Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590

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Portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Frederigo Zuccaro, from a photograph in the Hall of History, Raleigh.
PREFACE

The material included in this pamphlet is taken from *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation . . .*, collected by Richard Hakluyt, and printed in London by George Bishop, Ralfe Newberie, and Robert Barker in 1600 [a new edition was printed in 1810]. Excerpts from this material were made about 1907 by Dr. R. D. W. Connor, who at that time was Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and were printed as *North Carolina Historical Leaflets*, series 1, numbers 1 to 7, and were mailed to school teachers, school children, and other interested persons. In 1950 the entire chapter from which the material in the leaflets was taken was published as a pamphlet in order to supply more adequately the demands for this information.

In printing a revised edition, we are including the entire chapter dealing with Carolina, together with a portion of Giovanni da Verrazano's account written in 1524. Verrazano was operating under the authority of Francis I of France and explored the North American coast from Florida to the St. Lawrence River. This section has likewise been taken from Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

We are also including illustrations used before, together with a number of new ones, all of which show the Indians and their ways of life as depicted in the paintings made by John White. These illustrations are taken from photostats in the Hall of History, Raleigh, which were made from those in the University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, duplicating the photographic facsimiles of John White's water colors which are in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and from the engravings by Theodore de Bry and his assistants in Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. We believe that they will add interest and value to the material and that teachers, students, and others will find the material and illustrations informative and helpful in their study of colonization of the New World.
The spelling in general has been modernized and some of the unusual terms have been explained in footnotes, but otherwise the original text has been followed.

I wish to express my appreciation to Mrs. May Davis Hill in helping in the revision, in the selection of additional illustrations, and in proofreading.

D. L. CORBITT.

April 1, 1953.
INTRODUCTION

Three hundred and sixty-six years ago there was planted on Roanoke Island the first English colony in the New World, and even though this planting was not successful there germinated from it the greatest nation in the history of the world. From it also grew the state of North Carolina and the United States of America.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portugal and Spain reaped riches of gold and commercial prowess in pioneering in world exploration and colonization. Hawkins, Gilbert, Drake, and other Englishmen preyed upon the treasure ships of powerful Spain and attracted England's attention to the riches of America. This, together with other factors, such as the envy of Spain, the desire for American bases, the hope of discovering a shorter route to the Orient, the desire for economic and commercial opportunity, the spirit of adventure, and the need for raw materials, combined to stimulate in Englishmen a desire to establish a permanent settlement in America. No man in England was in a better position to understand the need for colonies nor did more to win North America for England than did Sir Walter Raleigh.

In order that England might have a part in the colonization of the New World, Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert letters patent to settle the New World. In 1583 he attempted to plant an English settlement on the coast of Newfoundland, but his efforts failed and he perished on the way home. After Sir Humphrey's death, Elizabeth granted to Sir Walter Raleigh letters patent "for discovering and planting of new lands and countries, to continue the space of six years and no more." Sir Walter Raleigh, favorite of the Queen, statesman, historian, soldier, and colonizer, was granted permission and the privilege "to discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, ... and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy ... with all prerogatives, commodities,
jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and preeminentences thereto or thereabouts by sea and land, . . . .” The grant was made for lands extending between the thirty-third and fortieth degree of north latitude.

After the granting of these letters patent, Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 sent Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe in two ships to discover new lands. These ships sailed on April 27, 1584, and returned to England about the middle of September the same year. When they returned to England after exploring the coast of North Carolina, which they called Virginia in honor of Queen Elizabeth, they took two Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, and many products of the country. In the year 1585 a second voyage was made to Virginia [North Carolina] by Sir Richard Grenville for Sir Walter Raleigh. These ships sailed from Plymouth on April 9, 1585, and returned to England on October 18, 1585. On this voyage settlers were carried to Virginia [North Carolina] under the charge of Ralph Lane. A list of the settlers is included in one of the accounts which follow. These settlers remained in Virginia until June 19, 1586, when Sir Francis Drake, who paid them a visit to see how they were getting along, took them back to England, where they arrived on July 27, 1586.

In 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh sent a third expedition to Virginia for the relief of the colonists, but on reaching Virginia it was found that they had departed. The ships with the provisions thus returned to England.

In 1587 Sir Walter Raleigh sent three ships under John White, whom he appointed governor, with 150 persons to settle in Virginia. These ships left Portsmouth April 26, 1587, and arrived at Roanoke Island on July 22. The colonists set about repairing the houses which had been left by the previous settlers. After some time the ships, which had brought the colonists over, returned to England, leaving Roanoke on August 27. John White, the governor, returned to England to obtain supplies for them, arriving there on November 5, 1587. A list of the colonists who came to the New World at this time is also included.

For many years England and Spain had been developing their sea power and were vying with each other for the
supremacy of the sea. English ships and privateers preyed upon Spanish commerce and Spanish ships seized English trade. Politically and religiously they were challenging each other's sphere of influence and power. Philip II of Spain was Catholic and Elizabeth was Protestant, so that it was inevitable that war should develop between these nations. By 1586 England realized the true situation and began to prepare for war.

Since the conflict was approaching, no vessels were allowed to leave England to take food and supplies to the colonists in the New World. All of John White's and Sir Walter Raleigh's efforts to send help to them were in vain. England needed all the ships and men she could assemble to meet the Spanish Armada, the most formidable naval power in the world at that time. In July and August, 1588, the great sea battle took place between England and Spain, and the Spanish Armada was defeated. After this battle thoughts were again turned to the settlers in the New World. On March 20, 1590, three ships and two small shallops departed from Plymouth with provisions and supplies and after storms and stopping at several places, they arrived at Roanoke Island on August 15. After much searching they found the abandoned settlement, but no signs of the colonists. They found the word "Croatoan" cut on a tree, which suggested that the colonists might have gone to live with that tribe of Indians. They decided to go to Croatan to search for them, but because of several accidents, bad weather, and the shortage of food and water, they were compelled to return to Saint John for supplies. The weather, however, continued bad and, not being able to procure the necessary supplies, they finally returned to England, arriving there on October 24, 1590. Thus, no one has ever learned the fate of these English colonists.

The material published in this pamphlet gives the information concerning the attempted settlements by the English during the last part of the sixteenth century. It also includes detailed descriptions of the country, with information about the Indians and their way of life, fowls, trees, vege-

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1 Old Style Calendar. The English changed from the old to the new style calendar in 1752.
trees, animals, minerals, fish, and the like. From the information reproduced herein a person gets a better idea of the country at that time.

It was not until 1607 that the first permanent English settlement in the New World was made (at Jamestown, Virginia). Not until 1663 did Charles II grant to eight lords proprietors the charter for Carolina, even though prior to this time people had permanently settled in the Albemarle section of what is now North Carolina.
QUEEN ELIZABETH'S GRANT TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH, MARCH 25, 1584


Letters Patents

The letters patents, granted by the Queens Majesty to M. Walter Raleigh, now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and countries, to continue the space of six years and no more.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting; Know ye, that of our special grace, certain science, and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do give and grant to our trusty and well beloved servant, Walter Raleigh Esquire, and to his heirs and assigns for ever, free liberty and license from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, find out, and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every or any of them shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns forever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politic

1 Master or Mister.
or corporate. And the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and all such as from time to time, by license of us, our heirs and successors, shall go to travel thither to inhabit or to remain, there to build and fortify, at the discretion of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remain or continue out of our realm of England without license, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full authority, liberty and power to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter have, take, and lead in the said voyage, and travel thitherward, or to inhabit there with him or them, and every or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them, and to whom also we do by these presents, give full liberty and authority in that behalf, and also to have, take and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and navigations in that behalf, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heirs or successors.

And further that the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, shall have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, and every of them for-ever, all the soil of all such lands, territories, and countries, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesaid, and of all such cities, castles, towns, villages, and places in the same, with the rights, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the said lands, or countries, or the seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as near as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall
remain within the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors, reserving always to us, our heirs and successors, for all services, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained; all which lands, countries, and territories shall for ever be holden of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said payment of the said fifth part, reserved only for all services.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant license to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, and assigns, and every of them, that he, and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, for his and their defense, encounter and expulse, repell and resist as well by sea as by land, and by all other ways whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the special liking and license of the said Walter Raleigh, and of his heirs and assigns, shall attempt to inhabit within the said countries, or any of them, or within the space of two hundred leagues near to the place or places within such countries as aforesaid (if they shall not be before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesaid with the subjects of any Christian prince being in amity with us) where the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, or assigns, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associates or company, shall within six years (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, either by sea or land the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies, giving and granting by these presents further power and authority to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to take and surprise by all manner of means whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their ships, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the license of the said Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, or assigns, as aforesaid,
shall be found trafficking into any harbor, or harbors, creek or creeks, within the limits aforesaid, (the subjects of our realms and dominions and all other persons in amity with us, trading to the Newfoundlands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwreck only excepted) and those persons, and every of them, with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture to detain and possess as of good and lawful prize, according to the discretion of him the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amity, of such countries, lands, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid with our realms of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises we do by these presents, grant and declare that all such countries so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesaid, from thence forth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors. And we do grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, and assigns, and to all, and every of them, and to all, and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entered in some of our courts of record within our realm of England, that with the assent of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, shall in his journeys for discoveries, or in the journeys for conquest hereafter travel to such lands, countries and territories, as aforesaid, and to their, and to every of their heirs, that they, and every or any of them, being either borne within our said realms of England or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries, and territories, with such license, (as aforesaid) shall and may have all of the privileges of free denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample manner and form, and if they were borne and personally resident within our said realm of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for as much as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shall be necessary for the safety of all men,
that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civil quietness each with the other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril, we for us, our heirs and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do give and grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns forever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time forever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and mere power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital, or criminal, as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects, as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journeys or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabit any such lands, countries, or territories as aforesaid, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any of the said place or places, where the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabit within six years next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, laws and ordinances as shall be by him the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So always as the said statutes, laws, and ordinances may be, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the form of the laws, statutes, government, or policy of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors, as their immediate sovereign under God.

And further, we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority to our trusty and well beloved counselor, Sir William Cecil, knight, Lord Burghley, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England for us, our heirs and suc-
cessors for the time being, and to the Privy Council of us, our heirs and successors, or any four or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any four or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their hands or seals by virtue of these presents, authorize and license the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and any or every of them by him, and by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient attorneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and servants, to embark and transport out of our realm of England and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessities and commodities of any our realms, as to the said lord treasurer, or four or more of the Privy Council, of us our heirs and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shall be from time to time by his or their wisdom, or discretion thought meet and convenient, for the better relief and support of him the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, and assigns, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associates and companies, any act, statute, law, or anything to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any other by their license or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter rob or spoil by sea or by land, or do any act of unjust or unlawful hostility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, or to any of the subjects of any kings, princes, rulers, governors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amity with us, our heirs and successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governor or estate, or their subjects, we, our heirs and successors, shall make open proclamation within any the ports of our realms of England, that the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, or any to whom these our letters patents may extend, shall within the terms to be limited, by such proclamation, make full restitution and satisfaction of all
such injuries done, so as both we and the said princes, or others so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully con-
tented. And that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heirs and successors, to put the said
Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, assigns and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostility, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be vouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be held as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging; for that express mention of the clear yearly value of the certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made in these presents be not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves, at Westminster the five and twenty day of March, in the sixth and twentieth year of our reign.
THE FIRST VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF AMERICA, 1584

Report of Arthur Barlowe to Sir Walter Raleigh

The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America
With Two Barks, Wherein Were Captains M. Philip
Amadas and M. Arthur Barlowe Who Discovered Part
of the Country Now Called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written
by One of the Said Captains, and Sent to Sir
Walter Raleigh, Knight, at Whose Charge and Direction
the Said Voyage Was Set Forth.

The 27th day of April, in the year of our redemption, 1584, we departed from the west of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames. And I think it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discovery of the country, as also for tediousness sake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our course, sailing thither and returning: only have I presumed to present unto you this brief discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeed, as well to yourself, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servants this our discovery hath been performed) as also to her Highness, and the Commonwealth, in which we hope your wisdom will be satisfied, considering that as much by us hath been brought to light, as by those small means, and number of men we had, could any way have been expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present year, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more southeasterly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging between the Cape of Florida and Havana, had been of greater force than afterwards we found it to be. At which islands we found the air very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most

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2 Arthur Barlowe.
3 Daily record.
4 Possibly meaning debouching, which means emerging into the sea as a river.
part ill disposed: so that having refreshed ourselves with sweet water, and fresh victuals, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival there. These islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well known to yourself, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet and so strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant; and, keeping good watch and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquebus\(^6\)-shot within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same; and, after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats and went to view the land next adjoining and to take possession of the same in the right of the Queen's most excellent majesty as rightful Queen and princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her majesty's grant and letters patent, under her highness' great seal. Which being performed according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being where we first landed very sandy and low toward the water side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil, on the hills as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found; and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the seaside towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height, and from thence

\(^6\) A firearm of the fifteenth century.
we beheld the sea on both sides, to the north and to the south, finding no end any of both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees; and, having discharged our harquebus-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry, redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted together.

