast from the 34th to the 45th degree of latitude — that is, from Cape Fear to Nova Scotia, together with such islands as there might be within a hundred miles of the shore. But the grant was divided between two companies, the one with which we are concerned having from Cape Fear to a point north of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. The fault of the charter was, that it left with the King the power to make all laws for the government of the colony and the appointment of all officials.

Despite these disadvantages, Wingfield, Hunt, Gosnold, and Smith got together a company of a hundred and five, all told, and obtained three vessels, the largest of which was only of one hundred tons burden. For captain they had Chris-

topher Newport, an experienced navigator. The expedition sailed December 19, 1606, and after a stormy voyage and a long struggle with head winds, they arrived in Virginia in April, 1607. It was a strange company. Four of them were carpenters, one was a blacksmith, one a bricklayer, one a mason, one a tailor, one a barber, one a sailor, one a drummer, two were surgeons, twelve were laborers, and four were classed as "boys." So far, very well. But there were forty-eight who were classed as "gentlemen" — that is, they were not expected to do any work with their hands — probably could not do anything that required skill. Why these were allowed to go at all, we can only guess. Perhaps they contributed money toward the expenses of the expedition, and expected to get it back by picking up gold nuggets in the beds of the streams. Then, too, whenever such an enterprise is fitted out, there are careless, happy-go-lucky fellows who apply for permission to go merely because they are fond of adventure. The foolish King, instead of appointing the officers at once, and thus giving them authority over that motley company, had all his appointments and all his orders for the settlement and management of the colony sealed up in a box, which was not to be opened till the ships arrived in Virginia. With such a company and such a

lack of authority and discipline, it is a wonder that they ever got there at all. They sailed by the old route — southward to the Canary Islands, then across to the West Indies, then northward to Virginia. In the course of the voyage Captain Smith was accused of organizing a conspiracy to take command of the expedition, murder the Council, and make himself king, and was placed in close confinement. He appears not to have been frightened by this ridiculous performance, but calmly waited for the time when they should be landed, and it should be known who were the officers of the colony, as then he could have a proper trial. When the ships reached Chesapeake Bay, the first land that appeared was named Cape Henry, and the opposite point Cape Charles — for two princes, sons of King James I. The spot where the voyagers first landed they named "Comfort," from their feelings at ending a long and disagreeable voyage — the same that is now known as Old Point Comfort. They had intended to land on Roanoke Island, where Raleigh's colony was left and lost, but they passed it by and entered the Chesapeake. It was the pleasantest time of year for that latitude, and Captain Smith expressed a delight in the scene which was probably shared by all. He wrote, in his history: "Within is a country that may have

the prerogative over the most pleasant places known. Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation. Here are mountains, hills, plains, valleys, rivers, and brooks, all running most pleasantly into a fair bay, compassed, but for the mouth, with fruitful and delightsome land." Thirty of the men went ashore on Cape Henry for a little outing, and were attacked by Indians, who wounded two of them. A few musket shots drove away the savages, but the incident detracted somewhat from the "delightsomeness" of the land. These colonists suffered from the folly of some of their predecessors in the Roanoke colonies, who had made the Indians enemies when they might have been friends.

The sealed box was opened, and it appeared that the Council, appointed to serve for one year, consisted of Edward Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Radcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall. They were to choose one of their number for president, and they chose Wingfield, who then swore in the other members. As Smith was still under arrest, he took no part in the opening of the box, and was not at once recognized as a member of the Council. But there was work to be done, with hardships to be endured and risks to be taken, and

Smith, the ablest man in the company, was not excused from any of these. Seventeen days were spent in searching for the most suitable spot for a settlement, and, among other things, the searchers found woods of various kinds, beautiful flowers, abundant oysters, and strawberries "four times bigger and better than ours in England."

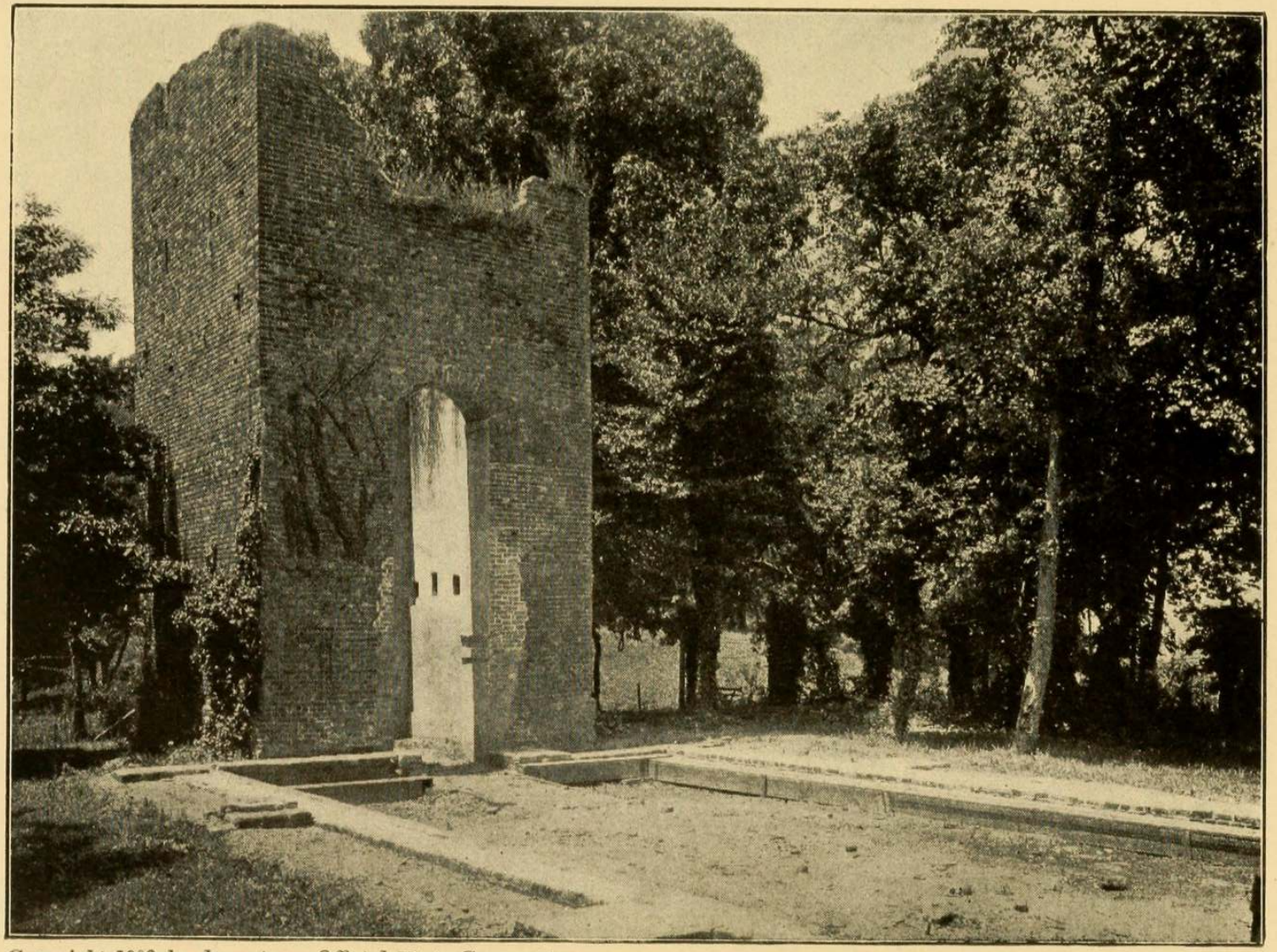
Some Indians, apparently friendly, appeared on the scene and invited the colonists to visit their towns of Kecoughtan and Rappahannock. The invitation was accepted by several, and the Indians, after spreading mats for them to sit upon, fed them with hominy and showed them how to smoke tobacco. George Percy, one of the colonists, wrote a description of the scene: "These savages are as goodly men as we had ever seen — gentle, quite civil indeed; their werowance [chief] coming at their head to meet the strangers, playing on a flute made of a reed, with a crown of deer's hair colored red, in fashion of a rose, fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in seeming of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck; his face painted blue besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought; his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl,

and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion as though he had been a prince of civil government. The Indians carried bows and arrows in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron, able to cleave a man in sunder."

Although Captain Smith was still under arrest, his associates appear to have appreciated his remarkable abilities and his value to the colony; for when they sent Captain Newport with twenty men to discover the source of James River they included Smith in the company. These explorers ascended the stream till they came to the rapids, just above the present site of Richmond, where they ended their voyage and set up a cross. They found there an Indian village pleasantly situated on a hill, with cornfields and other cultivated plots around it. They made the acquaintance of the chief, Powhatan, and Captain Newport made him a present of a hatchet, with which the chief was greatly pleased. When some of the Indians complained that the English were intruders, the chief said: "Never mind — they do not hurt us — they only take a little waste land." But the colonists soon learned that the savages were not so friendly as some of them pretended to be.

When the explorers returned they learned that in their absence a party of Indians had attacked the settlement, killed a boy, and wounded seventeen men. President Wingfield had a narrow escape when an arrow passed through his beard. The worst might have happened to the little band of settlers, but a chain shot fired from a cannon on one of the vessels cut off the bough of a tree which fell among the Indians, and immediately they all ran away. It is notable that the North American Indians, brave enough in the midst of most dangers, have always been in mortal terror of any kind of artillery.

The Indians had called the river Powhatan, after their chief, but the colonists had named it James, for their king. Ascending it about forty miles from its mouth, they found a small peninsula stretching out from the north bank, and it was decided that this was the proper place for their settlement. One can readily see why they chose it. From it they could always look up or down the river, and detect any enemies that might approach in canoes; it gave them an unusual water front for their own craft; and in case of storms their vessels could find shelter on the one or the other side of the peninsula, according to the direction of the storm. Nevertheless, one at least of Council, Gosnold,



JAMESTOWN CHURCH TOWER.

Showing old foundations.

objected to it, and time proved that he was right. They named the settlement Jamestown, and believed they were founding a great city of the future. It never became a large town, and to-day much of that peninsula is under water and a ruined church tower is all that remains of the buildings. A part of the old ditch can be traced, as well as Confederate earthworks that were constructed two and a half centuries after this colonial experiment.

CHAPTER IX

Jamestown Founded

As soon as the site was chosen all the men fell to work erecting houses — small, thatched cottages — and laying out gardens. Captain Smith urged the wisdom of fortifying the settlement against attacks of Indians; but President Wingfield rejected the advice, holding that nothing was called for except little wattle fences to divide the plots. But when there had been one serious attack, and he himself had narrowly escaped death, he was converted to Smith's way of thinking, and the work of fortifying was begun at once. This was only one of many circumstances that showed Wingfield's unfitness for his office. Palisades were constructed around the settlement, cannon were mounted, and the men were regularly drilled as soldiers. This was accomplished none too soon; for the Indians got over their fright and returned to the attack. They continually lurked in the woods bordering every path that led from the fort, ready to discharge an arrow at any colonist that

ventured out. Smith thus described the situation: "What toil we had, with so small a power, to guard our workmen a-days, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business — to re-lade the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn."

When the ships were loaded — with clapboards, sassafras, and tobacco — and ready to set sail, the Council proposed that Captain Smith go home to England, to be tried by the government there. This he promptly refused to do, and demanded an immediate trial at the hands of the Council. The trial not only resulted in his complete exoneration, but in the condemnation of Wingfield to pay Smith two hundred pounds (about $1000), because he had repeated the false charges and suborned men to swear to them. Smith received the money, and immediately turned it into the treasury of the colony — an act that speaks well for his singleness of purpose and his interest in and loyalty to the English settlement.

Mr. Hunt, being a minister and a kindly man, was naturally the peacemaker when the colony was disturbed by dissensions and recriminations. He now brought them all together, restored good feeling, and had Captain Smith admitted to his seat in the Council. The next day a band of In-

dians appeared and asked for peace, and Captain Newport, with two of the vessels, sailed for England, carrying "good news from Virginia."

If he had sailed a little later, he would not have had only good news to carry. The place for the settlement was not well chosen, as there were extensive swamps a little to the north; many of the men were unused to labor in the field, and the heat of summer was coming on, while their provisions were running short. One after another they sickened and died, until at the end of the summer about half had gone. The most serious loss was the death of Bartholomew Gosnold, next to Smith the ablest man in the colony.

Because the voyage to Virginia had occupied five months, instead of two months as was expected, the colonists had arrived too late to plant and raise crops. While the ships remained with them they were fed from the stores on board; but now they were reduced to a daily allowance of half a pint of wheat and half a pint of barley for each man, and the grain had been so long in the holds of the vessels that it was not very good. Their condition at this time was described by one of the colonists in these words: "Our drink was water; our lodgings, castles in the air." They fished, however, and obtained sturgeons and crabs, and after a while

friendly relations were established with the Indians, who gave them fruit and other provisions.

One would suppose that when a small company are left to take care of themselves in a distant land, surrounded by dangers, their constant endeavor would be to comfort and assist one another and keep together in the closest friendship. But history tells that in such circumstances it oftener happens that suspicion and personal jealousy take the place of good counsel. Thus it was at Jamestown. John Kendall, a member of the Council, was accused of making trouble in it, and was expelled from his seat in that body. Wingfield, the president, was accused of taking the best of the provisions and was suspected of an intention to desert the colony. The smallest of the vessels, known as the pinnace, had been left at Jamestown when the others sailed away, and it was believed that he intended to take that and return to England. So firm was this belief — though the accusation could not be proved — that Wingfield was deposed from the presidency of the colony and was kept on the pinnace as a prisoner. Captain John Radcliffe was then made president. This man was described as "of weak judgment in dangers, and less industry in peace." But he had the good sense to leave the management of affairs largely to Captain Smith,

who from that time was the real leader of the colony.

Smith now set all the men at work vigorously building substantial houses. To make their labors most effective, he divided the work — or "specialized" it, as we should say. Some cut down the trees, others hewed the logs, others did the thatching, etc. Smith was the most earnest worker among them, and his house was built last of all. The value of his judgment and energy at this time may be seen when we read that "some of the men were ill, while the rest were in such despair as they would rather starve and rot in idleness than be persuaded to do anything for their own relief without constraint." The discontented loudly blamed the London company for sending them across the ocean without a sufficient supply of provisions. To them Smith is said to have replied: "The fault in going was our own. What could be thought fitting or necessary we had; but what we should find or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant. Supposing to make our passage in two months, with victuals to live, and the advantage of the spring to work, we were at sea five months, where we both spent our victual and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant, by the unskillful presumption of our ignorant transporters, that understood

not at all what they undertook." This was the exact truth, and it accounted for the worst of the difficulties with which the colony had to contend.

Newport had returned to England, Gosnold was dead, Wingfield and Kendall had been deposed, and no one was chosen to fill the place of any of these in the Council, which now consisted only of Radcliffe, Martin, and Smith. Probably it was all the more efficient for being smaller, so long as Smith was the leader. As the provisions that had been supplied by the Indians were now nearly exhausted, he planned a trading expedition to obtain another supply. Taking five men with him in a small boat, he rowed down the river. They went ashore at the Indian village of Kecoughtan (where Hampton now stands), and endeavored to trade. But the Indians, seeing they were in dire need, mocked them. They would offer to give a handful of corn for a sword, or a small piece of bread for a coat. Smith and his men therefore leveled their muskets and fired a volley into the band of Indians, who at once ran away. The whites then entered the village, where they found a great abundance of corn. Before long a company of perhaps seventy savages, formed in military order, came out of the woods. They were painted in all sorts of colors, and were singing and dancing, carrying bows and arrows,

and flourishing war-clubs. Their "Okee" was carried before them. This might be called their god, or their mascot. It was a hideous image made of skin stuffed with moss and decorated with beads. Smith's men gave them a volley of musketry, when, as he says, "down fell their god, and divers lay sprawling on the ground." The Indians that were not wounded ran back into the woods. Presently they sent their medicine man to beg for the idol and offer to make peace. Smith answered that if they would load his boat with provisions, he would give back Okee and also give them beads, hatchets, and copper and be their friend. They at once brought venison, turkeys, and other fowls and bread, with which they loaded the boat; then with their beloved idol and the trinkets they went away dancing and singing.

