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*A True Discourse of the
Present State of Virginia*

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A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia

By RALPH HAMOR

*Reprinted from the London edition, 1615
with an introduction by A. L. Rowse*

1957

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PREFATORY NOTE

“THE final achievement of the Elizabethan Age, its most enduring monument,” declares A. L. Rowse, “is the English expansion overseas.” The Jamestown Colony was the first long, lasting step in this expansion, with its decisive importance for the shaping of the modern world. Ralph Hamor’s *True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* is a revealing and appealing document in our record of it.

As the foremost twentieth-century historian of Elizabethan England, A. L. Rowse is particularly fitted to introduce Hamor’s tract to a modern audience. In *The England of Elizabeth* he traces much of the background of the founding of America. In *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* he tells in more detail how the exploration and colonization of North America was truly an Elizabethan adventure involving not only England’s actual colonists but also those very real adventurers at home—those merchants, ministers and noblemen who ventured financially in the Colony—and even the Queen herself. For his brief introduction to Hamor’s pamphlet he has exercised again his indefatigable energies for research to discover in old wills new information concerning Hamor. But A. L. Rowse is not an historian to bog down in detail, however new or interesting. “The power to marshal the facts,” as the *Times Literary Supplement* wrote in reviewing *The Expansion of Elizabethan England*, “to keep the reader alert, which makes Dr. Rowse an outstanding narrative historian in a time much dominated by historical technicians, is combined with a rare and uninhibited psychological insight.” His style, as always, is enthusiastic, vivacious, bringing to his subject through his quiet exuberance a real sense of the timelessness of history, bring-

ing "to its examination," as the *New Yorker* magazine has written of him, "a wit, a vigor, and a sense of perspective that are altogether satisfying."

Hamor's *True Discourse* was first published in London in 1615 by William Welby. Though not primarily a promotional piece, it served a propagandistic purpose in addition to giving the public news from the Colony. In being issued by William Welby it was given unofficial status as speaking for the Virginia Company since, from 1609 through 1613, Welby had published a half dozen other tracts favorable to the Colony: Robert Gray's *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609), William Crashaw's *A Sermon . . .* (1610), Lord Delaware's *Relation* (1611), Robert Johnson's *The New Life of Virginea* (1612), Silvester Jourdain's *A Plaine Description of the Bermudas* (1613), and Alexander Whitaker's *Good Newes from Virginia* (1613).

Hamor's pamphlet was issued in two printings in the year of its publication. It is here reprinted from a copy of the original issue. The single variation in text occurs on page 60 where, for the present lines beginning "But I much more muse . . ." to the catchword for the page, the pamphlet in its second state reads:

Sir Thomas Dale (vith vvhom I am) is a man of great knowledge in Diuinity, and of a good conscience in all his doings: both which bee rare in a martiall man. Euery Sabbath day wee preach in the forenoone, and Chatechize in the afternoone. Euery Saturday night I exercise in Sir Thomas Dales house. Our Church affaires bee consulted on by the Minister, and foure of the most religious men. Once euery moneth wee haue a Communion, and once ayeer a solemn Faft For me, though my promis of 3 yeers service to my country be expired, yet I will abide in my vocation.

Hamor's account was reprinted in Levinus Hulsius's *Sammlung von Sechs und Zwanzig Schiffahrten in verscheidene fremde Länder durch Levinus Hulsium und eine andere, aus dem Holländischen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit allerhand Anmerkungen versehen* (Nürnberg, Franckfort, Oppenheim, and Hanover, 1598-1650; 26 pts. in 69 v.) as part thirteen: *Ein Warhafftiger und Grundtlicher Bericht von dem jtzigen Zustandt der Landtschafft Virginien*. Hulsius's translated edition substitutes a new note to the reader for Hamor's prefatory material and adds as plates engravings by George Keller of John Smith's map of New England and four illustrations: Pocahontas being persuaded to go aboard the English ship, the conference between the English and the Indians at Matchcot, Captain Argall at the seat of the Chickahominies, and Ralph Hamor visiting Powhatan. Hamor's narrative was included in part ten of Theodore DeBry's collection known as the *Great Voyages*, in German in 1618 and in Latin in 1619. In DeBry's version the appended letters from Dale, Whitaker and Rolfe are omitted, but the same events are illustrated, though from different engravings. Considerable portions of the narrative are incorporated into John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Islands* (1624). It has been reprinted as a unit only once, at Albany in 1860 in an edition of two hundred copies for Dr. Charles Gorman Barney, then Treasurer of the Virginia Historical Society, from a copy of the second issue at that time in the library of the Society.

It is here reprinted from a copy of its first issue in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Virginia State Library is grateful to the Huntington Library for its cooperation in making this reprint possible. It is proud to present the new edition of this important, but too little known, source for the early history of Virginia to a

new audience in the three-hundred-fiftieth anniversary year of the founding of Jamestown. A knowledge of Hamor's little book does much to create an understanding of the hardships which beset the Colonists and the promise which lighted these first Virginians.

R.B.H.

January 1957

INTRODUCTION

“THE eyes of all Europe are looking upon our endeavors to spread the gospel among the heathen people of Virginia, to plant an English nation there and to settle a trade in those parts.” Thus wrote Sir Walter Cope in recommending the Virginia enterprise to the nation in 1610. He was a Puritan, and the second and third objectives were to prove more important historically than the first. A couple of decades after the first Elizabethan attempts at peopling North America, circumstances were far more propitious. The long war with Spain, which had indeed been fought partly to that end, was over; capital resources, no less than individual energies, which had been consumed by it were now free to carry forward the work of founding what was to become the greatest nation in the world.

The country's honour, many people felt, was engaged by the task. And to read the names of the Adventurers for Virginia, those supporting the enterprise with their money or their credit, is like hearing a roll-call of the most active and forward elements in the society of the last years of Shakespeare. There they all are, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Shakespeare's own patrons—the Earls of Southampton, Pembroke and Montgomery—through a good proportion of the peerage and knightage, including many names with distant reverberations, for there are Cromwells and Cecils, Chamberlains and Lord North alongwith the Spencer ancestor of the Churchills; from Anglican bishops alongside of Puritans and Catholics, and famous figures in the life of London down to an obscure Cornish squire like William Roscarrock, living there on the Atlantic coast hard by Padstow Haven. Everybody who was anybody seems to have

been in it, except the poets—and they as usual were out of cash.

But the backbone of the support, the driving force of the movement, came from the commercial middle class, mainly of London, led by the indefatigable energies, the resources and the vision of the greatest figure among her trading magnates—Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor of both the East India and the Muscovy Companies, Treasurer and head of the Virginia Company. Of these elements none was more characteristic than the Hamors, nor in the event more valuable, for they not only gave financial backing to the endeavour but devoted their lives to it. I am happy to be able to throw a little more light on the author of this interesting tract, to aid in rescuing from oblivion the almost forgotten name of one who deserved well of Virginia.

Ralph Hamor the younger was the second son of Ralph Hamor, the leading figure among the Merchant Taylors in his time and sometime warden of the Company. The father was a considerable investor in East India stock and one of the most reliable backers of the Virginia Company. He adventured first £50 for himself and £25 for his children, the largest sum among the Merchant Taylors. At the time of his death he had adventured £133.6.5, and his younger son £25. (The usual share was £12.10.)

The elder Hamor died in 1615, leaving a will that testifies to the generosity of his disposition as well as to the prosperity of his condition. It was witnessed by Milton's father in his familiar role as scrivener. Hamor wished to be buried "within the parish church of St. Nicholas Acon where I was born, nigh the place where my father lieth or near the place where my wife lieth." This was his first wife, mother of his children. He left one third of his estate to his second wife, and another third to two daughters and Ralph, who was to receive £200 besides. His elder son Thomas had already re-

ceived £2,400 from his father and made no success in life. He accompanied his brother to Virginia later, had a narrow escape in the massacre of 1622, was reported very sick in 1623 and was dead, it seems, by 1624. The rest of the will is taken up with generous—it may be, too generous—legacies for public purposes: to Merchant Taylors', Clothworkers', Silkweavers' Companies, to Christ's Hospital, the parishes and the poor where he lived. When his widow died in 1617 she left £10 each to her step-sons Thomas and Ralph.

These boys would certainly have gone to Merchant Taylors' School, where Edmund Spenser preceded them a generation earlier. It seems that Ralph went on to Oxford for a short spell, for a Ralph Hamor of London was admitted to Brasenose College in 1605, matriculated in 1606 at the age of seventeen and left without taking a degree. But the Latinized prose of the *True Discourse* is that of an educated man and I feel sure that this Ralph Hamor is our man. He refers to himself in the tract, written in 1614, as "young in years and knowledge," and this would make him the not improbable age of twenty-five at that time.

The Colony was planted in 1607, but it was the second charter of 1609 that gave it permanency and in this instrument young Hamor is named. He sailed in the largest of the expeditions, that of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was wrecked with them on Bermuda in the hurricane of which the *Tempest* was a by-product and is our constant reminder, and so landed in Virginia with Gates in May 1610. He spent the next four years there, for some part of that time acting as a clerk to the Council. In June 1614 he sailed for home with Captain Argall, and arrived in July. Next year he published his *Discourse* in London. He remained there for more than a year after his father's death and received his legacy, which he turned to use for his purposes in Virginia. In January 1617 Hamor had eight shares

of land allotted him by the Virginia Company and was allowed a bill for £62.10 for transporting five persons at £12.10 each. Thomas Hamor was allowed £50 for transporting four. Presumably Ralph was responsible for engaging his less energetic brother's interest in Virginia and took him back with him when he sailed in March 1617, transporting sixteen persons under his charge, and arriving in May.

The next we hear of the brothers is in connexion with the general massacre concerted by the Indians in March 1622. Ralph Hamor's servant Browne had been sent to live among the Warascoyacks and learn their language—on the opposite bank of the river from Jamestown, some way down; Browne was sent back with a friendly message to Hamor, to put him off the scent, only two days before the outbreak. The account in Smith's *General History of Virginia* tells us that Thomas Hamor was at that moment in the Warascoyack country: "here the savages with many presents and fair persuasions feigned they came from Captain Ralph Hamor to go to their king then hunting in the woods." The Indians set fire to a tobacco-house and Hamor's men coming to quench it were ambushed and had their brains beaten out. Thomas Hamor barricaded himself in a house there, from which he managed to get away with twenty-two people, mostly women and children, leaving the house burning. "Captain [Ralph] Hamor all this while not knowing anything, coming to his brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the king, meeting the savages chasing some, yet escaped, retired to his new house then a-building; there only with spades, axes and brickbats he defended himself till the savages departed."

In this crisis of the Colony's existence we find Captain Hamor much relied on by the Council to execute the measures necessary. (He owed his title of Captain to the organ-

ization introduced by Gates, when the Colony's manpower was divided into bands of fifteen, each under a captain.) By now he was himself a member of the Council. On 15 April he was given a commission from the Governor to exercise absolute command in all matters of war over the people in Martin's Hundred; four days later he was to bring away all the people and their goods from Warascoyack up to Jamestown. The massacre had disorganized the Colony's food supplies, and in May Hamor was sent in command of the *Tiger* into the Bay to get corn from the Indians by trade or by force; and again in October he was sent on a similar mission into the Potomac and elsewhere in the Bay, for "by the treachery of the Indians we have been hindered this present year from such quantities of corn growing of our own as might suffice our present necessities."

In October of that year Hamor's letter was read to the Company in London reciting events since the Massacre, the retaliation upon the Indians, the burning of their towns, the alliance with the King of Potomac against the hostile Opo-chankano who had been chiefly responsible for the massacre, the resolution of Governor and Council to make war on him, "hoping to clear the country of him this winter, settling the country in better estate than before." And, in effect, this is what came about: no longer any need to exercise restraint in regard to the Indians and their lands, the colonists were free to take the best and go ahead as numbers and trade increased.

As for Hamor, we find George Sandys writing in April 1623, somewhat querulously, "Captain Hamor is miserably poor and necessity will enforce him to shift." It did not: he hung on, though in September he is reported as sick. That winter the Governor sent him out once more into the Bay to enforce corn-supplies, "out of the certain knowledge and good opinion which I conceive of Captain Hamor for

managing of an employment of such consequence." All the rest we know of him is that he married a widow, Elizabeth Clements, and that in 1626 he died: he would be about thirty-seven, worn out by the hardships and endurances of such a life. *Alget*, indeed, *qui non ardet*—the motto he placed on the title-page of his *Discourse*, the work of his youth.

It is a pity he did not live longer, to enjoy retirement and some ease; for with his scholarly standards, his pious devotion to truth, his justice of mind, he might have given us a History of Virginia to set beside, and check, John Smith's. What he has left us, his *Discourse*, is chiefly known by the fragment of it embedded in Smith. It makes there a somewhat surprising appearance, for its tone is quite different, as Hamor's temper of mind—subdued, pious, different, objective—is different from Smith's intensely personal, rumbustious vitality. We know, all the better, how much more Hamor may be trusted.

Hamor's *Discourse* gives us a reliable account of events in the Colony from his arrival there in 1610 to his departure in June 1614. We know the condition of affairs on his arrival, the discords and lack of any discipline during the first years, the slacking and idleness, famine and disease, the Colony almost at an end, ready to give over. "When our people were fed out of the common store and laboured jointly in the manuring of the ground and planting corn, glad was that man that could slip from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a general business would not take so much faithful and true pains in a week as now he will do in a day; neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them, by which means we reaped not so much corn from the labours of twenty men as three men have done for themselves." Well, of course.

He indicates the measures taken by Gates and Dale to put the Colony on a proper footing of private ownership, effective discipline and organization. He tells us the story of Pocahontas's retention as a pledge for the Englishmen held by her father Powhatan and of the growth of mutual love between her and John Rolfe, her christening and their marriage. All was above-board, and Rolfe—with whom Hamor was on good terms of friendship—was anxious to have everything in order. Much as they were all under the influence of the Old Testament experience ever-present to their minds, themselves Israelites journeying into a land of Canaan, John Rolfe was very conscious of God's heavy displeasure upon the sons of Levi and Israel for marrying strange wives. Himself had been "no way led (so far forth as man's weakness may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnal affection, but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our country, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbelieving creature, Pocahontas. To whom my hearty and best thoughts are and have a long time been so entangled and enthralled in so intricate a labyrinth that I was even awearied to unwind myself thereout." So now we know: John Rolfe, like many another, found marriage the only way out. And that all was in order may be witnessed by the letter Hamor published, in addition to Rolfe's defense of himself, from Alexander Whitaker the minister, as a kind of testimonial. Here then is the true story of Pocahontas, in fact and without romancing.

The marriage led to peace with Powhatan and Hamor was writing in the atmosphere of *détente* and good relations. He goes on to describe the alliance with the Chickahominies, the laying out of Jamestown and Henrico, the first steps in tobacco-growing which were to have such consequences—here too the experimenting Rolfe was first in the field. The

little book concludes with a fascinating description of a journey to Powhatan, a most convincing portrait of the native chief, shrewd, well worthy of his position, full of diplomacy, not unsympathetic. Hamor depicts the favourable prospects of the country, teeming with fish, fowl, animals, the fruits of the earth, the fertility of the soil, the plenty awaiting those willing to labor, again with Elizabethan factuality and conviction. For this is not promoters' literature; though Hamor wrote to answer detractors and reproach those who were backward "in the pursuit of honorable enterprises," he was originally moved to write "merely by my own delight and content." He hoped to move the reader "to join with others right worthily disposed to become a hearty and devoted furtherer of an action so noble as is this."