This island had many goodly woods full of deer, conies, hares and fowl, even in the midst of summer, in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in Bohemia, Muscovia or Hercynia, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars of the world, far bettering the cedars of the Azores, of the Indies or Lybanus; pines, cypress, sassafras, the lentish, or the tree that bears the mastick, the tree that bears the rind of black cinnamon, of which Master Winter brought from the Straights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and quality.

We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country. The third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons; this boat came to the island side, four harquebus-shot from our ships, and there, two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore side towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us; then the master and the pilot of the admiral, Simon Fernando, and the Captain, Philip Amadas, myself and others rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine and our meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed both barks he departed and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining. As soon as he was two bowshot into the water he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of land,
and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship and the other to the pinnace, which, after he had as much as he might requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behavior as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her majesty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: He left his boats altogether, as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat afar off. When we came to shore to him with our weapons he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us, but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed, and, being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and breast, and afterwards on ours, to show we were all one, smiling and making show the best he could of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end spake one in the other's ear, very softly.

The king is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced. This king himself in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which he had with the King of the next country, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being six days journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the
other that sat with him on the mat; but presently he arose
and took all from them and put it into his own basket, mak­
ing signs and tokens, that all things ought to be delivered
unto him, as the rest were but his servants, and followers.
A day or two after this we fell to trading with them, ex­
changing some things that we had for chamois, buff and
deer skins. When we showed him all our packet of mer­
chandise, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most
pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before
his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and
hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend
him against his enemies' arrows; for those people maintain
a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoin­
ing. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth
twenty crowns or twenty nobles, and a copper kettle for
fifty skins, worth fifty crowns. They offered us good ex­
change for our hatchets and axes and for knives, and would
have given anything for swords, but we would not depart
with any. After two or three days the king's brother came
aboard the ships and drank wine and ate of our meat and
of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof; and after a few
days overpassed he brought his wife with him to the ships,
his daughter and two or three children. His wife was very
well favored, of mean stature and very bashful; she had
on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next
to her body, and before her a piece of the same; about her
forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her hus­
bond, many times; in her ears she had bracelets of pearls,
hanging down to her middle (whereof we delivered your
worship a little bracelet), and those were of the bigness of
good peas. The rest of her women, of the better sort, had
pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the
children of the king's brother, and other noblemen, have
five or six in either ear. He himself had upon his head a
broad plate of gold, or copper, for being unpolished, we
knew not what metal it should be; neither would he by any
means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it
would bow [bend] very easily. His apparel was as his
wives; only the women wear their hair long on both sides
and the men but on one. They are of color yellowish, and
Indian in winter clothing, reproduced from Theodore de Bry's engraving of John White's water color.

their hair black for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut coloured hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dies [dyes], very excellent, and exchanged with us; but when Granganimeo the king's brother was present, none durst trade but himself: except such as wore red pieces of copper on their heads like himself, for that is the difference between the noblemen, and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their king, nobility, and governors, than these do. The king's brother's wife, when she came to us (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women always, and when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withall to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the
end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine or of pitch trees, a wood not commonly known to our people nor found growing in England. They have no edge tools to make them withall; if they have any they are very few, and those, it seems, they had twenty years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the land, out of whose sides they drew the nails and spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats* is thus: They burn down some great tree or take such as are windfallen, and, putting gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it has burnt it hollow they cut out the coal with their shells, and everywhere they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles as the depth serves.

The king's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearls in exchange for them, but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know, that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew, which now your Worship doeth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise, for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He [Grangennieo] sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, conies, hares, fish, the best in the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair and well-tasted and grows three times in five months; in May they sow, in July

* See page 49 for illustration.
they reap; in June they sow, in August they reap; in July they sow, in September they reap; only they cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock or pickaxe. Ourselves proved the soil and put some of our peas into the ground, and in ten days they were of fourteen inches high. They have also beans very fair, of divers colors and wonderful plenty, some growing naturally and some in their gardens; and so have they both wheat and oats.

The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world. There are alone fourteen sweet-smelling timber trees, and for the most part their underwood are bays and such like; they have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better. After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself, with seven more, went twenty miles into the river that runs toward the city of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island, which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike, very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Grangameo, the king's brother, came running out to meet us, very cheerfully and friendly. Her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow; others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come to the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them; some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the
house some wheat like furmentee [furmenty], sodden venison and roasted, fish sodden, boiled and roasted, melons raw and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine; and for the want of corks to keep it, all the year after they drink water; but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithful, devoid of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affords; their meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweet; their dishes are wooden plates of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that
their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, who when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach for our weapons; but as soon as she saw our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women, to sit all night on the banks side by us, and sent us into our boats five mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses, but because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not venture anything, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this island there is the main land, and over against this island falls into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants on which stands a town called Pomeiock, and six days' journey from the same is situated their greatest city, called Skicoak, which this people affirm to be very great, but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it to be above one hour's journey about.

Into this river falls another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of mussels in which there are pearls: likewise there descends into this Occam, another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof stands a great town called Chawanoock, and the lord of that town and country is called Poonenoe. This Poonenoe is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Toward
the southwest four days' journey is situated a town called Sequotan, which is the southernmost town of Wingandacoa, near unto which six and twenty years past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and these were white people, whom the country people preserved.

And after ten days remaining in an out island uninhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boats of the country together and made masts unto them and sails of their shirts, and having taken into them such victuals as the country yielded, they departed after they had remained in this out island three weeks, but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast cast on land in another island adjoining. Other than these, there were never any people appareled, or white of color, either seen or heard of among these people, and these aforesaid were seen only of the inhabitants of Sequotan, which appeared to be very true for they wondered marvelously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts and to view the same. Besides, they had our ships in marvelous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but a harquebus, they would tremble thereat for very fear and for the strangeness of the same, for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows; the arrows are but of small canes, headed with a sharp shell or tooth of a fish, sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood, hardened; likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defense. They have, besides, a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag or other beast. When they go to war they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets. Their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reasons whereof, and of their civil dissensions, which have happened of late years amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate.
Adjoining to this country aforesaid called Secotan begins a country called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piemacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the country Newsiok, situated upon a goodly river called Neuse. These kings have mortal war with Wingina, king of Wingandacoa, but about two years past there was a peace made be-
tween the King, Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand. But there remains a mortal malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men, and thirty women of the best of his country to their town to a feast, and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their idol (which is nothing else but a mere illusion of the devil) the captain or lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slew them every one, reserving the women and children. And those two have oftentimes since persuaded us to surprise Piemacum his town, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great stores of commodities. But whether their persuasion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this island called Roanoke are main islands, very plentiful of fruits and other natural increases, together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the islands and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this country some thought the first land we saw to be the continent, but after we entered into the haven we saw before us another mighty long sea; for there lieth along the coast a tract of island two hundred miles in length, adjoining the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances. When you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in a few more), then there appeared another great sea, containing in breadth in some places forty and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent, and in this enclosed sea there are above a hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island, there are many, as I have said, some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some
less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with
deer, conies, horses and divers beasts, and also at them the
goodliest and best fish in the world and in great abundance.
Thus, sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of
our discovery made this present voyage, as far forth as the
shortness of the time we there continued would afford us
to take view of; and so, contenting ourselves with this
service at this time, which we hope hereafter to enlarge, as
occasion and assistance shall be given, we resolved to leave
the country and to apply ourselves to return for England,
which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the west of
England about the middle of September.
And whereas we have above certified you of the country
taken in possession by us to her majesty's use, and so to
yours by her majesty's grant, we thought good for the bet­
ter assurance thereof to record some of the particular gen­
tlemen and men of account who then were present as wit­
nesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavil to the
title of the country in her majesty's behalf may be prevented,
which otherwise such as like not the action may use and
pretend, whose names are

Master PHILIP AMADAS,
Master ARTHUR BARLOWE,
Captains.

WM. GRENVILLE,
JOHN WOOD,
JAS. BROWEWICH,
HENRY GREENE,
BENJAMIN WOOD,
SIMON FERDINANDO,
NICHOLAS PETMAN,
JOHN HEWES,
Of the Company.

We brought home also two of the savages, being lusty
men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.
THE SECOND VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA, 1585

Report of Ralph Lane to Sir Walter Raleigh

The Voyage Made by Sir Richard Grenville for Sir Walter Raleigh to Virginia in the Year 1585.

The ninth day of April, in the year above said [1585] we departed from Plymouth, our fleet consisting of the number of seven sails, to wit, the Tiger, of the burden of seven score tons, a flyboat called the Roebuck, of the like burden, the Lion, of a hundred tons or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fifty tons, and the Dorothy, a small bark; whereunto were also adjoined, for speedy service, two small pinnaces. The principal gentlemen of our company were these: M. Ralph Lane; M. Thomas Candish; M. John Arundell; M. Raymond; M. Stukeley; M. Bremige; M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were captains, and others some assistants for counsel and good direction in the voyage.

The fourteenth day of April we fell with Lancerota and Forteuentura, isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the seventh day of May, and the tenth day following we came to an anchor at Cotesa, a little island situated near the island of St. John, where we landed, and refreshed ourselves all that day.

The twelfth day of May we came to an anchor in the Bay of Moskito, in the Island of St. John, within a faulcon shot of the shore: where our General Sir Richard Grenville and the most part of our company landed, and began to fortify very near to the seaside. The river ran by the one side of our fort, and the other two sides were environed with woods.

The thirteenth day we began to build a new pinnace within the fort, with the timber that we then felled in the country, some part whereof we felled three miles up in the land, and brought it to our fort upon trucks, the Spaniards not daring to make or offer resistance.

6 Contraction of Cavendish.
7 Faulean or falcon is a light piece of ordnance of the 16th and 17th centuries.
The sixteenth day there appeared unto us out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our fort, staying about half an hour in viewing our forces: but as soon as they saw ten of our shot8 marching towards them, they present retired into the woods.

The nineteenth day Master Candish, who had been separated from our fleet in a storm in the Bay of Portugal, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger. We thinking him afar off to have been either a Spaniard or Frenchman of war, thought it good to weigh anchor, and to go room9 with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for joy of whose coming our ships discharged their ordnance, and saluted him according to the manner of the seas.

The twenty second day twenty other Spanish horsemen showed themselves to us upon the other side of the river, who being seen, our general dispatched twenty footmen toward them, and two horsemen of ours, mounted upon Spanish horses, which we before had taken in the time of our being on the island. They showed to our men a flag of truce, and made signs to have a parley with us. Whereupon two of our men went half of the way upon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them. The two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arrival and fortifying in their country, who notwithstanding by our men's discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principal intention was only to furnish ourselves with water and victuals, and other necessities, whereof we stood in need, which we craved might be yielded to us with fair and friendly means, otherwise our resolution was to practice force, and to relieve ourselves by the sword) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yielded to our requests with large promises of all courtesy, and great favor, and so our men and theirs departed.

The twenty third day our pinnace was finished, and launched, which being done, our general with his captains

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8 A foot soldier.
9 Standing at a distance.
and gentlemen, marched up into the country about the space of four miles, where in plain marsh they stayed expecting the coming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals, who keeping their old custom of perjury and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our general fired the woods thereabouts, and so retired to our fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set sail the next morning.

The twenty ninth day we set sail from Saint Johns, being many of us stung before upon shore with the mosquitoes, but the same night we took a Spanish frigate which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we took another frigate, with good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards, we ransomed for good round sums, and landed them in St. Johns.

The twenty sixth day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the frigates which we had taken, to Roxobay upon the Southwest side of Saint Johns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish pilot. As soon as he arrived there, he landed with his men to the number of twenty, and intrenched himself upon the sands immediately, compassing one of their salt hills within the trench, who being seen of the Spaniards, there came down towards him two or three troops of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking, and gazing on, but dared not come near him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troops, carried their salt aboard and loaded his frigate, and so returned again to our fleet the twenty ninth day, which road at St. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the Island of Hispaniola.

The first day of June we anchored at Isabella, on the north side of Hispaniola.

The third day of June, the governor of Isabella, and captain of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had been well entertained aboard our ships by our general, that in our fleet were many brave and gallant gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the gov-
ernor aforesaid, he thereupon sent gentle commendations
to our general, promising within a few days to come to him
in person, which he performed accordingly.

The fifth day the aforesaid governor accompanied with a
lusty fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their ser-
vants, the Negroes, came down to the seaside, where our
ships road at anchor, who being seen, our general manned
immediately the most part of his boats with the chief men
of our fleet, every man appointed, and furnished in the best
sort. At the landing of our general, the Spanish governor
received him very courteously, and the Spanish gentlemen
saluted our English gentlemen, and their inferior sort did
also salute our soldiers and seamen, liking our men, and
likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed
to stand in fear of us, and of so many of our boats whereof
they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the
end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great,
that all fear and mistrust on the Spaniards' part was aban-
donned.