Captain Smith made several short excursions into the neighboring country, going as far as the Chickahominy River, to make acquaintance and friendship with the Indians and learn the resources of the region. On returning from one of these excursions, he learned that there was a plot among some of the men to return to England, Wingfield and Kendall being the principal movers of it. The conspirators had taken possession of the pinnace and secured a large part of the colony's stock of provisions.

Smith promptly trained the guns of the fort upon the pinnace and gave the conspirators the choice of returning to their proper places in the colony or being sent to the bottom. They chose to return, and Kendall, who was considered the head and front of it all, was then tried, condemned, and shot.

Soon afterward Smith set out on another venture. He reached the Chickahominy, found several villages, made more friends among the Indians, and returned with a large supply of provisions. But he returned only to find once more that certain impatient and restless members of the colony were planning to desert it. This time, however, they did not resort to a secret conspiracy, and therefore they could not be punished. But Smith and Martin vigorously opposed the scheme, and while they were discussing it the autumn season brought great numbers of wild ducks and geese to the river, and game animals approached the settlement in search of food and shelter, so that the colonists had only to gather them in, and these, with the corn and other vegetables that Smith had brought, made a good winter store, and the discontent died away. He writes that "none of our tufftaffaty humorists then desired to go for England." He did not invent that word, but it is rare. It refers to garments that have become very much worn and almost

ragged, but still show that they were made of rich material. Englishmen then, as Englishmen now, were inordinately fond of shooting any kind of game, and so long as the shooting season lasted the colonists were apparently contented and happy. Smith wrote of this time: "The Spaniard never more greedily desired gold than he [the Englishman] desired victual, nor his [the Spaniard's] soldiers more to abandon the country than he [the Englishman] to keep it." Therein Smith spoke an important truth, not of his own time only, but of all later times. No people have ever equaled the English as colonizers, and that is the reason that they became the ruling power on this continent, though their chance at it came after the Spaniard's and after the Frenchman's. The building of homes and cultivation of land make a surer possession than forts and armed men.

CHAPTER X

Prisoner to the Indians

But many of the colonists still had the habits of petulant children. As soon as one favor or entertainment was ended they were impatient and querulous until another was provided. As soon as the shooting season was over they began to find fault with Captain Smith, though but for his judgment and energy they might all have perished. The reader must remember that the company was not such as he would have selected. He would have chosen those only who were seriously bent on establishing themselves in the New World and were not afraid of work. The company in London made up the shipment, and in it were included many who were designated as "gentlemen." Some of these went because they expected to pick up gold without much digging, while others were simply — as we should express it now — "out for a lark." There was no gold to be found, and they were not likely to catch many larks, though the winter skies would soon fall upon them.

They now complained that Captain Smith, once on the Chickahominy, should have followed up its course till he ascertained whether that would lead to the South Sea (or Pacific, as we call it); for one object of all expeditions sent to America was, to find an opening by which ships might sail through into the Pacific and thus have a much shorter voyage to the East Indies. Nobody, at that time, had any idea of the width of the newly discovered continent. Of course Smith had sense enough to know that ships built for ocean travel could not pass through by so small a channel as that of the Chickahominy, even if it were open all the way across. The James was larger, but its falls, or rapids, showed that no navigator could go through by that route.

But the Captain did not argue long with the thoughtless and discontented, though he told them the immediate need was, to lay in supplies for the winter. He was desirous of exploring the surrounding country as far as possible, and making friends of more of the Indians. He therefore organized a small expedition to explore the Chickahominy as far toward its headwaters as possible.

With a barge and as large a company as it could accommodate he passed up the river about fifty miles. From that point the channel was too small and too much obstructed for the barge. He there-

fore persuaded the Indians to let him have the use of a canoe, and he engaged two of them to paddle it. Taking two of his men with him in the canoe, he left the others with the barge, carefully instructing them not to go ashore during his absence. He then ascended the stream about twenty miles, to a point where it was difficult to proceed farther. Here he left the canoe, telling the two Englishmen that remained in it to keep their firearms ready for instant use and to signal to him by a shot if there was any danger. He took one of the Indians with him as a guide, and set out to examine the region. A few minutes later Captain Smith heard a terrific war whoop and knew he was about to be attacked. As he had heard no report of firearms from the canoe he believed that the men he left there had been surprised and murdered, and this proved to be true. They had disobeyed his orders, having gone ashore, built a fire, and lain down to sleep beside it, where of course they were murdered. The men in the barge were equally disobedient. They went ashore and were wandering about carelessly when they were attacked by a large band of Indians. With difficulty they succeeded in getting back to the barge — all but one, whom the savages caught. This poor wretch, hoping to save his life by serving his captors, told them all about Captain

Smith's movements. But after getting this information from him they put him to a cruel death.

As soon as the Captain knew that his men in the canoe had been treacherously murdered he knew also that there must be Indians lurking about to entrap and murder him. Therefore he promptly seized the Indian that was with him, disarmed him, and with his garters bound the Indian's arm fast to his own left arm, thus using him as a shield against any arrows that might be shot by the savages. Very soon he saw two Indians bending their bows, evidently intending to harm him. Before they could use them he discharged a pistol and drove them away. He kept the Indian guide between them and himself, knowing that others would soon appear; and, sure enough, presently appeared the great chief Opecancanough with more than two hundred braves. Captain Smith fired at them with his pistol, killing three and wounding several, one of whom died of his wound, and thus for a time he kept them beyond arrow-shot, as they were afraid to come near firearms. The Indians tried to induce him to surrender, on the promise that they would not take his life, but he would not submit unless they would let him get away to his canoe and go down the river. Then,

facing the savages all the time, and occasionally firing at them, he backed away slowly. Unfortunately, he did not once look behind him to learn where his retreating steps were leading him, and after a time he stepped off solid ground and sank up to his waist in a swamp. It was impossible for him to get out unless he had assistance, and he therefore threw away his pistol and surrendered.

The savages drew him out of the swamp and carried him to the chief. Smith's presence of mind never left him, and he was as full of resources as ever. He had a small ivory pocket-compass, which he used to keep track of his routes in his explorations, and this he now presented to Opecancanough, who was entertained and puzzled by the needle, which he saw through the glass but could not touch. Smith not only explained to the Indians the real use of the compass, but added imaginary powers. He says that by means of it he proved "the roundness of the earth and skies, the sphere of the sun, moon, and stars, and how the sun did chase the night around the world continually. Then he told them of the greatness of the land and sea, the diversity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we [the English people] were to them antipodes, and many other such like matters."

No doubt his lecture was very entertaining, even to the poor savages who could not understand it all; nevertheless, like many another teacher of new things, he was doomed to persecution. They tied him to a tree, and drew their bows to shoot him, when the chief raised his hand holding the compass, as a command to them to desist. Captain Smith was then put under strong guard and was carried in a procession to a near village, his sword and firearms, as trophies, being carried by the chief himself. The name of the village is given as Orapax, and out of it came all the women and children to meet the procession and see the captive. They never before had seen a white person. Then there was a grand dance. Every Indian carried a war-club, a bow and a quiver full of arrows, and was decorated in the most fantastic manner — some wore on the head a dried bird with wings outspread, others pieces of copper, or long feathers, or shells, or snakes' rattles, while all were painted in brilliant red around the head and shoulders. At the village, while he was still carefully guarded, the Indians set before him such an over-abundance of good food that he began to suspect they intended to fatten him, preparatory to killing and eating him. But no tribe of the North American Indians has ever been known to be cannibals. One Indian, to whom

he had formerly given some trinket, was good enough to bring his blanket to him, for the days were growing cold. But another, whose son Smith had wounded seriously, was wroth toward him. They supposed Smith must be a great medicine man, and asked him to cure the wounded boy. He said he could not do it without some medicine that he could get at Jamestown, and he proposed that he be sent there to get it. This the savages would not consent to. Then he asked that three of them might go, with a note from him, and they fell in with this plan at once. They were glad of an opportunity to spy out the condition of affairs at the settlement, for they intended to attack it. Smith, taking a leaf from a memorandum-book, wrote a letter to the colonists, in which he told them of his situation, warned them to expect an attack, and advised them to show the messengers the cannons and tell them what wonderful arrangements they had to shoot and blow up any enemy that should attack them. He also asked that certain articles be sent to him; and before the messengers departed he told them what things would be given to them to bring back, if they presented that paper at the fort. They returned in three days, bringing the articles that he wanted, and all were astonished and bewildered by this proof that he

could make a piece of paper speak to his distant friends. Moreover, the messengers gave a terrifying report of the dangers of the fort — its great guns and their thundering explosions, its mines, its strong defenses, and the warlike character of the men in the colony. Therefore the Indians gave up their intention of attacking the colony in force.

But this did not end the Captain's difficulties and danger. While the messengers were gone the man he had wounded died, and the man's father became furiously bent on revenge. His attempts to kill Smith were thwarted only by the constant care of the guards, and it was determined to remove the prisoner to a distant place. The procession was formed again and resumed its march. It took a roundabout course, to exhibit the prisoner to the people in many villages and to other tribes, coming back at last to the place where Opecancanough had his capital. Here they went through a strange performance, which puzzled even Smith, who had learned so much of the Indian character. Several medicine men, painted in black and red and smeared with oil, dressed themselves in skins of wild animals, kept up a constant noise with rattles made of gourds and with the wildest shrieks and howls danced around him from morning till night. There was no eating during the day, but at sunset all were fed

bountifully — the medicine men, however, taking care to eat by themselves, not with him. Smith's description of this strange performance is so picturesque that it is worth quoting in full: —

"Early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat was spread on one side as on the other. On the one they caused him [Smith] to sit, and all the guard went out of the house. Presently came skipping in a great grim fellow all painted over with coal mingled with oil, and many snakes' and weasels' skins stuffed with moss, and all their tails tied together so that they met on the crown of his head like a tassel; and round about the tassel was a coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a diabolical voice and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation and environed the fire with a circle of meal. Which done, three more such like demons came rushing in with the like antic tricks, painted half black half red. But all their eyes were painted white, and some red strokes like mustachios along their cheeks. Round about him [Smith] those fiends danced a pretty while, and then in came three more as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and strokes over their black faces. At last they all sat down right against

him — three of them on the one hand of the chief priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song; which ended, the chief priest laid down five wheat-corns, then, straining his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat and his veins swelled, he began a short oration. At the conclusion they all gave a short groan, and then he laid down three grains more. After that they began their song again, and then there was another oration, ever laying down so many corns as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. That done, they took a bunch of little sticks prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and oration they laid down a stick betwixt the divisions of corn. Till night neither he nor they did either eat or drink, and then they feasted merrily and with the best provisions they could make. Three days they used this ceremony, the meaning whereof they told him [Smith] was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meal signified their country, the circles of corn the bounds of the sea, and the sticks his [Smith's] country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the midst. Opitchapam, the King's brother, invited him to his house, where with many platters of bread, fowl, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he

bid him welcome. But not any of them would eat with him, but put up all the remainder in baskets. At his return to Opecancanough's, all the King's women and their children flocked about him for their parts, as a due by custom, to be merry with such fragments."

All savages are very superstitious, and it was easy for the medicine men — or priests, as Smith calls them — to make the tribe believe that by those ceremonies they could find out what was in the prisoner's mind. Then the chief offered him life, liberty, and everything he could wish for, if he would show them how the fort at Jamestown could be captured. But of course such a man was not thus to be tempted into treachery. On the contrary, he told them the white men were so numerous and strong and wise that the Indians never could overcome them and would better be always friendly to them. They brought one of his pistols and asked him to fire it. Knowing that they wished to learn how to use it, he fumbled with it in a way to break the lock, and made them think it was an accident. They had obtained somehow a bag of gunpowder (perhaps they stole it at Jamestown) and they showed it to him and told him they intended to plant it in the spring and raise a crop. He made no objection!

After long delay, finding that he could neither be bribed nor frightened, and that they could do nothing with him, they took him to a place called Werowocomoco, where Powhatan, the king of all that country, resided. He was sometimes called the Indian Emperor of Virginia. It is believed that Werowocomoco was in what is now Gloucester county.

CHAPTER XI

At Powhatan's Capital

It was a dreary journey that Captain Smith made to the capital of the great chief. It led through dense forests, at a gloomy time of year, and he was heavily guarded by savages whose looks and actions indicated that they considered him doomed to death. Nevertheless, he appears never to have lost heart, sustained, probably, not only by his marvelous native courage but by remembrance of his many escapes from serious danger.

When they arrived at Werowocomoco they were not admitted at once to the presence of the chief. Several days were spent in preparations, so that the ceremonies might be as impressive as possible, filling the Indians with a belief in the greatness and power of their tribe, and showing the men of Jamestown — if they should learn of it — what they might expect if they were not in every way friendly to the natives.

When all was ready the prisoner was brought into court. The place was an open space in the thick

forest, with great trees making a high wall all round it. Powhatan, the Emperor, who appeared to be about sixty years of age, sat in a long house, on a throne that Captain Smith says looked like a bedstead. He was covered with a large robe made of raccoon skins with all the tails hanging out; and on the ground before him there was a fire, for now the weather was growing cold. "On either hand," says Smith in his narrative, "did sit a young woman of sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side of the house two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red, many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds, but every one with something, and a great chain of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring Smith water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them, they having feasted him after the best barbarous manner they could.

"A long consultation was held; but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Then as many as could laid hands on Smith, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, being ready with their clubs to beat out his

brains. Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got Smith's head in her arms and laid her own upon his, to save him from death; whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets and her bells, beads, and copper, for they thought him as well trained of all occupations as themselves. For the King himself will make his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, pots, plant, hunt, or do anything so well as the rest.

"Two days afterward Powhatan, having disguised himself in the most fearfullest manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noise he ever heard. Then Powhatan, more like a demon than a man, with some two hundred more as black as himself, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown to send him two great guns and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick and forever esteem him as his son Nantaquond.

"So to Jamestown, with twelve guides, Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time

of his imprisonment) every hour to be put to one death or other, for all their feasting. But God had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith, having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demi-culverins [small cannons] and a millstone [or grindstone] to carry to Powhatan. They found them somewhat too heavy; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, and the ice and branches came so tumbling down that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some confidence with them and gave them such toys, and sent to Powhatan, his wife and children, such presents, as gave them in general full content."

On his arrival at Jamestown this time, Captain Smith found the whole colony in a tangle, or, as he expresses it, " all in combustion." Several were just getting ready to seize the pinnace and sail away for England; but he trained a cannon on the boat, and, with his loaded musket at his shoulder, compelled them either to come ashore or be sunk. Others were plotting to have Smith executed, on the ground that he was responsible for

the death of the two men whom he had left in charge of his canoe and who were murdered by the Indians. But he says that he "quickly took such order with such lawyers that he laid them by the heels till he sent some of them prisoners for England."