Already he writes from the perspective of the new country begun on the other side of the Atlantic—to achieve what unimaginable fulfillment in the course of time! "Next winter," he writes, "we doubt not to have three or four ploughs going, which once compassed we shall in short time be able to repay England the corn they have lent us." Again, "no country under the sun may or doth afford more pleasant, sweet and strong tobacco . . . there are some now resident there which, I doubt not, will make and return such tobacco this year that even England shall acknowledge the goodness thereof." Is it fanciful to think that in such phrases we hear the accents of the first Virginian, that is, the first American?

A. L. ROWSE

St. Austell, Cornwall
October 1956

*A True Discourse of the
Present State of Virginia*

A T R V E
DISCOVRSE OF THE
PRESENT ESTATE OF VIR-
GINIA, and the successe of the affaires
there till the 18 of *Iune*. 1614.

TOGETHER.

WITH A RELATION OF THE
seuerall English Townes and forts, the assu-
red hopes of that countrie and the peace
concluded with the Indians.

The Christening of *Powhatans* daughter
and her mariage with an English-man.

Written by RAPHÉ HAMOR the yon-
ger, late Secretarie in that Colony.

Alget, qui non ardet.



Printed at London by IOHN BEALE for WIL-
LIAM WELBY dwelling at the signe of the
Swanne in Pauls Church yard. 1615.

TO THE TRVLY

Honorable, and right worthy Knight,
S^r. Thomas Smith, Gouvernour of the *East India*,
Muscovia. North-west passages, *Somer Islands*
Companies, and *Treasurer for the first*
Colony in VIRGINIA.

Honourable Sir:

AVING in the time of my residence
in *Virginia* (as it is true my
employment then invited mee
hereunto) collected for my owne
use and benefit, some few occur-
rents and accidents, which are obuious in
all new employments, a thing which perhaps
but few regard there to busie themselues with,
and fewer heer to peruse: I resolued indeed on-
ly to delight my selfe, and som who I am bound
to be thankfull vnto in that kinde, with the vn-
worthy view of them, the rather, because I haue
seen many publications & impressions of thoe
affairs, by those, whose books I should be proud
to beare after them: but such is the peruersenes
of mankinde, such their incredulity of eue-
ry thing, saue what their eies tell them to be true:
yea, such their backwardnes in the pursuit of ho-
rable enterprises, that though there should bee
no end of writing, but eue-ry day should drawe
foorth his line, and eue-ry line his reall encou-
ragement, as mine may in the state of the Colo-
ny, as it now standeth, it were hard to say whe-
ther

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ther one of so many thousands as abound in *England*, might be thereby moued to ioine with others right worthyly disposed, to become a hartie and deuoted furtherer of an action so noble, as is this, which thing if I faile in effecting, I shall not lose much labour, since when I vndertook this taske, I imagined no such thing: but meerly my owne, delight and content. It shall be reward enough for me to expresse my indeauours there, though not equall with the best, yet not idly mispent.

I labor not to seduce or betray any into an action or imployment, wherein once personally ingaged, they should haue any cause to blame me, neither would I force the helpe of any mans purse, more then voluntary, if I could beyond my art, vse such effectuall perswasions.

There are enough in my opinion, and those the worthyest of *England* already vnited, as the way is now laid downe, to perfect this businesse, whose indeuours, if they proceed without back slyding, and therein persist some fewe yeers longer, shall be requited and paid with such treble interest, as it shall not repent him that is now most cold in the pursuit, to haue refused more Competitors to be sharers in the returnd profit.

Your noble selfe Sir, euer emulous of vertue, and honourable Enterprises, should shine to the world more noble in the vpholding of this imployment, though it appeared, as in the beginning, full of discouragement, which neuertheless

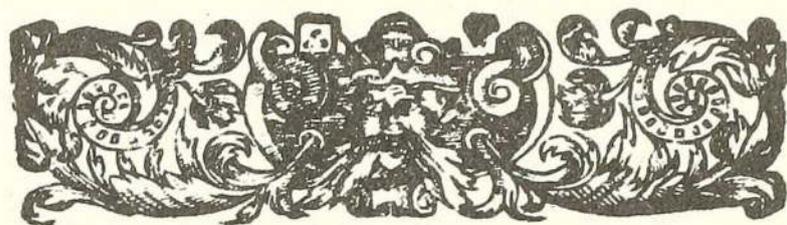
The Epistle Dedicatory.

lesse, I know your selfe rests so assured is now more neer, then euer to perfection. Your innate and habituall vertue needs no spurre, your honourable indeauours well witnesse the same: would God (as is yours) al mens offrings, though not so ample, were so free, so hartily sacrificed: then could they not thus long haue wanted their rewards, perhaps for no other end detained, but to make others, a thing which God professeth to loue and delight in, more cheerful giuers. Accept (worthy Sir) this vnworthy Treatise, the best testimony of my gratuity, which as yet my disabilities may render. Trueth shall shroud and patronize it, from the malevolent detracting multitude; whose blame though it incurre their shame and imputation, it scorns, and returns vnto them.

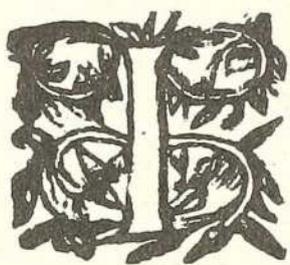
My zeale to the Action, though I may seeme to haue forsaken it, giues mee the heart to publish, what I know, to the world: To your selfe particularly your own worth, and deserts to me, irrequitable, graunt but that fauourable acceptance, which euer accompanies your worth; and I shal euer acknowledge my selfe wholly yours, in hope wherof I conclude with my seruice: & rest,

At your commaund to be disposed off;

RALPH HAMOR.



To the Reader.



gnorant, or enuious, if you be Readers: it is not to satisfie the best of you that I now wright, a more seasonable time I must take to imbarque my selfe in so rough a Sea and come off safe: onely his authoritie (who hath power to compell my selfe and duety) hath commaunded me to satisfie his affections (concerous of the dignitie and truth of this pious Plantation) with these particulars: that they are got abroade, and become publike, was no purpose in their first conception. though some respect haue made them so now: Anaked and vnstudied discourse, I acknowledge, without notes reserued (but in Memorie) to helpe it: yet thus much I doe auow, that it hath duety and truth to make good all other the wants, and imperfections of it: I will labour in no further excuse.

*Concerning the Virginie pious worke it selfe, how it hath thrived under the commaund both of Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Gouvernour, and Sir Thomas Dale Knight, and Marshall of the Collonie, these three yeeres and more: let me say, if (setting aside thine owne overweening and singularity) thy unhoodded eye, can now at length looke upon it (after so many yeeres of her patience and passions) thou wilt easily acknowledge, whose finger hath the alone guidance of it, and then (I doubt nothing) be pleased to here thy selfe intreated (out of those great plenties and hauings which God hath lent thee) to spare a little little portion to the full setling and finishing
vp*

To the Reader.

up a Sanctum Sanctorum an holy house, a Sanctuary to him, the God of the Spirits, of all flesh, amongst such poore and innocent seduced Sauages as we treat off, on whom let our hopes be, that it hath vouchsafed him now to be sufficiently reuenged for their forefathers Ingratitude and treasons, and now in his appointed time to descēd in mercie, to lighten them that sit in darkenes, and in the shadow of death, and to direct their feete in the waies of peace.

Sure yong though in yeeres and knowledge I may be said to be, yet let me remember, to thee perhaps much knowledge Reader, what the wisest man that euer writ or speake (excepting him that was both God and man) hath said, that such who bring others vnto righteousnesse shal themselues shine as the stars in the firmament. And doubtlesse I doe belecue, euen amongst the rest of my Articles, when these poore Heathens shall be brought to entertaine the honour of the name, and glory of the Gospell of our blessed Saviour, when they shall testifie of the true and euerliuing God, and Iesus Christ to be their Salvation, their knowledge so enlarged and sanctified, that without him they confesse their eternal death: I do belecue I say (and how can it be otherwise?) that they shal breake out and cry with rapture of so inexplicable mercie: Blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English Nation, and blessed for euer be the most high God, possessor of Heauen and earth, that sent these English as Angels to bring such glad tidings amongst vs. These will be doubtlesse the empaticke effects and exultation of this so Christian worke, and may these nothing moue? Alas let Sanballat and Tobiah, Papists and Plairis, Ammonites and Horonites, the scumme and dregges of the people, let them mocke at this holy Businesse, they that be filthie, let them be filthie still, and let such swine wallow in the mire, but let not the rod of the wicked fall vpon the lot of the righteous, let not them
shrinke

To the Reader.

shrinke backe, and call in their helpes from this so glorious enterprise, which the Prophet Isaiah calls, the declaring of God to the left hand, but let them that know the worke, reioice and be glad in the happie successe of it, proclaiming that it is the euerliuing God that raigneth in England, and unto the ends of the world.

Excuse me (curteous Reader) if caried beyond my purpose, I declaine passionately in this passiu and innocently despised worke, which I am sure is so full of goodnesse, and haue bin almost six yeers a Sutterer and eye witness of his now well nigh atchieued happinesse, the full and vnsstaind reportory of enery accident whereof euen from his beginning, together with the causes of the backwardnes, in prosperity thus long, touching at the miraculous deliury of the scattered company, cast upon the Bermudas, when those fortunate Islands like so many faire Neriades which receiued our wrackt company, with the death of that pure and noble hearted Gentleman Sir George Summers dying there, my purpose is shortly at large to publish, that at length some one escaped Leaper, among st so many saued, may returne backe and pay his vowes of thanks. giuing vnto that euer to be praised mercifull prouidence that brought vs thither, until when I wish thy zealous and feruent thoughts and indenours to a businesse so full of piety. as is this our Virginie Plantation.

RAPHE HAMOR.



A
TRVE DISCOVRSE
 of the present estate of Virginia, and
 the successe of the affaires there till the
 18 of Iune. 1614.



He many publications and impressions of Virginia, an imployment wherein to this day my selfe with many other vnstaid heads & thirstie after new designes, haue bin to vnprofitably ingaged, might iustly excuse my silence, did not the filiall duty whereby in all things to the vtmost of my power I am bound to obey my Father, compell me vnwillingly thereunto: A taske I know by himselfe and others, meerely because I haue bin *Oculatus testis*, thus imposed vpon me, in the vndertaking and performance whereof, I hartily wish that my poore relation, rich onely in truth (as I shall cleerly iustifie my selfe by eie witnesses also) may giue any credit or encouragement to proceede in a businesse so full of honour, and worth, whereunto (if there were no secondary causes) the already publisht ends, I meane the glory of God in the

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conuerſion of thoſe Infidels, and the honour of our King and country (which by right may claime at the leaſt their ſuperfluities, from thoſe whom God hath in this world made his diſpenſors and purſe-bearers) might be a ſufficient ſpurte to reſolued Chriſtians, eſpecially the ſtate and condition of our collonie, ſo ſtanding when I left it, and I aſſure my ſelfe in this time growne more mature, that an honeſt hart would euen relent, and mourne to thinke how poorely, I dare not ſay vnworthily it is proſecuted. It being true that now after five yeeres inteſtine warre with the reuengefull implacable Indians, a firme peace (not againe eaſily to be broken) hath bin lately concluded, not onely with the neigbour, and bordering Indians, as on *Pataomecke*, *Topahanah*, and other Ri- uers, but euen with that ſubrill old reuengefull *Powhatan* and all the people vnder his ſubiection, for all whom *Powhatan* himſelfe ſtands firmly ingaged, by which meanes we ſhall not onely be furniſhed with what commodities their countrie yeeldeth, and haue all the helpes they may afforde vs in our indeuours (as they are eaſily taught, and may by lenitie and faire v- ſage, as Sir Thomas *Dale* now principall commander there, and moſt worthy the honour he houlds, is well experienced in their diſpoſitions, and accordingly makes uſe of them) be brought, being naturally though ingenious, yet idly giuē, to be no leſſe indu- ſtrious, nay to exceede our Engliſh, eſpecially thoſe which we hitherto and as yet are furniſhed with, who for the moſt part no more ſenſible then beaſts, would rather ſtarue in idleneſſe (witneſſe their former pro- ceedings) then ſeaſt in labour, did not the law com- pell them thereunto, but alſo which will be moſt for our benefit, our owne men may without hazard, I might ſay with ſecurity (by ſelfe-experience) follow their ſeueral labours, whereby twentie ſhall now
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bee able to performe more then heretofore hath bin fortie.

Though I coniecture and assure my selfe that yee cannot be ignorant by what meanes this peace hath bin thus happily both for our proceedings and the welfare of the Naturals concluded, yet for the honour of Captain *Argol* whose indeuours in the action intituled him most worthy, I iudge it no whit impertinēt in my discourse to insert them, which with as much breuity as I may, not omitting the circumstances most pertinent and materiall, I shall indeuour.