In the meantime while our English general and the Span-
ish governor discussed between them of divers matters, as
of the state of the country, the multitude of the towns and
people, and the commodities of the island, our men provided
two banquet houses covered with green boughs, the one for
the gentlemen, the other for the servants, and a sumptuous
banquet was brought in, served by us all in plate, with the
sound of trumpets, and consort of music, wherewith the
Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet be-
ing ended, the Spaniards in recompense of our courtesy,
caused a great heard of white bulls, and kine to be brought
together from the mountains, and appointed for every gen-
tleman and captain that would ride, a horse ready saddled,
and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted
by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grew
very pleasant for the space of three hours, wherein all three
of the beasts were killed, whereof one took the sea, and there
was slain with a musket. After this sport, many rare pres-
ents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and

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11 Friar or monk.
the next day we played the merchants in bargaining with them by way of truck\textsuperscript{12} and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and such like commodities of the island.

The seventh day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Island of Hispaniola, but the wiser sort did impute this great show of friendship, and courtesy used toward us by the Spaniards rather to the force that we were of, and the vigilance and watchfulness that was among us, than to any hearty good will, or sure friendly entertainment for doubtless if they had been stronger than we, we might have looked for no better courtesy at their hands, than Master John Hawkins received at Saint John de Vilua, or John Oxnam near the straights of Dariene, and divers others of our countrymen in other places.

The eighth day we anchored at a small island to take seals, which in that place we understood to have been in great quantity, where the general and certain others with him in the pinnace were in very great danger to have been all cast away, but by the help of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboard the admiral in safety.

The ninth day we arrived and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which island we searched for salt ponds, upon the advertisement and information of a Portuguese, who indeed abused our general and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

The twelfth we anchored at Guanima, and landed.

The fifteenth and sixteenth we anchored and landed at Cyguateo.

The twentieth we fell with the main of Florida.

The 23rd we were in great danger of a wreck on a beach called the Cape of Fear.

The 24th we came to anchor in a harbor, where we caught in one tide so much fish as would have yielded us twenty pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26th we came to anchor at Wocokon.

The 29th we weighed anchor to bring the \textit{Tiger} into the harbor, where, through the unskillfulness of the master,
The Indian village, "Secotan," reproduced from Theodore de Bry's engraving of John White's water color.
whose name was Ferdinando, the admiral struck on ground and sunk.

The 3rd [of July] we sent word of our arriving at Wocokon, to Wingina at Roanoke.

The 6th, M. John Arundell was sent to the main, and Man­teo with him: and Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten, the same day, were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there, with thirty others, by Captain Rey­mond some twenty days before.

The 8th, Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten returned with two of our men found by them, to us at Wocokon.

The 11th day, the general, accompanied in his tilt boat with Master John Arundell, Master Stukeley, and divers other gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twenty others in the new pinnace, Captain Amadas, Captain Clarke with ten others in a ship-boat; Francis Brook and John White in another ship-boat, passed over the water from Wocokon to the main land, victualed for eight days, in which voyage we first discovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the savages Paquique, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our fleet.

The 12th, we came to the town of Pomeiok.

The 13th, we passed by water to Aquascogoc.

The 15th we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the savages.

The 16th we returned thence, and one of our boats with the admiral, was sent to Aquascogoc, to demand a silver cup which one of the savages had stolen from us, and not receiv­ing it according to his promise, we burned and spoiled their corn and town, all the people being fled.

The 18th day we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our fleet, riding at Wocokon.

The 21st, our fleet anchoring at Wocokon, we weighed anchor for Hatorask.

The 27th, our fleet anchored at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29th, Grangino, brother of King Wingina, came aboard the admiral, and Manteo with him.
The 2d [of August], the admiral was sent to Weapomeiok. The 5th, Master Arundell was sent for England. The 25th, our general weighed anchor and set sail for England. About the 31st he took a Spanish ship of 300 tons richly loaded, boarding her with a boat made of boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunk at the ship's side, as soon as ever he and his men were out of it. The 10th of September, by foul weather the general then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tiger. The 6th [October] the Tiger fell with the land's end, and the same day came to anchor at Falmouth. The 18th the general came with the prize to Plymouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipful friends.

The Names of Those, As Well Gentlemen as Others, That Remained One Whole Year in Virginia, Under the Government of Master Ralph Lane.

SECOND VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA

RALPH LANE’S LETTER TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1585

AN EXTRACT OF MASTER RALPH LANE’S LETTER TO M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, ESQUIRE, AND ANOTHER GENTLEMAN OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, FROM VIRGINIA.

In the meanwhile you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Grenville’s departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the main to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweet trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gums, grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain nor Italy have no greater, so many sorts of apothecary drugs, such several kinds of flax, and one kind like silk, the same gathered of a grass, as common there, as grass here. And now within these few days we have found here maize, or Guinea wheat, whose ear yielded corn for bread four hundred upon one ear, and the cane makes very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra Sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome, that we had not one sick since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and wine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it. For this already we find, that what commodities soever Spain, France, Italy, or the East parts do yield unto us, in wine of all sorts, in oil, in flax, in rosin, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and such like, these parts do abound with the growth of them all, but being savages that possess the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here we find great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of coarse cloth rather than silk, coarse canvas they also like well of, but copper carries the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt
and M. H., I have joined you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty.

From the new fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend,

RALPH LANE.
AN ACCOUNT OF SETTLERS IN VIRGINIA, 1585-1586

Ralph Lane's Report to Sir Walter Raleigh

AN ACCOUNT or THE PARTICULARITIES or THE EMPLOYMENTS of THE ENGLISHMEN LEFT in VIRGINIA by SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE, UNDER THE CHARGE of MASTER RALPH LANE, GENERAL of THE SAME, from the 17th of August, 1585, until the 18th of June, 1586, at which Time They Departed the Country: Sent and Directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.

That I may proceed with order in this discourse, I think it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the country within the main, as our weak number and supply of things necessary did enable us to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set down the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the General Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barks, pinnaces, and boats with the masters and mariners meant by him to be left in the country, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were carried away with tempest and foul weather. In the beginning whereof shall be declared the conspiracy of Pemisapan, with the savages of the main to have cut us off, &c.

The First Part Declaring the Particulars of the Country of Virginia.

First, therefore, touching the particularities of the country, you shall understand that our discovery of the same has been extended from the island of Roanoke (the same having been the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the south, into the north, into the northwest, and into the west.

The uttermost place to the southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourscore miles distant from Roanoke. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the main, the same being without ken-
ning of land, and yet full of flats and shoals. We had but one boat with four oars to pass through the same, which boat could not carry above fifteen men with their furniture, baggage and victuals for seven days at most; and as for our pinnace, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stir for an oar: for these and other reasons (winter being at hand), we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of these parts until our stronger supply.

To the northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoke about one hundred and thirty miles; the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the breadth of the sound, and the little succor that, upon any flaw, was there to be had.

But the territory and soil of the Chesepians (being distant fifteen miles from the shore), was for pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, besides multitudes of bears (being an excellent good victual), and great woods of sassafras and walnut-trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry kings, whom they call Weroances, and countries of great fertility adjoining the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visit the colony of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook, distant from Roanoke about one hundred and thirty miles. Our passage thither lies through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the channel full of shoals.

The towns about the water's side situated by the way are the following: Passaquenoke, The Woman's Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem—all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco. From Muscamunge we enter into the river, and the jurisdiction of Chawanook. There the river begins to straighten until it comes to Chawanook, and then grows
to be as narrow as the Thames between Westminster, and Lambeth.

Between Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as we pass there, is a goodly high land, and there is a town which we called The Blind Town, but the savages called it Ohanoak, and it has a very goodly corn field belonging unto it. It is subject to Chawanook.

Chawanook itself is the greatest province and seigniory lying upon that river, and the very town itself is able to put seven hundred fighting men into the field, besides the force of the province itself.

The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise for a savage a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbors round about him, as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with: it was in March long past, 1586. Amongst other things he told me that going three days' journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days' journey to pass overland northeast to a certain king's country, whose province lies upon the sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situate, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep.

Out of this bay, he signified unto me, that this king had so great quantity of pearl, and does so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he wears, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the said pearl, but also his beds and houses are garnished with them, and that he has such quantity of them that it is a wonder to see.

He showed me that the said king was with him at Chawanook two years before, and brought him certain pearls; but the same of the worst sort, yet was he fain to buy them of
him for copper at a dear rate, as he thought. He gave me a rope of the same pearl, but they were black, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few among a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, coming aboard Sir Francis Drake's fleet. Yet he told me that the said king had great store of pearl that were white, great, and round, and that his black pearl his men did take out of shallow water, but his white pearl his men fished for in very deep water.

It seemed to me by his speech, that the said king had traffic with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white pearl, and that was the reason that he would not depart with other than with black pearls, to those of the same country.

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go overland into that king's country whenever I would, but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuals, for he said, that king would be loath to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any pearl there, and that he was able to take a great many of men into the field, which he said would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with myself, that if your supply had come before the end of April, and that you had sent any store of boats or men, to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us until the new corn were come in, I would have sent a small bark with two pinnaces about by sea to the northward to have found out the bay he spoke of, and to have sounded the bar if there were any, which should have ridden there in the said bay about that island, while I with all the small boats I could make, and with two hundred men would have gone up to the head of the river Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have been assured should have been of his best men, (for I had his best beloved son prisoner with me) who also should have kept me company in an handlock with the rest, foot by foot, all the voyage over land.

My meaning was further at the head of the river in the place of my descent where I would have left my boats, to
have raised a sconce\textsuperscript{13} with a small trench, and a palisade upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boats I would have left five and twenty, or thirty men, with the rest would I have marched with as much victuals as every man could have carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two days’ journey. In the end of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconce according to the former, where I would have left fifteen or twenty. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raised my said sconce upon some corn field that my company might have lived upon it.

And so I would have held this course of sconcing every two days’ march, until I had been arrived at the bay or port he spoke of, which finding to be worth the possession, I would have raised a main fort, both for the defense of the harbor, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoke, and from the harbor and port there (which by proof is very naught) unto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the four days march before specified, could I at all times return with my company back unto my boats riding under my sconce, very near whereunto directly from the west runs a most notable river, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc. This river opens into the broad sound of Weapo-meik. And whereas the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds, and bays, salt and fresh, show no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind. This river of Moratoc has so violent a current from the west and southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oars it would scarcely be navigable. It passeth with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirty miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames between Greenwich and the Isle of Dogges, in some places more, and in some less. The current runs as strong, being entered so high into the river, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves do report strange things of the head of

\textsuperscript{13} A detached or isolated defensive work, specially a counterfort or redoubt built to defend a particular point.
that river, and that from Moratoc itself, which is a principal town upon that river, it is thirty days as some of them say, and some say forty days' voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springs out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it makes a most violent stream: and further, that this huge rock stands so near unto a sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space, grows salty and brackish.

I took a resolution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoke, to enter presently so far into that river with two double wherries, and forty persons one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river; but the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did, that missed the same.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists, and Mangoaks word of my purpose touching them, I having been forced to make him privy to the same, to be served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks; and yet he did never rest to solicit continually my going upon them, certifying me of a general assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances and allies to the number of three thousand bows, preparing to come upon us at Roanoke, and that the Mangoaks also were joined in the same confederacy, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise. And true it was at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my coming thither, which being unlooked for did so dismay them, as it made us to have the better hand at them. But this confederacy against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemi-
sapan himself, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully to destroy them; on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning toward us.

"He in like sort having sent word to the Mangoaks of mine intention to pass up into their river, and to kill them (as he said) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before we were entered into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their towns along the river, and retired themselves with their Crenepos, and their corn, within the main, in so much, as having passed three days' voyage up the river, we could not meet a man, nor find a grain of corn in any of their towns; whereupon considering with myself that we had but two days' victual left, and that we were then one hundred and sixty miles from home, besides casualty of contrary winds or storms, and suspecting treason of our own savages in the discovery of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtful to any of them, otherwise than, for our copper, to have had corn of them, I at night upon the corps of guards, before the putting forth of sentinels, advertised the whole company of the care we stood in for victuals, and of my opinion that we were betrayed by our own savages, and of my opinion that we were betrayed by our own savages, and of purpose drawn forth by them upon vain hope to be in the end starved, seeing all the country fled before us, and therefore while we had those two days' victuals left, I thought it good for us to make or return homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the sound of Weopomieok in time, where we might be relieved upon the weirs of Chypanum, and the women's town, although the people were fled.