From this time, Pocahontas, accompanied by several women, came to Jamestown once in four or five days, bringing abundant supplies of provisions, without which the whole colony might have been starved, and Smith says that "his relation of the plenty he had seen, especially at Werowocomoco, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan, so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all men's fear was abandoned."

Doubts have been raised as to the truth of the story of Pocahontas saving the life of Captain Smith, and there has been much discussion of the subject, with attempts to analyze the evidence. The argument against it is founded mainly on the fact that the incident is not mentioned in the first of Smith's narratives, but is recorded in the later one. It is to be considered that he sent his manuscript to England and was not there to read the proof or in any way supervise the printing, and so bunglingly was this done that one narrative, acknowledged to be his, bore the name of another

man as the writer. It is not impossible that when the first account was presented for print, some meddling editor struck out whatever he thought was improbable or was put in merely to make the story popular. There is no question that Smith was a prisoner in the hands of the Indians, and surely some extraordinary influence must have prevented them from dispatching him. I prefer to believe the story of Pocahontas.

We learn, however, that Captain Smith knew how to embellish a story and to invent incidents. In his account of his interview with Powhatan he says: "He asked me the cause of our coming. I told him that, being in fight with the Spaniards, our enemy, and being overpowered, and near put to retreat by extreme weather, we put to this shore. When we landed at Chesapeake the people shot at us, but at Kecoughtan they kindly used us. When we by signs demanded fresh water, they described us up the river was all fresh water. Our pinnace being leaky, we were forced to stay and mend her, till Captain Newport, my father, came to conduct us away. He demanded why we went farther with our boat. I told him, in that I would have occasion to talk of the back sea; that on the other side of the main [land], where was salt water, my father had a child slain, which we supposed was done by

POCAHONTAS, THE FRIEND OF THE ENGLISH.

From the statue by William Ordway Partridge.

Monocan, his enemy, and his death we intended to revenge.

"After good deliberation, he began to describe me the countries beyond the falls, with many of the rest, confirming what not only Opecancanough but an Indian prisoner had before told me. But some called it five days [journey], some six, some eight, where the said water dashed amongst many stones and rocks, each storm which caused ofttimes the head of the river to be brackish. Anchanachuck he described to be the people that had slain my brother, whose death he would revenge. He described also upon the same sea a mighty nation called Pocotronack, a fierce nation that did eat men and warred with the people of Moyaoncer and Pataromerk — nations upon the top of the head of the bay, under his territories, where the year before they had slain a hundred. He signified their crowns were shaven, long hair in the neck, tied on a knot, swords like pole-axes. Beyond them he described people with short coats and sleeves to the elbows, that passed that way in ships like ours. Many kingdoms he described me to the head of the Bay, which seemed to be a mighty river issuing from mighty mountains betwixt two seas. He described a country called Anone, where they have abundance of brass and houses walled like ours.

"I requited his discourse, seeing what pride he had in his great and spacious dominions, seeing that all he knew were under his territories." [Captain Smith's meaning in this last sentence requires a little study. He means that as Powhatan was boasting very largely, he thought he also would boast as greatly.] He says: "In describing to him the territories of Europe which were subject to our great King, whose subject I was, and the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gave him to understand the noise of trumpets and terrible manner of fighting were under Captain Newport, my father, whom I entitled the Merowance which they call King of all the waters. At his greatness he admired and not a little feared."

Probably neither of these men believed fully the boastful story told by the other. And yet Captain Smith still clung to the hope of discovering an outlet to the farther ocean by following up the course of one or another of the rivers that he found in Virginia. The Indians may not have been dishonest in assuring him that there was such an outlet, for they had various fanciful traditions relating to regions beyond their own domain, which they apparently never tested.

CHAPTER XII

Captain Newport Arrives

The strange and unfortunate condition of affairs in the little colony is more clearly indicated by the effect on Captain Smith's mind than even by a recital of the circumstances themselves. He had arrived almost at the limit of his patience with the incompetent, discontented, and unreasonable men with whom he was associated; and he appears to have debated with himself whether he would not better drop the whole business right there and return home. He writes: "Whether it had been better for Captain Smith to have concluded with any of those several projects to have abandoned the country, with some ten or twelve of them who were called the better sort, and have left Mr. Hunt, our preacher, Master Anthony Gosnell, a most honest and industrious gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and some twenty-seven others of his countrymen, to the fury of the savages, famine and all manner of mischiefs and inconveniences (for they were but forty in all, to keep possession of this

large country), or starve himself with them for company, for want of lodging, or for venturing abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserve the action and save all their lives — I leave all honest men to consider."

It must have occurred to Captain Smith that as by force of arms he had prevented others from abandoning the colony, it would be ungracious, to say the least, for him now to do what he had so sternly forbade them to do. Still, the ruling force that made him remain at his difficult task, with all its discouragements, was undoubtedly his own indomitable spirit, his habit of meeting every emergency with a determined courage. By his allusion to those "who were called of the better sort" he means the gentlemen (as they ranked themselves), who were of little use there and should not have been permitted to cross the ocean with the real workers. Jamestown was a hive with too many drones. Probably those gentlemen had contributed to the cost of fitting out the expedition, and therefore they could not be refused permission to go with it.

The duration of Smith's captivity among the Indians is stated variously — from a month to seven weeks. At the shortest, it was long enough for him to acquire a great deal of useful information concerning them and to learn considerable of their

language. Because of this advantage and his brighter intellect and sound judgment, he understood the savages far better than any other member of the colony. His superior officer, Captain Newport, was too stupid ever to understand them at all, as was shown a little later by his strange method of trading with them. Smith had now learned when to be severe with the Indians, and when to be lenient; when to tell them the plain truth, and when to flatter them; when to make them presents that pleased them, and when to prevent them from stealing. Above all, he had learned how to trade to advantage with them. If he sometimes told them a rank falsehood, that was no more than was being done every day in the courts of Europe. It was three quarters of a century later (1682) when William Penn made the successful experiment of treating with the Indians on the basis of truth and gentleness. Yet it must be remembered that he had the advantage arising from the fact that in the mean time they had learned much of the number and power of the white men. And it was Captain Smith who began their education on this subject, which was continued by Miles Standish and his companions in Massachusetts.

The general result of Captain Smith's captivity was apparently a good understanding and friendly

feeling all round. Not only Pocahontas but several Indians came to Jamestown frequently, bringing liberal supplies of food, which were much needed by the colony.

Meanwhile two ships, commanded by Captain Newport and Captain Nelson, with supplies and additional colonists, were sent out from England. Captain Nelson's vessel, the *Phœnix*, was driven out of its course and much delayed in making the voyage. But Captain Newport's arrived in fairly good time and was very welcome. Smith had told the Indians what time Newport would appear, and he came just at the time to make the promise good. This seemed miraculous to them and they could only think he was inspired. Large numbers of them would come near the fort to trade, but they would not enter it, or come very close, till he came out in response to their call. They had all confidence in him, and they allowed him to fix the prices of all they had to sell. A serious drawback to this was the exhibition of a petty jealousy on the part of some of the colonists, who could not bear to look upon Smith's power with the Indians, when they did not share it. He was able to exchange small quantities of such articles as the Indians desired for large quantities of their abundant provisions.

But this advantage was soon lost after Newport's arrival. His sailors and the adventurers whom he brought went out among the savages, with an eager curiosity to see them, and in trading with them, unadvised and reckless, gave such prices as taught them to be exorbitant in their demands and thwarted the advantage that Smith had gained. In this matter, Captain Newport showed himself no wiser than the simplest sailor in his crew. For the quantity of grain that Smith could buy with an ounce of copper, they now frequently gave a pound. If spent at such a rate, of course the articles brought by the ship would not last long. The Indians began to think that Smith had cheated them, and to look upon Newport as the really great man.

Captain Smith now told Captain Newport what an exalted idea the Indians had of him, and that it would be greatly to the advantage of the colony if he paid a visit to Powhatan. This would give them an idea of the power and importance of the English people, and strengthen the friendship that was so happily begun.

Captain Newport readily fell in with this suggestion. The pinnace was put in shape for a voyage in the bay, a crew and a guard of about forty men were chosen, and articles for trading were taken in. But before they arrived at their destination New-

port's natural timidity took possession of him, and he was reluctant to proceed. All sorts of dangers loomed up in his imagination, from his idea of the treachery and cruelty of the Indians, and Smith had difficulty in persuading him to continue the journey. The latter part of this was overland; and whenever they came to a rude little bridge over a brook, Newport suspected that it was a trap for him, and that it would break down if he trusted himself on it.

At length Captain Smith offered to go ahead, accompanied by twenty of the men, to meet whatever dangers there might be in the wilderness, while Newport and the others should remain with the pinnace. This was agreed upon, and Smith set out at once. Though he was brave, he was also judicious, and he did not forget that there really were serious dangers. His men were all armed, and all wore thickly padded jackets which were a fair protection against arrows. A company of Indians, led by the king's son Nantaquis, had met him at the landing and were accompanying him on the march. As they proceeded, Captain Smith kept the king's son and the chiefs all the time surrounded by his own men, so that any attempted treachery could be defeated at once. The Indians attempted nothing unfriendly, and probably they had not in-

tended to. Nevertheless, Smith showed his wisdom in not presenting to them any temptation by being careless or off his guard.

Powhatan received the visitors in royal state. Smith says he was "sitting upon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather embroidered after their manner with pearl and white beads, his attire a robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle; at his head and feet a handsome young woman; on each side of his house sat twenty women, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chain of white beads about the neck. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbor-like house, and on each side of the door stood a guard of twenty Indians with forty platters of fine bread. Four or five hundred people made a guard behind them for our passage, and proclamation was made that none, on pain of death, should presume to do us any wrong or discourtesy." Smith had great admiration for Powhatan. He says: "His appearance is of such a majesty as I can not well express, nor yet have often seen, either in pagan or Christian. With a kind countenance he bade all welcome, and caused a place to be made by himself to sit." The Captain presented the great chief with a suit of red cloth, a greyhound, and a hat, which Powhatan accepted with an appropriate speech.

Water was brought for the guests to wash their hands, and then food.

"But where is your father?" Powhatan asked — meaning Newport.

"You shall see him to-morrow," Smith answered.

"And where are the great guns that you promised me?"

Captain Smith reminded him of what he already knew, that the guns were too heavy for the Indian messengers to carry; and Powhatan then said he would accept some smaller ones in place of them. Smith also reminded the chief that he had been promised corn and land. Powhatan assured him he should have them, but he expected Smith and all his men to lay down their arms at his feet, just as his own subjects did. The Captain said: "That is a ceremony that our enemies desire, but never our friends."

Continuing, Smith asked Powhatan not to have any doubt of the sincere friendship of the English, and promised that Captain Newport would give assurances of that friendship the next day; that he would present the great chief with a child of his own; and that a force commanded by Smith himself should subjugate two tribes that were Powhatan's worst enemies.

Thereupon Powhatan made another formal ora-

tion and honored Captain Smith by making him a werowance — that is to say, a sort of sub-chief under Powhatan — what we should call one of Powhatan's lieutenants.

The condition of the tide prevented Smith and his men from getting to the pinnace that night, and they were obliged to remain Powhatan's guests. A large house was lent to them, and they were furnished with venison for supper. Smith himself, who took supper with Powhatan, says: "He set before me meat for twenty men, and, seeing I could not eat, he caused it to be given to my men; for this is a general custom — when they give, not to take again, but you must either eat it, give it away, or carry it with you. After supper two or three hours were spent in our ancient discourses, which done, I was lighted to my lodgings with a fire-stick" — he means a pine torch.

Next morning Powhatan took Captain Smith to the river bank and proudly showed him his fleet of canoes, telling him that many of them were used to bring him tribute from various tribes around the shores of the Chesapeake. He said some paid in beads, some in skins, and some in copper. Smith says they had, that day, "many pretty discourses."

There they saw Captain Newport approaching, and at once Powhatan took leave of Smith and

hurried away to his house that he might be prepared to give Newport a proper reception. When he, accompanied by Smith and his companions, reached Powhatan's — perhaps we ought to say palace, for kings, like other mortals, have their own individual tastes — their reception was like that which had been given to Captain Smith on the previous occasion, perhaps a little more extended, with singing, dancing, oratory, and refreshments. Newport made Powhatan a present of a white boy named Thomas Salvage, passing him off as his own son; and Powhatan gave him, in return, an Indian boy named Namontack, to be his body servant. Smith says this copper-colored lad was "of a shrewd and subtle capacity," an expression that might be either complimentary or the reverse, according to the way in which the boy used his capacity.

The colonists spent the night on their pinnace, and next day continued their visit with the chief, or Emperor, as they called him — and it lasted four or five days. Powhatan strongly objected to the fact that the men were armed. He asked Smith whether they doubted that he was sincerely their friend — if they did not doubt that, what were they afraid of? Then he called their attention to the fact that all his followers were unarmed. Captain Smith answered that his men brought their

arms because it was the custom of their country. Still, Powhatan was not satisfied, and therefore Captain Newport ordered his men to return to the boat. Smith, not knowing what foolish thing they might do if left alone, went with them. But this displeased the Emperor still more, for he was warmly attached to Smith and desired as much of his company as possible; besides which, he understood Smith's remarkable abilities and perhaps mistrusted what he might do as commander of those soldiers. Therefore Smith was recalled, and a Mr. Scrivener, who had come with Newport from England to be a member of the Council, took his place at the shore. Even then, Powhatan appeared to be somewhat uneasy in his mind. Smith and Newport therefore introduced the subject of trading, and this interested him. He thought he saw his opportunity, and perhaps he did.

Smith tells us that Powhatan constantly "carried himself so proudly yet discreetly, in his savage manner, as made us all admire his natural gifts, considering his education."

When the bartering was begun, in a comparatively small and careful way, the Emperor said to Newport: "It is not agreeable to my greatness to traffic for trifles in this peddling manner. And you too I consider a great werowance. Therefore lay

down all your articles together at once. I will then take such as I like, and in return will give you what I think is their value."

Captain Smith saw the trick readily enough (he acted as interpreter, for Powhatan understood very little English, and Newport no Indian), and he warned Newport that it was a scheme to cheat him. But the dull-witted Newport, probably intent upon maintaining a lofty dignity to match Powhatan's, laid out his entire stock of articles, as requested. The Emperor looked them over, took everything that he cared for, and in paying rated his corn at so high a price that Smith said it could be bought cheaper even in Spain. Captain Smith had expected to get twenty hogsheads of corn for the articles, but Powhatan gave not more than four bushels. Newport saw that he had been tricked, was exceedingly mortified, and — as is usual with stupid persons — vented his anger, not on Powhatan, but on Smith, who had tried to save him from being swindled.

But Captain Smith, as usual, was equal to the occasion. He got out a handful of blue beads, of a kind that the Indians never had seen, and, without apparently intending to show them, let Powhatan discover them in his hands. The old chief was attracted by the glitter and the unusual form of

the beads, and immediately proposed to buy them. Smith said no, he didn't wish to part with them. They were made of a very rare substance, he said, of the color of the sky, and nobody in the world except the greatest kings was rich enough to buy them or was allowed to wear them. This, of course, made Powhatan all the more desirous of obtaining them, and Smith says he played upon the savage's fancy with such stories until he "made him half mad to be the owner of such strange jewels." At last he consented to part with some of them, but it must be at his own price, and for two pounds of them he got three hundred bushels of corn. Then Powhatan's brother, Opecancanough, thought that, as he was of royal blood, he ought to have some of the royal beads, and Smith consented to sell him a few at the same rate. Emperor Powhatan issued an order, or a decree, or a ukase — or whatever the Indians called it — that no one should presume to wear such beads except himself, his brother, and their wives and children.