The general letters vpon my knowledge, directed and sent to the honourable *Virginia* Councell, being most of them (though my selfe most vnworthy) by me penned haue intimated, how that the euerworthy gentlemā Capt. *Argall* in the heate of our home furies & disagreements by his best experience of the disposition of those people, partly by gentle vsage & partly by the composition & mixture of threats hath euer kept faire & friendly quarter with our neighbours bordering on other riuers of affinity, yea consanguinity, no lesse neere then brothers to *Rowbatan*, such is his well knowne temper and discretion, yea to this passe hath he brought them, that they assuredly trust vpon what he promiseth, and are as carefull in performing their mutuall promises, as though they contended to make that *Maxim*, that there is no faith to be held with Infidels, a meere and absurd *Paradox*: Nay as I haue heard himselfe relate, who is *fide dignus*, they haue euen bin pensue and discontented with themselues, because they knew not how to doe him some acceptable good turne, which might not onely pleasure him, but euen be profitable to our whole Collonie, and *Plantation*, yea euer assuring him that when the times should present occasion, they would take hold of her forelocke, and be the instruments to worke him con-

tent, and euen thus they proued themselues as honest performers, as liberall promisers. It chaunced *Powbatans* delight and darling, his daughter *Pocahuntas*, (whose fame hath euen bin spred in England by the title of *Nonparella* of *Virginia*) in her princely progresse, if I may so terme it, tooke some pleasure (in the absence of Captaine *Argall* (to be among her friends at *Pataomecke* (as it seemeth by the relation I had) imployed thither, as shopkeepers to a *Fare*, to exchange some of her fathers commodities for theirs, where residing some three months or longer, it fortun'd vpon occasion either of promise or profit, Captaine *Argall* to arriue there, whom *Pocahuntas*, desirous to renew hir familiaritie with the English, and delighting to see them, as vnknowne, fearefull perhaps to be surpris'd, would gladly visit, as she did, of whom no sooner had Captaine *Argall* intelligence, but he delt with an old friend, and adopted brother of his *Iapazens*, how and by what meanes he might procure hir captiue, assuring him, that now or neuer, was the time to pleasure him, if he entended indeede that loue which he had made profession of, that in ransome of hir he might redeeme some of our English men and armes, now in the possession of her Father, promising to vse her withall faire, and gentle entreaty: *Iapazens* well assured that his brother, as he promised would vse her curteously promised his best indeuours and secrecie to accomplish his desire, and thus wrought it, making his wife an instrument (which sex haue euer bin most powerfull in beguiling inticements) to effect his plot which hee had thus laid, he agreed that himselfe, his wife, and *Pocahuntas*, would accompanie his brother to the water side, whether come, his wife should faine a great and longing desire to goe aboorde, and see the shippe, which being there three or foure times, be-
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for she had neuer seene, and should bee earnest with her husband to permit her: he seemed angry with her, making as he pretended so vnnecessary a request, especially being without the company of women, which deniall she taking vnkindely, must faine to weepe, (as who knows not that women can command teares) whereupon her husband seeming to pittie those countesfeit teares, gaue her leaue to goe aboard, so that it would please *Pochabuntas* to accompany her: now was the greatest labour to win her, guilty perhaps of her fathers wrongs, though not knowne as she supposed to goe with her, yet by her earnest perswasions, she assented: so forthwith aboard they went, the best cheere that could be made was seasonably provided, to supper they went, merry on all hands, especially *Iapazens* and his wife, who to expres their ioy, would ere be treading vpo Capt. *Argalls* foot, as who should say tis don, she is your own. Supper ended, *Pochabuntas* was lodged in the Gunners roome, but *Iapazens* and his wife desired to haue some conference with their brother, which was onely to acquaint him by what stratagem they had betraied his prisoner, as I haue already related: after which discourse to sleepe they went, *Pochabuntas* nothing mistrusting this policy, who neuertheles being most possessed with feare, and desire of returne, was first vp, and hastened *Iapazens* to be gon. Capt. *Argall* hauing secretly well rewarded him, with a small Copper kettle, and som other les valuable toies so highly by him esteemed, that doubtlesse he would haue betraied his owne father for them, permitted both him and his wife to returne, but told him, that for diuers considerations, as for that his father had then eigh of our English men, many swords, peeces, and other tooles, which he had at seuerall times by trecherous murdering our men, taken from them,

though of no vse to him, he would not redeliuer, he would reserue *Pocahuntas*, whereat she began to be exceeding pensive, and discontented, yet ignorant of the dealing of *Iapazeus*, who in outward appearance was no les discontented that he should be the meanes of her captiuitie, much a doe there was to perswade her to be patient, which with extraordinary curteous vsage, by little and little was wrought in her, and so to *James* towne she was brought, a messenger to her father forthwith dispatched to aduertise him, that his only daughter was in the hands & possession of the English: ther to be kept til such time as he would ransom her with our men, swords, peeces, & other tools treacherously taken from vs: the news was vnwelcome, and troublesom vnto him, partly for the loue he bare to his daughter, and partly for the loue he bare to our men his prisoners, of whom though with vs they were vnapt for any imployment) he made great vse: and those swords, and peeces of ours, (which though of no vse to him) it delighted him to view, and looke vpon.

He could not without long aduise & delibertion with his Councell, resolute vpon any thing, and it is true, we heard nothing of him till three moneths after, by perswasions of others he returned vs seauen of our men, with each of them a Musket vnseruiceable, and by them sent vs sword, that whensoever wee pleased to deliuer his daughter, he would giue vs in satisfaction of his iniuries done to vs, and for the rest of our peeces broken and stolne from him, 500 Bushells of Corne, and be for euer friends with vs, the men, and Peeces in part of payment we receiued: and returned him answere, that his daughter was very well, and kindly intreated, and so should be howsoever he dealt with vs: but we could not beleue that the rest of our Arms were either lost, or stolne from him, and therefore till he returned them all we would not by any meanes deliuer his daughter,

ter, and then it should be at his choice, whether he would establiſh peace, or continue enemies with vs. This anſwere as it ſeemed, pleaſed him not very wel, for we heard no more from him till in March laſt, when with Captaine *Argalls* Shippe, and ſome other Veſſells belonging to the Colony, Sir *Thomas Dale* with an hundred and fifty men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, where his chiefeſt habitations were, and carried with vs his daughter, either to moue them to fight for her, if ſuch were their courage and boldneſſe, as hath been reported, or to reſtore the reſidue of our demands, which were our peeces, ſwords, tooles. Some of the ſame men which he returned (as they promiſed) ran to him again, and becauſe he had put vs to the trouble to fetch them five hundred buſhels of Corne: A great brauado all the way as we went vp the Riuer they made, demaunding the cauſe of our comming thither, which wee told them was to deliuer *Pocahuntas*, whom purpoſely we had brought with vs, and to receiue our Armes, men, & corn, or elſe to fight with them, burn their houſes. take away their Canoas, breake downe their fiſhing Weares, and doe them what other damages we could: Some of them to ſet a good face on the matter, replied, that if wee came to fight with them? we were welcome, for they were prouided for vs, counselling vs rather to retire (if wee loued our ſafeties) then proceed, bragging, as well they might, that wee had euer had the worſt of them in that Riuer, inſtancing by Capt: *Ratliffe* (not worthy remembering, but to his diſhonor) who, with moſt of his company they betrayed and murdered: we told them ſince they durſt remember vs of that miſchief, vnleſſe they made the better and more ſpeedy agreement, we would now reuenge that trechery, and with this diſcourſe by the way as we went, we proceeded,
and

and had no sooner entred the narrow of the riuer, the channell there lying within shot of the shoare, but they let their arrowes flie amongst vs in the shippe, themselues vnseene to vs, and in the forehead hurt one of our men, which might haue hazarded his life without the present helpe of a skilfull Chirurgeon.

Being thus iustly prouoked, we presently manned our boates, went ashore, and burned in that verie place some forty houses, and of the things we found therein, made freeboote and pillage, and as themselves afterward confest vnto vs, hurt and killed five or sixe of their men, with this reuenge satisfying our selues, for that their presumption in shooting at vs, and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, the Indians calling vnto vs, and demanding why we went ashore, burnt their houses, killed and hurt their men, and tooke away their goods. We replied that though we came to them in peaceable manner, and would haue beene glad to haue receiued our demands with loue and peace, yet we had hearts and power to take reuenge, and punish where wrongs shold be offered, which hauing now don, though not so seuerely as we might, we rested content therewith and are ready to imbrace peace with them if they pleased. Many excuses they seemed to pretend, that they shot not at vs, but (if any such abuse were offered) it was some stragled Indian, ignorant of our pretence in comming to them, affirming that they themselves would be right glad of our loue, and would in deauour to helpe vs to what we came for, which being in the possession of *Powhatan* their King, they would without delay dispatch messengers to him, to know his purpose and pleasure, desiring faire quarter some 24 howers, for so long they pretended it would be before their messengers might returne: this wee
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graunted, and what we promised, we euer exactly performed, the time now come, we inquired what *Powhatan* would doe, and had for answer, that our Englishmen lately with him, fearefull to be put to death by vs, were runne away, and some of *Powhatans* men sent abroad in quest of them, but our swords and peeces so many as he had should be brought the next day, which meerely to delay time, they bare vs in hand the next day they came not, higher vp the riuer we went, and anchored nere vnto the chiefest residencie *Powhatan* had, at a towne called *Matchcot* where were assembled (which we saw) about 400 men, well appointed with their bowes and arrowes to welcome vs, here they dared vs to come a shoare, a thing which we purposed before, so a shoare we went, our best landing being vp a high steepe hill which might haue giuen the enemy much aduantage against vs, but it seemed they as we were vnwilling to begin, and yet would gladly haue bin at blowes, being landed as if they had no shew of feare, they stirred not from vs, but walked vp and downe, by and amongst vs, the best of them inquiring for our Weroance or king, with whom they would gladly consult to know the occasion of our comming thither, wherof when they were informed, they made answer that they were there ready to defend themselues, if we pleased to assault them, desiring neuerthelesse some small time to dispatch two or three men once more to their king, to know his resolution, which if not answerable to our requests, in the morning if nothing else but blood would then satisfie vs, they would fight with vs, and thereby determine our quarrell, which was but a further delay to procure time to carrie away their provisions, neuerthelesse we agreed to this their request, assuring them till the next day by noone we would not molest, hurt, nor detaine any of them, and then

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before we fought, our Drum and Trumpets should giue them warning: vpon which promise of ours, two of *Powhatans* sonnes being very desirous to see their sister who was there present ashore with vs, came vnto vs, at the sight of whom, and her well fare, whom they suspected to be worse intreated, though they had often heard the contrary, they much reioyced, and promised that they would vndoubtedly perswade their father to redeeme her, and to conclude a firme peace foreuer with vs, and vpon this resolution the two brothers with vs retired aboarde, we hauing first dispatched two English men, Maister *John Rolfe* and maister *Sparkes* to acquaint their Father with the businessse in hand, the next day being kindly intreated, they returned, not at all admitted *Powhatans* presence, but spake with his brother *Apachamo*, his successor, one who hath already the commaund of all the people, who likewise promised vs his best indeauors to further our iust requests, and we because the time of the yeere being then Aprill, called vs to our businessse at home to prepare ground, and set corne for our winters prouision, vpon these termes departed, giuing them respite till haruest to resolute what was best for them to doe, with this Prouiso, that if finall agreement were not made betwixt vs before that time, we would thither returne againe and destroy and take away all their corne, burne all the houses vpon that riuer, leaue not a fishing *Weere* standing, nor a *Canoe* in any creeke therabout, and destroy and kill as many of them as we could.

Long before this time a gentleman of approued behauiour and honest cariage, maister *John Rolfe* had bin in loue with *Pocahuntas* and she with him, which thing at the instant that we were in parlee with them, my selfe made known to Sir *Thomas Dale* by a letter from him, whereby he intreated his aduise and furtherance

therance in his loue, if so it seemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and *Pocahuntas* her selfe, acquainted her brethren therewith: which resolution Sir Thomas *Dale* wel approving, was the onely cause: hee was so milde amongst them, who otherwise would not haue departed their riuer without other conditions.

The bruite of this pretended marriage came soone to *Powhatans* knowledge, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent thereunto, who some ten daies after sent an olde vnkle of hers, named *Opachisco*, to giue her as his deputy in the Church, and two of his sonnes to see the mariage solemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of Aprill, and euer since we haue had friendly commerce and trade, not onely with *Powhatan* himselfe, but also with his subiects round about vs; so as now I see no reason why the Collonie should not thriue a pace.

Besides this loue by this meanes with *Powhatan* concluded, it will be worth my paines to runouer our friendship with our next neighbours, the *Chicohominies* lately confirmed, a lustie and daring people, who haue long time liued free from *Powhatans* subiection, hauing lawes and gouernors within themselues: these people hearing of our concluded peace with *Powhatan*, as the noise thereof was soone bruted abroad, sent two of their men vnto vs, and two fat Bucks for present to our king (for so Sir Thomas *Dale* is generally reputed and termed amongst them) and offered themselues and seruice vnto him, alleadging that albeit in former times they had bin our enemies, and we theirs, yet they would now if we pleased become not onely our trustie friends, but euen King IAMES his subiects and tributaries, and relinquish their old name of *Chicohominies*, and take vpon them, as they call vs the name of *Tossantessas*, and because they haue

no principall commander or *Weroance*, they would intreate Sir Thomas *Dale* as King IAMES his deputie to be their supream head, King and gouernor, and in all iust causes and quarrels to defend them, as they would be ready at all times to aide him, onely their desire was to inioy their owne lawes and liberties, and because himselfe, by reason of his many other imployments, beside the charge he hath of his owne people, may not be alwaies present amongst them, to be gouerned as formerly by eight of the elders and principall men amongst them, as his substitutes and councellers, and euen this was the summe and effect of their embassie. Sir Thomas *Dale* appointed a day to send some men into their riuer, to propose certaine conditions vnto them, wherennto if they assented he would gladly accept of their proffered friendship, and be himselfe their *Weroance*: and with this answere offering them copper for their venison, which they refused to take, dismissed them.

When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas *Dale* himselfe and Captaine *Argall* with 50 men in a barge and frigot, well appointed, least any trecherie might be intended, set forward to *Chicohominie*, an arme of our riuer some seauen miles from Iames Town, where we found the people according to promise expecting our comming, assembled and met together, who after their best and most friendly manner, bad vs welcome, and because our businesse at home would permit vs but small time of stay with them, they presently sent for their principal men, some of whom were then absent, which hastned vnto vs, & the next morning very early assembled, and sat in counsell about this businesse, Captaine *Argall* (supplying Sir Thomas *Dales* place amongst them, who though there present for some respects, condealed himselfe, and kept aboarde his barge) after long discourse of their former proceedings

ceedings, Captaine *Argall* told them, that now since they had intreated peace and promised their loue and friendship, hee was sent vnto them from the great *Weroance* to conclude the same, all former iniuries on both sides, set apart and forgotten, which he would doe vpon these conditions.

First that they should take vpon them, as they promised, the name of *Tassantasses* or English men, and be King I A M E S his subiects, and be foreuer honest, faithfull and trustie vnto his deputie in their countrie.

Secondly, that they should neuer kill any of our men or cattell, but if either our men or cattell should offend them or runne to them, they should bring them home again, and should receiue satisfaction for the trespasse done them.

Thirdly, they should at all times be ready and willing to furnish vs with three or foure hundred bowmen to aide vs against the Spaniards, whose name is odious amongst them, for *Powhatans* father was driuen by them from the west-Indies into those parts, or against any other Indians which should, contrary to the established peace offer vs any iniurie.

Fourthly, they shall not vpon any occasion whatsoever breake downe any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forts by any other waies, issues or ports then ordinary, but first call, and say the *Tassantessas* are there, and so comming they shall at all times be let in, and kindly entertained.

Fifthly, so many fighting men as they haue which may be at the least five hundred should yeerely bring into our store house, at the beginning of their haruest two bushels of corne a man, as tribute of their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his deputy there, for which they should receiue so many Iron *Tomahawkes* or small hatchets.

Lastly, the eight chiefe men which gouerne as substitutes and Councillors vnder Sir *Thomas Dale*, shall at all times see these Articles and conditions duly performed, for which they shall receiue a red coat, or liuery from our King yeerely, and each of them the picture of his Maiety, ingrauen in Copper, with a chaine of Copper to hang it about his necke, wherby they shall be knowne to be King *IAMES* his noble Men: so as if these conditions, or any of them be broken, the offenders themselues shall not onely be punished, but also those Commaunders, because they stand ingaged for them.

After these Articles were thus proposed, the whole assembly assenting thereunto, answered with a great shout, and noise, that they would readily and willingly performe them all: and immediately began the chiefe of the eight to make an oration to the rest, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the yong men, and in conclusion to the women and children, giuing them thereby to vnderstand the summe of the proposed conditions: and how strictly they were to obserue them: in consideration whereof, he further declared what wee haue promised to doe for them, not onely to defend and keepe them from the fury & danger of *Powhatan*, which thing they most feared, but euen from all other enemies, domesticke, or forraigne, and that we would yeerely by trade furnish them with *Copper, Beades, Hatchets*, and many other necessaries, yea, which liked them best, that we would permit them to enioy their owne liberties, freedoms, and lawes, and to be gouerned as formerly, by eight of their chiefe men.