This much I signified unto them, as the safest way; nevertheless, I did refer it to the greatest number of voices, whether we should adventure the spending of our whole victuals in some further view of that most goodly river in hope to meet with some better hap, or otherwise to retire ourselves back again. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the mat-

15 Women.
16 Fish traps.
Indian braves, reproduced from Theodore de Bry's engraving of John White's water color.

ter, and in the morning at our going aboard to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that while there was left one-half pint of corn for a man, we should not leave the search of that river, and that there were in the company two mastiffs, upon the pottage of which, with sasafras leaves, (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two days, which time would bring them down the current to the mouth of the river, and to the entry of the sound, and in two days more, at the farthest, they hoped to cross the sound and to be relieved by the weirs; which two days they would fast rather than be drawn back a foot till they had seen the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please me, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterward did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it
is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province to which the said Mangoaks have recourse and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which has a marvelous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious among them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also the savages of Chawanook, and all of them to the westward, but also to all of them of the main. The country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunic Temoatan.

The mineral they say is wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of wassador every metal whatsoever. They say it is of the color of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs, and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft and pale. They say that they take the said metal out of a river that falls very swift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water. The manner is this. They take a great bowl by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive the mineral. That done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the color of the water, and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much oar as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doeth yield in five parts at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of oar. Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same, and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the King of Chawanook's son my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particulars to me before mentioned, but he had not been at Chaunis Temoatan himself, for he said it was twenty days' journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular informa-
tion of, by all the savages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in everything did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should pass over with me, even to the said country of Chaunis Temoatan (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sunrise to sunset, whereas by water it is seven days' with the soonest). These things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution.

But it fell out, very contrary to all expectation and likelihood, for after two days' travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive made along the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat; whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them, but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us, which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light-horsemen ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt, (God be thanked,) to any man. Immediately, the other boat lying ready with their shot to scour the place for our hand weapons to land upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steep, the savages forthwith quitted the shore, and betook themselves to flight; we landed, and having fair and easily followed for a small time after them who had wooded themselves we know not where; the sun drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day, if we would pursue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we should be assured to meet with none of their victual, which we then had good cause to think of; therefore, choosing for the company a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting
out good sentinels, I determined the next morning before
the rising of the sun to be going back again, if possibly we
might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound,
which at my first motion I found my whole company ready
to assent unto; for they were now come to their dog's por­
ridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell
them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly
escape. The end was, we came the next day by night to the
river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having
rowed in one day down the current, as much as in four days
we had gone against the same; we lodged upon an island,
where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sas­
safras leaves, the like whereof for meat was never used
before, as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next
day all fresh and fasting; that day the wind blew so strongly,
and the billows so great, that there was no possibility of
passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter
eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter day in the
morning the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound,
and by four of the clock we were at Chypanum, whence all
the savages that we had left there were fled, but their weirs
did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to
suffer us to be lost; for some of our company of the light­
horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at
our home, Roanoke.

I have set down this voyage somewhat particularly, to
the end it may appear unto you, (as true it is) that there
wanted no great good will from the most to the least among
us, to have perfected this discovery of the mine; for that
the discovery of a good mine, by the goodness of God, or a
passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing
else can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our
nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above
shown, it will be the most sweet and healthful climate, and
therewithal the most fertile soil (being manured) in the
world; and then will sassafras, and many other roots and
gums there found make good merchandise and lading for
shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth
the fetching.
Provided also, that there be found out a better harbor than yet there is, which must be to the north, if any there be, which was my intention to have spent this summer in the search of, and of the mine of Chaunis Temoatan; the one I would have done, if the barks that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honorable courtesy, had not been driven away by storm; the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessities had come to us in any convenient sufficiency. For this river of Moratico promises great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariot the head of it by the description of the country, either rises from the Bay of Mexico, or else from very near unto the same, that opens out into the South Sea.

And touching the mineral, thus doth M. Youghan affirm, that though it be but copper, seeing the savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harbor found to the northward, as before is said, and from there four days overland, to the River of Choanoak a sconce being raised, from whence again over-
land through the province of Choanoak one day's voyage to the first town of the Mangoaks up the river of Moratico by the way, as also upon the said river for the defense of our boats like sconce being set, in this course of proceeding you shall clear yourself from all those dangers and broad shallows before mentioned, and gain within four days' travel into the heart of the main 200 miles at the least, and so pass your discovery into that most notable country, and to the likeliest parts of the main, with far greater facility than otherwise can be performed.

Thus, Sir, I have thought simply, yet truly set down unto you, what my labor with the rest of the gentlemen, and poor men of our company (not without both pain and peril, which the Lord in his mercy many ways delivered us from) could yield unto you, which might have been performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had been pleased that only that which you had provided for us had at the first been left with us, or that He had not in His eternal providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisdom of man could look into, which truly the carrying away by a most strange and unlooked-for storm of all our provisions, with barks, master, mariners, and sundry also of mine own company, all having been so courteously supplied by the General Sir Francis Drake, the same having been most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premises, must ever make me to think the hand of God only (for some His good purpose to myself yet unknown) to have been in the matter.

The second part: Touching the conspiracy of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

Ensenore, a savage, father to Pemisapan, being the only friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the king, died the 20th of April, 1586. He alone had before opposed himself in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the king and all the rest of them after Grangemoe's death were very willing to have preferred. And he was not only by the mere providence of
God during his life, a means to save us from hurt, as poisoning and such like, but also to do us very great good, and singularly in this.

The king was advised and of himself disposed, as a ready means to have assuredly brought us to ruin in the month of March, 1586, himself also with all his savages to have run away from us, and to have left his ground in the island unsowed; which if he had done, there had been no possibility in common reason (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could have been preserved from starving out of hand. For at that time we had no weirs for fish, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had we one grain of corn for seed to put into the ground.

In my absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a bruit among themselves, that I and my company were part slain, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Nevertheless until my return it took such effect in Pemisapan's breast, and in those against us, that they grew not only in contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in show, of the Almighty God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom we serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confess the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since he suffered us to sustain much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that general name all the inhabitants of the whole main, of what province soever. Insomuch as old Ensenore, neither any of his fellows, could for his sake have no more credit for us; and it came so far that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But even in the beginning of this bruit I returned, which when he saw contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that he had received, that not only myself, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his own three savages which had been with me besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sister's husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose
name and multitude besides their valor is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) dared not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his son that he best loved to Roanoke with me, it did not a little assuage all devices against us; on the other side, it made Ensenore's opinions to be received again with greater respects. For he had often before told them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that we were servants of God, and that we were not subject to be destroyed by them; but contrarily, that they among them that sought our destruction, should find their own, and not be able to work ours, and that we being dead men were able to do them more hurt, than now we could do being alive; an opinion very confidentially at this day held by the wisest among them, and of their old men, as also, that they have been in the night, being 100 miles from any of us, in the air shot at, and struck by some men of ours, that by sickness had died among them. And many of them hold opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world again, and that we do not remain dead but for a certain time, and that then we return again.

All these speeches then again grew in full credit with them, the King, and all touching us, when he saw the small troop returned again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them. But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almighty for the saving of us, which was this.

Within certain days after my return from the said journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visit his son the prisoner with me, and sent me certain pearl for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan told me, for the ransom of his son, and therefore I refused them; but the greatest cause of his sending them, was to signify unto me, that he had commanded Okisko, King of Weopomiok, to yield himself servant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh; to perform which commandment received from Menatonon, the said Okisko jointly with this Menatonon's messenger sent four and twenty of his prin-
cipal men to Roanoke to Pemisapan, to signify that they were ready to perform the same, and so had sent those his men to let me know that from that time forward, he, and his successors were to acknowledge her Majesty their only sovereign, and next unto her, as is aforesaid.

All of which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his savages in counsel then with him, it did for the time thoroughly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us. In so much as forthwith Ensenore won this resolution of him, that out of hand he should go about, and withal, to cause his men to set up wares forthwith for us; both which he at that present went in hand withal, and did so labor the expedition of it, that at the end of April he had sowed a good quantity of ground, so much as had been sufficient, to have fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly, for a whole year. Besides that he gave us a certain plot of ground for ourselves to sow. All which put us in marvelous comfort, if we could pass from April until the beginning of July, (which was to have been the beginning of their harvest), that then a new supply out of England or else our own store would well enough maintain us. All our fear was of the two months between, in which mean space if the savages should not help us with Chassai, and Chyna, and that our wares should fail us, (as often they did,) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corn, like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grass, as the proverb is, which we very hardly had escaped but only by the hand of God, as it pleased Him to try us. For within few days after, as before is said, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certain of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand again to put their old practices in use against us, which were readily embraced, and all their former devices against us, renewed, and new brought in question. But that of starving us, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not only in the island, but also at Dasamonnequepeio in the main, within two leagues over against us.
Nevertheless there wanted no store of mischievous practices among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

First the Okisko king of Weopemeiok with the Mandoages should be moved, and with great quantity of copper entertained to the number of seven or eight hundred bows, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopemeiok should be invited to a certain kind of Month's Mind, which they use to solemnise in their savage manner for any great personage dead, and should have been for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians and their friends to the number of 700 of them, be armed at a day appointed to the main of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the sign of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troup above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principal officers,) the main forces of the rest should have come over into the island, where they meant to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to find both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the island, seeking crabs and fish to live withal. The manner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon, two principal men about Pemisapan, and very lusty fellows, with twenty more appointed to them, had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they meant should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reeds that the same was covered with; meaning, (as it was likely) that myself would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without arms, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my brains.

The same order was given to certain of his fellows, for M. Hariot, so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is said, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the town. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and so

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17 In the Roman Catholic Church a requiem mass is said for a person a month after his death.
be the more easily dealt withal (for, indeed, ten of us, with our arms prepared, were a terror to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed, and did immediately put it in practice, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever; besides, that in the night they should send to have our weirs robbed, and also to cause them to be broken, and once being broken, never to be repaired again by them. By this means the king stood assured, that I must be enforced, for lack of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the savages themselves do, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corn growing; which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreme among us, our weirs failing us of fish, that I was enforced to send Captain Stafford with twenty with him to Croatoan, my lord admiral's island, to serve two turns in one; that is to say, to feed himself and his company, and also to keep watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warn us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnace to Hatorask, and ten with
him, with the provost marshal, to live there, and also to
wait for shipping; also I sent every week, sixteen or twenty
of the rest of the company to the main over against us, to
live of casada and oysters.

In the meanwhile, Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonguepeuc, for three causes: The one to see his grounds
there broken up, and sowed for a second crop; the other to
withdraw himself from my daily sending to him for supply
of victual for my company; for he was afraid to deny me
anything, neither durst he in my presence, but by color
and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the
time, meaning in the end, as I had reason, to give him the
jump once for all; but in the meanwhile, as I had ever done
before, I and mine bore all wrongs, and accepted of all
excuses.

My purpose was to have relied myself with Menatonon,
and the Chaonists, who in truth as they are more valiant
people and in greater number than the rest, so are they more
faithful in their promises, and since my late being there
had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to join
in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly
offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him
believe such tales of us.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonguepeuc was to
dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok and to the Man­
doags, as aforesaid, all of which he did with great imprest
of copper in hand, making large promises to them of great­
er spoil.

The answer within a few days after came from Weopomeiok, which was divided into two parts. First, for the
king Okisko, who denied to be of the party for himself, or
any of his special followers, and therefore did immediately
retire himself with his force into the main; the other was
concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of
it; and in like sort the Mandoags received the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoke was ap­
pointed the 10th of June, all of which the premises were
discovered by Skyco, the king Menatonon his son, my pris­
oner, who, having once attempted to run away, I laid him
in the bilboes,\textsuperscript{18} threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapan's request; whereupon, he being persuaded that he was our enemy to the death, he did not only feed him with himself, but also made him acquainted with all his practices. On the other side, the young man finding himself as well used at my hand as I had means to show, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered all unto me, which also afterwards was revealed unto me by one of Pemisapan's own men, that night before he was slain.

These mischiefs being all instantly upon me and upon my company to be put in execution, it stood me in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so far from me; whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspicion out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleet (though I in truth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure), and that I meant to come by him to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some four days provision to serve for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himself come over to Roanoke, but from day to day he deferred only to bring the Weopomeiks with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight days after. It was the last of May, 1586, when all of his own savages began to make their assembly at Roanoke, at his commandment sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his coming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day; but that night I meant by the way to give them in the island a canvasado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoes about the island, to keep him from advertisements.

But the town took the alarm before I meant it to them. The occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horse-men, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoes in the

\textsuperscript{18} A long bur or belt of iron with sliding shackles and a lock at the end to confine the feet of prisoners or offenders, especially on shipboard.
setting of the sun, and to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoe going from the shore, and overthrew the canoe, and cut off two savages heads. This was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose. For in truth they, privy to their villainous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night as we did upon them.

The alarm given, they took themselves to their bows, and we to our arms; some three or four of them at the first were slain with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning, with the light horsemen and one canoe, taking twenty-five with the colonel of the Chesipeans, and the ser­geant-major, I went to Desamonguepeuc, and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his own savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complain unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in a handlock.