The great chief, though he continued to feed the whole company of white men most bountifully, also continued to object to their weapons. Captain Smith knew that this could only mean that he wanted them disarmed so that he and his horde of dusky warriors could rob them. One day he sent

his son to ask that they would leave their arms in the boat, because his women were frightened by them; and Newport, simple as usual, would have done as the chief requested, but Smith had twenty-five of the men carry their muskets. Powhatan was especially afraid of Smith's sword and pistol, and asked that he come without them, to which Smith answered: "Those were the very terms of persuasion used by the men who afterward betrayed us and slew my brother." So he retained his side-arms, sold more blue beads, and increased his store of provisions.

The next morning the colonists, with much ceremony, took what was intended to be their final leave of Powhatan, who sent away all the women and all the men except the chiefs, because he wished for a confidential interview with Newport and Smith. Reminding them of their promise to make war on the tribe of Monacans, he said he was supposed to be on friendly terms with that people, and therefore it would be better for him and Newport not to appear to have anything to do with the attack. He would furnish a hundred warriors, and he supposed Smith could bring as many white men. Then his two sons and Opecancanough and Smith and Scrivener could command the forces. He would send spies to find out how strong the

Monacans were and whether they were prepared for war. His plan was, that the whole force should go out on a pretended hunting expedition, and fall suddenly upon the unsuspecting Monacans. So sure was he of having this plan carried out, that he proceeded to say how the spoils should be divided — all the men of the Monacans were to be killed; he would take the women and the young children for his share; his brother and Captain Newport should have whatever else there might be that was worth taking. He intimated to Newport that if the Monacans were out of the way the road to the South Sea, which the English desired to reach, would be open and easy, and Newport was strongly inclined to believe the story.

The colonists then went to pay a similar visit to Opecancanough and his people, and were received there also with honor and feasting. Powhatan requested them to return to him, saying he had learned that more supplies had been brought to Jamestown, and he wished to continue the trading. They were not willing to go back, and their host was not willing to have them go. Then Powhatan sent his daughter Pocahontas, and by her entreaties they were persuaded. In this second interview Powhatan gave Newport an Indian, who was to be his servant and go with him to

England. Secretly Powhatan told the man that he must count all the persons he saw in England, so that he might know how strong the English nation really was. It is not certain that this was as foolish as it appears at first thought. Powhatan had no idea of a great city, but he knew about villages. Suppose the man, on returning home, was able to report that he passed through twenty villages, and that in one he counted five hundred persons. Powhatan was a good enough scholar to multiply five hundred by twenty. He must have known that a nation which could build and fit out such ocean-going ships as the colonists came in would consist of at least some thousands of persons. The man, as he counted the people in the streets, cut notches on a stick; but perhaps he cut only one notch for every ten or more. In fact, Captain Smith, in another book, tells us that these people always counted by tens.

When the expedition returned to Jamestown, Newport set the men at work quarrying rocks for something that he thought was gold. Captain Smith, who knew the folly of it, protested vigorously, but in vain. Captain Newport was determined to carry home a good cargo of gold, and so he did — but it was "fool's gold," which the scientists call iron pyrites, worth perhaps a few cents a ton.

One of the company — may be Smith himself — wrote: "Our gilded refiners, with their golden promises, made all men their slaves in hope of recompense. There was no talk, no hope, no work but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold — such a bruit [clamor] of gold that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands, lest they should by their art make gold of his bones. Were it that Captain Smith would not applaud all these golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials [tests of the substance that they dug up], nor their golden consultations, I know not; but I have heard him oft question with Captain Martin and tell him that, except he could show him a more substantial trial, he was not enamored with their dirty skill. Breathing out these and many other passions, never anything did more torment him than to see all necessary business neglected to freight such a drunken ship with so much gilded dirt."

In the midst of this folly a serious disaster fell upon the colony. The winter (1607) was very cold, and the men carelessly made many fires, which soon resulted in a conflagration that destroyed nearly all the houses and the public granary where was stored the liberal stock of provisions that Smith had obtained from the Indians. The palisades that had been put up as a defense were

also burned. Incidentally it is recorded that "Good Master Hunt, our preacher, lost all his library and all he had but the clothes on his back, yet none ever heard him repine at his loss." When we consider what that involved, we appreciate the justice of calling the clergyman "good Master Hunt." Possibly he could get other garments, though they were none too plenty in Jamestown; but the books were a dead loss. There was no book-store in Powhatan's dominions — not even a second-hand store, and no polite clerk who could say, "We haven't those volumes in stock just now, but we can take your order and import them from London." It would be interesting to know what books he had. Of course he had a Bible, but it could not have been the King James translation (which we now call the authorized version), for that was not published till 1611. Perhaps he had the Genevan Bible, which a great scholar calls "the sweetest of all English versions." He may have had Shakespeare's masterpiece, "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark," which was published separately three or four years before the Jamestown settlers sailed. A copy of it is now worth much money, but Mr. Hunt could have bought it for a very little.

Newport's ship should have sailed for England in a week or two; but the craze for gold detained it

fourteen weeks. Meanwhile, many of the colonists, having lost their provisions by the fire, bought small quantities of the sailors, who stole them from the ship's stores, and for those small quantities they had to pay enormous prices in furs, gold rings, spare garments, or anything that had a value. In consequence of these misfortunes and hardships, more than half of the colonists died that winter. Smith and Scrivener tried to correct the abuses, organize the necessary operations of rebuilding, and hearten their discouraged townsmen; but the stupidity and senseless jealousy of the president and his followers prevented them from accomplishing much. It was, however, a relief to him that when the ship sailed he sent home in her those whom he called "lawyers." He writes triumphantly: " We not having any use of parliaments, petitions, admiralty [naval] recorders, interpreters, courts of pleas, nor justices of the peace, sent Wingfield and Captain Archer home with him that had engrossed all these titles, to seek some better place of employment."

When Newport was about to set sail he received from Powhatan a gift of twenty fat turkeys; but it was such a gift as only an Indian would think of making, for the wily chief asked to have twenty swords in return. And Newport committed his

crowning folly by promptly sending the weapons. "Against stupidity," said an ancient proverb, "even the gods fight in vain." Captain Smith, in a small boat, accompanied the outgoing ship as far as the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, probably to make sure of getting him far enough away from any opportunity to commit more follies. On his return Captain Smith stopped at Nansemond and made a treaty with the chief that ruled there.

CHAPTER XIII

Trouble with the Indians

Though Newport and the lawyers had departed, Captain Smith's difficulties were not at an end. President Radcliffe and Captain Martin were in control, backed by a large number of the colonists, and they constantly showed themselves unfriendly to Smith. They were in possession of the public stores, and they used them or sold them as if they were their own private property.

It was April when Newport sailed away. Smith, with Mr. Scrivener and a few others, planted the fields for a crop of corn, and then he assumed charge of the work of rebuilding the town. First he replaced the defenses, and then he built the storehouses and the church. While they were at this task, Captain Nelson arrived with the *Phœnix*, which had been driven far south by a storm. This vessel brought a hundred and twenty additional colonists — including many workingmen, but also some of the useless "gentlemen" — and supplies for six months. In recording this event Smith

writes: "The happy arrival of Master Nelson in the *Phœnix*, having been then about three months missing, did so lavish us with exceeding joy that now we thought ourselves as our hearts could wish, both with a competent number of men as also for all other needful provisions."

When the rebuilding of the town was completed, Captain Smith planned an expedition for exploring the country of the Monacans. He chose seventy of the best men, and instructed and drilled them in military tactics. He says that after teaching them to "march, fight, and skirmish in the woods, their willing minds to this action so quickened their understanding in this exercise as in all judgments we were able to fight with Powhatan's whole force." The captain had made all arrangements for the expedition — arms and supplies for his company, and provision for the defense of the fort in his absence — when the ruling powers, either from their usual habit of opposing him or from sheer timidity, forbade the enterprise. They said the right to make such explorations belonged to Captain Newport alone, and that Smith's plan was ill-timed and hazardous.

Another clash came with the question of loading the *Phœnix* for her return voyage. Captain Martin contended that she should be loaded only with

the mineral that he called "gold," but Smith, Scrivener, and Captain Nelson insisted that a cargo of cedar would be more valuable, and they had their way. Nelson said he "would carry the gold, or dirt, when he had less charge and more leisure."

About this time a change in the disposition and conduct of the Indians was noticeable. They had been very friendly — in appearance, at least; but now they became thievish, insolent, and sometimes actually hostile. Powhatan had so easily obtained twenty good swords from Captain Newport that he thought he might double his supply of arms in the same way from Captain Smith. Accordingly he sent Smith twenty fat turkeys, and asked for as many weapons in exchange. But the cunning chief soon learned that Smith and Newport were different men, and he did not get the weapons.

Then began a system of petty thieving. Many Indians dropped in at Jamestown, one or two at a time, loafed about or mentioned some pretended errand, and picked up any tool, weapon, or other article that they could carry away. It was believed that they were acting under secret orders from Powhatan. They grew so bold that an Indian who was detected and dispossessed of his plunder one day would not hesitate to try it again the next day. Finally they would lay hands openly on

anything that they fancied, and try to secure it by force. Smith says: "By ambuscadoes at our very doors they would take things by force, surprise us at work, or any way, which was so long permitted they became so insolent there was no rule." The colonists were hampered by the command that was given to them as they left England, that they must not offend the Indians in any way. Perhaps this accounted, partly at least, for Newport's timid conduct. Smith knew when it was better to break a rule than to obey it, especially if the rule were made by those who could not know all the circumstances. He caught an Indian who had stolen two swords, and put him in irons. When the man was released he went away sullen, and returned a few days later accompanied by three others, all armed with wooden swords. Smith ordered them to leave, and when they threatened to attack him he promptly knocked one of them down. Then the others made at him, whereupon he drew his sword and drove them before him. Having done this, he called for a few soldiers and, marching out, drove every Indian off the island.

Learning of this, the chief at Nansemond, down the river, returned a stolen hatchet; and Indians that had once been employed by the colonists came asking to be set at work again.

Their reformation did not last long, however; for when Mr. Scrivener followed an Indian who had stolen a hatchet, the fellow drew his arrow and threatened to shoot. Two others attacked Captain Smith, as he writes, "circling about me as though they would have clubbed me like a hare." He faced them boldly, dared them to touch him, and retired within the fort. When these and others followed him in, he summoned help, closed the ports, so that they could not get out, and then arrested sixteen of them.

When Powhatan sent messengers to ask that his men be released, Smith answered that they would not be freed until all the weapons and tools that they had stolen were brought back, and if this were not done he would hang all his prisoners. A party of Indians ranging in the woods captured two colonists, and at once came to the fort and called out that they would hang them if the Indians were hanged. Smith promptly headed a company of soldiers who went out against the enemy and soon compelled them to give up the two captives.

Then the imprisoned Indians were examined, under threat of death if they should not tell the truth, and they confessed — what Captain Smith had suspected — that there was a great conspiracy to destroy the whole colony. Powhatan and his

subordinate chiefs were to keep up the appearance of friendship until Newport came again, for the chief wished to get back his man who had been sent to England. Then the Emperor was to make a great feast, invite the chief men of Jamestown, and make them all prisoners. Smith tells how he induced the Indians to confess: "I bound one in the hold to the main-mast and, presenting six muskets with match[1] in the cocks, forced him to tell. And we caused certain volleys of shot to be discharged, which caused each one to think that his fellows had been slain. . . . We learned that Paspahegh and Chickahamnia did hate us and intended some mischief, and who they were that took me, the names of them that stole our tools and swords, and that Powhatan received them, all agreed."

Powhatan now realized that he was in serious danger, for he had learned not only that his Indians had confessed the plot, but that Captain Smith was daily drilling his soldiers, evidently intending to move against his enemy. To conciliate the whites, he sent the boy, Thomas Salvage, who had been given to him by Newport, to present a fine lot of turkeys to Smith and Scrivener and ask for the release of the captives. Smith simply detained

[1] There were no percussion caps in those days, and a musket was fired with a lighted match.

the boy, and returned no answer. The Emperor then played his strongest card. Smith tells it thus: "Powhatan, understanding we detained certain savages, sent his daughter, a child ten years old,[1] which not only for feature, countenance, and proportion much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit the only nonpareil of his country. This he sent by his most trusty messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformity of person, but of a subtle wit and crafty understanding."

The message that Pocahontas and the dwarf brought from the Emperor to Captain Smith was to the effect that he greatly loved the Captain and had sent his best beloved child to ask that the captives be set free, for whose conduct he apologized, in that they were rash, unthinking men. The request was accompanied by a handsome present of bread and venison. Some of the captives were from the tribe of Opecancanough, who also sent presents and asked for their release. Captain Smith did not care much for him, but he could not refuse Pocahontas. So he took them all into the church, where religious services were held, and then gave the prisoners to Pocahontas, at the same time

[1] Elsewhere Smith makes her age thirteen. It is impossible to reconcile the accounts.

restoring to them their bows and arrows and whatever else had been taken from them, not forgetting to present Pocahontas herself with a few trinkets. These, he told her, he "gave to the King's daughter, in regard of her father's kindness in sending her." It appears that Pocahontas was sometimes an ally of the British and sometimes a neutral, but always an advocate for humane treatment of captives.

CHAPTER XIV

Exploring Chesapeake Bay

Captain Nelson's ship, the *Phœnix*, sailed for England, June 8, 1608. Captain Martin was a passenger. Smith, to whom Martin's departure was a good riddance, says he "was always sickly and unserviceable, and desirous to enjoy the credit of finding the gold mine." As when Newport sailed for home, in April, Captain Smith accompanied the out-going *Phœnix* as far as the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. He went in a good-sized barge, having with him seven soldiers, six gentlemen, and Dr. Walter Russell. When he had taken leave of Captain Nelson and his crew, he set out to do what he had been prevented from doing a few weeks before — explore that great bay, the shape and shores of which were then unknown.

He crossed the bay to Cape Charles, passing a small group which he named "Smith's Isles," and sailed northward along the eastern shore. He spoke with two Indians who stood on the shore watching the voyagers, and they directed him to

Accomac, where he found the best and most friendly chief that he had met.

Smith was bent upon making a thorough exploration, and he entered every small bay or inlet that he came to. The weather was somewhat stormy and the water was rough, but such circumstances never daunted him. He looked especially for harbors and drinking-water, the latter being hard to find. At one inlet where they landed the natives, after a little difficulty in the process of making acquaintance, entertained them with singing and dancing. Where they first found a pond of fresh water they named the place Point Ployer, "in honor of the most honorable house of Monsay, in Britain, that in an extreme extremity once relieved our Captain."

A heavy storm compelled the company to go ashore on an uninhabited island, where they had to remain two days. The violent wind tore their sails, but they mended them with their shirts and resumed their voyage. Their next landing was on the eastern shore, where they ran a short distance up an inlet or river which they called Cuskarawook. Here the Indians climbed into trees and shot many arrows at the invaders, as they considered them. The next day the Indians came down to the shore and made signs of friendship; but Smith, who

distrusted them, answered with a volley of musketry, and drove them away. The company landed later in the day, and found baskets of food, as well as indications that the conflict had been severe.