It shall not be vnecessary to insert the occasion (as we imagine) of this their much desired, vnexpected friendship, which was questionlesse some sodaine feare of *Powhatans* displeasure, being vnited with vs,
 now

now able to reuenge their disobedience done vnto him for you must imagine, these people presuming vpon their owne strength and number (in no one place in those parts, which we know, so many together) to haue a long time neglected *Powhatan*, and refused, (which the place hath been formerly accustomed, and as his right may challenge the homage and duty of subiects, which they ought to haue performed: to which obedience, fearing our power might compell them, they chose rather to subiect themselves to vs, then being enemies to both, to expose & lay themselves open to *Powhatans* tyranny, & oppression: for this they did chiefly insist vpon, that he was an ill *Weroanles*, full of cruelty, and iniustice, couetous of those things they had, and implacable if they denyed him whatsoever he demaunded, and for these reasons, desired to be made one people with vs, to curbe the pride and ambition of *Powhatan*, from whom to defend them (they would vs it would be no breach of peace on our parts, since now they were no longer *Chicohomimes*, or *Naturalls*, of that place, but *Tossantessars*, and King IAMES his subiects, whom we are bound to defend.

So soone as there was an end of speaking, and the peace firmly concluded, and assented vnto, Captaine *Argall* by the giift of eight great peeces of *Copper*, and eight great *Tomahawkes*, bound the eight great men, or Councillors to the exact performance, and keeping of the same, according to the conditions proclaimed, which they very gladly and thankfully accepted, and returned him, as testimonies of their loues, *Venison*, *Turkies*, *Freshfish*, *baskets*, *Mats*, and such like things as they were then furnished with, and so the Councill brooke vp, and then euery man brought to sell to our men *Skinnes*, *boules*, *mats*, *baskets*, *tobacco*, &c. and became as familiar amongst

vs,

vs, as if they had been English men iudeede.

Thus haue I briefly as the matter would permit, discourfied our established friendship with the *Naturalls*, and the occasions thereof, which I hope will continue so long betweene vs, till they shall haue the vnderstanding to acknowledge how much they are bound to God for sending vs amongst them (then which) what worke would be more acceptable to God, more honourable to our King and counrry?

The greatest, and many enemies and disturbers of our proceedings, and that which hath hitherto deterd our people to adresse themselues into those parts haue been onely two; emnity with the *Naturalls*, and the bruit of famine: one of these two (and that indeede, which was some cause of the other) I haue already remoued, and shall as easily take away the other: howbeit it were too great folly (I might say impudency in me) to auer that there hath raigned no such infection in the Colony, occasioned, meerly by misgouernment, idlenesse, and faction, and chiefly by the absence of the euer worthy Commanders, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* by the prouidence of God, miraculously wract and saued vpon the hopefull *Summer Islands*, since my selfe cannot but witnesse (of which I had some tast) in what a miserable condition, we found the Colony at our ariual there, from the *Bermudas*, not liuing about threescore persons therein, and those scarce able to goe alone, of welnigh six hundred, not full ten moneths before: yet now I dare and will boldly affirme to the greatest aduersary of the Plantation, that shall auer the contrary, that there is that plenty of foode, which euery man by his owne industry may easily, & doth procure that the poorest there, & most in want, hath not bin so much pinched with hunger this 4 yeers that if he would take any pains, he knew
not

not wher to fetch a good meales meate: and true it is, that euery day by the prouidence, and blessing of God, and their owne industry, they haue more plenty then other, the reason hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fedde out of the common store and laboured iointly in the manuring of the ground, and planting corne, glad was that man that could slippe from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a generall businesse, would not take so much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now he will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoeuer their haruest prospered, the generall store must maintain them, by which meanes we reaped not so much corne from the labours of 30 men, as three men haue done for themselues: to preuent which mischiese heerafter Sir *Thomas Dale* hath taken a new course, throughout the whole Colony, by which meanes, the generall store (apparrell onely excepted) shall not be charged with any thing: and this it is, he hath allotted to euery man in the Colony, three English Acres of cleere Corne ground, which euery man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers, (the *Bermuda* vnder-takers onely excepted) and they are not called vnto any seruice or labor belonging to the Colony, more then one moneth in the yeere, which shall neither be in seede time, or in Haruest, for which, doeing no other duty to the Colony, they are yeerly to pay into the store two barrells and a halfe of Corne: there to be reserued to keep new men, which shall be sent ouer, the first yeere after their arriual: and euen by this meanes I dare say, our store will be bountifully furnished, to maintain three or foure hundred men, whensoeuer they shall be sent thither to vs, that monny which hitherto hath bin disbursed, to prouide a twelue moneths victualls, if there were but now

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halfe so much bestowed in clothes, and bedding, will be such comfort to the men, as euen thereby the liues of many shall not onely be preserued, but also themselves kept in strength and heart, able to performe such businesse, as shall be imposed vpon them: and thus shall also the former charge be well saued, and yet more businesse effected, the action renowned, and more commodity returned to the Merchant, and yet faint for want of encouragement.

Concerning the vndertaking of the *Bermuda* City, a businesse of greatest hope, euer begunne in our Territories there, their Pattent, which I purpose in this Treatise to insert, doth apparantly demonstrate, vpon what termes and conditions they voluntarily haue vndertaken that imployment, how forward that businesse is, in his due place shall bee expressed, onely giue me leaue with as much breuity as I may, least any man should diuert his minde, and be fearefull to aduenture his person thither, for feare of famine and penury, to amplifie a little the plenty there, for if it be true, as most certaine it is, that those whom I haue described vnder the title of Farmers, can pay into our Store, two barrells and a halfe of Corne yeerely. and others who labour cleauen moneths in the generall businesse of the Colony, and but one to prouide themselves victualls, why should any man (if he be industrious) mistrust starving? if otherwise for any part, and I thinke all that are ingaged in the Action, and vnderstand the businesse, accord with me heerein, and would not wish his company there, nay they shall much wrong themselves, and the Action, if they doe not withstand such, and deny them passage: for euen they and none else haue been the occasions of the manifold imputations, & disgraces, which *Virginia* hath innocently vndergon, through their defaults: I would therefore by these

relations not onely encourage honest and industrious: but also deterre all lasie, impotent, and ill liuers from, addressing themselves thither, as being a Country too worthy for them, and altogether dissonant to their natures, which must either brooke labour or hazard, and vndergoe much displeasure, punishment, and penury, if they escape a thing which few idlers haue don, the scuruy disease, with which few, or none once infected, haue recovered.

To proceed therefore in my encouragement to painefull people, such as either through croles in this world, or wract rents, or else great charge of children and family liue heer, and that not without much care and sweat, into extreame pouerty: for those this Countrey hath present remedy: Euerie such person, so well disposed to aduenture thither, shall soon find the difference between their own, and that Country. The affaires in the Colony, being so well ordered, and the hardest taskes already ouerpast, that whosoever (now, or heerafter) shall happily arriue there, shall finde a handsome howse of some foure roomes or more, if he haue a family, to repose himselfe in rent free, and twelue English Acres of ground, adioyning thereunto, very strongly impailed, which ground is onely allotted vnto him for *Roots, Gardaine herbs, and Corne*: neither shall hee need to prouide himselfe, as were wont the first planters, of a yeers prouision of victualls, for that the store there will bee able to afford him, & vpon these conditions he shall be entertained; He shall haue for himselfe & family, a competent 12 months prouision deliuered vnto him, in which time it must be his care to prouide for himselfe and family euer after, as those already there, to this end he shall be furnished with necessary tooles of all sorts, and for his better subsistence he shall haue Poultry, and swine, and if

he deserue it, a Goate or two, perhaps a Cow giuen him, which once compast, how happily he may liue, as doe many there, who I am sure will neuer returne, I submit to their own future well experienced iudgements .

Now, least any man should yet rest discouraged because as yet no mention is made of any other prouision of victualls, saue onely of bread-corne, which graunt, it may with labour be competently procured, will affoord but a bare, and miserable liuing, I thinke there is no man so ignorant to conceiue, that such a main continent as is *Virginia*, boundlesse, for ought we haue discouered, and so goodly Riuers, nowhere else to be parralled, should be more barraine of Cattell, Fish, and Foule, then other Lands, assuredly they are not: for true it is, that the Land is stored with plenty and variety of wilde beasts, Lions, Bears, Deere of all sorts, (onely differing from ours in their increase, hauing vsuall, three or foure Fawnes at a time, none that I haue seen or heard off vnder two: the reason whereof som of our people ascribe to the vertue of some grasse or hearb which they eat, because our Goats often times bring foorth three, and most of them two: for my part I rather impute their fecundiry to the prouidence of God, who for euery mouth prouideth meate, and if this increase were not, the Naturalls would assuredly starue: for of the Deere (they kill as doe wee Beefes in *England*) all the yeer long, neither sparing yong nor olde, no not the Does readie to fawne, nor the yong fawnes, if but two daies ould) *Beauers, Otters, Foxes, Racounes*, almost as big as a *Fox*, as good meat as a lamb, *hares, wild Cats, muske rats, Squirills* flying, and other of three or foure sorts, *Apossumes*, of the bignesse and likenesse of a Pigge, of a moneth ould, a beast of as strange as incredible nature, she hath commonly seau-

uen

uen yong ones, sometimes more and sometimes lesse which at her pleasure till they be a moneth olde or more she taketh vp into her belly, and putteth forth againe without hurt to her selfe or them.

Of each of these beasts, the Lion excepted, my selfe haue many times eaten, and can testifie that they are not onely tastefull, but also wholesome and nourishing foode.

There are foule of diuers sorts, *Eagles, wilde Turkeis* much bigger then our English, *Cranes, Herons* white and russet, *Hawkes, wilde Pigeons* (in winter beyond number or imagination, my selfe haue seene three or foure houres together flockes in the aire, so thicke that euen they haue shaddowed the skie from vs) *Turckie Bussards, Partridge, Snipes, Owles, Swans, Geese, Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Droecis, Shel Drakes, Cormorants, Teale, Widgeon, Curlewes, Puits,* besides other small birds, as Blacke-birde, hedge sparrowes, Oxeies, wood peckers, and in winter about Christmas many flockes of *Parakertoths.*

For fish the Riuers are plentifully stored, with *Stur-gion Porpasse, Base, Rockfish, Carpe, Shad, Herring, Ele, Catfish, Perch, Flat-fish, Troute, Sheepes-head, Drum-mers, Iarfish, Crenises, Crabbes, Oysters* and diuerse other kindes, of all which my selfe haue seene great quantity taken, especially the last summer at *Smiths Island,* at one hale, a frigots lading of Sturgion, Base and other great fish in Captaine *Argals* Saue: and euen at that very place which is not aboue fiftene miles from *Pointeomfort,* if we had beene furnished with salt, to haue saued it, wee might haue taken as much fish as would haue serued vs that whole yeere.

Nor are these prouicion of bread, flesh and fish, al we haue for sustentation of mans life, behold more change and variety of foode, which our soile and climate affordeth, *Carrats, Parsueps, Turneps, Raddish,*

Pumpions (of the west Indie kinde in great abundance, of one seede I haue seen an hundreth, much better then ours and lasting all the yeere) *Cabbage*, *Parsley*, all manner of potheerbs and other hearbes, *Margerum*, *Time*, *winter-Sauory*, *Letitice Purslaine*, &c, and besides the naturall graine of that Country, as wheate pease and beanes, it did me much good to view our English wheate how forward it was, full eard, of one graine fortie eares or more, a span long, and onely wanting ripening in *mid lune*, our English pease then ripe, and beanes very forward, and English barley very hopefull, such as mine eyes neuer beheld better in England: And if that soile bring forth these things (as can those which haue bin there with me affirme and witnesse) as plentiful and vnchangeable for taste and quantity as England or any other country, why shold any man that hath his limbes, in a peaceable state as is that, so much as dreame of staruing?

To goe yet a little further, I my selfe know no one Country yeelding without art or industry so manie fruites, sure I am England doth: wilde grapes in abundance al the woods ouer, their iuice sweete and pleasant in taste, some of them wee haue replanted in a vineyard adioyning to *Henrico*, the quantity of three or foure Akers which were this yeere very plentifully laden, to what perfection they will come, the next returne will aduertise: *Cherries* little inferior to ours, which if replanted may prooue as much better as now they are worse *Pissmien plums* in bygnes and fashion like a *Medlar* of a slipricke quality, other sorts of plummes like to our wheat plummes, and in goodnes answerable: great fields and woods abounding with *Strawberies* much fairer and more sweete then ours, *Mulberries* of great bignesse, and about the *Bermuda Cittie* and *Hundirds* thereunto belonging great store thereof, *Maricocks* of the fashion of a Lemon whose
blossome

bloffome may admit comparison with our most delightfome and bewtiful flowers, and the fruite exceeding pleasant and tastfull: *Chestnut-trees* towards the fells as many as oakes, and as fertile, many goodly groues of *Chincomen trees* with a huske like vnto a Chestnut, raw or boyled, luscious and hartly meate: Walnuts of three or foure sorts, whereof there might be yeerely made great quantity of oyles, as vsfull and good as that of Oliues: some filberds I haue seene, Crabbes great store, lesse, but not so sower as ours, which grafted with the *Siens* of English apple trees, without question would beare very good fruite, and we doubt not but to haue the *Siens* enough the next yeere, there being in Sir Thomas *Gates* his garden at Iamestown, many forward apple & peare trees come vp, of the kernels set the yeere before.

If all this be not sufficient, loe further encouragement, the collony is already furnished with two hundred neate cattel, as many goates, infinite hogges in heardes all ouer the woods, besides those to euerie towne belonging in generall, and euery priuate man, some Mares, Horses & Colts, Poultry great store, besides tame Turkeis, Peacockes and Pigeons plentifully increasing and thriuing there, in no Countrie better.

Of our yong Steeres the next winter we doubt not to haue three or foure Ploughes going, which once compast, we shall in short time be able to repay England the corne they haue lent vs.

If I knew yet any further impediments which might seeme to giue discouragement to aduerture thither, I should as easily remoue them.

Obiect that pleaseth the want of cloathes, so long as there are wilde beasts there, and the beasts haue skinned on their backs (if the necessity were such) why should not we as doe the naturals, cloath our
selues

selues therewith, it is no worse then our fore-fathers haue worne before vs, and such as will saue vs from the colde in winter, and heate in summer: but admit there were no skinaes or being there, our people disdaine to weare them. If there be any man that hath bene so ill an husband here that he cannot furnish himselfe with a yeeres prouision of apparrell; if I might counsell he should not be suffered to goe thither, for that country is not for him, as for others who can prouide apparrell for the first yeere, I holde him a worse husband then the former, that shall at any time after be worse cloathed then he went ouer: the valuable commoditie of Tobacco of such esteeme in England (if there were nothing else) which euery man may plant, and with the least part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessaries. For the goodnesse whereof, answerable to *west-Indie Trinidado* or *Craesus* (admit there hath no such bin returned) let no man doubt. Into the discourse wherof, since I am obuiously entred, I may not forget the gentleman, worthie of much commendations, which first tooke the pains to make triall thereof, his name *Mr Iohn Rolfe*, *Anno Domini 1612*. partly for the loue he hath a long time borne vnto it, and partly to raise commodity to the aduenturers, in whose behalfe I witnesse and vouchsafe to holde my testimony in beleefe, that during the time of his aboade there, which draweth neere vpon sixe yeeres, no man hath laboured to his power, by good example there and worthy encouragement into England by his letters, then he hath done, witnes his mariage with *Rowhatans* daughter, one of rude education,, manners barbarous and cursed generation, meerey for the good and honour of the Plantation: And least any man should conceiue that some sinister respects allured him hereunto, I haue made bold contrary

trary to his knowledge in the end of my treatise to insert the true coppie of his letter, written to Sir Thomas *Dale* to acquaint him with his proceedings, and purpose therein, the rather to giue testimony to the misconstruing and ill censuring multitude of his integritie, in the vndertaking a matter of so great a consequence, who in my hearing haue not spared to speak their pleasures; his owne letter hits them home, and the better sort, who know to censure iudiciously cannot but highly commend and approue so worthy an vndertaking.