Hereupon the king did abide my coming to him, and finding myself amidst seven or eight of his principal Weroances and followers (not regarding any of the common sort), I gave the watchword agreed upon (which was, Christ our victory), and immediately those his chief men and himself had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himself being shot through by the colonel with a pistol, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteo’s friends, as others were busy that none should escape, suddenly he started up and ran away as though he had not been touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronel. In the end an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertook him; and following him in the woods, overtook him; and I, in some doubt lest we had lost both the king and my man by our own neg­ligence to have been intercepted by the savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapan’s head in his hand.

10 A portable firearm introduced in the 16th century resembling a carbine of larger caliber.
This fell out the first of June, 1586, and the eighth of the same came advertisement to me from Captain Stafford, lying at my Lord Admiral's island that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sails; but whether they were friends or foes he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the said month, he himself came unto me, having that night before and that same day traveled by land twenty miles; and I must truly report of him from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that never spared labor or peril, either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the general, Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honorable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces and boats; they also by him to be victualed, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbor; and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds, most honorable to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captains for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could, both for my company and myself, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weak and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oar-men, artificers and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victuals, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lack of needful provision in time left with us, as yet remained undone.
That it would please him withal to leave some sufficient masters not only to carry us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbor, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats and oar-men.

Also for a supply of calivers, handweapons, match and lead, tools, apparel and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usual commendable manner of government (as it was told me) calling his captains to counsel; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to go aboard with him, which were the master of victuals, the keeper of the store, and the vice treasurer, to whom he appointed forthwith for me the Francis, being a very proper bark of seventy tons, and took present order for bringing the victual aboard her for a hundred men for four months, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the uttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnaces and four small boats, and that which to perform all his former liberality towards us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two as sufficient experimented masters as were any in his fleet, by judgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient goings, to tarry with me, and to employ themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, until the term which I promised of our return into England again. The names of one of those masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and mine own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the said general the twelfth of said month) the thirteenth of the same, there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held His holy hand over them, and the general very providently foreseeing the worst himself, then

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An early form of hand gun, a variety of the harquebus.
about my dispatch putting himself aboard; but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to sea, the Francis also with all my provisions, my two masters, and my company aboard, she was seen to be free from the same, and to put clear to sea.

This storm having continued from the thirteenth to the sixteenth of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the general coming ashore made a new proffer unto me, which was a ship of 170 tons, called the bark Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victualed sufficiently to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before; but he told me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbor, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to do for us; which being within his power, he did assure me, as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the general's offer, their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two special masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also that his second offer, though most honorable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, in some such as there was no possibility for her with and safety to be brought into the harbor; seeing furthermore our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the general, in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with
him. Which request of ours by myself delivered unto him, he most readily assented unto, and so he, sending immediately his pinnaces unto our island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnaces so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our cards, books and writings were by the sailors cast overboard; the greater number of the fleet being much grieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the general, in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors, (having bestowed us among his fleet,) for the relief of whom he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honorable actions against the Spaniards, with praises unto God for all, set sail the 19th of June, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth day of July the same year.
THE THIRD VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA, 1586

The Third Voyage Made by a Ship, Sent in the Year 1586 to the Relief of the Colony Planted in Virginia at the Sole Charge of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In the year of our Lord 1586, Sir Walter Raleigh at his own charge prepared a ship of an hundred tons, freighted with all manner of things in most plentiful manner, for the supply and relief of his colony then remaining in Virginia; but before they set sail from England it was after Easter, so that our colony half despaired of the coming of any supply; wherefore every man prepared for himself, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that country. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their relief in so plentiful a manner as might have sufficed them two years without any further labor. Thus trusting to their own harvest, they passed the summer till the 10th of June, at which time their corn which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping; but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake, in his prosperous return from the sacking of Saint Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countrymen, the English colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English colony inhabited, and having espied some of that company, there he anchored and went aland, where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him that they lived all, but hitherto in some scarcity, and as yet could hear of no supply out of England, therefore they requested him that he would leave with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themselves. Which he agreed to. Whilst some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels each to the other, some on land, some on board, a great storm arose, and drove the
most of their fleet from their anchors to sea, in which ships, at that instant, were the chiefest of the English colony; the rest on land perceiving this, hasted to those three sails which were appointed to be left there, and for fear they should be left behind, they left all things confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army, and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that country.

Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the World, the ship above mentioned, sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his discretion, arrived at Hatorask, who after some time spent in seeking our colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesaid provisions into England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, Sir Richard Grenville, General of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there, who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himself traveling up into divers places of the country, as well as to see if he could hear any news of the colony left there by him the year before, under the charge of Master Lane, his deputy, as also to discover some places of the country; but after some time spent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held, after good deliberation, he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country, whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoke, furnished plentifully, with all manner of provisions for two years, and so departed for England.

Not long after, he fell with the Isles of Azores, on some of which islands he landed, and spoiled the towns of all such things as were worth carriage, where also he took divers Spaniards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, as well outward as homeward, he returned into England.
AN ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS AND
COMMODOITIES IN VIRGINIA, 1587

By Thomas Hariot

A BRIEF AND TRUE REPORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIR—
GINIA—OF THE COMMODITIES THERE FOUND, AND TO BE RAISED,
AS WELL MERCHANTABLE AS OTHERS, WRITTEN BY THOMAS
HERIOT, SERVANT TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH, A MEMBER OF
THE COLONY, AND THERE EMPLOYED IN DISCOVERING A FULL
TWELVE MONTH.

RALPH LANE, ONE OF HER MAJESTIES ESQUIRES, AND GOV—
ERNOR OF THE COLONY IN VIRGINIA, ABOVE MENTIONED, FOR
THE TIME THERE RESIDENT, TO THE GENTLE READER WISHES
ALL HAPPINESS IN THE LORD.

Albeit (gentle reader) the credit of the reports in this
treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony
of one as myself, through affection judged partial, though
without desert, nevertheless, forsomuch as I have been re—
quested by some of my particular friends, who conceive
more rightly of me, to deliver freely my knowledge of the
same, not only for the satisfying of them, but also for the
true information of any other whosoever that comes not
with a prejudiced mind to the reading thereof; thus much
upon my credit I am to affirm, that things universally are
so truly set down in this treatise by the author thereof, an
actor in the colony, and a man no less for his honesty than
learning commendable, as that I dare boldly avouch, it may
very well pass with the credit of truth even among the most
true relations of this age. Which as for mine own part I
am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also
(of the certainty thereof assured by my own experience)
with this my public assertion I do affirm the same. Fare—
well in the Lord.

To the adventurers, favorers, and well-wishers of the enter-
prise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia

Since the first undertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deal
in the action of discovering of that country which is now
called and known by the name of Virginia, many voyages have been made there at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the year 1584, and afterwards in the years 1585, 1586, and now of late this last year 1587; there having been divers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shameful speeches bruited\(^{21}\) abroad by many that returned from there, especially of that discovery which was made by the colony transported by Sir Richard Grenville in the year 1585, being of all others the most principal, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the country being a whole year, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but six weeks, and the others after were only for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered than had been before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favored and ventured in the action, to the honor and benefit of our nation.

\(^{21}\) Reported.
Besides the particular profit and credit which would re­
dound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the 
sequel of events, to the same of those that have avouched 
the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the adventurers, fav­
orers and well-wishers do but either increase in number, 
or in opinion continue, or having been doubtful, renew your 
good liking and furtherance to deal therein according to 
the worthiness thereof already found, and as you shall un­
derstand hereafter to be required touching which worthi­
ness through cause of the diversity of relations and reports, 
many of your opinions could not be firm, nor the minds of 
some that are well disposed be settled in any certainty.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have been 
in the discovery, and in dealing with the natural inhabitants 
especially employed, and having therefore seen and known 
more than the ordinary, to impart so much unto you of the 
fruits of our labors, as that you may know how injuriously 
the enterprise is slandered, and that in public manner as 
this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubt­
ful of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause 
why the chief enterpriser with the favor of her Majesty, 
notwithstanding such reports, has not only since continued 
the action by sending into the country again, and replanting 
this year a new colony, but is also ready, according as the 
times and means will afford, to follow and prosecute the 
same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance 
of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know 
and learn what the country is, and thereupon consider how 
your dealing therein, if it proceed, may return you profit 
and gain, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or other­
wise in furthering thereof.

And least the substance of my relation should be doubt­
ful unto you, as of others by reason of their diversity, I will 
first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so 
different, referring myself to your favorable constructions, 
and to be adjudged of, as by good consideration you shall 
find cause.
Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanor and ill dealing in the country have been there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, have maliciously not only spoken ill of their governors, but for their sakes slandered the country itself. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their return among their friends and acquaintances, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsaid, would seem to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travelers as themselves. They stood so much as it may seem, upon their credit and reputation, that having been twelve months in the country, it would have been a great disgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have said much, whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more than ever they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Others have not been ashamed to make absolute denial of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully known, and others make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the island where we were seated, or not far, or at least wise in few places else, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold and silver was not so soon found, as it was by them looked for, and little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies, or of that many which had little understanding, less discretion, and more tongue than was needful or requisite.

Some also were of nice bringing up, only in cities or towns, or such as never (as I may say) had seen the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such fair houses, nor at their own wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of down or feathers, the country was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in brief to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, malicious, and slanderous reports and
devices else, by our own countrymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I mean not to trouble you withal, but will pass to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier understanding, I will divide into three special parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not only serve the ordinary turns of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to be yielded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffic and exchange with our own nation of England, will enrich yourselves and providers: those that shall deal with you, the enterprisers in general, and greatly profit our own countrymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have been fain to provide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call merchantable.

In the second I will set down all the commodities which we know the country by our experience doth yield of itself for victual and sustenance of man's life, such as are usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the country, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall think behooveful for those that shall inhabit, and plant there to know of, which specially concern building, as also some other necessary uses, with a brief description of the nature and manners of the people of the country.

The first part of merchantable commodities

Silk of grass, or grass silk. There is a kind of grass in the country, upon the blades whereof there grows very good silk in the form of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It grows two feet and a half high or better: the blades are about two feet in length and half an inch broad. The like grows in Persia, which is in the self same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the silk works that come from there into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and
ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and vent thereof as well in our country as elsewhere. And by the means of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be far greater, better, and more plentiful than it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the country growing naturally and wild, which also by proof here in England, in making a piece of silk g rogram, we found to be excellent.

Worm silk. In many of our journeys we found silkworms fair and great, as big as our ordinary walnuts. Although it has not been our hap to have found such plenty, as elsewhere to be in the country we have heard of, yet seeing that the country does naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if art be added in planting of mulberry trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered and husbanded in that sort, as by men of skill is known to be necessary there will rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spaniards.

Flax and hemp. The truth is, that of hemp and flax there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soil does yield of itself. And howsoever the leaf and stem or stalk differ from ours, the stuff by judgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours, and if not, as further proof should find otherwise, we have that experience of the soil, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yielded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit hereof may grow in cordage and linens who cannot easily understand?

Alum. There is a vein of earth along the sea coast for the space of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the judgment of some that have made trial here in England, is made good alum, of that kind which is called Rock alum. The richness

22 A coarse fabric made of silk and molinair.
of such a commodity is so well known, that I need not to say anything thereof. The same earth also yields white copperas, nitrate, and alum alumeum, but nothing so plenteously as the common alum which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the natural inhabitants, very like to terra sigillata, and having been refined, it hath been found by some of our physicians and chirurgeons, to be of the same kind of virtue, and more effectual. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in divers places great plenty, and in some places of a blue sort.

Pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yield them abundantly and in great store. In the very same island where we were seated, being fifteen miles of length, and five or six miles in breadth, there are few trees else but of the same kind, the whole island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare virtues in physics for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses than the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitae. For the description, the manner of using, and the manifold virtues thereof, I refer you to the book of Monardes, translated and entitled in English, The Joyful News from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteads, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things else, (of which there has been proof made already) to make up freight with other principal commodities, will yield profit.

Wine. There are two kinds of grapes that soil does yield naturally, the one is small and sour, of the ordinary bigness as ours in England, the other far greater and of itself luscious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principal commodity of wines by them may be raised.
Oil. There are two sorts of walnuts, both holding oil, but the one far more plentiful than the other. When there are mills and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also there several kinds of berries in the form of oak acorns, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and sweet oil. Furthermore, the bears of the country are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatness, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oil, and has many special uses.

Furs. All along the seacoast there are great store of otters, which being taken by weirs and other engines made for the purpose, will yield good profit. We hope also of marten furs, and made no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the country, there are stores, although there were but two skins that came to our hands. Luzernes also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deer skins dressed after the manner of chamois, or undressed, are to be had of the natural inhabitants thousands yearly by way of traffic for trifles, and no more waste or spoil of deer than is and has been ordinarily in time before.

Civet cats. In our travels there was found one to have been killed by a savage or inhabitant, and in another place the smell where one or more had lately been before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the country especially, one about fourscore, and the other sixscore miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found near the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral man was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country. I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labor and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and dearness thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

24 A variety of lucen, a lynx.
Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the main in two towns we found with the inhabitants divers small plates of copper, that had been made as we understood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountains and rivers that yield also white grains of metal, which is to be deemed silver. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arrival in the country, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of silver grossly beaten, about the weight of a testson, hanging in the ear of a Wiroans or chief lord that dwelt about fourscore miles from us, of whom through inquiry, by the number of days and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or near, where I after understood the copper was made, and the white grains of metal found. The aforesaid copper we also found by trial to hold silver.