The next day an immense number of Indians, two thousand at least, from several tribes, came down to the shore with signs of friendliness, and greeted the voyagers. They, like all others, were desirous of trading, for they had learned that the white men brought many articles that they delighted in but could not produce. Captain Smith pronounced them the best traders of all that region. He noted that they were of slight stature, which probably resulted from the small quantity of lime in the soil of their country. Lime is necessary for building the bones in the body, and it is observed that people who live in a country underlaid by limestone are usually tall and large-boned. They told him there was a great nation of Indians, named Massawomeks, on the western side of the bay. Accordingly he crossed the water and spent the night at a place which he called Richard's Cliffs, near what is now known as the Patuxent River. Continuing his survey next day, he reached the mouth of a navigable river which he called the Bolus. This is supposed to have been the Severn, or perhaps the Patapsco.

The men were all weary now, after ten days of rough work, and they asked that the barge might turn homeward. But Captain Smith said No. He would not return till he had met the Massawomeks and found the river Potowomek (Potomac). He could not think of coming thus far and then going home without being able to report any important discovery.

His speech is reported apparently in full, and it deserves a place beside some famous ones that are better known. He said: "Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable history of Sir Ralph Lane, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of Moratico, then what a shame would it be for you that have been so suspicious of my tenderness to force me to return, with so much provision as we have, and scarce able to say where we have been, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seek. You can not say but I have shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to myself. As for your fears that I will lose myself in these unknown large waters, or be swallowed up in some stormy gust, abandon these childish fears, for worse than is past is not likely to happen, and there is as much danger to return as to proceed. Regain, therefore,

your old spirits, for return I will not, if God please, till I have seen the Massawomeks, found Potowomek, or the head of this water which you conceit to be endless."

On they sailed, therefore, and on June 16 they reached the mouth of the Potomac, which is seven miles wide. They sailed up the river, as they reckoned, about thirty miles before they saw any human being. Then they were hailed by four Indians, who induced them to enter a little river that here flowed into the Potomac. They had not gone far when they found themselves in the presence of a horde of savages, apparently waiting in ambush for them. Smith says they were strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shouting, yelling, and crying, and so many evil spirits could not have appeared more terrible. A volley promptly fired from the muskets had the usual effect. The terrified natives threw down their bows and arrows, asked for peace, and became very friendly.

All the Indians that the voyagers found on the shores of the Chesapeake spoke the same language, or dialect, as Powhatan, and they appeared to be under his rule. In the conference that took place here, these Indians told Smith that Powhatan had ordered them to attack him if he came their way, and that, as Smith in his narrative records it, he

was "so directed from the discontents at Jamestown because our Captain did cause them to stay in their country against their wills." [1]

Continuing up the stream, the voyagers came upon an Indian village called by the name of the river, Potowomek, at the mouth of a stream that the natives called Quiyough (probably what is now known as Acquia Creek, which has a deep channel ten miles long). Passing up this stream, they found what they called a mountain of antimony. The Indians were accustomed to get it to paint their faces, and they sold it in small quantities to other tribes for that purpose. Smith obtained a few bagfuls of it, and also traded for furs to a considerable amount. He tells a remarkable story of the fish in those waters. He says they were "lying so thick with their heads above water as for want of nets — our barge driving among them — we at-

[1] This is the statement that seems most incredible in Captain Smith's narrative, several of which have been questioned. He was the most energetic and resourceful man in the colony, and was their chief defense against the treacherous Indians. It is true that some of the colonists were jealous of him and hampered him; but to say that they wished him and his fellow explorers to be killed when no ship was there to take them immediately home to England, is to say they were little better than idiots. It seems probable that Smith asked these Indians whether any of the colonists had made such a suggestion to Powhatan, and that they simply assented to whatever he asked.

tempted to catch them with a frying-pan. But we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for small fish had any of us ever seen in any place so swimming in the water. But they are not to be caught with frying-pans." Everybody discounts a fish-story. But if we discount this one as to the number of fish, at least we must give it credit for the original idea of the frying-pan.

In the Rappahannock Captain Smith caught with his sword a fish that was a curiosity to him. It was a stingray, as we learn from his description of it. He says it was "much the fashion of a thornbeck, but a long tail like a riding-rod, whereon the midst is a most poison sting of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she struck into the wrist of his arm near an inch and a half." One authority says the stingray is not poisonous; but the effect of the wound made by this fish indicates poison very emphatically; for Smith's arm and shoulder swelled greatly, and the pain was intense. One of his company wrote of the incident: "It pleased God, by a precious oil Dr. Russell applied to the wound that his tormenting pain was so assuaged that he ate of that fish to his supper." Yet the wound was still evident and troublesome; for when, on the return

voyage, the barge stopped at Kecoughtan, the Indians there inferred that he had been fighting the Massawomeks. Smith let them think so.

The expedition arrived home on July 21, full of courage and hope for prosperity, since it had done much in the way of exploration and brought back a valuable cargo. The results of the voyage are plainly shown in Captain Smith's map of Virginia. But they found the colonists in a deplorable condition. Many were ill, all were dispirited, and some were bent on deposing President Radcliffe because he did not distribute the provisions fairly and required the men to work on what we should call a summer cottage for himself.

The good results of the expedition encouraged them, and they agreed to settle down in peaceful and harmonious conditions, provided Radcliffe were put out of the presidency and Smith made president in his stead. The captain, who was desirous of making another voyage, would not take the presidency, as that would require him to remain at Jamestown. He therefore made Mr. Scrivener president, with trustworthy men to assist him, distributed the provisions fairly, and then was ready to set sail.

In a few days he was off again, to complete his exploration of Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries.

Somewhere in the bay he encountered a dozen canoes filled with Indians of the Massawomek tribe, and a fight ensued immediately. Smith and his men were victorious, as usual, and then the Indians made them presents and asked to be considered friends.

The voyagers then ascended a river which it is hard to identify, and met another tribe, called Tockwoghs. They were surprised to find that these Indians had steel knives and hatchets, and pieces of brass and iron. In answer to inquiries, the Indians said they obtained those articles from the Susquehannocks, who lived at the head of the bay and were a great people — great in two senses, very numerous and of gigantic size. Captain Smith sent them an invitation to come down and visit him, and they accepted the invitation, about sixty of them. They came bringing presents — venison, bows and arrows, baskets, and long tobacco-pipes.

It was Captain Smith's custom to have prayers and the singing of a psalm every day, and the Susquehannocks happened to arrive just at prayer-time. They looked on with wonder, then held up their hands to the sun, and then embraced the Captain. They declared their love and veneration for him in a very strenuous voice and manner, gave him a bear-skin cloak, and hung a chain of

white beads around his neck. They called him their ruler and champion, and promised him much provisions if he would remain and assist them in their fight with the Massawomeks. They told him about several other tribes, one of which lived on a great water to the north — probably meaning the great lakes — and that their knives and hatchets came from the French.

The Susquehannocks were said to have six hundred fighting men, thus being one of the strongest of all the tribes. And they were somewhat more advanced than their neighbors, for they lived in villages, which were defended by palisades.

In returning, the voyagers explored every inlet or creek, and at many places bored holes in trees and put in papers giving the fact of their discovery and the date, and here and there they put up a cross — some of brass, some of wood — to indicate that they took possession of the country as its first discoverers.

On the Rappahannock they were entertained by another tribe, among whom was an Indian named Mosco, of singular appearance, for he had a large, fine, black beard. The Indians have no beards. By reason of his beard, Mosco claimed relationship with the English voyagers, and he became their friend and guide. He warned them

against the Rappahannocks, saying they were hostile to his tribe and would be equally hostile to the English. Smith was not inclined to believe him, thinking he only wished to get all the trade for his own tribe.

Accordingly they crossed the river, to make a call on the Rappahannocks. They first saw a dozen Indians on the shore, who directed them to a spot where were three canoes filled with provisions. But Smith was wary, and, as usual, he demanded an exchange of hostages before he would land and meet the tribe. After some parley, several of them waded out to the barge, bringing one of their men to leave as a hostage, and in return they received one of Captain Smith's men, Anas Todkill. As soon as Todkill was on shore he discovered that two hundred or more of the Indians were in the woods close by, evidently in ambush. He attempted to return to the barge, but they prevented him, and at the same time the Indian hostage jumped overboard and swam for the shore, but he had not taken many strokes when he was killed by a shot. The voyagers then gave the savages a volley, which scattered them, and Todkill escaped. Hundreds of arrows had been discharged at the barge, but none of the crew were struck. This was partly due to the fact that a friendly tribe had provided them

with what Smith's narrative calls "targets," but we should call shields. These were made of small sticks interwoven with cords of hemp or grass, and made so compact and strong that an arrow could seldom pierce them.

Captain Smith re-crossed to Mosco's tribe, and gave him the canoes and the arrows. He then accompanied them as they went farther up the river. A company of the Rappahannocks here attempted again to ambush them. Smith says they had so hidden themselves with branches that they were taken for little bushes growing among the sedge. Arrows came at the voyagers from some unknown source, till Mosco told them where the enemy were, and then at a volley from the muskets the bushes fell and the savages disappeared. Just about the time that these Indians were concealing themselves with bushes, Shakespeare was writing his great play of "Macbeth," in the fifth act of which Macduff's army resorts to the same trick, thus fulfilling the prophecy that Birnam Wood (from which every soldier supplied himself with a leafy branch) should come to Dunsinane.

Other tribes were met with up the river, most of whom were friendly. But at one point where they landed to gather herbs and look for water, they were attacked by Indians in the trees. The muskets

were brought into play once more, and the enemy fled, leaving one of their number badly wounded, on the ground. Mosco, Indian like, wished to kill him; but he was prevented, and the doctor dressed the man's wound. The man was then questioned. He said his tribe had heard that the English came from under the world, to take their world from them. He was asked how many worlds there were, and he said he knew of none but that which lay under the sky, and his people and those around them were all that there were in it. He was asked what was beyond the mountains, and he answered, "The sun."

That evening men of the tribe to which the wounded man belonged, the Mannahocks, followed along the bank as the barge went down the river, sending their arrows at it through the dusk and now and then giving a loud war whoop which echoed through the forest. This was kept up for ten or twelve miles, till at daylight the barge came to anchor out of reach of the arrows.

After breakfast the voyagers showed their prisoner to the crowd of savages on shore, and after a long negotiation the Indians hung their bows and arrows on the trees, and two of them swam out to the barge and delivered their bows, arrows, and quivers as a proof of friendship. Captain Smith

went ashore and asked for the chiefs. Four of these came, and Smith delivered to them their wounded man, whom they received with rejoicing. They then made the Captain all sorts of presents, and wanted the soldiers to give in return their pistols, which they supposed were fanciful tobacco pipes. Smith gave them other things instead, then there was singing and dancing, and all parted good friends.

But before parting, Mosco and his friends had asked Smith to subdue the Rappahannocks and induce them to live in peace with their neighbors; for that tribe was large and powerful, while Mosco's was weak. Captain Smith, very willing to do this, summoned the Rappahannocks to attend him for a conference, and several chiefs came. He showed them the advantage that he had in the use of fire-arms, and that he could destroy their crops and their villages if they were not friendly. Then he demanded that they bring to him the bow and arrows of their head chief and make a treaty of peace with the neighboring tribe, besides giving a son of the chief as a hostage. The chief answered that he had only one son and could not spare him; but he said that tribe had stolen three women from his — which was the cause of the war between them — and instead of his son as a hostage he would let them keep them. Captain Smith caused the three

women to be brought to him. He hung a string of beads on the neck of each of them, and then told the Rappahannock chief to take his choice. He then gave the second choice to the chief of the other tribe, and the third woman he gave to Mosco. This satisfied everybody, and the next day about seven hundred Indians, from both tribes, came together, unarmed, for a great rejoicing, pledging perpetual friendship to one another and to the English. When the voyagers left them it was understood that the Indians would plant much corn for the colonists, and were to receive therefor many hatchets and beads and much copper.

One more call the company made in that region, on the river that Smith calls the Piankatank. Here most of the men were absent, hunting, but from the old men and the women he received promises of corn whenever he should come for it.

Then the barge turned her prow toward home. But suddenly there was a terrible storm that appeared likely to send her to the bottom. They ran before the wind, steering by the flashes of lightning, and reached a welcome shelter at Point Comfort. They crossed the water that is now called Hampton Roads, and ascended Elizabeth River several miles, to make the acquaintance of the Chesapeakes, but found only a deserted village.

They then sailed up Nansemond River, where the natives were evidently prosperous and appeared to be very friendly. One of them entered the barge and directed them to a pretty island, whereon he showed them his home, with his wife and children. Smith gave them some trinkets, which pleased them; and then, leaving the man at his island home, the barge passed on.

But very soon they found the stream much narrower and saw that they were followed by seven or eight canoes filled with armed Indians. Presently these began shooting at the voyagers, and at the same time there was a flight of arrows from the shore. A volley of musketry caused all the men in the canoes to leap overboard and swim for the shore, and another drove away those on the bank. The voyagers took possession of the abandoned canoes, towed them down the river to a place out of reach of bowshot, and there cut them in pieces. When the Indians witnessed this performance they threw down their weapons and made signs for peace. Captain Smith demanded that they bring him the bow and arrows of the chief, a string of pearls, and four hundred bushels of corn. When they refused these terms, he showed them that he could destroy all their houses and other property. Then they brought the corn, in baskets, and the voyagers

took as much as they could carry. None of them had been hurt in the battle, but nearly a hundred arrows were sticking in their shields.

Leaving these Indians with promises of friendship and good will, the company reached Jamestown early in September. One man had died on the voyage, Richard Featherstone, and was buried on the shore of a bay that they named for him.

CHAPTER XV

Coronation of Powhatan

When the explorers returned to Jamestown they found that — as usual when Captain Smith was absent — the affairs of the colony were in bad shape. Only by the industry of Mr. Scrivener had the crops been gathered, and a large part of the provisions, improperly stored, was spoiled by rain. Some of the colonists were dead, others were ill, no work had been done, and Radcliffe was under arrest for mutiny.

Almost immediately on his return Captain Smith was elected president of the colony. He could not refuse the office now, as it was evident that no other member could conduct it efficiently. He at once began the much-needed works. The storehouse and the church were repaired, the fort was made stronger and changed to "a five-square form," buildings were erected to accommodate the supplies that were soon to come from England, and the night and day watch was reëstablished. Every Saturday he gave the whole company a military drill "in the

plain by the west bulwark." This ground was then named Smithfield. At the Saturday trainings there was always a large attendance of Indian spectators.

The boats were repaired, and Lieutenant Percy was just setting out with a trading party to visit the Monacans when Captain Newport's ship arrived with a cargo of supplies, and seventy persons to be added to the colony. The supplies were very welcome, so were some of the persons, others were not, and something else that Captain Newport brought was least welcome of all. Two of the newcomers were Captain Richard Waldo and Captain Wynne, who had been appointed members of the Council. Smith says they were "two ancient soldiers and valiant gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the business." In the company were two women, the first that joined the colony — Mrs. Forrest and Anne Burras, her maid.

The instructions given to Captain Newport by the London Company were all as unwise as could have been devised; they showed once more the folly of attempting to regulate minutely the affairs of a colony in an unknown land three thousand miles away. First, he had a special commission that authorized him, in certain circumstances, to act independently of the Council. Second, he was

not to return without bringing a lump of gold, a member of Raleigh's lost colony of Roanoke, or news of discovery of a passage to the South Sea. Third, and worst of all, he brought a crown for Powhatan and was commissioned to give that chief costly presents and crown him ceremoniously as a monarch.

Captain Smith's comment is interesting: "How or why Captain Newport obtained such private commission as not to return without a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, I know not; nor why he brought such a five-pieced barge, not to bear us to that South Sea till we had borne her over the mountains, which how far they extend is yet unknown."