Thus farre I haue applied my selfe to incourage personall Aduenturers: I would gladly now by worthy motiues, allure the heauie vndertakers to persist with alacritie and cheerefulnesse, both for their owne reputations, the honour of God, and their King and Country. The worthier sort, I meane those Nobles and others of that honourable counsell interested therein, neede no spurre, their owne innate vertues driues them a pace. The Merchant onely wants some feeling and present returne of those commodities which he is perswaded the country affordeth: to them therefore I will adresse my speech, and if I may perswade them to be constant in their proceedings, some small time longer, the benefit will be the greater and the more welcome when it commeth.

It is not for nothing Sir Thomas *Dale*, so noble without respect to his liuing, to his Lady here in England, past the prefixed time of his resolved returne, yet remaineth there; I am sure if he pleased he might returne with as much honour as any man from thence, I say not more.

I shall little neede, and indeede it were but wast and Idle for me to repeate and mention the commodities, which with onely labour may bee there procured: many Treatises hath them at full. Sam-

ples haue beene sent home, and no man disputeth the goodnes, or the quauitie there to be had: take the refore double courage to your selues, and let these two yeeres neglect be restored by a cheerefull and new onfet, and for your encouragement reade yet a little further, and view the face of the Colony, euen superficially portraide: see what effects these three yeeres haue wrought.

In *May 1611* Sir Thomas *Dale*, with a prosperous passage, not full eight weekes arriued there, with him about three hundred people, such as for the present speede, and dispatch could then be prouided, of worse condition then those formerly there, who I sorrow to speake it, were not so prouident, though once before bitten with hunger and pennury, as to put corne into the gound for their winters bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with eight months prouisiō. His first care therefore was to imploy al hands about setting of Corne at the two Forts, seated vpon *Kecaughtan, Henry* and *Charles*, whereby the season then not fully past, thogh about the end of *May*, we had there an indifferent Crop of good corn.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his vnder officers, to *James Towne* he hastened, where the most company were, and their daily and vsuall workes, bowling in the streetes, these he imployed about necessary workes, as felling of Timber, repairing their houses ready to fall vpon their heads, and prouiding pales, posts and railes to impaile his purposed new Towne, which by reason of his ignorance in those parts, but newly arriued there, he had not resolved where to seate. For his better knowledge therefore of those parts, himselfe with an hundreth men, spent some time in discouery, first *Nansamund River*, which in dispight of the Indians, then our enemies, he discovered to the
head

head, after that, our owne Riuer, to the falls, where-
vpon a high land inuironed with the mayn Riuer, som
sixteene or twentie miles, from the head of the Falls,
neere to an Indian Towne called *Arsabattocke*, he re-
solved to plant his new Towne, and so did, whereof in
his due place I shall make a brieue relation.

It was no meane trouble to him, to reduce his peo-
ple, so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition
as may well witnesse his seuerer and strict imprinted
booke of Articles, then needefull with all seuerity
and extremity to be executed, now much mitigated,
for more deserued death in those daies, then do now
the least punishment, so as if the law should not haue
restrained by execution, I see not how the vtter sub-
uersion and ruine of the Colony should haue bin pre-
vented, witnesse Webbes and Prises designe the first
yeere, since that Abbots and others more daunge-
rous then the former, and euen this summer, Coles
and Kitchins Plot, with three more, bending their
course towards the Southward, to a *Spanish Plantati-
on*, reported to be there, who had travelled (it being
now a time of peace) some fiue daies iorney to *Ocana-
hoen*, there cut off by certaine Indians, hired by vs to
hunt them home to receiue their deserts. So as Sir
Thomas Dale hath not bin tyranous, nor seuerer at all;
Indeede the offences haue bin capitall, and the offen-
ders dangerous, incurable members, for no vse so
fit as to make examples to others, but the manner of
their death may some object, hath bin cruell, vnusu-
all and barbarous, which indeede they haue not bin,
witnesse France, and other Countries for lesse offen-
ces: what if they haue bin more seuerer then vsuall in
England, there was iust cause for it, we were rather to
haue regard to those whom we would haue terrified,
and made fearefull to commit the like offences, then
to the offenders iustly condemned, It being true that

amongst those people (who for the most part are sensible onely of the bodies torment) the feare of a cruell, painefull and vnusuall, death, more restrains them then death it selfe.

Thus much obuioufly, I proceede in his indeuours vntill Sir Thomas *Gates* his happie arrinall, which was onely in preparing timber, pales, posts and railes for the present impaling this new Towne to secure himselfe and men from the mallice and trechery of the Indians, in the midst and hart of whom, he was resolved to set downe, but before he could make himselfe ready for that businesse, Sir Thomas *Gates* though his passage more long then vsual, to second him herein, happily arriued about the second of August, with sixe good Shippes, men, prouisions and cattle, whom as yet not fully discouered, we supposed to be a Spanish flecte, thus induced the rather to beleue, because in company with him were three *Carnals*, vessels which neuer before had bin sent thither, and now onely for the transportation of the Cattle. It did mee much good, and gaue great courage to the whole company to see the resolution of Sir Thomas *Dale*, now wholly buied (our land fortifications to weake to withstand a forraigne Enemy) in lading our prouisions aboard the two good Shippes, the *Starre* and *Prosperous*, and our own *Deliuerance*, then riding before *James* town, aboarde which Shippes, he had resolved to encounter the supposed Encmy, animating his people, not onely with the hope of victory if they readily obeyed his direction, but also assuring them that if by these meanes God had ordained to set a period to their liues, they could neuer be sacrificed in a more acceptable seruice, himselfe promising, rather to fire the *Spanish* Shippes with his owne, then either basely to yeelde, or to be taken: and in nothing he seemed so much discontent as that we could not possibly lade a-
boarde

boarde all our prouisions before (the winde being then very faire) they might haue bin with vs, whilst therefore the rest were labouring their vtmost to lade aboarde our prouisions, hee caused a small shallop to be manned with thirty readie and good shot to discover directly what Shippes they might be, and with all speede to returne him certaine word, which within three houres they did, assuring him that it was an English fleet, Sir Thomas *Gates* Generall thereof: which newes how welcome it was vnto him, principally because now he doubted not the happie progression of the affaires in hand, let any man (equally with him affected to the good and welfare of the action) iudge and determine.

The worthies being met, after salutation and welcome giuen, and receiued, Sir Thomas *Dale* acquainted Sir Thomas *Gates* both with such businesses as he had affected since his arriual, and also of his resolution to builde a new Towne, at the *Fales*, which designe and purpose of his, Sir Thomas *Gates* then principall Governour in *Virginia*, well approving, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choise of, and the beginning of *September 1611* he set from *James town*, and in a day & a halfe, landed at a place where he purposed to seate & builde, where he had not bin ten daies before he had very strongly impaled seuen English Acres of ground for a towne, which in honour of the noble Prince *Henrie* (of euer happie and blessed memory, whose royall heart was euer strongly affected to that action) he called by the name of *Henrico*. No sooner was he thus fenced, and in a manner secured from the Indians, but his next worke (without respect to his owne health or particular welfare) was building at each corner of the towne, very strong and high commanders or watch-towers, a faire and handsome Church, and storehou-

ses, which finished he began to thinke vpon conuenient houses, and lodgings for himselfe and men, which with as much speede as was possible, were more strongly and more handsome then any formerly in *Virginia*, contriued and finished, and euen in foure moneths space, he had made *Henrico* much better and of more worth then all the worke euer since the *Colonie* began, therein done.

It should be to tedious if I should giue vp the account of euery daies labour, which therefore I purposely omit, and will onely describe the towne, in the very state and perfection wich I left it, and first for the situation, it standes vpon a neck of a very high land, 3 parts thereof inuironed with the main Riuer, and cut ouer betweene the two Riuers, with a strong pale, which maketh the neck of land an Island. There is in this town 3 streets of well framed howses, a hanfom Church, and the foundation of a more stately one laid, of Brick, in length, an hundred foote, and fifty foot wide, beside Store houses, watch houses, and such like: there are also, as ornaments belonging to this Town, vpon the verge of this Riuer, five faire Block houses, or commaunders, wherein liue the honnest sort of people, as in Farmes in *England*, and there keepe continuall centinell for the townes security, and about two miles from the towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length, cut ouer from riuer to riuer, garded likewise with feuerall Commaunders, with a great quantity of corne ground impaled, sufficient if there were no more in the Colony secured, to maintain wich but easly manuring, and husbandry, more men, then I suppose, will be addresssed thither, (the more is the pittie) these 3 yeeres.

For the further enlargement yer of this Town, on the other side of the Riuer, by impaling likewise: for we make no other fence, is secured to our vse, especially

ally for our hogges to feede in, about twelue English miles of ground, by name, *Hope in faith, Coxendale*, secured by five Forts, called, *Charity Fort, Mount malado*, a retreat, or guest house for sick people, a high seat, and wholsome aire, *Elizabeth Fort*, and *Fort patience*: and heere hath Mr. *Whitacres* chosen his Parsonage, or Church land, som hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed parsonage house built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall* of this Towne, and all the Forts thereunto belonging, hath Captaine *James Davis*, the principall Commaunde, and Government.

I proceed to our next and most hopefull habitation, whether we respect commodity, or security, (which we principally aime at) against forraigne designs, and inuasions, I meane the *Bermuda Citty*, begun about Christmas last, which because it is the nearest adioyning to *Henrico*, though the last vnder taken, I should it pertinent to handle in the next place. This Towne, or plantation is seated by land, some 5 miles from *Henrico*, by water fourteen e, being the yeer before the habitation of the *Appamatucks*, to reuenge the trecherous iniurie of those people, done vnto vs, taken from them, besides all their Corne, the former before without the losse of any, saue onely some few of those Indians, pretending our hurt) at what time Sir *Thomas Dale*, being himself vpon that seruice, and duly considering how commodious a habitation and seat it might be for vs, tooke resolution to possesse and plant it, and at that very instant, gaue it the name of the new *Bermudas*, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to be belonging to the freedome, and corporation for euer, many miles of Champion, and woodland, in feuerall Hundreds, as the vpper and nether Hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, *Wests Sherly* hundred, and *Digges* his hundred. In the
nether

nether hundred he first began to plant, and inhabite for that there lyeth the most conuenient quantity of Corne ground, and with a Pale cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, about two miles long, wee haue securd some eight miles circuit of ground, the most part champion, and exceeding good Corne ground, vpon which pale, and round about, vpon the verge of the Riuer in this Hundred, halfe a mile distant from each other, are vey faire houses, already builded, besides diuers other particular mens houses, not so few as fifty, according to the conditions of the pattennt graunted them, which who so pleaseth to peruse, shall in the end of my discourse finde it inserted. In this Plantation next to Sir *Thomas Dale* is principal, in the Commaund, Captaine *Georg Yardley*, Sir *Thomas Gates* his lieftenaunt, who se endeauours haue euer deserued worthy commendations in that imployment. *Rochdale* Hundred by a crosse pale, well nigh foure miles long, is also already impaled, with bordering houses all along the pale, in which Hundred our hogges, and other cattell haue twenty miles circuit to graze in securely. The vndertaking of the chiefe Citty deferred till their Haruest be in, which once reaped, all hands shall be imployed thereon, which Sir *Thomas Dale* purposeth, and he may with some labour effect his designes, to make an impregnable retreat, against any forraign inuasion, how powrefull so euer.

About fifty miles from this seat, on the other side of the Riuer, is *James* towne situate, vpon a goodly and fertile Island: which although formerly scandolled with vnhealthfull aire, we haue since approued as healthfull as any other place in the country: and this I can say by mine own experience, that that corne and gardaine ground (which with much labour being when we first seated vpon it, a thick wood) wee
haue

haue cleered, and impaled, is as fertile as any other we haue had experience and triall off. The Towne it selfe by the care and prouidence of *Sir Thomas Gates*, who for the most part had his chiefest residence there, is reduced into a handsome forme, and hath in it two faire rowes of howses, all of framed Timber, two stories, and an vpper Garret, or Corne loft high, besides three large, and substantiall Storehouses, ioyned together in length some hundred and twenty foot, and in breadth forty, and this town hath been lately newly, and strongly impaled, and a faire platforme for Ordnance in the west Bulwarke raised: there are also without this towne in the Island, some very pleafant, and beutifull howses, two Blockhouses, to obserue and watch least the Indians at any time should swim ouer the back riuer, and come into the Island, and certain other farme howses. The commaund and gouernment of this town, hath master *Iohn Scarpe*, Listenant to *Captain Francis West*, Brother to the, right Honourable, the Lord *Lamarre*.

From *James* towne downewards, some forty and odde miles at the mouth of the riuer, neer *Point Comfort*, vpon *Kecoughtan*, are two pleasant and commodious Forts, *Henrie* and *Charles*, goodly seats, and much corne ground about them, abounding with the commodities of *fish*, *fowle*, *Deere*, and fruits, where by the men liue there, with halfe that maintenance out of the Store, which in other places is allowed: certainly this habitation would bee no whit inferiour to the best we haue there, saue, as yet, with the poore meanes we haue; we cannot secure it, if a forraigne enemy, as we haue iust cause to expect daily should attempt it. And of these Forts, *Captain Georg Web* was lately established the principall Commander.

It hath been our greatest care, and labour hitherto, and yet but these three years, the former foure meerey mispent, to compass these busineses, which being thus settled, and brought to such perfection, as I haue described, now doth the time approach, that commodity may be expected, and if meanes bee sent ouer, will assuredly be returned. What honest spirit, hauing hitherto laboured herein, would at the vpsshot (as I may so term it) be discouraged or desist? I hope none, rather more will be animated, (if need require) to put too their helping hands and purses.

And euen thus I haue shaddowed I hope, without the guilt of tedious, or prolix discourses (as I haue been able) the true condition (though many circumstances omitted) of *Virginia*, what may the substance be, when the externall shew is so forward, so glorious.

I haue purposely omitted the relation of the Country commodities, which euery former treatise hath abundantly, the hope of the better mines, the more base, as Iron, Allom, and such like, Perfectly discouraged, and made triall off, and surely of these things I cannot make so ample relation, as others, who in the discouery of those affaires, haue bin, then my selfe more often conuersant, onely of the hopefull, and marchantable commodities of tobacco, silke grasse, and silke wormes: I dare thus much affirme, and first of Tobacco, whose goodnesse mine own experience and triall induces me to be such, that no country vnder the Sunne, may, or doth afford more pleasant, sweet, and strong Tobacco, then I haue tasted there, euen of mine owne planting, which, howsoeuer being then the first yeer of our triall thereof, we had not the knowledge to cure, and make vp, yet are there some now resident there, out of the last yeers well observed experience. which both know, and I doubt

not

not, will make, and returne such Tobacco this yeere, that euen England shall acknowledge the goodnesse thereof.