Pearl. Sometimes in feeding on muscles we found some pearl, but it was our hap to meet with ragges, or of a pide color, not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the savage people about five thousand, of which number he chose so many as made a fair chain, which for their likeness and uniformity in roundness, orientness, and pideness of many excellent colors, with equality in greatness, were very fair and rare, and had therefore been presented to her majesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storm lost them, with many things else in coming away from the country.

Sweet gums of divers kinds, and many other apothecary drugs, of which we will make special mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kind, that in taking reasonable pains shall discover them more particularly than we have done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

25 Obsolete form of tester meaning sixpence.
26 Mixed colors.
Dyes of divers kinds. There is shoemake well known, and used in England for black, the seed of an herb called wasebur, little small roots called chappacor, and the bark of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge, which dyes are for divers sorts of red, their goodness for our English clothes remain yet to be proved. The inhabitants use them only for the dying of hair, and changing of their faces, and mantles made of deer skins, and also for the dying of rushes to make artificial works withal in their mats and baskets, having no other things besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not prove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall find apt uses for them, as also for other colors which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and uses among English dyers, which cannot be yielded sufficiently in our own country for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Azores it grows plentiful, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither sugar cane to plant, which being not so well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the year being past for their setting when we arrived, we could not make that proof of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the Southern part of Spain, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for oranges and lemons. There may be planted also quince. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in sugars, suckets, and marmalades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leave to your discretion and gentle considerations. And many also may be there, which yet we have not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be provided, and prepared, I might have specified. So likewise of those com-

27 A variety of preserve or confection made of fruit.
modities already set down I might have said more, as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared, by what means, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion, but because others than well-wishers might be there withal acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them, knowing that to those that are well disposed, I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is known to yield for victual and sustenance of man's life, usually fed upon by the natural inhabitants, as also by us, during the time of our abode, and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

Pagatowr, a kind of grain called by the inhabitants—the same in the West Indies is called maize. Englishmen call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countries from whence the like has been brought. The grain is about the bigness of our ordinary English peas, and not much different in form and shape, but of divers colors—some white, some red, some yellow, and some blue. All of them yield a very white and sweet flour. Being used according to his kind, it makes a very good bread. We made of the same in the country some malt, whereof was brewed as good ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the help of hops, thereof may be made as good beer. It is a grain of marvelous great increase—of a thousand, fifteen hundred, and some two thousand fold. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleven and twelve weeks at the most, sometimes in ten, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalk about six or seven feet. The other sort is ripe in fourteen, and is about ten feet high, of the stalks some bear four heads, some three, some one, and some two—every head containing five, six, or seven hundred grains, within a few more or less. Of these grains, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuals, either by parching
them, or seething them whole until they be broken, or boiling the flour with water into a pap.28

Okingier, called by us beans, because in greatness and partly in shape they are like to the beans in England, saving that they are flatter, or more divers colors, and some pide. The leaf also of the stem is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peas.

Wickonzowr, called by us peas, in respect of the beans, for distinction sake, because they are much less, although in form they little differ, but in goodness of taste much like, and are far better than our English peas. Both the beans and peas are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victual either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole until they be soft, and begin to break, as is used in English, either by themselves, or mixed together. Sometimes they mingle the wheat with them. Sometimes also, being whole sodden, they bruise or pun them in a mortar, and thereof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they use to eat for variety.

28 A food similar to baby or invalid foods made by boiling in milk or water.
Macquer, according to their several forms, called by us pompions, melons, and gourds, because they are of the like forms as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of several forms are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts—one is ripe in the space of a month, and the other in two months.

There is an herb which in Dutch is called melden. Some of those that I describe it unto take it to be a kind of orange. It grows about four or five feet high—of the seed thereof they make a thick broth, and pottage of a very good taste, of the stalk by burning into ashes they make a kind of salt earth, wherewithal many use sometimes to season their broths—other salt they know not. We ourselves used the leaves also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herb, in form of a marigold, about six feet in height, the head with the flower is a span in breadth. Some take it to be planta solis, and with the seeds hereof they make both a kind of bread and broth.

All of the aforesaid commodities for victuals are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and severally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixed—the manner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note unto you the fertility of the soil, I think it good briefly to describe.

The ground they never fatten with muck, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor dig it as we in England, but only prepare it in sort as follows. A few days before they sow or set, the men with wooden instrument made almost in form of mattocks or hoes with long handles, the women with short peckers or parers, because they use them sitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, do only break the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grass and old stubbs of corn stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two days drying in the sun, being scraped up into many small heaps, to save them labor for carrying them away, they burn into ashes. And whereas some may think they use the ashes for to better the ground. I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which we observed they do not, except the heaps be too
great, or else would take special care to set their corn where the ashes lie, which also we find they are careless of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they use.

Then their setting or sowing is after this manner. First for their corn, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put four grains, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) and cover them with the mold again—and so throughout the whole plot making such holes, and using them after such manner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, every rank differing from other half a fathom or a yard, and the holes also in every rank as much. By this means there is a yard spare ground between every hole, where according to discretion here and there, they set as many beans and peas, in divers places also among the seeds of macocquer, melden, and planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by us experimented, an English acre containing forty pearches in length and four in breadth, doth there yield in crop or ofcome of corn, beans and peas, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the macocquer, melden, and planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our wheat yielded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this unto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that country corn is there to be preferred before ours. Besides, the manifold ways in applying it to victuals, the increase is so much, that small labor and pains is needful in respect of that which must be used for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we have made proof of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (having once borne corn before) with less than four and twenty hours labor, as shall yield him victuals in a large proportion for a twelve-month, if he have nothing else but that which the same ground will yield, and of that kind only which I have before spoken of—the said ground being also but of five and twenty yards square. And if need require,
but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfsame ground two harvests or ofcomes, for they sow or set, and may at any time when they think good, from the midst of March until the end of June, so that they also set when they have eaten of their first crop. In some places of the country notwithstanding they have two harvests, as we have heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corn nevertheless, whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may do as you shall have further cause to think best. Of the growth you need not to doubt, for barley, oats, and peas, we have seen proof of, not being purposely sown, but fallen casually in the worst sort of ground, and yet to be as fair as any we have ever seen here in England. But of wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no trial, and of rye we had none. Thus much have I digressed, and I hope not unnecessarily. Now will I return again to my course, and intreat of that which yet remains, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herb which is sowed apart by itself, and is called by the inhabitants upponwoc. In the West Indies it has divers names, according to the several places and countries where it grows and is used—the Spaniards generally call it tobacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder, they use to take the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it through pipes made of clay, into their stomach and head, from where it purges superfluous phlegm and other gross humors, and opens all the pores and passages of the body, by which means the use thereof not only preserves the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance) in short time breaks them, whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithal we in England are often times afflicted.

This uppowoc is of so precious estimation among them, that they think their gods are marvelously delighted therewith—whereupon sometimes they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice. Being in a storm upon the waters, to pacify their gods, they cast some up into the air and into the water. So a weir for fish
being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the air. Also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the air likewise, but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometimes dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal, and chattering strange words and noises.

We, ourselves, during the time we were there, used to suck it after their manner, as also since our return, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof, of which the relation would require a volume by itself—the use of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as else, and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they use to husband. All else that follow, are found growing naturally or wild.

Of Roots

Openauk are a kind of roots of round form, some of the bigness of walnuts, some far greater, which are found in moist and marsh grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes call these roots, beads, or pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry ground—some are of the bigness of a man’s head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground, for by reason of their dryness they will neither roast nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots, notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my judgment they do as well as the household bread made of rye here in England.

Kaishucpenauk is a white kind of root about the bigness of hen eggs, and near of that form. Their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and manner of growing not so much cared for by us. The inhabitants notwithstanding used to boil and eat many.
Tsinaw is a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root which is brought from the East Indies. And we know not anything to the contrary but that it may be of the same kind. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring forth a brier stalk, but the leaf in shape far unlike, which being supported by the trees it grows nearest unto, will reach or climb to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopped into small pieces, and stamped, is strained with water a juice that makes bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat\footnote{A liquid or semiliquid food usually eaten with a spoon.} in manner of a jelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oil. This tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discovered since, and is in use as aforesaid. But that which was brought here is not yet known, neither by us nor by the inhabitants to serve for any use or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Cuscushaw some of our company took to be that kind of root which the Spaniards in the West Indies call cassauy, whereupon also many called it by that name. It grows in very muddy pools, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the country manner, it makes a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is used very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before anything be made therewithal—either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the sun, or by the fire, and then punned into flour, will make good bread, or else while they are green they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stamped. Loaves of the same to be laid near or over the fire until it be sour; and then being well punned again, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and wholesome may be made thereof.

Habascon is a root of hot taste, almost of the form and bigness of a parsnip—of itself it is no victual, but only a help, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the country, of which, when
we came in places where they were, we gathered and ate many, but the natural inhabitants never.

**Of Fruits**

Chestnuts, there are in divers places great store. Some they use to eat raw, some they stamp and boil to make spoon-meat, and with some being sodden, they make such a manner of dough bread as they use of their beans before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of walnuts, and of them infinite store. In many places where there are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are walnut trees. The one kind is of the same taste and form, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled, the other is greater, and has a very ragged and hard shell, but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary manner, they break them with stones, and put them in mortars with water, to make a milk which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonmeat—also among their sod wheat, peas, beans and pompions, which makes them have a far more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kind of very good fruit, so called by us chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good until they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the same bigness; otherwise in taste and color they are far different, for they are as red as cherries, and very sweet, but whereas the cherry is sharp sweet, they are luscious sweet.

Mutaquessunnauk, a kind of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bigness of English pears, but that they are of a perfect red color as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaves are very thick, and full of prickles as sharp as needles. Some that have been in the Indies, where they have seen that kind of red dye of great price, which is called cochineal, to grow, do describe his plant right like unto this of Metaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true cochineal, or a bastard or wild kind, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, cochineal is not of the fruit,
but found on the leaves of the plant, which leaves for such matter we have not so specially observed.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are as good and as great as those which we have in our English gardens.

Mulberries, applecrabs, hurts or hurtleberries, such as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kind of berries almost like unto capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or herb that is found in shallow waters, being boiled eight or nine hours according to their kind, are very good meat and wholesome, otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantic or extremely sick.

There is a kind of reed which bears a seed almost like unto our rye or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places we found wild peas like unto ours in England, but that they were less, which are also good meat.

Of a Kind of Fruit or Berry in Form of Acorns

There is a kind of berry or acorn, of which there are five sorts that grow on several kinds of trees. The one is called sagatemener, the second osamener, the third pummuckoner. These kinds of acorns they use to dry upon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almost after the manner as we dry malt in England. When they are to be used, they first water them until they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victual, either to eat so simply, or else being also punned to make loaves or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I said before the inhabitants used to make sweet oil.

Another sort is called sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like unto chestnuts. They sometimes also make bread of this sort.

The fifth sort is called mangummenuk, and is the acorn of their kind of oak, the which being dried after the manner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boil them,
and their servants, or sometimes the chiefs themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts

Deer, in some places there are great store. Near unto the seacoast they are of the ordinary bigness of ours in England, and some less, but further up into the country, where there is better food, they are greater. They differ from ours only in this, their tails are longer, and the snags of their horns look backward.

Conies. Those that we have seen, and all that we can hear of are of a grey color like unto hares. In some places there are such plenty that all the people of some towns make them mantles of the fur or flue of the skins of those which they usually take.

Saquenuclot and maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater than conies, which are very good meat. We never took any of them ourselves, but sometimes eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

Squirrels, which are of a grey color, we have taken and eaten.

Bears, which are of black color. The bears of this country are good meat. The inhabitants in time of winter do use to take and eat many. So also sometimes did we. They are taken commonly in this sort. In some islands or places where they are, being hunted for as soon as they have espial of man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they climb and get up the next tree they can. From whence with arrows they are shot down stark dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometimes shot them down with our calivers.

I have the names of eight and twenty several sorts of beasts, which I have heard of to be here and there dispersed in the country, especially in the main, of which there are only twelve kinds that we have yet discovered, and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometimes kill the lion, and eat him. And we sometimes as they came to our hands of their wolves or
wolfish dogs, which I have not set down for good meat, lest that some would understand my judgment therein to be more simple than needeth, although I could allege the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company have been experimented in both.

Of Fowl

Turkey cocks and turkey hens, stockdoves, partridges, cranes, hernes, and in winter great store of swans and geese. Of all sorts of fowl I have the names in the country language of fourscore and six, of which number, besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, and have the pictures as they were drawn, with the names of the inhab-

Brown gannet, from a facsimile of a water color by John White.