Among the company were nearly twenty foreigners, who were to receive wages and were supposed to be experts in manufacturing pitch, tar, glass, millstones, and soap ashes. Smith says these might have been useful after the colony had expanded into something like a state, but in the present circumstances they were simply seventy more men to be fed.

In the meeting of the Council, Captain Smith vainly opposed the projects of crowning Powhatan and carrying a barge in sections over the mountains

to be put together and launched on the shore of the South Sea. His arguments were plain enough, as they dealt with actual conditions; but Newport's promises of the wonderful things he would do, especially in bringing back immense supplies of provisions, overbore all arguments, and the majority voted against Smith. Newport then intimated that Smith merely wished to be himself the commander of the expedition. To this Smith replied that he would go to Powhatan, taking only four men with him — "where Newport durst not go with less than a hundred and twenty" — and ask that chief to come to Jamestown to be crowned and receive the presents. Newport accepted his offer, and Smith set out at once. He went overland to Powhatan's capital, and found that the chief was thirty miles distant. While Smith was waiting for his return, Pocahontas entertained the guests.

They were conducted to an open space, or glade, in the woods and were seated on a mat before a fire. Suddenly they heard a hideous noise of shouting and shrieking in the woods, and, supposing they had been trapped and were about to be murdered, they seized their arms and prepared for a fight. But Pocahontas came forward and assured them that no harm was intended — only a pleasant surprise and entertainment. Then out from the

wood came thirty young women dressed in green leaves, their bodies painted (no two decorated alike), and on the head of each a pair of deer horns. One had an otter skin at her girdle and another on her arm, a bow and arrow in her hand, and a quiver full at her back. Another carried a sword, another a club, and so on, no two the same. Continuing their shouts and shrieks, they formed a ring around the fire, and for an hour danced in a variety of ways and sometimes sang. After this there was a feast, and then by torchlight the visitors were shown to their lodgings.

Powhatan came home the next day, and Smith gave him the Indian whom he had sent to England as his representative, to count the inhabitants. The man had provided himself with a stick and a knife, and began cutting notches for the persons that he saw in the streets of London; but he soon became bewildered and threw up the task. He told Powhatan that the English were as numerous as the leaves on the trees or the sands on the shore.

Captain Smith then delivered his message, inviting Powhatan to go to Jamestown to receive his presents, be crowned, and make arrangements for an expedition against the Monacans. Powhatan assumed a lordly air and answered: "If your King has sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is

my land. I will stay here eight days to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, nor will I bite at such a bait. As for the Monacans, I can revenge my own injuries. As for any salt water beyond the mountains, the stories you have heard from my people are false."

It may be that Powhatan suspected a scheme to trap him; but it appears likely that the main impulse for his speech came from the fact that Newport's treatment had given him an exalted idea of his own importance. Smith carried back this answer, and Newport at once made arrangements to comply with the chief's demands. He sent the presents to Powhatan by water — a hundred miles, while the two captains, with fifty soldiers, marched overland.

Newport made arrangements to have the ceremony as impressive as possible. The guards were drawn up in a square, and the appointed marshals were assigned to their places. The presents consisted of a bedstead and bed covering, a scarlet cloak, and a basin and ewer — what we should call a washbowl and pitcher. These were presented with a show of dignified formality. Powhatan was suspicious of the cloak, and could not be induced to put it on till the Indian who had visited

England assured him that it was harmless. He could not be made to understand that a monarch should kneel to receive his crown, and they were obliged to put their hands on his shoulders and try to force him into the proper attitude. They made him stoop a little, and had to let it go at that. Captain Smith, who had stoutly opposed the unwise scheme for the beginning, must have been amused as well as disgusted by the solemn farce. When a pistol shot announced that the coronation was complete, the men in the boats fired a volley as a military salute to the sovereign. This frightened the venerable king and re-aroused his suspicions; but Newport succeeded in calming him. He returned the great compliment by giving his old moccasins and mantle to Captain Newport, with eight bushels of corn. The captain had expected to receive as much as the boats could carry.

Captain Smith expressed his opinion of the affair in these words: "As for the coronation of Powhatan and the presents of basin, ewer, bedstead, clothes, and such costly novelties, they had much better well spared than so ill spent; for we had his favor much better only for a plain piece of copper, till this stately kind of soliciting made him so much overvalue himself that he respected us as much as nothing at all."

CHAPTER XVI

A Famous Letter

Despite Captain Smith's warnings and objections, Captain Newport insisted on the expedition to discover a route to the South Sea. He set out with a hundred and twenty men, going up the valley of James River, and plunged into the wilderness. They came upon two towns of the Monacans, but could not induce that tribe to let them have any provisions or do the least thing in the way of trading. They found no gold, nor anything worth taking, but brought back something that they imagined to be silver ore. Forty miles of such a march gave them enough of it, then all returned.

Smith now set them all at useful work for producing a cargo to send home to England. Some got pitch and tar, some made glass, some burned wood and made potash, and some went with him into the woods, where he taught them to fell trees and manufacture clapboards. He showed them how to be true lumbermen and sleep in the forest, and they enjoyed it and grew strong. One thing, however, they did not enjoy — using the axes

blistered their hands, and they sometimes grew profane thereby. Smith could not endure this, and he established a novel penalty. At evening, for every oath that a man had uttered that day, a can of cold water was poured down his sleeve.

When Smith and his lumbermen returned to Jamestown he found that, as usual, nothing had been accomplished in his absence. He at once manned the barge, instructed Lieutenant Percy to follow in another, and set out for the Chickahominy to get provisions. When the Indians there refused to let them have any provisions, Smith boldly told them that his main purpose was to take vengeance on them for imprisoning him and murdering his companions. When he landed with his men and charged on them, the savages fled. From a safe distance they sent a quantity of corn, fish, and fowls, and asked to be forgiven and to make peace. This being granted, they loaded both barges to their full capacity with provisions.

On arriving at Jamestown with this precious freight, which the colony sorely needed, Smith found that Radcliffe and Newport had been conspiring to depose him and even keep him out of the settlement. But they soon found, what they might have known, that he was no man to be trifled with, and they gave up. Smith says: "Had not Captain

Newport cried *peccavi*, the president would have discharged the ship and caused him to have stayed one year in Virginia to learn to speak of his own experience." In the Council, Percy, Scrivener, Waldo, and some others stood firmly by Captain Smith. His chief difficulty was the constant peculation by the sailors and soldiers, who stole tools, powder, and shot, and traded with the Indians for furs, baskets, and meat, intending to take the furs and baskets home to England and sell them for a good price.

When the ship was freighted, Captain Smith wrote and sent by her a long letter addressed to the Treasurer and Council of the Plantation, in England. The letter, which sets forth the condition of affairs at Jamestown in a clear and convincing manner, told the home Council a very different story from the representations that had been made to them by Newport. It is one of the most famous letters in English literature. The greater part of it follows: —

"Right Honourable, &c. I received your letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set upon faction, and idle conceits in dividing the country without your consents, and that we feed you but with ifs and ands, hopes and some few proofs; as if we would keep the mystery of the business to

ourselves; and that we must expressly follow your instructions sent by Captain Newport, the charge of whose voyage amounts to near two thousand pounds, the which, if we cannot defray by the ship's return, we are alike to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your pardons if I offend you with my rude answer.

"For our factions, unless you would have me run away and leave the country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would else fly any whither. That we feed you with hopes, &c. — Though I be no scholar, I am past a school-boy; and I desire but to know what either you and these here do know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continual hazard of my life. I have not concealed from you anything I know; but I fear some cause you to believe much more than is true.

"Expressly to follow your directions by Captain Newport, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our commission I was content to be overruled by the major part of the council, I fear to the hazard of us all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Only Captain Winne and Captain Waldo I have sworn of the council, and crowned Powhatan according to your instructions.

"For the charge of this voyage of two or three

thousand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartered boat to be borne by the soldiers over the falls, Newport had 120 of the best men he could choose. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls. But during this great discovery of thirty miles (which might as well have been done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of copper at a seasonable time) they had the pinnace and all the boats with them, but one that remained with me to serve the fort. In their absence I followed the new-begun works of pitch and tar, glass, soap-ashes and clapboard, whereof some small quantities we have sent you. But if you rightly consider what an infinite toil it is in Russia and Swethland, where the woods are proper for naught else, and though there be the help both of man and beast in those ancient commonwealths, which many an hundred years have used it, yet thousands of those poor people can scarce get necessaries to live but from hand to mouth. And though your factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but as many of ignorant miserable souls, that are scarce able to get where-

with to live, and defend ourselves against the inconstant savages; finding here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things else the Russians have. For the coronation of Powhatan—by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this give me leave to tell you, I fear they will be the confusion of us all ere we hear from you again. At your ship's arrival the savages' harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our own not being half sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships-loading of corn Newport promised to provide us from Powhatan, he brought us but fourteen bushels, and from the Monacans nothing but the most of the men sick and near famished. From your ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more than two hundred to live upon this; the one half sick, the other little better. For the sailors (I confess) they daily make good cheer; but our diet is a little meal and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the sea, fowls in the air, and beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wild, and we so weak and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them.

"Captain Newport we must suspect to be the author of those inventions. Now, that you should know, I have made you as great a discovery as he,

for less charge than he spendeth you every meal. I have sent you this map of the bay and rivers, with an annexed relation of the countries and nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good iron ore at the least; so divided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them. The soldiers say many of your officers maintain their families out of that you sent us; and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a year for carrying news. For every master you have yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pounds might be spared, which is more than we have all, that help to pay him wages.

"Captain Radcliffe is now called Sicklemore, a poor counterfeited impostor. I have sent you him home, lest the company should cut his throat. What he is now, every one can tell you: if he and Archer return again they are sufficient to keep us always in factions.

"When you send again I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything.

"Thus, if you please to consider this account, and the unnecessary wages to Captain Newport, or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leave us victuals for twelve months, though we had eighty-nine by this discovery lame and sick, and but a pint of corn a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three hogsheads of that to victual him homeward), or yet to send into Germany or Poland for glass men and the rest, till we be able to sustain ourselves, and relieve them when they come, — it were better to give five hundred pound a tun for these gross commodities in Denmark than send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in overtoiling our weak and unskillful bodies, to satisfy this desire of present profit, we can scarce even recover ourselves from one supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receive, and not stand to the sailors' courtesy to leave us what they please; else you may charge us what you will, but we not you with anything. These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction: but as yet you must not look for any profitable return. So I humbly rest."

CHAPTER XVII

Murderous Plots

There were now two hundred persons in the colony, and more than half of them were incapable of doing anything in the way of raising the desired crops and caring for them. It was necessary to get more from the Indians, but it was learned that Powhatan had instructed his people not to supply the colonists. Those at Nansemond, who had promised Smith four hundred bushels of corn whenever he should visit them, now pretended to have forgotten the promise and said they had no corn to spare. It was only by landing armed men and burning one of their houses, with a threat to destroy the whole village, that he made them keep their promise.

Captain Smith now made up his mind that the only way out of the difficulty was to deal in some effectual way with Powhatan directly. He therefore resolved to surprise him and take possession of all his store of provisions. Just then Powhatan sent a messenger to invite the Captain to visit him,

and he asked for workmen to build him a house like those of the English. He also wanted fifty swords, several guns, and a grindstone, for which he said he would give a shipload of corn.

Smith sent two Englishmen and four Dutchmen to build the house, but no swords or muskets. He then fitted up two barges and the pinnace, and with forty-six men sailed for Werowocomoco in December, 1608. Their first stop was with a friendly tribe, the chief of which gave them provisions and warned them against Powhatan, who, he said, was simply planning to get them into his power and cut their throats. At what is now Hampton they spent Christmas very merrily with a friendly tribe. A little beyond that place they found wild pigeons so plenty that they are said to have killed a hundred and forty-eight with three shots. Perhaps they did.

They arrived at Werowocomoco in the middle of January (1609), and found the river frozen over for half a mile from the shore. It was an unusually hard winter. But they managed to break through the ice, and sent word to Powhatan that they wanted provisions. He responded promptly with a generous quantity, and the next day he received them hospitably, feasted them, and then inquired when they were going to leave. He denied that he

had sent for Smith, and said he had no corn to spare. He might let him have, say forty baskets for forty swords, but no more. When the Captain confronted him with the men by whom he had sent the invitation, the old chief laughed and asked to see what articles Smith had brought. He was not pleased with any of them, said he did not care for copper, he wanted only swords and muskets.

Then followed a debate between the two commanders, which consisted in a series of long speeches saying the same thing over and over again, for both were talking against time. Smith saw plainly enough that Powhatan was dishonest and was planning to entrap him, for the Indians that gathered around were continually increased in number and were pressing closer. The gist of Smith's argument was, that he had always been friendly to Powhatan and had traded fairly with him, while Powhatan had not kept his word and had told the minor chiefs not to let the colonists have anything. The gist of Powhatan's argument was, that if Smith were really friendly he would leave his guns at home; that the sight of them scared his women and made all his people uneasy; and that this was his country and he suspected the English intended to take possession of it.

Smith had but one man with him in the imme-

diate presence of the Indians; eighteen of his men were on the shore, and the others were in the boats. He did not know then, what he learned afterward, that the Dutchmen whom he sent to build Powhatan's house had turned traitors. At the end of the debate, when the savages had completely surrounded the place, Powhatan, leaving some of his women to talk with the Captain, managed to slip through the crowd and disappeared. Smith and his companion, Russell, saw plainly what was coming. Drawing their swords and with their pistols shooting the nearest, they made a passage among the Indians and at the first shot, the nearest tumbled one over another, and the rest quickly fled.

The next day Powhatan sent a man to present a bracelet and a chain of pearls to Captain Smith and deliver an explanatory oration. He said the great number of Indians were there merely to protect the corn from being stolen; that Powhatan still remained friendly and wished him to send away his boats with their load of corn, and send away his guns also. The ebbing of the tide made it necessary for the colonists to stay over one more night, and some of the Indians amused them with the usual songs and dances. When they were gone Pocahontas appeared alone, and told Captain Smith not to attend the feast to which he was

invited, for Powhatan's plan was to fall upon him and his men and murder them all. She also revealed the treachery of the Dutchmen. Then she fled away, as she had come, through the dark forest.

Early next morning the expedition set sail for Jamestown. But Smith, not wishing as yet to proclaim any open rupture with Powhatan, left one man, who was to shoot wild fowl for the chief.

As soon as Smith's company sailed, Powhatan sent two of the Dutchmen overland to Jamestown, who arrived there before the barges. They told Captain Wynne that all was well between Smith and Powhatan, and that Smith had sent them for guns, tools, and clothing, all of which Wynne thoughtlessly gave them. He should have known that Smith would not have sent men on such an extraordinary errand without a written order. It seems as if Captain Smith always had to contend with hostility in front and treachery and stupidity in the rear. Besides the things that the Dutchmen got in this way, they obtained others stealthily by the connivance of some of the sailors, and the Indians who were always lurking around the fort carried them away.