Now I proceed to the silke grasse which groweth like vnto our flax, I meane not, of that kinde formerly sent ouer, I haue seen, euen of the naturall, and wilde plants, which Captaine *Martin*, who much delighteth in those busineses, hath made, exceeding fine, and exceeding strong silke, and himselfe hath replanted many of the wilde plants this yeere, the silke whereof he purposeth to returne for triall.

The silke wormes sent thither from *England*, in seeds the last winter, came foorth many of them the beginning of *March*, others in *April*, *Maye*, and *June*, thousands of them grown to great bignesse, and a spinning, and the rest well thriuing of their increase, and commodity well knowne to be reaped by them, we haue all most assurance (since sure I am) no Country affoordeth more store of *Mulberry* trees, or a kind with whose leafe they more delight, or thriue better.

It may be heere happily expected, that I should giue vp the relation of Captaine *Argalls* particular voyages and indeauours, and euen as in a Plat, demonstrate his Norward discoueries, from which businesse I desire to be excused, partly, because himselfe is best able to make his owne relations, and partly, because my home employments would not permit me leisure to accompany him, though my selfe desirous, in any of his voyages, whose indeauours, if I should indeauour to make knowne, and publish, could receiue no honour at all by my commendations, or descriptions: much might they be impaired, through my ignorance, or unskillfulness to set them foorth: yet cannot I omit to publish to the world, what present reliefe he hath don to the Colony, furnishing

nishing vs by two trading voyages, with three and twenty hundred bushels of Corne, into our store deliuered: beside, what he reserued for his mens provision, what he bestowed vpon well deseruers, and what his men appropriated,

I passe by the benefit of peace in those parts, by reason of his Captiue *Poehabuntas*, concluded established, and will onely name the commoditie by his meanes done vnto vs, in repairing of our weatherbeaten boats, and furnishing vs with new, both strong, and vsfull without whose assistance heerin, vnlesse wee should haue omitted other necessary employments, I see not how we should haue had passage one to another.

His Norward discoueries towards *Sacadehoc*, and beyond to *Portroyall*, *Santa Cruz*, and thereabout may not be concealed: In which his aduentures, if he had brought home no commodity to the Colony, (which yet he did very much, both of apparrell, victualls, and many other necessaries) the honour which he hath done vnto our Nation, by displanting the French, there beginning to seate & fortifie within our limits, and taking of their Ship and Pinnas, which he brought to *James Towne*, would haue been reward enough for his paines, and will euer speake loud his honour, and approved valour.

I haue heard it credibly reported, euen from the mouth of Captaine *Argall*, that in one small Shippe, and in one voyage, the French haue cleared eight thousand pounds by trade with the Indians, for furs; which benefit wil be as easily by vs procured.

It is true the *Saluages* there inhabiting (before Captaine *Argalls* arriual) esteemed the French as Demy-Gods, and had them in great estimation: but seeing them vanquished and ouercom by vs; forfook them, yea, which is no meane point of pollicy; desired

red our friendship, telling Captaine *Argall*, that hee had vndone them for euer, for that the French by yeerely trade with them for Furrer, furnished them with many necessaries, whereof they had great want, which trade by this meanes might happily be hindered. But Captaine *Argall* hath agreed with them to reserue their Furrer for him, and promised them, once a yeere to come thither, and truck with them: they seemed very well content, assuring him, that though the French should at any time arriue there, and proffer them trade, they would reserue all their Furs for him, and what profit by this meanes onely, may be returned to the *Virginia* aduenturers, I submit to Captaine *Argalls* owne oppinion and iudgement.

I purposely omitted one thing in the Treatise of our concluded peace, wherewith I intend to conclud my discourse, which already I haue drawne to a longer period then I purposed, whereby wee haue gathered the better assurance, of their honest inward intentions, and this it is.

It pleased Sir *Thomas Dale* (my selfe being much desirous before my returne for *England*, to vilit *Powhatan*, & his Court, because I would be able to speak somewhat thereof by mine own knowledge) to imploy my selfe, and an english boy for my Interpreter on *Thomas Saluage* (who had liued three yeers with *Powhatan*, and speaks the language naturally, one whom *Powhatan* much affecteth) vpon a message vnto him, which was to deale with him, if by any meanes I might procure a daughter of his, who (*Pochahuntas* being already in our possession) is generally reported to be his delight, and darling, and surely he esteemeth her as his owne soule) for sure pledge of peace.

I departed the fifteenth of May early in the morning

ning, with the English Boy, and two Indian guides, from the Bermudas, and came to his court or residence (as I iudge some three score miles distant from vs, being seated at the head almost of *Pamann-kie* Riuer, at a towne called *Matchcot*) the next night after, about twelue of the clocke, the former night lodging in the open woods, feareles and without daunger: when we were come opposite to his Towne, the maine riuer betweene him and vs, least at any time we should march by land vnto him vndiscovered: my Indian guides called for a Canoa (a boate made onely of one tree, after the fashion of a hollow trough) to transport vs, giuing them to know that there was two English sent vpon businesse to *Powhatan* from the English *Weroance*, which once knowne, a Canoa was presently sent, and we ferried ouer, *Powhatan* himselfe attending at the landing place to welcome vs. His first salutation was to the Boy, whom he very wel remembred, after this manner: my childe you are welcome, you haue bin a straunger to me these foure yeeres, at what time I gaue you leaue to goe to *Paspahae* (for so was Iames towne called before our seating there) to see your friends, and till now you neuer returned: you (said he) are my child, by the donatiue of Captaine *Newport*, in lieu of one of my subiects *Namontacke*, who I purposely sent to King Iames his land, to see him and his country, and to returne me the true report thereof, he as yet is not returned, though many ships haue arriued here from thence, since that time, how ye haue delt with him I know not? hauing thus ended his speech to him, he addressed himself to me, and his first salutation, without any words at all, was about my necke, and with his hand he feeled round about it, so as I might haue imagined he would haue cut my throate, but that I knew he durst not, he asked me where the chaine of
pearle

pearle was, I demaunded what chaine : that, said he, which I sent my Brother Sir *Thomas Dale* for a present, at his first arriuall : which chaine, since the peace coneluded, he sent me word, if he sent any Englishman vpon occasion of busines to me, he should weare about his neeke, otherwise I had order from him to binde him and send him home againe. It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had sent him such word (which till then my selfe neuer heard of) and for this purpose had giuen his Page order to deliuer me the said chaine, who forgot it: I was doubtfull at the first how to answer him, yet presently I replied that I was not ignorant of that message from his brother, formerly sent vnto him, whereby he onely entended that if vpon extraordinary and sudden occasion, he should be constrained to send an English man vnto him without an Indian guide, then in testimonie that he sent him hee should weare the chaine about his neeke: but in case any of his owne people should conduct any English vnto him, as did me, two of his owne men, one of them a Counciller vnto him, who was acquainted with my businesse, their testimony should be sufficient, and the chaine then needlesse to be worne, which answer pleased him well, and fourth with he brought vs to his house, not full a stones cast from the waterside, whereinto being come, himselfe sat downe on his bedsteade side, bed there was none more then a single mat, on each hand of him was placed a comely and personable young woman, not twenty yeeres old the eldest, which they call his *Queenes*, the house with in round about bee set with them, the outside guarded with an hundred bowmen, with their quivers of arrowes at their backes, which at all times, & places attend his person.

The first thing hee offered vs was a pipe of Tobacco, which they call *Pissmore*, whereof himselfe
first

first dranke, and then gaue it me, and when I had drank what I pleased, I returned his pipe, which with his owne hands he vouchsafed to take from me: then began he to inquire how his Brother *Sir Thomas Dale* fared, after that of his daughters wellfare, her mariage, his vnknowne sonne, and how they liked, liued and loued together: I resolued him that his brother was very well, and his daughter so well content that she would not change her life to returne and liue with him, whereat he laughed heartily, and said he was very glad of it. Now proceede (said he) to deliuer the cause of your vnexpected comming; I certified him my message was priuate, to be deliuered to himselfe, without the presence of any, saue one of his Councellers, by name *Pepaschiber*, one of my guides, who was acquainted with my businesse, he instantly commanded all, both men and women out of the house, his two Queenes onely excepted, who vpon no occasion whatsoever, may sequester themselves. Now (said he) speake on, and my selfe by my interpreter thus begun. *Sir Thomas Dale* your Brother, the principal commander of the English men, sends you greeting of loue and peace, on his part inuiolable, and hath in testimonie thereof (by me sent you a worthe present, *vid.* two large peeces of copper, five strings of white and blew beades, five wodden combes, ten fish-hookes, and a paire of kniues, all which I deliuered him, one thing after another, that he might haue time to view each particular: He willed me also to certifie you, that when you pleased to send men, he would giue you a great grinding stone: my message and gift hitherto pleased him, I proceeded thus. The bruite of the exquisite perfection of your yongest daughter, being famous through all your territories, hath come to the hearing of your Brother *Sir Thomas Dale*, who for this purpose hath addressed me hither

ther, to intreate you by that brotherly friendship you make profession of, to permit her (with me) to returne vnto him, partly for the desire which himselfe hath, and partly for the desire her sister hath to see her of whom, if fame hath not bin prodigall, as like enough it hath not, your brother (by your fauour) would gladly make his neereft companion, wife and bedtellow (many times he would haue interrupted my speech, which I intreated him to heare out, and then if he pleased to returne me answere) and the reason hercofis, because being now friendly and firmly vnited together, and made one people (as he supposeth and beleeueth) in the band of loue, he would make a naturall vnion betweene vs, principally because himselfe hath taken resolution to dwel in your country so long as he liueth, and would therefore not onely haue the firmeft assurace hee may, of perpetuall friendship from you, but also hereby binde himselfe thereunto.

When I had thus made an end of speaking; the sooner by his often interruption, I had no neede to require his answere; which readily, and with no lesse grauity he returned thus.

I gladly accept your Kings salute of loue & peace, which while I liue I shall exactly, both my selfe and subiects maintaine and conserue: his pledges thereof I receiue with no lesse thaakes, albeit they are not so ample; howbeit himselfe a greater *Weroance*, as formerly Captaine *Newport*, whom I very well loue, was accustomed to gratefie me with. But to the purpose, my daughter whom my brother desireth, I sould within these few daies to be wife to a great *Weroance* for two bushels of *Roanoake* (a small kinde of beades) made of oysterihels, which they vse and passe one to another, as we doe money (a cubites length valuing sixe pence) and it is true she is already gone with him,

three daies iorney from me. I replied that I knew his greatnesse and power to be such, that if he pleased heerein to gratifie his Brother hee might, restoring the *Roanoake* without the imputation of Injustice, take hoame his daughter againe, the rather because she was not full twelue yeeres old, and therefore not marriageable: assuring him beside the band of peace, so much the firmer he should haue treble the prise of his daughter, in beades, Copper, Hatchets and many other things more vsfull for him? his answere hereunto was, that he loued his daughter as deere as his owne life, and though he had many Children, he delighted in none so much as in her, whom if he should not often beholde, he could not possibly liue, which she liuing with vs he kaeu he could not, hauing with himselfe resolued vpon no termes whatsoever to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst vs, and therefore intreated me to vrge that suite no further, but returne his brother this answer.

I desire no firmer assurance of his friendship, then his promise which he hath already made vnto mee; from me, he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she liues shall be sufficient, when she dieth he shall haue another childe of mine, but she yet liueth: I holde it not a brotherly part of your King, to desire to bereaue me of two of my children at once; further giue him to vnderstand, that if he had no pledge at all he should not neede to distrust any iniurie from me, or any vnder my subiection, there haue bin too many of his men and my killed, and by my occasion there shall neuer bee more, I which haue power to performe it, haue said it: no not though I should haue iust occasion offered, for I am now olde, and would gladly end my daies in peace, so as if the English offer me iniury, my country is large enough, I will remoue my selfe farther from you. Thus much

I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because your felues are wearie, and I sleepe, we will thus end the discourse of this businesse. Then called he one of his men, and willed him to get some bread for vs, himselfe the meane while telling vs that they not expecting our comming, as vsually they doe eat v^p all their other victnals, presently the bread was brought in two great wodden bouls, the quantity of a bushel sod breade made v^p round, of the bignesse of a tenise ball, where of we ate some few, and disposed the rest to many of his hungrie garde which attended about vs: when we had eaten he caused to be fetched a great glasse of sacke, some three quarts or better, which Captain *Newport* had giuen him sixe or seauen yeeres since, carefully preserued by him, not much aboue a pint in all this time spent, and gaue each of vs in a great oyster shell some three spoonefuls; and so giuing order to one of his people to appoint vs a house to lodge in, tooke his leaue for that night, and we departed. We had not bin halfe an houre in the house before the fleas began so to torment vs that wee could not rest there, but went forth, and vnder a broade oake, vpon a mat reposed our felues that night no sooner were we awake and v^p in the morning, but *Powhatan* himselfe came to vs, and asked vs how we fared, and immediatly led vs to his house, where was provided for our breakfast a great bole of *Indian* pease and beanes boyled together, and as much bread as might haue sufficed a dosen hungry men, about an houer after boyled fresh fish, and not long after that roasted Oysters, Creuises and Crabbes: his men in this time being abroad a hunting some venison, others Turkeis and such like beasts and soules as their woods affords, who returned before ten of the clocke with three does and a bucke, very good and fat venison, and two great cocke Turkeis, all which

were dressed that day, and supper ended, scarce a bone to be seene.

Whiles I yet remained there, by great chaunce came an English man thither, almost three yeeres before that time surpris'd, as he was at worke neere *Fort Henrie*, one *William Parker* growen so like both in complexion and habite to the *Indians*, that I onely knew him by his tongue to be an Englishman, he seemed very ioyfull so happily to meete me there. Of him when we often inquired, the *Indians* euer tolde vs that he fell sicke and died, which till now we beleued : he intreated me to vse my best indeuours to procure his returne, which thing I was purposed so soone as I knew him, and immediately went with him to *Powhatan*, and tolde him that we credibly beleued that he was dead, but since it was otherwise I must needs haue him home, for my selfe of necessitie must acquaint his brother that I had seene him there : who if he returned not, would make another voyage thither purposely for him : *Powhatan* seemed very much discontent, and thus replied. You haue one of my daughters with you, and I am therewith well content, but you can no sooner see or know of any English mans being with me, but you must haue him away, or else breake peace and friendship : If you must needs haue him, he shal goe with you, but I will send no guides along with you, so as if any ill befall you by the way, thanke your selues. I answered, that rather then I would goe without him, I would goe alone, the way I knew well enough, and other daungers I feared not, since if I returned not safely, he must expect our reuenge vpon him and his people, giuing him further to know, that his brother our king might haue iust occasion to distrust his loue to him, by his slight respect of me, if he returned mee home without guides. He replied not hereunto, but
in

in passion and discontentment from me, not till sup-
 pertime speaking any more vnto me: when sending
 for me, he gaue me share of such cates as were for
 himselfe prouided, and as good aspect and counte-
 nance as before; but not a word concerning my re-
 turne, till himselfe at midnight comming to me, and
 the boy where we lay awaked vs, and tolde me that
Pepaschechar and another of his men, in the morning
 should accompany vs home, earnestly requesting
 me to remember his brother to send him these parti-
 culars. Ten peeces of Copper, a shauing knife, an
 iron frow to cleaue bordes, a grinding stone, not so
 bigge but four or fiue men may carryit, which would
 be bigge enough for his vse, two bone combes, such
 as Captaine *Newport* had giuen him; the wodden
 ones his own men can make: an hundred fish-hookes
 or if he could spare it, rather a fishing faine, and a cat,
 and a dogge, with which things if his brother would
 furnish him, he would requite his loue with the re-
 turne of skinnes: wherewith he was now altogether
 vnfurnished (as he tolde me) which yet I knew hee
 was well stored with, but his disposition mistrust-
 full and ielous, loues to be on the surer hand.