Frigate bird, from a facsimile of a water color by John White.

itants, of several strange sorts of water fowl eight, and seventeen kinds more of land fowl, although we have seen and eaten of many more, which for want of leisure there for the purpose could not be pictured. And after we are
better furnished and stored upon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shall be also published.

There are also parrots, falcons, and marlin hawks, which although with us they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

**Of Fish**

For four months of the year, February, March, April and May, there are plenty of sturgeons. And also in the same months of herrings, some of the ordinary bigness of ours in England, but the most part far greater, of eighteen, twenty inches, and some two feet in length and better. Both these kinds of fish in those months are most plentiful, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also trout, porpoise, rayes, oldwives, mullets plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we have taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the country language. We have the pictures of twelve
sorts more, as they were drawn in the country, with their names.

The inhabitants use to take them two manner of ways—the one is by a kind of weir made of reeds, which in that country are very strong, the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharp at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the manner as Irishmen cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or else as they are wading in the shallows for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we have in England.

Oysters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape. They are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are far better than the other, as in our country.

Also mussels, scallops, periwinkles, and crevises. Seekanauk, a kind of crusty shellfish, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, having a crusty tail, many legs like a crab, and her eyes in her back. They are found in shallows of water, and sometimes on the shore.

32 A crawfish.
There are many tortoises both of land and sea kind, their backs and bellies are shelled very thick; their head, feet, and tail, which are in appearance, seem ugly, as though they were members of a serpent or venomous beasts, but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their eggs. Some have been found of a yard in breadth and better.

A terrapin, from a facsimile of a water color by John White.

And thus have I made relation of all sorts of victuals that we feed upon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves, as far forth as I know and can remember, or that are especially worthy to be remembered.

The third and last part of such other things as are behooveful for those which shall plant and inhabit to know of, with a description of the nature and manners of the people of the country.

Of commodities for building and other necessary uses

Those other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concern building, and other mechanical nec-
essary uses, as divers sorts of trees for houses and ship­timber, and other uses else. Also lime, stone, and brick, let that being not mentioned some might have doubted of, or by some that are malicious the contrary reported.

Oaks there are as fair, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I have said before very many, some have been seen excellent fair timber of four and five fathom, and above fourscore feet straight without bough.

Fir trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kind of tree so called that are sweet wood, of which the inhabitants that were near unto us do commonly make their boats or canoes of the form of trows only with the help of fire, hatchets of stones, and shells. We have known some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they have carried well twenty men at once, besides much baggage. The timber being great, tall, straight, soft, light, and yet tough enough I think (besides other uses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweet wood good for ceilings, chests, boxes, bed­steads, lutes, virginals, and many things else, as I have also said before. Some of our company which have wandered in some places where I have not been, have made certain affirmation of cyprus, which for such and other excellent uses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also witch-hazel, whereof the inhabitants use to make their bows.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willows good for the making of weirs and weels to take fish after the English manner, although the inhabitants use only reeds, which because they are so strong as also flexible, do serve for that turn very well and sufficiently.

Beech and ash, good for cask hoops, and if need require, plow work, as also for many things else.

Elm. Sassafras trees.

Ascopo, a kind of tree very like unto laurel, the bark is hot in taste and spicy, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describes to be cassia lignea of the West Indies.

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33 A kind of fishing boat with an opening in the bottom in which to keep fish alive.
There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it convenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation—seeing that for timber and other necessary uses, I have named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good use, I know no cause to doubt.

Now for stone, brick and lime, thus it is. Near unto the seacoast where we dwelt, there are no kind of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about four miles off) but such as have been brought from further out of the main. In some of our voyages we have seen divers hard ragged stones, great pebbles, and a kind of grey stone like unto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon inquiry we heard that a little further up into the country were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they use of any store whereupon they should have occasion to seek any. For if every household has one or two to crack nuts, grind shells, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they have enough. Neither use they any digging, but only for graves about three feet deep. And therefore no marvel that they know neither quarries, nor limestones, which both may be in places nearer than they know of.

In the mean time until there be discovery of sufficient store in some place or other convenient, the want of you which are and shall be the planters therein may be as well supplied by brick, for the making whereof in divers places of the country there is clay both excellent good and plenty, and also by lime made of oyster shells, and of others burnt, after the manner as they use in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in divers other places of England, which kind of lime is well known to be as good as any other. And of oyster shells there is plenty enough. For besides divers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing else, being but half a foot or a foot under water for the most part.
This much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120 miles from our fort near the water in the side of a hill, was found by a gentleman of our company, a great vein of hard ragged stones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

Of the nature and manners of the people

It resteth I speak a word or two of the natural inhabitants, their natures and manners leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter; now only so far forth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to fear and love us, that shall inhabit with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deer skins, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all else naked, of such a difference of statures only as we in England, having no edge tools or weapons of iron or steel to offend us whithal, neither know they how to make any. Those weapons that they have, are only bows made of witch-hazel and arrows of reeds, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they anything to defend themselves but targets made of bark, and some armors made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their towns are but small, and near the seacoast but few, some containing but ten or twelve houses, some twenty. The greatest that we have seen but of thirty houses; if they be walled it is only done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or else with poles only fixed upright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round form after the manner as is used in many arbors in our gardens of England, in most towns covered with barks, and in some with artificial mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses down to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but twelve and sixteen yards long, and in others some we have seen of four and twenty.
In some places of the country, one only town belongs to the government of a Wiroans or chief lord, in other some two or three, in some six, eight, and more. The greatest Wiroans that yet we had dealing with, had but eighteen towns in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundred fighting men at the most. The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their manner of wars among themselves is either by suddenly surprising one another most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moonlight, or else by ambushes, or some subtle devices. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out that where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defense, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any wars between us and them, what their fight is likely to be, we having advantages against them so many manner of ways, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devices else, especially ordnance great and small, it may easily be imagined, by the experience we have had in some places, the turning up of their heels against us in running away was their best defense.

In respect of us they are a people poor, and for want of skill and judgment in the knowledge and use of our things, do esteem our trifles before things of greater value. Notwithstanding in their proper manner (considering the want of such means as we have,) they seem very ingenious. For although they have no such tools, nor any such crafts, sciences and arts as we, yet in those things they do, they show excellence of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall find our manner of knowledges and crafts to exceed theirs in perfection, and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may be hoped, if means of good government be used, that they may in short time be brought to civility, and the embracing of true religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be far
Tomb of chieftains, reproduced from Theodore de Bry's engraving of John White's water color.
from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They believe that there are many gods, which they call mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which has been from all eternity. Who, as they affirm, when he purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principal order, to be as means and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after the sun, moon, and stars as petty gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversity of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children. And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many years or ages have passed since, they say they can make no relation, having no letters nor other such means as we to keep records of the particularities of times past, but only traditions from father to son. They think that all the gods are of human shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the forms of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas. Them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering unto them. In some Machicomuck we have seen but one Kewas, in some two, and in others some three. The common sort think them to be also gods.

They believe also the immortality of the soul, that after this life as soon as the soul is departed from the body, according to the work it has done, it is either carried to heaven the habitat of the gods, there to enjoy perpetual bliss and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the furtherest parts of their part of the world toward the sunset, there to burn continually. The place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they told me two stories of two men that had been lately dead and revived again, the one happened but a few years before our coming
into the country of a wicked man, which having been dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seen to move, was taken up again, who made declaration where his soul had been, that is to say, very near entering into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saved him, and given him leave to return again, and teach his friends what they should do to avoid that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same year we were there, but in a town that was 60 miles from us, and it was told me for strange news, that one being dead, buried, and taken up again as the first, showed that although his body had lain dead in the grave, yet his soul was alive, and had traveled far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, than ever he had seen before, or was able to express, and at length came to most brave and fair houses, near which he met his father that had been dead before, who gave him great charge to go back again, and show his friends what good they were to do to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come again.

What subtility soever be in the Wiroances and priests, this opinion works so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it makes them to have great respect to their governors, and also great care what they do, to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy bliss, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordained for male-factors, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatness of the facts.

And this is the sum of their religion, which I learned by having special familiarity with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit to their traditions and stories, but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their own, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learn more than we had means for want of perfect utterance in their language to express.

Most things they saw with us, as mathematical instruments, sea compasses, the virtue of the load-stone in drawing iron, a perspective glass whereby was shown many
strange sights, burning glasses, wild fireworks, guns, hooks, writing and reading, spring-clocks that seem to go of themselves and many other things that we had were so strange unto them, and so far exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and means how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods than of men, or at the leastwise they had been given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion of us, as that if they knew not the truth of God and religion already, it was rather to be had from us whom God so specially loved, than from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us. Whereupon greater credit was given unto that we spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in every town where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, and therein was set forth the true and only God, and His mighty works, that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itself was not of any such virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained. Yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call upon us both in his own town, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalms, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that means also expected.

Twice this Wiroans was so grievously sick that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any help by his own priests, and thinking he was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and be a means to our God that it would please him either that he might live, or after death dwell with him in
bliss, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corn began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to pass by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their corn, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sickness, losses, hurts, or any other cross unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or means thereof, for offending or not pleasing us. One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

There was no town where we had any subtle device practiced against us, we leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all means possible to win them by gentleness) but that within a few days after our departure from every such town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some towns about twenty, in some forty, and in one six score, which in truth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learn, but where we had been, where they used some practice against us, and after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the country never happened before, time out of mind. A thing specially observed by us, as also by the natural inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had observed such effects in four or five towns to follow their wicked practices, they were persuaded that it was the work of our God through our means, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come near them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had understanding that any of their enemies had abused us in our journeys, hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons, and fearing
upon some cause the matter should so rest, did come and entreat us that we would be a means to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with us might in like sort die, alledging how much it would be for our credit and profit, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would do so much at their requests in respect of friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although we showed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not subject himself to any such prayers and requests of men, that indeed all things have been and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordained, and that we to show ourselves his true servants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his truth, and serve him in righteousness, but notwithstanding in such sort, that we refer that, as all other things, to be done according to His divine will and pleasure, and as by His wisdom he had ordained to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought nevertheless it came to pass by our means, and that we in using such speeches unto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thanks in their manner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deeds and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marvelous accident in all the country wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours known to die, or that was specially sick. They noted also that we had no women among us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years past, then risen again to immortality.

Some would likewise seem to prophesy that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediately to come
after us they imagined to be in the air, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our entreaty and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirm this opinion, their physicians (to excuse their ignorance in curing this disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people believe, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sick bodies, were the strings wherewithal the invisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that we shot them ourselves out of our pieces, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any town that had offended us, as we listed, how far distant from us soever it were. And other some said, that it was the special work of God for our sakes, as we ourselves have cause in some sort to think no less, whatsoever some do, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some astrologers, knowing of the eclipse of the sun which we saw the same year before in our voyage thitherward, which unto
them appeared very terrible. And also of a comet which began to appear but a few days before the beginning of the said sickness. But to exclude them from being the special causes of so special an accident, there are further reasons then I think fit at the present to be alledged. These their opinions I have set down the more at large, that it may appear unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreet dealing and government to the embracing of the truth, and consequently to honor, obey, fear and love us.

And although some of our company towards the end of the year, showed themselves too fierce in slaying some of the people in some towns, upon causes that on our part might easily enough have been borne withal: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part justly deserved, the alterations of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning us is the less to be doubted. And whatsoever else them may be, by carelessness of ourselves need nothing at all to be feared.

The best nevertheless in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeavored and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

The Conclusion

Now I have (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the country (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may be sufficiently liked: If there were no more known than I have mentioned, which doubtless and in great reason is nothing to that which remains to be discovered, neither the soil, nor commodities. As we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travels, for although all which I have before spoken of, have been discovered and experimented not far from the seacoast, where was our abode and most of our traveling: yet sometimes as we made our journeys further into the main and country; we found the soil to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firm and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grass,
and as good as ever we saw in England; in some places rocky and far more high and hilly ground, more plenty of their fruits, more abundance of beasts, the more inhabited with people, and of greater policy and larger dominions, with greater towns and houses.

Why may we not then look for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plenty, as well as of other things, as of those which we have already discovered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the main of the West Indies. The main also of this country of Virginia, extending some ways so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants we have most certain knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince has any possession or dealing, cannot but yield many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seen.

What hope there is else to be gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the Island of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Turkey, the Islands of Cyprus and Candy, the south parts of Greece, Italy and Spain, and of many other notable and famous countries, because I mean not to be tedious, I leave to your own consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the air there at all seasons, much warmer than in England, and never so vehemently hot, as sometimes is under and between the tropics, or near them, cannot be known unto you without further relation.

For the wholesomeness thereof I need to say but this much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victuals; excepting for twenty days, we lived only by drinking water, and by the victuals of the country, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have been thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort, as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English means, for the taking of beasts, fish and fowl, which by the help only of the inhabitants and their means could not be so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choice as otherwise might have been to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of
clothes. Furthermore in all our travels, which were most specially and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open air upon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but four of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the year, and that but at the latter end thereof, and upon none of the aforesaid causes. For all four, especially three, were feeble, weak, and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew them, much marveled that they lived so long being in that case, or had adventured to travel.