The expedition made several stops to obtain additional supplies. One of these was at the home

of Opecancanough, who planned to murder Captain Smith and the fifteen men who went ashore with him. When warriors to the number of nearly or quite seven hundred had surrounded the little band, Smith addressed the chief in these words: "I see your plot to murder me, but I fear it not. As yet, your men and mine have done no harm. Therefore take your weapons; you see mine. The island in the river is a fit place, if you be contented. There let us two fight it out, and the survivor shall be lord and master over all our men. Let your men bring, each of them, a basket of corn, against all of which I will stake the value in copper, and the conqueror shall take the whole." Opecancanough declined the challenge, denied that he had any hostile intentions, and invited Smith to come to his cabin and receive a valuable present. The Captain knew better than to go alone. Instead, he went with all his men, muskets in hand ready to fire. They entered the house where the chief was to entertain him, the men guarded the doors, and then Smith suddenly seized the chief by the scalp lock, dragged him away from his bodyguard, and putting a loaded pistol to his breast held him till he dropped his weapons and promised to pay tribute. Then, still tightly holding the scalp lock, the Captain addressed the Indians, who had looked on

amazed and intimidated. That their great chief could be handled and humiliated in that manner was a startling revelation to them. "Pamunkees," he said, "I see the great desire you have to kill me. I promised, before the God I serve, to be your friend till you give me just cause to be your enemy. If I keep this vow, my God will keep me, and you cannot harm me. If I break it, He will destroy me. If you shed the blood of any of my men, or steal any of these things that I have brought, I will not cease from revenge so long as one of your nation is left alive. You promised to freight my ship, and you shall do it, or I will load it with your dead bodies. If as friends you come and trade with me, I will not trouble you, and your king shall be free and shall be my friend."

Then they all set to work — men, women, and children — and loaded the boats with provisions. The Captain, being now very tired, lay down for a little sleep. Again it appeared that his men could not be depended upon except when he was with them; for the guards were careless and neglected their duty, and he suddenly woke to find the house full of savages armed with clubs and swords. Springing up, he, with a few of his men, soon drove out the intruders by skillful sword-play.

It happened that while Captain Smith was absent on this expedition Mr. Scrivener planned a trip to an island in the river, the object of which never was known to any but him and his companions. He induced Captain Waldo, Mr. Gosnold, and eight other men to go with him. The weather was fearfully cold, the wind was violent, and the boat was swamped. There was little chance for a long swim in that freezing water, and every man perished. Indians recovered the bodies and brought them to the fort.

It was considered desirable to send the news of this disaster to Captain Smith, who was supposed to be still with Powhatan, and one man, Richard Wyffin, volunteered for the service. He made his way there overland, and at once discovered that Powhatan was preparing for war. To prevent him from going away with this knowledge, the chief arranged to have him killed. But Pocahontas told him of his danger, hid him, sent his pursuers off in a wrong direction, and then showed him the way to travel through the forest till he found Captain Smith. Powhatan had ordered his people to kill Smith, by whatever means, and they tried in vain, all along the shores, to inveigle him into ambush. They also made an attempt to poison him and his company, and almost succeeded.

He sent one of his boats home, and with the other two turned back, intending, by a bold stroke, to capture Powhatan and carry him away a prisoner. But he found that the great chief had abandoned his new house and gone to some unknown place, taking with him all his supplies. Captain Smith then returned to Jamestown, where he landed five hundred bushels of corn and two hundred pounds of venison. For these he had given twenty-five pounds of copper, fifty pounds of iron, and some beads.

CHAPTER XVIII

Discipline

Captain Smith found, on his return, the usual evidences of shiftlessness and lack of thrift. Large numbers of the tools were missing, and the provisions in the storehouse had been allowed to get wet and were rotting. But he had brought enough to last till the next harvest.

He at once put the whole colony under discipline. He divided the men into companies of ten or fifteen, and assigned to each company its special duties. They were required to work six hours a day. To some who complained and were disposed to be mutinous he made an address in which he said: "You see now that power resteth wholly in myself. [He was the only surviving member of the Council.] You must obey this for a law, that he that will not work, unless he is disabled by sickness, shall not eat. The labors of thirty or forty honest and industrious men shall not be consumed to maintain a hundred and fifty idle loiterers." He prepared a register containing every man's name, on which was re-

corded a statement of their daily conduct; and this was kept in a public place, where all could see it.

Despite his vigilance, the stealing of powder and shot, tools, and weapons continued, and he knew that the Dutchmen and the Indians must have confederates inside the fort. The Dutchmen sent one of their number, disguised as an Indian, to confer with some of their confederates on a scheme for capturing or killing Captain Smith. The scheme was suspected, and a party sent out from the fort captured the pretended Indian. While they were doing this, Captain Smith chanced to meet alone the chief of Paspahegh, who was arranging an ambush for him. The chief was a gigantic fellow, but Smith closed with him at once. It was a grapple for life, and was nearly an even match. The savage edged along to the river, hoping to drown his antagonist; but after they had struggled for a time in the water, Smith got a grip of the fellow's throat, and so tightened it that he was forced to give up. With his sword drawn, Smith drove him into the fort, and there put him in chains. The disguised Dutchman also was imprisoned. The chief escaped in a little while. The Dutchman also escaped, or was freed, after Smith left the colony.

Going out to punish the Paspaheghans, for their attempt to ambush and kill him, Captain Smith burned some of their houses, and took away their boats and fishing weirs. When a large body of them came out to oppose him and discovered that it was Smith, when they had expected only to encounter Captain Wynne, they threw down their arms and asked for peace. Their spokesman reminded Smith that if they were friendly the colonists could always get provisions from them; but if he insisted on fighting them and destroying their houses, they would remove to another country and leave that land desolate. They said their chief had been after Wynne, not Smith. Then peace was agreed to.

It happened that an Indian who had stolen a bag of gunpowder and the backpiece of a suit of armor gathered his friends around him to show them how well he understood the white man's weapons. He had seen the soldiers drying wet powder, so he placed his powder on the piece of steel armor and made a fire under it. Presently there was an explosion which killed him and three others. This so frightened the Indians and aroused their superstition that they would have no more to do with such things. They sent back many articles that had been stolen, and Powhatan added many pres-

ents and asked for a permanent peace, which thenceforth was established.

With Captain Smith in complete control of the colony, it thrived at last. Tar, pitch, and potash were produced in large quantities, glass was made, a well was dug from which a supply of excellent water was obtained, fish nets were woven and set in the river, twenty houses were built, the church was repaired, and a blockhouse was put up where no one could visit or leave the fort without passing it and showing a permit signed by the president. Forty acres more were put under cultivation, and the stock of pigs and poultry was increased. Captain Smith made every man work six hours a day, and provided means of rest and entertainment for the other hours.

But their stock of corn, which had been improperly put up in casks, was damaged, and they were obliged to give up for a time some of their industries to supply themselves with fish and game on which to live through the winter. This appeared too hard to some of them, and they became mutinous. Captain Smith punished the ringleader and then made to the others an oration that caused them to submit and settle down to work, and once more they became prosperous.

CHAPTER XIX

A New Charter

While Captain Smith was struggling with these difficulties and bringing the unfortunate colony to its first prosperity, the incompetents who had gone home to England made so many complaints and told such damaging stories about him that a new charter was obtained from the King and a company was organized to take the place of the one whose history we have been following. The charter, which was issued to the Earls of Salisbury, Southampton, Suffolk, Pembroke, and others, bore date May 23, 1609. Lord Delaware was appointed Captain General of the colony, and associated with him were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Sir Thomas Dale, Sir Ferdinando Wainman, and Captain Newport. A large number of titled men and knights joined them, making the whole company about five hundred, who set sail in nine vessels. Gates, Somers, and Newport were each furnished with a commission, and the one that first arrived in Virginia was to be commander, the other two commissions being then worthless.

These three commissioners, not being willing to enter into a race across the ocean, all embarked in the same ship, the *Sea Venture*. It happened that a hurricane drove them upon the Bermuda Islands. All got away soon after the storm except the *Sea Venture*, and seven vessels reached Jamestown; one had foundered.

The story of this wreck was used by Shakespeare for the last play that he ever wrote, "The Tempest," and no other work of his has any connection with the western world. The Bermudas were sometimes called the Somers Isles, from Admiral Somers.

Among the men that came by these ships were several of those with whom Captain Smith had had difficulty and whom he had been glad to see departing for England. Here they were again — Archer, Martin, Radcliffe, and others. This was too much for any patience and any courage. Smith was still president, for the new charter was with those who were wrecked in Bermuda; but he had no heart to attempt doing anything more for the colony, and the men just mentioned took it upon themselves to assume authority and attempt managing governmental affairs. A wild mess they made of it, and then Smith, in consideration for the peaceful and orderly part of the colony, asserted his authority and put the leaders in jail. Then he

separated the newcomers and sent one company of them to the rapids of the James — the present site of Richmond — equipped to establish there a new settlement, while he sent another, under Captain Martin, to Nansemond. Martin got into trouble with the Indians, who overcame him and took away his provisions. And the settlement at the rapids also was a failure.

Captain Smith had already determined to return to England, and was making arrangements to that end, when he became the victim of a serious accident. While he slept in his boat, a bag of powder was exploded by some mischance, and his flesh was badly lacerated. To alleviate the pain he sprang into the river and was in danger of drowning when he was rescued. Everything in Jamestown, from which he had been temporarily absent, was in dire confusion. Wounded as he was, he exerted himself to do something for the colony, while at the same time the mutineers planned his assassination. This would have been accomplished had not the heart of the appointed murderer failed him at the last moment. Smith had stanch friends, who gathered round him and proposed to execute the conspirators; but the Captain forbade.

After doing what he could for the safety of the settlement, Captain Smith placed the government

in the hands of Mr. Percy, and sailed for England in the autumn of 1609. He left in the colony four hundred and ninety persons; when the commissioners who had been wrecked in the *Sea Venture* arrived at Jamestown, in the spring of 1610, in two vessels they had built, they found but sixty alive. The colonists, persisting in their disregard of Smith's instructions and entreaties, had taken no pains to secure crops, relying upon the Indians for supplies; and when Smith was gone the Indians refused. A company commanded by Samuel Argall, bribing an Indian with a copper kettle, managed to capture Pocahontas and take her to Jamestown, where they held her for several months to induce Powhatan to ransom her with an abundant supply of corn and a return of all the firearms and tools. But that great chief refused. While Pocahontas was in captivity at Jamestown she was converted to Christianity and received in baptism the name Rebecca. There also she met John Rolfe, an Englishman, who fell in love with her, and there in April, 1613, with Powhatan's approval they were married. In 1616 they visited England, where she was well entertained and was called Lady Rebecca. Captain Smith wrote a long letter to the Queen, bespeaking a cordial reception for Mrs. Rolfe (Pocahontas), and setting

forth her admirable character and valuable services. In it he gave this testimony: "When her father sought to surprise me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence with her best advice to escape his fury, which, had he known, he had surely slain her. Jamestown, with her wild train, she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion."

Pocahontas was received at court and was made much of by some families of the nobility. At this time Shakespeare's friend, Ben Jonson, who a little later was made poet laureate, was accustomed to write the masques (spectacular plays) which were enacted before the court at Christmas. At the one for Christmas, 1616, Pocahontas was the guest of the queen. An unpleasant episode of her stay in England was her meeting with Captain Smith. He regarded her, and knew she was so regarded by the king, as the daughter of an emperor, and he also knew that King James was a stickler for even the smallest royal prerogative. Hence he was afraid to seek her in London, lest it might appear that he was using his friendship

Courtesy of The Century Co.

POCAHONTAS.

(Known as the Rolfe portrait.)

with her to thrust himself into the court circles. Pocahontas did not understand this; and when Smith called on her at Branford she sorrowfully turned away, and a little later chided him for his neglect of her. He writes: "She remembered [reminded] me well what courtesies she had done, saying: 'You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be 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 do you' — which, though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter. With a well set countenance she said: 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's country and cause fear in him and all his people except me, and fear you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman.'" So spoke this loyal friend to Captain John Smith and his colonists. In June, 1617, as she was about to embark for America, she was taken ill and died. Her son, Thomas Rolfe, became a noted man in Virginia. John Randolph of Roanoke was one of his descendants.

Captain Smith spent four and a half years in England, and published his "Map of Virginia, with Description and Appendix," in 1612.

CHAPTER XX

New Ventures

While we have little direct testimony as to Captain Smith's life during those four or five years in England, there are some things that we can readily infer. His first care must have been to keep quiet and have his wounds attended to by a skillful physician. This would take some time. From the fact that the Virginia Company had been re-chartered and given to a new set of directors, we may know that there was nothing more for him there. So many complaints had been carried home by the discontented among the colonists and those whom he had had occasion to oppose or discipline, that it was quite natural for the owners in London to think a change was required. How unwise, or at least unfortunate, this action was, may be seen from a very few facts. As has been told above, Captain Smith had at last produced order and industry at Jamestown, and he left the colony with nearly five hundred persons; yet, from lack of his energy and skill, when the

Sea Venture arrived with the new governors, only sixty remained alive. And the continual changes in the next six years tell a plain story of inefficiency. Mr. Percy gave up the command to Sir Thomas Gates, who in turn gave it up to Lord Delaware, he to Percy again, he to Sir Thomas Dale, he to Gates again, he to Dale again, and he to George Yearley. Their relations with the Indians became so hostile that they suffered from fire and massacre, and could get no provisions from them. The anger of Powhatan was so roused that Pocahontas had no longer any influence in favor of the colonists.

Despite all the complaints against Smith, and all his misfortunes, he had many earnest friends and admirers. When he was restored to health, he succeeded in forming a company of four London merchants, for another venture across the stormy Atlantic. When we consider that down to Smith's time, more than a century after the discovery of America, the vessels in which such expeditions put to sea would appear ridiculously small to us, we are reminded of Clough's rollicking verses: —

"How in heaven's name did Columbus get over,
Is a pure wonder to me, I protest —
Cabot and Raleigh too, that well-read rover,
Frobisher, Dampier, Drake, and the rest.
Bad enough all the same

For them that after came;
But, in great heaven's name,
How he should ever think
That on the other brink
Of this wild waste Terra Firma should be
Is a pure wonder, I must say, to me."

Captain Smith's friends, the four merchants, fitted out two vessels and in March, 1614, sent him out on a trading voyage to the coast that was then called North Virginia. They must have had strong faith in Smith's abilities, for they did this with knowledge of the fact that seven years before the Plymouth Company had sent a colony to the coast of Maine, which was given up after the experience of one winter, and the colonists brought back most doleful stories of the coast, the savages, and the climate.

Smith and his men were to fish for whales at sea, and look for mines of gold, silver, and copper on shore. He had little expectation of finding any mines — remembering his experience in Virginia — but he did think to take whales. In this he was disappointed. He says they saw many whales, and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any. They then fished for cod and traded with the Indians for furs. Eighteen of his men, fishing a month, took sixty thousand cod. Smith,

with eight men, went up and down the coast in an open boat, landing at various points, and by trading with the Indians obtained more than ten thousand beaver skins, and a few hundred of marten, otter, and others. Also he made a map of the coast and took notes of all the information he could obtain concerning the country. It was called by the various names North Virginia, Canada, Pemaquid, and Nurembega; but he gave it the name New England, which it retains to this day. Probably the Pilgrims, who, six years later, crossed the Atlantic and settled in Massachusetts, availed themselves, as far as possible, of Smith's information. It is notable that at this time he cherished no plan of colonization — he had had enough of that at Jamestown. He was looking only to the opportunities for profitable trading. When he arrived in England, after an absence of six months, he landed a cargo that was sold for £1500, which was worth about as much as $35,000 in our day — a fair return for the venture.

Captain Smith returned to England with only one of the vessels. The other he left with Captain Thomas Hunt, ordering him to carry his cargo of fish to Spain and sell them there. But here again Smith had his usual ill luck. It appears to have been impossible for any of his subordinates to obey

his orders when they were out of his sight. Instead of simply following Smith's instructions, Captain Hunt managed to get twenty-four Indians on board, made them prisoners, and then sailed away for Spain, where in the port of Malaga he sold them as slaves. Up to this time the Indians along the New England coast had been very friendly with European voyagers, eager to trade with them, and helpful in various ways. Such treachery as Hunt's went a long way toward changing the dusky friends into cruel and cunning enemies, and Hunt's act probably added materially to the dangers and sufferings of the Pilgrims who came after him.