Whē he had deliuered this his message, he asked me
 if I will remembred euery paticular, which I must re-
 peat to him for his assurance, & yet still doubtful that
 I might forget any of them, he bade me write them
 downe in such a Table book as he shewed me, which
 was a very fair one, I desired him, it being of no vse
 to him, to giue it mee: but he tolde me, it did him
 much good to shew it to strangers which came vnto
 him: so in mine owne Table booke, I wrot downe
 each particular, and he departed.

In the morning, himselfe and wee were timely
 stirring to be gone: to breakefast first we went, with
 a good boyled Turkie, which ended, he gaue vs a

whole Turkie, besides that we left, and three baskets of bread to carry vs home, and when we were ready to depart, hee gaue each of vs an excellent Bucks skin, very well dressed, and white as snow, and sent his sonne and daughter each of them one, demaunding if I well remembred his answer to his brother, which I repeated to him: I hope (said he) this will giue him good satisfaction, if it doe not? I will goe three daies iourney farther from him, and neuer see *English* man more: if vpon any other occasion hee send to me again, I will gladly entertain his missiues, and to my powre accomplish his iust requests: and euen thus himselfe conducting vs to the water side, he tooke leaue of vs, and we of him: and about ten of the clock the next night after, we were come to the *Bermudas*. This discourse I haue briefly as I could, and as the matter would permit, the rather related, to make knowne, how charie *Powhatan* is, of the conseruation of peace, a thing much desired, and I doubt not right welcom newes, to the vndertakers heer) as may appeare by his answers to my requests, and also by my safe passage thither, & homwards, without the least shew of iniury offred vnto vs, though diuers times by the way, many stragling Indians met vs, which in former times, would gladly haue taken so faire occasion to worke their mischiefe and bloody designes vpon vs. By all which, as likewise by our forward progression in our affaires, I hope such good successe and benefit to bee speedily reaped, that my selfe, though I blesse GOD for it, who hath so prouided for me, that I may liue more happily heere, then many who are fearefull to aduenture thither) could euen willingly make a third voyage thither if by my poore endeauours the businesse might receiue the least furtherance. God, (I hope) will raise vp meanes beyond mans imagination,

tion, to perfect his owne glory and honour, in the conuerſion of thoſe people, of whom vndoubtedly, (as in all other parts in the world, he hath predeſtinated ſome to eternall ſaluation. and bleſſed ſhall thoſe be that are the inſtruments thereof) I hope this poor Narration will moue euery honeſt heart, to put his helping hand thereunto. For my part, as I haue been ſiue yeers a perſonall workeman in that building, ſo ſhall I euer, as my meanes may permit me, be ready to offer my mite towards the furniſhing of others, and againe (if need require) perſonall labor therein.





To the Reader.

Here be two properties especially remarkable, which should moue all men earnestly and constantly, with all their meanes and endeuour, to desire the atchewing of any thing, and bringing of the same vnto perfection: first the worth and excellencie: secondly the durablenesse and continuance thereof. For as that thing which is not durable, by reason of fragilitie and fugacitie, is not vsually esteemed of men, though it be excellent: so that likewise which is not precious, is worthely little regarded, though it be neuer so durable. Now the Virginian plantation bath both these notable properties, if at the least we will, and impeach them not our selues; for what is more excellent, more precious and more glorious, then to conuert a heathen Nation from worshipping the diuell, to the sauing knowledge, and true worship of God in Christ Iesus? what more praiseworthy and charitable, then to bring a sauage people from barbarisme vnto ciuillitie? what more honourable vnto our countrey, then to reduce a farre disioyned forraigne nation, vnder the due obedience of our dread Soueraigne the Kings Maiestie? what more conuenient then to haue good scates abroad for our euer flowing multitudes of people at home? what more profitable then to purchase great wealth, which most now adaiies gape after ouer-greedily? All which benefits are assuredly to bee had and obtained, by well and plentifully vpholding of the plantation in Virginia. And for the durablenesse of all these

these great and singular blessings, there can (by Gods assistance) be no doubt at all made, if mens hearts unto whom God hath lent ability were but enlarged cheerefully to adventure and send good companies of honest industrious men thither with a mind to enlarge Christs kingdome: for then will God assuredly maintaine his owne cause. But alas, as there was neuer yet any action so good, so honourable, so glorious, so pious and so profitable, but hath had checkes and discouragements, both by open enemies abroade, and intestine aduersaries at home with in it owne bowels: euen so may I truly say, hath this most glorious, most honourable most pious and most profitable enterprize had. For as of old, when Zerubbabell, Ezra and Nehemiah returned from Babell, by allowance of the king of Persia to Ierusalem, and began to repaire the walles thereof, and to restore Gods seruice, there wanted not a Sanballat and others to say: what doe these weake Iewes? will they fortifie themselves? will they sacrifice? will they finish it in a day? Noe, for although they builde, yet if a fox goe vp, he shall euen breake downe that stony wall, Euen so deale many Sanballates and Tobiahes, forraigne and domesticall enemies of this most religious worke: yea there be many who will not seeme enemies thereunto, but yet will neither further the businesse themselves, no not according to their owne ingagements which in conscience and credite they ought) nor quietly suffer others that otherwise would, but discourage them therein all they may som saying as Iudah once did. The strength of the bearers is weakened, and there is much earth, so as we are not able to builde the wall. Som saying with the unfaithfull Spies, sent forth to search the land of Canaan: The land wee went through to search it out is a land that eateth vp the inhabitants thereof, for all the people we saw in it are strong, and men of great stature: yea and some others say, there is much already expended, and yet no

H profit

profit ariseth, neither is there victuals to be had, for the preserving of life and soule together. But oh my deere countrie-men, be not so farre bewitched herewith as to be still discouraged thereat for those that bring a vilde slander upon this action, may die by a plague before the Lord, as those men did: but rather remembering your auncient worth, renoune, valour and bounty, harken vnto Caleb and Iosua, who stilled the peoples mourning: saying, Let vs goe vp at once and possesse it, for vndoubtedly we shall ouercome it; yet not so much now by force of armes as the Israelites did then by warrant from God (nor by utterly destroying of them, as some haue cruelly done since) as by gentlenesse, loue, amity and Religion. As for profit it shall come abundantly, if we can with the husband-man, but freely cast our corne into the ground, and with patience waite for a blessing. And of victuals, there is now no complaint at all, and that which was hapned by the meere lasie negligense of our owne people.

Now to the end that you may the better perceiue these things to be true, & be thereby the more animated cheerefully to goe forward in the vpholding of this holy worke, I will no longer detain you from the perusall of some Calebs and Iosuahs faithfull reports (writ there in Iune last this present yeere 1614. and sent hither by the last shippe that came thence) for further incouragement to put hereunto speedily & plentifully your helping hands with al alacrity: As for the that are able, & yet wil not further but indawger the utter ruining of this so glorious a cause (by their miserablenesse (being without loue and charitie) to the great dishonour of God, and our Countries perpetuall shame should it now sinke, and full to the gonnd: I leaue them to him that made them, to dispose of them according to his infinite wisdom. And so come to the letters themselves: the first and chiefest whereof is from Sir Thomas Dale, Marshall and Gouvernour of Virginia, vnto a Minister of London.

To

To the R. and my most esteemed
friend M^r.D.M. at his house at
F. Ch. in London.

Right Reuerend S^r. by S^r. Thomas Gates I
wrot vnto you of such occasions as then pre-
sented themselues, and now again by this
worthy Gentleman Captaine Argall I salute you: for
such is the reuerend regard I haue of you, as I can-
not omit any occasion to expresse the sincere affection I
beare you. You haue ever giuen me encouragements
to perseuer in this religious Warfare, vntill your last
Letters; not for that you are now lesse well affected
thereunto: but because you see the Action to bee in
danger by many of their non performances who un-
der tooke the businesse. I haue vndertaken, and haue
as faithfully, & with all my might indeavored the pro-
secution with all allacrity, as God that knoweth the
heart, can beare me record, what recompence, or what
rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to ex-
pect; but from him in whose vineyard I labor, whose
Church with greedy appetite I desire to erect. My
glorious master is gone, that would haue enuauentled ^{Prince Henry}
with his fauours the labours I vndertake, for Gods
cause, and his immortall honour. He was the great
Captaine of our Israell, the hope to haue builded up
this heauenly new Ierusalem he interred (I think) the
whole frame of this businesse, fell into his grave: for
most mens forward (at least seeming so) desires are
quenched, and Virginia stands in desperate hazard.

You there doe your duties, I will no way omit mine, the time I promised to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawn me from this feast: it is not the marriage of a wife maks me hast home, though that sallat giue an appetite to cause me returæ. But I haue more care of the Stock, then to set it vpon a die, and rather put my selfe to the curtesie of noble & worthy censures then ruine this worke; and haue a iury (nay a million) of foule mouthed detracters, scan vpon my endeauours, the ends whereof they cannot diue into. You shall briefly vnderstand, what hath betide since my last, and how we now stand, and are likely to grow to perfection, if we be not altogether neglected, my stay grounded vpon such reason, as had I now returned, it would haue hazarded the ruine of all.

Sir Thomas Gates hauing imbarqued himselfe for England, I put my selfe into Captaine Argalls ship, with a hundred and fifty men in my frigot, and other boats went into Pamaunkie riuer, where Powhatan hath his residence, and can in two or three daies, draw a thousand men together, with me I carried his daughter, who had been long prisoner with vs, it was a day or two before we heard of them: At length they demaunded why we came; I gaue for answer that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as had been agreed vpon for her ransom) render all the armes, tooles, sword's, and men that had runne away, and giue me a ship full of corne, for the wrong he had done vnto vs: if they would doe this, we would be friends, if not burne all. They de-

mann-

maunded time to send to their King; I assented, I taking, they receiuing two pledges, to carrie my message to Powhatan. All night my two men lay not far from the water side, about noon the next day they told them the great King was three daies iourney off, that Opochankano was hard by, to whom they would haue had them deliuer their message, saying, that what he agreed upon and did, the great King would confirme. This Opocankano is brother to Powhatan, and is his and their chiefe Captaine: and one that can as soone (if nat sooner) as Powhatan commaund the men. But my men refused to doe my message vnto any saue Powhatan, so they were brought back, and I sent theirs to them, they told me that they would fetch Simons to me, who had thrice plaid the runnagate, whose lies and villany much hindered our trade for corne: But they dclayed vs, so as we went a shore they shot at vs, we were not behinde hand with them, killed some, hurt others, marched into the land, burnt their houses, tooke their corne, and quartered all night ashore.

The next day we went further up the riner, they dogged vs, and called to know whither we went; wee answered, to burne all, if they would not doe as we demaunded, and had been agreed upon. They would they said, bring all the next day so wee forbare all hostility; went a shore, their men in good numbers comming amongst vs. but we were very cautious, stood to our arms. The Kings daughter went ashore, but would not talke to any of them scarce to them of the best sort, and to them onely, that if her father
had

had loued her, he would not value her lesse then olde swords, peeces, or axes: wherefore she would stil dwell with the English men, who loued her. At last came one from Powhatan, who tould vs, that Simons was run away, to Nonsowhaticond, which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other English man was dead, that proued a lie: for since, M^r. Hamor, whom I employed to Powhatan brought him to me, our peeces, swords, and tooles within fifteen daies, should be sent to Iames towne, with some corne, and that his daughter should be my childe, and ouer a well vwith mee, desiring to be euer friends, and named such of his people, and neighbour Kings, as he desired to be included, and haue the benefit of the peace, promising if any of our men came to him, vwithout leaue from me, he would send them back: and that if any of his men stole from vs, or killed our cattel, he vwould send them to us to bee punished as vve thought fit. With these conditions we returned, and vwithin the time limited, part of our Arms vvere sent, and 20. men vwith corne, and promised more, vvhich he hath also sent. Opachankano desired I vwould call him friend, and that he might call me so, saying he vvas a great Captaine, and did alwaies fight: that I vvas also a great Captaine, and therefore he loued mee; and that my friends should be his friends. So the bargain vv. is made, and every eight or ten daies, I haue messages and presents from him, vwith many apparances that he much desireth to continue friendshipp.

Now may you iudge Sir, if the God of battailes haue not a helping hand in this, that hauing our
swords,

swords drawn, killing their men, burning their houses, and taking their corne: yet they tendred vs peace, and striue with all allacrity to keep vs in good oppinion of them; by vvhich many benefits arise vnto vs. First, part of our Armes, disgracefully lost long agoe, (kept by the Sauages as Monuments and Trophies of our shames) redeliuered, some repaire to our honor. Our catle to increase, without danger of destroying, our men at liberty, to hunt freely for venison, to fish, to doe any thing else, or goe any vvhither, without danger; to follow the husbanding of their corne securely, vvhereof vve haue aboue fve hundred Acres set, and God be praised, in more forwardnesse, then any of the Indians, that I haue seene, or heard off this yeere, roots, and hearbs vve haue in abundanue; all doubt of want is by Gods blessing quite vanished, and much plenty expected. And vvhich is not the least materiall, vve may by this peace, come to discover the countrey better, both by our own trauels, and by the relation of the Sauages, as vve grow in familiarity with them,

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion, vvhich after shee had made some good progresse therein, renounced publickly her countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, vvas, as she desired, baptised, and is since married to an English Gentleman of good vnderstanding, (as by his letter vnto me, containing the reasons for his marriage of her you may perceiue) an other knot to binde this peace the stronger. Her Father, and friends gaue approbation to it, and her Vncle gaue
her

ber to him in the Church : she lives civilly and loningly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will goe into England with me, and were it but the gayning of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toyle, and prejent stay vvell spent.

Since this accident the Governours and people of Checkahomnies, who are five hundred bow-men, and better, a stout and warlike Nation, haue made meanes to haue vs come vnto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Governours would meete me. They hauing thus three or foure times importuned mee, I resolved to goe; so taking Captain Argall, with fifty men in my frigot, and barge I vvent thither: Capitaine Argall with forty men landed, I kept aboard for some reasons. Vpon the meeting they told Capitain Argall they had longed to be friends, that they had no King, but eight great men, who gouerned them. He told them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would haue King Iames to be their King, & whether they would be his men? They after som conference between themselves, seemed willing of both, demaunding if we would fight against their enemies, he told them that if any did them iniurie, they should send me word, and I would agree them, or if their aduersaries would not, then I would let them haue as many men as they would to help them: they liked well of that, and told him that all their men should helpe vs. At this being agreed vpon, C. Argall gaue euery Councillor a Tamahawk, and a peece of Copper, which was kindly taken; they requested further, that if
their

their boats should happen to meet with our boats, and that they said they were the Chikahominy Englishmen, and King James his men, we would let them passe: we agreed unto it, so that they pronounced them selues English men, and King James his men, promising within fifteen daies to come unto James town to see me, and conclude these conditions; euery Bowman being to giue me as a Tribute to King James two measures of Corne euery haruest, the two measures contayning two bushells and a halfe, and I to giue euery Bowman a small Tamahawke, and to euery Counsellor a suit of red cloath, which did much please them. This people neuer acknowledged any King, before; no nor euer would acknowledge Powhatan for their King, a stout people they be, and a delicate seat they haue.