Captain Smith presented his map and his narrative to Prince Charles (afterward King Charles I), and asked that the new names he had given to the various places indicated on the map might be made official and permanent. What is now Cape Ann he wished to call Cape Tragabigzanda, for the lady who had befriended him in Turkey; and what is now Cape Cod he would name Cape James, for the king. The group of islands off the coast of New Hampshire he named Smith's Isles, but they are now known as the Isles of Shoals. On one of these islands there is a small monument to his memory. Whatever answer

Prince Charles gave concerning the place names is not recorded; but the formation or development of a language never has been within the power of royalty — at least, not to any extent, though in our own day the Russian emperor has changed St. Petersburg to Petrograd.

When Captain Smith returned to England from his fishing voyage he landed at Plymouth, and thereby came misfortune to him. He talked too freely of his experiences, and the Plymouth Company engaged him for another voyage. This displeased the London Company, who thought he should have remained with them. The South Virginia Company took advantage of the information so thoughtlessly given, and quickly sent out an expedition of four vessels, under a Captain Cooper (after Captain Smith had declined the command), bound for the newly discovered fishing grounds. Smith tells that he strove to bring together in one organization the London Company and the Plymouth Company, "because the Londoners have most money, and the western men are most proper for fishing; and it is near as much trouble, but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth than from Plymouth to New England. Yet by no means could I prevail, so desirous were they both to be lords of this fishing."

The Plymouth Company had promised to furnish Smith with four vessels, these to be ready to sail by Christmas. But when he came down from London to Plymouth at that time, the vessels were not ready, and the company had lost enthusiasm for the enterprise. Smith had brought six friends who were to sail with him, and also all the money he could raise (about a thousand dollars), and he set to work at once to carry out the scheme. He put all his money into it, accumulated supplies for the voyage, and engaged men. By this means and with the help of friends, he fitted out two vessels — one of two hundred tons and one of fifty — and included in his company were sixteen persons who intended to settle in New England and found a colony. Captain Smith had now got back to his old favorite idea of colonizing and thus securing the new land for his own country. He declared emphatically that he would not spend any more time in fishing or exploration till he could go with a company for a plantation. In one of his wisest passages he had written on this subject: —

"It was the Spaniards' [meaning the early explorers] good luck to happen in parts [Mexico and Peru] where such was the number of people as to enable them so to improve the earth that it afforded food at all seasons. And time had brought

their arts to so much perfection as to give them the free use of gold and silver, together with most of those commodities which the country was able to afford. What the Spaniards got was chiefly the spoil and pillage of the people, and not the labors of their own hands. But we chanced in a land even as God made it, where we found only an idle, improvident, and scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold and silver, and careless of anything but from hand to mouth. Nothing was here to encourage us but what nature afforded. And this could not be brought to recompense our pains, defray our charges, and satisfy our adventurers, until we could discover [explore] the country, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civil and industrious, and teach them trades, so that the fruits of their labors might make us some return; or until we could plant such colonies of our own, whose first necessity would be to make provision how to live themselves."

Captain Smith here shows that he had a broad and just view of the whole situation in America. But probably he did not dream that it would require more than two centuries to subdue the North-American Indians and make them civil and industrious. From the beginning of history there have been prophecies based on forecasts as wise as

Smith's; but it is a notable fact that nearly every prophecy has waited longer for its fulfillment than anybody supposed it would.

The two vessels sailed from Plymouth in March, 1615; but when about three hundred miles out they were struck by a violent storm and lost sight of each other. One of them went through the gale without serious damage and made a profitable voyage. But the one that Captain Smith commanded in person was used very roughly. Her masts were snapped off and she leaked so badly that the crew had to be kept constantly at the pumps. She could hardly have been seaworthy at the beginning. They rigged up a jury mast — that is, one for temporary use — and managed to get back to Plymouth. They must have been good sailors to get into that harbor with a ship in such condition; for the dangerous Eddystone rocks lay directly in their path, and the famous lighthouse had not yet been built on them.

Nothing ever daunted Captain Smith, and he at once looked for another vessel. He found one of sixty tons, and with thirty men he sailed once more, on June 24, 1615.

He encountered on the high sea a piratical vessel twice as large as his own, which carried thirty-six guns, while he had only four. His officers begged

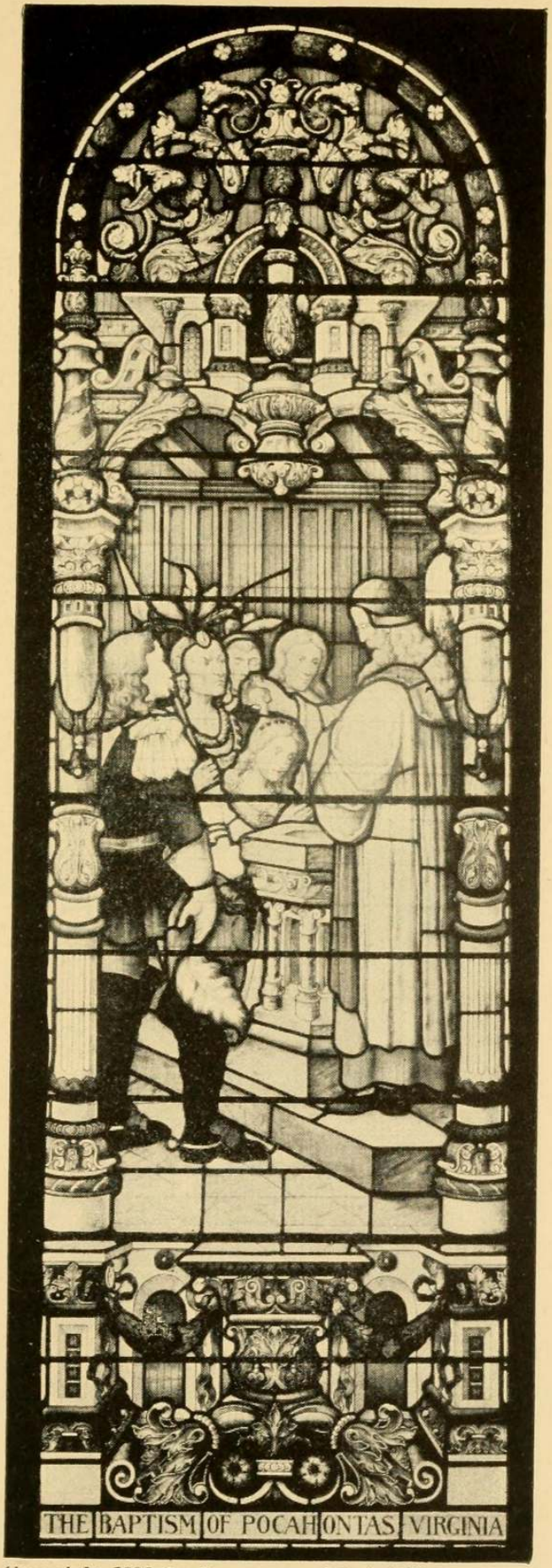
of him to surrender, as they thought a refusal would be answered by a broadside that would send them to the bottom. But Captain Smith was not the man to surrender; he determined to fight at all hazards. However, when the vessels had approached near enough, some of the leaders among the pirates recognized Smith and offered him the command of their ship. Some of the crew were mutinous, they were short of provisions, and they had little hope of any restoration of harmony among them. The officers were not equal to their task. Captain Smith did not care to give up his expedition for the command of a ship in such a deplorable condition, and therefore they parted company.

Some days later he encountered two more pirate vessels. These were French. His men were even more frightened than before, and refused to work the guns. They thought that with two antagonists they would only meet certain destruction if they fired a shot. But Smith had not lost his old habit of determination. He lighted a torch and told his crew that unless they stood by manfully for a fight he would set fire to the magazine and blow up the ship, rather than surrender to any pirate. Then they went to the guns and gave the pirates one volley after another, while at the same time

they sailed away from them as fast as they could. After a long running fight, Smith won the race and escaped with little damage.

Misfortunes never come singly, says the old adage. Smith had not been long out of sight of the pirates when he was chased and captured by four French men-of-war. He went aboard the flagship and showed his papers, which proved his vessel to be neither piratical nor Spanish — the kind that the French cruisers were searching for. Nevertheless, for a few days they held him as a prisoner, robbed his vessel, and took his crew into their own. Then, for some unknown reason, they returned everything to him, and he was about to resume his voyage when he was asked to go aboard the flagship again. This he did, and while he was there a strange sail came in sight and at once all the French vessels gave chase, leaving Smith's vessel far behind and at last out of sight.

His going aboard the flagship the second time was the result of a trick played by two of his officers. They had been discontented and insubordinate from the beginning almost, and they told the French commander privately that when their vessels should arrive on the banks of Newfoundland Smith would take his revenge on the French fishermen there. He was kept on the French man-of-war all summer,



POCAHONTAS MEMORIAL WINDOW,
ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMPTON.

Contributed in part by the Indian
Pupils of Hampton Institute.

and he learned that she was as much a pirate as a naval cruiser. To comfort himself as well as to improve the time, he there wrote a history of his voyage to New England and a description of that country so far as he had explored it. This was published in London the next year (1616).

Whenever the ship was fighting with a Spanish ship, Captain Smith was called upon to take part, which he did. But when an English ship was encountered he was not only excused from fighting his own countrymen but was confined as a prisoner — probably because of fear that he might in some way betray the ship into their hands, or damage something, instead of assisting.

The French admiral had promised to release him at the Azores, but did not do so. There was another opportunity to land him when the ship was near Rochelle, but still it was not done. He was accused of burning a French settlement in America — which was really done, not by him, but by Captain Argall — and was treated so harshly that he determined to escape by one means or another. On a dark, stormy night he got into the boat and cut loose from the ship. He had only a handspike for an oar, and, despite every effort, a current or the tide carried him out to sea. But at the end of twelve hours the tide and the wind

both turned and he was driven ashore on a little island. Here he might have perished from cold and hunger, but next day he was discovered and rescued by "certain fowlers" — men who were hunting sea birds. Meanwhile the French ship had been driven ashore in the storm, and her captain and many of her crew were drowned.

Captain Smith pawned the boat in which he had escaped, and thus raised money to get to Rochelle. There he placed before the naval court his complaint against the officers who had captured and held him, and his story was corroborated by some of the survivors of the wrecked man-of-war. He received fair promises, but no real redress, even when he sought the aid of the English ambassador. Perhaps this was because the judge considered the fact that those who could tell the other side of the story — if it had any other side — had all perished in the wreck and could not be there to defend themselves. Smith says that from the wreck goods came ashore and were saved, of a value that in our day would be equal to about $90,000 of our money. He made a claim on this, as damages for his arrest and detention, but could not get anything. He also says that the French man-of-war, pretending to be only in pursuit of Spaniards (who prevented French trade in the West Indies), really

acted as a pirate and captured any valuable prize of whatever nation. Our knowledge of sea manners in those days makes his story very probable.

By chance he met an old friend named Crampton, who readily assisted him in his need; and by Smith's handsome appearance and good manners he gained a new and helpful friend. This was a lady, Madame Chanoyes, of Rochelle. No doubt, when he met this lady, his charms of person and manner were greatly heightened by the story of his adventures — exactly as in the case of Othello, who says: —

"I ran it [the story] through, even from my boyish days,
Wherein I spake of most disastrous chances,
Of moving accidents by flood and field,
Of hairbreadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach,
Of being taken by the insolent foe
And sold to slavery. . . . This to hear
Would Desdemona seriously incline."

CHAPTER XXI

Smith's Last Years

When Captain Smith got back to Plymouth he found that his mutinous crew, to justify themselves before the authorities, had fixed up a story to the effect that they parted from him because they found that he intended to become a pirate and make pirates of the whole ship's company, and they, of course, were too honest to consent to this! They little dreamed that he would ever appear again in England. He tells us that he succeeded in having the leaders imprisoned, and some of the others confessed the truth.

Smith planned another voyage to New England, and he traveled widely in England distributing two of his books that treated of the trans-Atlantic country, hoping to arouse sufficient interest in his scheme to command the necessary money for its expense. Though at one time he was promised a fleet of twenty ships, he never received any of them and never sailed again. But those who made that promise gave him the title of Admiral of

New England. There were chartered companies in London that received many copies of his books and could easily have afforded to furnish him with all that he asked for. Some of them made offers on condition of receiving the greater part of the abundant plunder which they supposed would be taken from the Indians. But Captain Smith, who never had gone out to seek plunder, rejected such offers at once. He had made known the value of the fisheries and shown the way to them. That value is so great that they have been the subject of important treaties between the United States and England. Of his enterprises and adventures he says: "They have been to me as children; they have been my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and, in total, my best content." And again he writes: "In neither of these two countries have I one foot of land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two countries shared before me by them that neither have them nor know them but by my descriptions, yet that doth not so much trouble me as to hear and see these contentions and divisions which will hazard if not ruin the prosperity of Virginia if present remedy be not found."

This was emphatically true. The mismanagement of Smith's successors at Jamestown had won them the intense hatred of the Indians; and Powhatan's successor, Opecancanough, a very able chief, planned a conspiracy very like that of Pontiac a century and a half later. The most important part of Pontiac's scheme was frustrated by an Indian girl who warned the English of it; but in Virginia there was now no Pocahontas to perform that service, and four hundred of the settlers were massacred. Captain Smith offered to go again to Virginia and subdue the Indians and secure the safety of the colony, if he could be furnished with the necessary means and one hundred and thirty good men well armed. He intended to instruct them and use them as wood rangers. But his offer was not accepted, and after a few years there was another massacre and five hundred colonists perished.

If any of us still have an inclination to discount the story of Captain Smith's abilities and achievements, let us listen to one good witness who cannot be impeached. In 1612 Richard Pots, Clerk of the Council of Jamestown, wrote thus of Captain Smith: "What shall I say? — but thus we lost him that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide and experience his second; ever hating

baseness, sloth, pride and indignity more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himself than his soldiers with him; that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself; that would never see us want what he either had or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay; that loved actions more than words, and hated falsehood and cozenage worse than death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose loss our deaths."

He spent his remaining years, till he died, in London, June 21, 1631, in writing books, of which he published nine, some of them being partly repetitions and enlargements of earlier ones. These include "A Sea Grammar," which attained a high reputation, and "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," which was published the year that he died. He was a somewhat clumsy writer; but he always had a story to tell, and if he had had command of a good literary style his works might be not only classic but popular to this day. He sometimes attempted poetry as well. His best poem, which is entitled "The Sea-Mark," is, perhaps, better than some that were written by his famous contemporary poets. This, his swan song, hints at his loneliness, his mistakes, his hardships, and his hope of final reward.

The Sea-Mark

Aloof, aloof, and come not near!
The dangers do appear
Which, if my ruin had not been,
You had not seen.
I only lie upon this shelf
  To be a mark to all
  Which on the same may fall,
That none may perish but myself.

If in or outward you be bound,
Do not forget to sound.
Neglect of that was cause of this
To steer amiss.
The seas were calm, the wind was fair,
  That made me so secure,
  That now I must endure
All weathers, be they foul or fair.

The winter's cold, the summer's heat,
Alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue
Because too true
That no relief can ever come.
  But why should I despair,
  Being promised so fair
That there shall be a Day of Doom?

INDEX

Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library