Now Sir you see our conditions, you, and al worthy men may iudge, whether it would not be a grieffe to see these faire hopes frostbitten and these fresh budding plants to wither: which had I returned, had assuredly followed: for keere is no one that the people would haue to gouern them, but my selfe: for I had now come away, had I not found a generall desire in the best sort to returne for England: letter upon letter, request upon request from their friends to returne, so as I knew not upon whom to conferre the care of this busines in my absence: whom I thought fitte was generally distasted, so as seeing the eminent ensuing danger, should I haue left this multitude, not yet fully refined, I am resolved to stay till haruest be got in, and then settle things according to my poor understanding, and returne: if in the interim there come no authorised Governour from England.

Consider I pray you since things be brought to this passe, as you see, and that I should have come away, if then through their factions, humors, mutinies, or indiscretion of the Chieftes I had left behind, this should fall to ruine: I then should receive the imputation; I incurre the blame, for quitting the Plantation, although I might doe it, both with my honour, my promised stay of time being expired, and having varrant from my Soueraigne, the Kings Maiesty: but the precedent reasons moved me and that this action of such price, such excellency, and assured profit to mine own knowledge should not die to the scorne of our Nation, and to giue cause of laughter to the Papists that desire our ruine. I can assure you, no countrey of the world affordes more assured hopes of infinite riches, which both by mine own peoples discovery, & the relation of such Sauages, whose fidelity we haue often found assured me.

Oh why should so many Princes, and noble men ingage themselves and thereby intermeddling herein, have caused a number of soules transport themselves, and be transported hither? why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an Action: for if their ends bee to build Gods Church, they ought to perseuer: if otherwise, yet their honour engageth them to be constant, howsoever they stand affected, heer is enough to content them, let their ends be either for God, or Mammon.

These things haue animated me to stay for a little season, to leaue those, I am tied in conscience to returne vnto, to leaue the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends, and acquaintance, with all mundall delights, and reside heer with much turmoile, which I will constantly doe, rather then see Gods glorie diminished, my King and Coun-
trey

they dishonoured, and these poore people, I haue the charge of ruined. And so I beseech you to answere for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may iustly do, and that these are my chiefe motiues God I take to vvitnesse. Remember me, and the cause I haue in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely loue you and yours, and vwill euer rest in all offices of a friend, to doe you seruice.

From Iames towne in Virginia
the 18 of Iunc, 1614.

Thomas Dale.

To my verie deere and louing
Cosen M. G. Minister of the B. F.
in London.

*S*r the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale our religious and valiant Genernour, hath now brought that to passe, which neuer before could be effected. For by vuarre upon our enemies, and kinde vsage of our friends, he hath brought them to seeke for peace of vs, vvhich is made, and they dare not breake. But that vvhich is best, one Pocahuntas or Matoa the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discreete English Gentleman Maister Rolfe, and that after she had openly

renounced her countrey Idolatry, confessed the faith of Iesus Christ, and was baptised; which thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured along time to ground in her.

Yet notwithstanding, are the vertuous deeds of this worthy Knight, much debased, by the letters which some wicked men have written from hence, and especially by one C. L. If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or doe feare to come hither, for those slaunders letters, you may upon my word boldly reprove them. You know that no malefactors can abide the face of the Iudge, but themselves scorning to be reprov'd, doe prosecute withall hatred; all those that labour their amendment. I marvaile much that any men of honest life, should feare the sword of the magistrate, which is unsheathed onely in their defence.

But I much more muse, that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplis and subscription: come hither where neither spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their Talents, or keepe themselves at home for feare of loosing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to the gaine of his Talent. But you my cosen, holde fast that which you haue, and I though my promise of 3 yeers service to my country be expired, will abide in my vocation
here

here untill I be lawfully called from hence. And so
betaking vs all vnto the mercies of God in Christ
Iesus, I rest for euer.

Virginia Iune 18. 1614.

Your most deere and louing cofen

Alex. Whitakers.

The coppie of the Gentle-mans letters
to Sir Thomas Da'e, that after married Powha-
tans daughter, containing the reasons mou-
ing him thereunto.

Honourable Sir, and most vverthy Gouvernor:
When your leasure shall best serue you to per-
use these lines, I trust in God, the beginning vwill
not strike you into a greater admiration, then the
end vwill giue you good content. It is a matter of no
small moment, concerning my own particular which
here I impart vnto you, and vvhich toucheth mee
so neerely, as the tenderesse of my saluation. How-
beit I freely subiect my selfe to your graue and ma-
ture iudgement, deliberation, approbation and de-
termination; assuring my selfe of your zealous ad-
monitions, and godly comforts, either perswading
me to desist, or encouraging me to persist ther in, with
a religious feare and godly care, for which (from the
very instant, that this began to roote it selfe, vwith-
in the secret bosome of my brest) my daily and ear-
nest praier s haue bin, still are, and euer shall bee pro-

ed forthwith, as sincere, a godly zeale, as I possibly may to be directed, aided and gouerned in all my thoughts, words and deedes, to the glory of God, and for my eternal consolation. To per(euere vvherein I neuer had more neede, nor (till now) could euer imagine to haue bin moued vwith the like occasion.

But (my case standing as it doth) vvhhat better vvorlaly refuge can I here seeke, then to shelter my selfe vnder the safety of your fauourable protection? And did not my ease proceede from an vnspotted conscience, I should not dare to offer to your viewv and aproued iudgement, these passions of my troubled soule, so full of feare and trembling is hypocrisie and dissimulation. But knowing my owne innocency & godly feruor, in the vvhole prosecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance, and clement construction. As for malicious deprauers, & turbulēt spirits, to whom nothing is tastful, but what pleaseth their vsauory pallat, I passe not for them being vwell assured in my perswasion (by the often triall and prouing of my selfe, in my holiest meditations and praiers) that I am called hereunto by the spirit of God; and it shall be sufficient for me to be protected by your selfe in all vertuous and pious induours. And for my more happie proceeding herein, my daily oblations shall euer be addressed to bring to passe so good effects, that your selfe, and all the vvorl'd may truely say: This is the worke of God, and it is maruelous in our eies.

But to auoide tedious preambles, and to come
 ncerer

neerer the matter: first suffer me with your patience, to sweepe and make cleane the way wherem I walke, from all suspicions and doubts, which may be couered therein, and faithfully to reueale unto you, what shoul'd moue me herunto.

Let therefore this my well aduised protestation, which here I make betweene God and my own conscience, be a sufficient witnesse, at the dreadfull day of iudgement (when the secret of all mens harts shal be opened) to condemne me herein, if my chiefest intent and purpose be not, to striue with all my power of body and minde, in the vndertaking of so mightie a matter, no way led (so farre forth as mans weake nesse may permit) with the vnbri dled desire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne saluation, and for the conuerting to the true knowledge of God and Iesus Christ, an vbeleeuing creature, namely Pokahun-tas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are, and haue a long time bin so intangled, and inthrall ed in so intricate a laborinth, that I was euen awearied to unwinde my selfe thereout. But almighty God, who neuer faileth his, that truely inuocate his holy name, hath opened the gate, and led me by the hand that I might plainly see and discern the safe paths wherem to treade.

To you therefore (most noble Sir) the patron and Father of vs in this countrey doe I utter the effects of this my settled and long continued affection
(which

(which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations) and here I doe truely relate, to vvhhat issue this dangerous combate is come vnto, vvherein I haue not onely examined, but throughly tried and pared my thoughts euen to the quicke, before I could finde any fit vvhole some and apt applications to cure so daungerous an vlcer. I neuer failed to offer my daily and faithfull praier to God, for his sacred and holy assistance. I forgot not to set before mine eies the frailty of mankinde, his prones to euill, his indulgencie of vvhicked thoughts, vvvith many other imperfections vvherein man is daily insnared, and oftentimes ouerthrowne, and them compared to my present estate. Nor vvas I ignorant of the heauie displeasure which almightie God conceiued against the sonnes of Leuie and Israel for marrying strange vviues, nor of the inconueniences vvhich may thereby arise, with other the like good motions vvhich made me looke about warily and with good circumspection, into the grounds and principall agitations, which thus should prouoke me to be in loue with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurtriture from my selfe, that oftentimes with feare and trembling, I haue ended my private controuersie with this: surely these are vvhicked instigations, hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in mans destruction; and so with feruent praier to be euer preserved from such diabolical assaults (as I tooke those to be) I haue taken some rest.

Thus

Thus when I had thought I had obtained my peace and quietnesse, beholde another, but more gracious temptation hath made breaches into my boldest and strongest meditations; with which I have bin put to a new triall, in a straighter manner then the former: for besides the many passions and sufferings, which I have daily, boarely, yea and in my sleepe indured, even awaking mee to astonishment, taxing me with remissnesse, and carelesnesse, refusing and neglecting to performe the duetic of a good Christian, pulling me by the eare, and crying: why dost not thou indue our to make her a Christian? And these have happened to my greater wonder, even when she hath bin furthest seperated from me, which in common reason (were it not an undoubted worke of God) might breede forgetfulnessse of a farre more worthe creature. Besides, I say the holy spirit of God hath often demaunded of me, why I was created? If not for transitory pleasures and worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lords vineyard, there to sow and plant, to nourish and increase the fruites thereof, daily adding with the good husband in the Gospell, somewhat to the tillent, that in the end the fruites may be reaped, to the behoofort of the laborer in this life, and his saluation in the world to come? And if this be, as undoubtedly this is, the service Iesus Christ requireth of his best servants, who unto him that hath these instruments of pietie put into his hands, and wilfully despiseth to worke with them. Likewise, adding here another great appa-

rance of ioue to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capablenesse of vnderstanding, her aptnesse and willingnesse to receiue anie good impression, and also the spirituall, besides her owne incitements stirring me vp hereunto.

What should I doe? Shall I be of so vntoward a disposition, as to refuse to leade the blind into the right way? Shall I be so vnnaturall, as not to giue bread to the hungrie? or vcharitable, as not to cover the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious duties of a Christian? Shall the base feare of displeasing the world, ouerpower and withhold mee from reuealing vnto man these spirituall workes of the Lord, which in my meditations and prayers, I haue daily made knowne vnto him? God for bid. I assuredly trust hee hath thus delt with me for my eternall felicitie, and for his glorie: and I hope so to be guided by his heauenly grace, that in the end by my faithfull paines, and christi- anlike labour, I shall attaine to that blessed promise, Pronounced by that holy Prophet Daniell vnto the righteous that bring many vnto the knowledge of God. Namely, that they shall shine like the starres foreuer and euer. A sweeter comfort cannot be to a true Christian, nor a greater encouragement for him to labour all the daies of his life, in the performance thereof, nor a greater gain of consolation, to be desired at the hower of death, and in the day of iudgement.

Againe

Againe by my reading, and conference vwith honest and religious persons, haue I receiued no small encouragement, besides *serena mea conscientia*, the cleerensse of my conscience, clean from the filth of impurity, *quæ est instar muri ahenci*, vvhich is vnto me, as a brasse vvall. If I should set down at large, the perturbations & godly motions, which haue striuen vwithin mee, I should but make a tedious & unnecessary volume. But I doubt not these shall be sufficient both to certifie you of my true intents, in discharging of my dutie to God, & to your selfe, to vvhose gracious providence I humbly submit my selfe, for his glory, your honour, our Countreys good, the benefit of this Plantation, and for the conuerting of one unregenerate, to regeneration; vvhich I beseech God to graunt, for his deere Sonne Christ Iesus his sake.

Now if the vulgar sort, who square all mens actions by the base rule of their own filthinesse, shall taxe or taunt me in this my godly labour: let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my selfe vwith incontinency; sure (if I would, and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfie such desire, though not vwithout a seared conscience, yet vwith Christians more pleasing to the eie, and lesse fearefull in the offence vnlawfully committed. Nor am I in so desperate an estate, that I regard not what becommeth of mee; nor am I out of hope but one day to see my Country, nor so void of friends, nor mean to birth, but there to obtain a mach to my great con-

tent: nor haue I ignorantly passed ouer my hopes there, or regardlesly seek to loose the loue of my friends, by taking this course: I know them all, and haue not rashly ouerslipped any.

But shal it please God thus to dispose of me (which I earnestly desire to fullfill my ends before sette down) I will heartely accept of it, as a godly taxe appointed me, and I will neuer cease, (God assisting me) untill I haue accomplished, & brought to perfection so holy a worke, in which I will daily pray God to blesse me, to mine, and her eternall happines. And thus desiring no longer to line, to enjoy the blessings of God, then this my resolution doth tend to such godly ends, as are by me before declared: nor doubting of your fauourable acceptance, I take my leaue, beseeching Almighty God to raine downe upon you, such plenitude of his heauenly graces. as your heart can wish and desire, and so I rest,

At your commaund most willing
to be disposed off

John Rolfe.

Virginia therefore standing now in such a goodly proportion, and faire forwardnesse of thriuing, as it was neuer yet hitherto scen in, since it began to be first planted: cannot but soone come to perfection, to the exceeding great comfort of all well affected Christians,

Christians, and no small profit of the planters, and aduenturers: if it be well seconded and tuppied, with a good number of able men: Wherefore, let none bee heerafter vnwilling all they may to further this most honourable Action, and be forward to vphold and support it from falling, by their speeche, and countenance, and freely aduenturing thither, both in their persons, & also by their purses, as God hath inabled them. To conclude, as *Azariab* sayd once to King *Azah*, *Iuda*, and *Beniamin*, so say I vnto all. *Beeye strong threfore, and let not your hands be weake. for your worke shall haue a reward.* And as the holy Apostle said to the *Corinthians*, *Be ye therefore stedfast, vnmoueable, abundant alwaies in the vorkes of the Lord. for as much as ye know your labour is not in vaine in the Lord, let vs not therefore bee vearie of vvelldoing: for in due season, wee shall reape, if wee faint not as the Apostle tolde the Galatians.* Farewell.

FINIS.

Errata.

P Ag. 5. inc 33. hir. p. 10. l. 16. *Opohekano.* p. 15. l. 14. *Weroance.* p. 17.
l. 22. *manure.* p. 17. l. 34. next to *vs.* read *so* as if. p. 18. l. 4. *halfe.* p. 18. l.
3. as. p. 18. l. 12. *purposed.* p. 21. l. 16. *diners.* p. 21. l. 27. *Saine.* p. 22. l. 21.
after *doth* read, not. p. 23. l. 13. *leau* out, *he.* p. 24. l. 16. *cure.* p. 27. l. 24.
bring. p. 31. l. 2. read immediately after by name, *Coxendale:* and after
the word, *called,* read, *Hope in faith.* p. 21. l. 25. *Somer.* p. 42. l. 24. *bring.* p.
45. l. 1. read, after *discontentment,* *went.* p. 46. l. 12. *messenger.* p. 47. l.
22. *personally.*

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