Seeing therefore the air there is so temperate and wholesome, the soil so fertile, and yielding such commodities, as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be performed twice a year with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberal in large giving and granting land there, as is already known, with many helps and furtherances else: (The least that he has granted has been five hundred acres to a man only for the adventure of his person) I hope there remains no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither travel to inhabit and plant be but reasonably provided for the first year, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, do use but that diligence and care, that is requisite, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following, they may have victuals that are excellent good and plenty enough, some more English sorts of cattle also hereafter, as some have been before, and are there yet remaining, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise our kind of fruits, roots, and herbs, may be there planted and sowed, as some have been already, and prove well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of, as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deal with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labors, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: What else concerns the nature and manners of the inhabitants of Vir-
ginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as have been by Sir Walter Raleigh therein, and there employed, many worthy to be remembered, as of the first discoverers of the country, of our general for the time Sir Richard Grenville, and after his departure of our governor there Master Ralph Lane, with divers others directed and employed under the government: Of the captains and fasters of the voyages made since for transportation of the governor and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things else, I have ready in a discourse by itself in manner of a chronicle, according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought convenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favorable constructions, expecting good success of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and governor, not only of this, but of all things else, I take my leave of you, this month of February 1587.
THE FOURTH VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA, 1587

In the year of our Lord, 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh intending to persevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed governor, and also appointed unto him twelve assistants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.

April

Our fleet, being in number three sails, viz: the admiral, a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, a fly-boat, and a pinnace, departed the six and twentieth of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to anchor at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where we stayed eight days.

May

The fifth of May, at nine o'clock at night, we came to Plymouth, where we remained the space of two days. The eighth we weighed anchor at Plymouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The sixteenth, Simon Ferdinando, master of our admiral, lewdly forsook our fly-boat, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

June

The 19th we fell with Dominica, and the same evening we sailed between it, and Guadalupe. The 21st the fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

The 22nd we came to an anchor at an island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there
till the 25th of the same month. At our first landing on this island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like green apples, were fearfully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouths, and swelling of their tongues so big that some of them could not speak. Also a child by sucking one of those women's breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time, but after 24 hours, it wore away of itself.

Also the first night of our being on this island, we took five great tortoise, some of them of such bigness, that sixteen of our strongest men were tired with carrying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabins. In this island we found no watering place, but a standing pond, the water whereof was so evil, that many of our company fell sick with drinking thereof; and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the sun had drawn away the corruption, their faces did so burn and swell, that their eyes were shut up, and could not see in five or six days, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The governor also, with six others, went up to the top of a high hill, to view the island, but could perceive no sign of any men, or beasts, nor any goodness, but parrots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning to our cabins another way, he found in the descent of a hill, certain potsherds of savage making, made of the earth of that island; whereupon it was judged, that this island was inhabited with savages, though Ferdinando had told us for certain the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the governor. The one company affirmed, that they had seen in a valley eleven savages, and divers houses half a mile distant from the steep, or top of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rock a very fair spring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the company. For before that time, we drank the stinking water of the pond.
The same second day at night Captain Stafford, with the pinnace, departed from our fleet, riding at Santa Cruz, to an island called Beake, lying near St. John, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheep. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25th of June, we weighed anchor, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seven and twentieth we came to anchor at Cottea, where we found the pinnace riding at our coming.

The 28th we weighed anchor at Cottea, and presently came to anchor at St. John's in Musketos Bay, where we spent three days unprofitably in taking in fresh water, spending in the meantime more beer than the quantity of the water came unto.

**July**

The first day we weighed anchor at Musketos Bay, where we left behind two Irishmen of our company, Darbie Glaven, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of St. John's till evening, at which time we fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised we should take in salt, and had caused us before, to make and provide as many sacks for that purpose, as we could. The governor also, for that he understood there was a town in the bottom of the bay, not far from the salt hills, appointed thirty shot, ten pikes, and ten targets, to man the pinnace, and to go on land for salt. Ferdinando perceiving them in readiness, sent to the governor, using great persuasions with him, not to take salt there, saying that he knew not well whether the same were the place or not. Also, that if the pinnace went into the bay, she could not without great danger come back, till the next day at night, and that if in the meantime any storm should rise, the admiral was in danger to be cast away. While he was thus persuading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having craftily brought the ship in three fathom and a half water, he suddenly began to swear, and tear God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him
at the helm, bear up hard, bear up hard. So we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his means.

The next day sailing along the west end of St. John, the governor determined to land in St. Germans Bay, to gather young plants of oranges, pines, mameas, and plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow near the shore, and the places where they grew, well known to the governor, and some of the planters but our Simon denied it, saying that he would come to an anchor at Hispaniola, and there land the governor, and some other of the assistants, with the pinnace, to see if he could speak with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattle, and all such things as we would have taken in at St. John. But he meant nothing less, as it plainly did appear to us afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of July, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnace should be prepared to go for the place where Ferdinando said his friend Alanson was, but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4th of July, sailing along the coast of Hispaniola, until the next day at noon, and no preparation yet seen for the staying there, we having knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella. Hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the governor, whether he meant to speak with Alanson, for the taking in of cattle, and other things, according to his promise, or not, but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Raleigh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spain had sent for Alanson into Spain. Wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and sailed off for Virginia, about four of the clock in the afternoon.

The sixth of July we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando said were two salt ponds, assuring us if they were dry, we might find salt to shift with, until the next supply, but it proved as true as finding of sheep at Baque. In this island, while Ferdinando solaced himself ashore,
with one of the company, in part of the island, others spent
the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some
to seek the salt ponds, some fowling; some hunting swans,
whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning
we weighed anchor, leaving Caycos, with good hope, that
the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16th of July we fell with the main of Virginia,
which Simon Ferdinando took to be the island of Croatoan,
where we came to anchor, and rode there two or three days;
but finding himself deceived, he weighed and bare along the
coast, where in the night, had not Captain Stafford been
more careful in looking out, than our Simon Ferdinando,
we had been all cast away upon the breach, called the Cape
of Fear; for we were come within two cables length upon
it; such was the carelessness and ignorance of our master.

The two and twentieth day of July we arrived safe at Hat­
orask, where our ship and pinnace anchored; the governor
went aboard the pinnace, accompanied with forty of his best
men, intending to pass up to Roanoke forthwith, hoping
there to find those fifteen Englishmen, which Sir Richard
Grenville had left there the year before, with whom he meant
to have conference, concerning the state of the country, and
savages, meaning after he had done so, to return again to
the fleet and pass along the coast, to the bay of Chesepiok,
where we intended to make our seat and fort, according to
the charge given us among other directions in writing,
under the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh; but as soon as we
were put with our pinnace from the ship, a gentleman by the
means of Ferdinando, who was appointed to return for
England, called to the sailors in the pinnace charging them
not to bring any of the planters back again, but to leave
them in the island, except the governor, and two or three
such as he approved; saying that the summer was far spent,
wherefore he would land all the planters in no other place.
Unto this were all the sailors, both in the pinnace and ship,
persuaded by the master, wherefore it booted not the gov­
ernor to contend with them, but passed to Roanoke, and the
same night, at sunset, went on land on the island, in the place
where our fifteen men were left, but we found none of them,
nor any sign that they had been there, saving only we found
the bones of one of those fifteen, which the savages had slain long before.

The three and twentieth of July the governor with divers of his company walked to the north end of the island, where Master Ralph Lane had his fort, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the year before, where we hoped to find some signs, or certain knowledge of our fifteen men. When we came thither, we found the fort razed down, but all the houses standing unhurt, having that the neather rooms of them, and also of the fort, were overgrown with melons of divers sorts, and deer within them feeding on those melons; so we returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

The same day order was given that every man should be employed for the repairing of those houses, which we found standing, and also to make other new cottages, for such as should need.

The twenty-fifth, our fly-boat and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatorask, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company; but the master of our admiral, Ferdinando, grieved greatly at their safe coming, for he purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he never had been in Virginia, would hardly find the place, or else being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by means of so many men-of-war, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken or slain; but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelve assistants, was slain by divers savages, which were come over to Roanoke, either of purpose to espy our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt deer, whereof were many in the island. These savages being secretly hidden among high reeds, where oftentimes they find the deer asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a small forked stick, catching crabs wherewithal, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, there they gave him sixteen wounds with
their arrows; and after they had slain him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces and fled over the water to the main.

On the 30th of July, Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother and many of his kindred dwelling in that island, of whom we hoped to understand some news of our fifteen men, but especially to learn the disposition of the people of the country towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us, but perceiving us began to march with our shot toward them, they turned their backs and fled. Then Manteo their countryman called to them in their own language, whom, as soon as they heard, they returned, and threw away their bows and arrows, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corn, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corn, nor any other things of theirs, should be diminished by any of us, and that our coming was only to renew the old love, that was between us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends, which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walk up to their town, who there feasted us after their manner, and desired us earnestly, that there might be some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them anywhere out of the town or island. They told us further, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the year before, being found out of the island by Master Lane his company, whereof they showed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lain of that hurt ever since; but they said, they knew our men mistook them, and hurt them instead of Wingino’s men, wherefore they held us excused.

August

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certify the people of those towns
that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receive them again, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chief men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly do the best they could, and within seven days, bring the Wiroances and chief governors of those towns with them, to our governor at Roanoke, or their answer. We also understood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slain by the remnant of Wingino's men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept company. And also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the fifteen Englishmen left at Roanoke the year before by Sir Richard Grenville, were suddenly set upon, by thirty of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, near the houses where our men carelessly lived; and having perceived that of those fifteen they could see but eleven only, two of those savages appeared to the eleven Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signs, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speak with those two savages, who seemed also to be unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them; but while one of those savages traitorously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantle, struck him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty savages showed themselves; the other Englishman perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the savages pursued with their bows and arrows, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuals and weapons were. But the savages forthwith set the same on fire; by means whereof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to run forth among the savages, with whom they skirmished above an hour. In this skirmish another of our men was shot into the mouth with an arrow, where he died: and also one of the savages was shot in the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the savages, by means of the thick trees, behind which the savages
through their nimbleness, defended themselves, and so off-
fended our men with their arrows, that our men being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled toward Hatorask. By that time they had rowed about a quarter of a mile, they espied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch oysters; these four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoke, and landed on a little island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbor of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having now sufficiently dispatched our business at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleet at Hatorask.

The eighth of August, the governor having long expected the coming of the Wiroanses, of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seven days were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were kept alive, who dwelt at Dasamonguepeuk, where they which had slain George Howe, and were also at the driving of our eleven Englishmen from Roanoke, he thought to defer the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed over the water, accompanied with Captain Stafford, and twenty-four men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we took with us to be our guide to the place where those savages dwelt, where he behaved himself toward us as a most faithful Englishman.

The next day, being the 9th of August, in the morning so early that it was yet dark, we landed near the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conveyed ourselves through the woods, so that side, where we had their houses between us and the water; and having espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them. The miserable souls herewith amazed, fled into a place of thick reeds, growing fast by, where our men perceiving them, shot one of them through the body with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reeds, among which we hoped to acquit their
evil doing toward us, but we were deceived, for those savages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corn and fruit of that place, because they understood our enemies were fled immediately after they had slain George Howe, and for haste had left all their corn, tobacco, and pompions standing in such sort, that all had been devoured of the birds, and deer, if it had not been gathered in time. But they had like to have paid dearly for it. For it was so dark, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, we knew not but that they were all men; and if that one of them which was a Wiorances wife had not had a child at her back, she had been slain instead of a man, and as hap was, another savage knew Master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was saved. Finding ourselves thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered all the corn, peas, pompions, and tobacco that we found ripe, leaving the rest unspoiled, and took Menatoan his wife, with the young child, and the other savages with us over the water to Roanoke. Although the mistaking of these savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harm to their own folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in coming to the governor at the day appointed, they had not known that mischance.

The 13th of August, our savage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoke, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuc, in reward of his faithful service.

The 18th, Eleanor, daughter to the governor, and wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia. By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood and fresh water, and to new caulk and trim them for England; the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send back into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Fly-boat, almost ready to depart, the 21st of August, there arose such a tempest at northeast, that our admiral, then riding out of the harbor,
was forced to cut his cables and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on six days before he could come to us again, so that we feared he had been cast away, and the rather, for that at the time the storm took them, the most and best of their sailors were left on land.

At this time some controversies arose between the governor and assistants about choosing two out of the twelve assistants, which should go back as factors for the company into England; for every one of them refused, save only one, which all others thought not sufficient; but at length, by much persuading of the governor, Christopher Cooper only agreed to go for England; but the next day, through the persuasion of divers of his familiar friends, he changed his mind, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22nd of August, the whole company, both of the assistants and planters, came to the governor and with one voice requested him to return himself into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alleged many sufficient causes why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly return back again without his great discredit, leaving the action and so many whom he partly had procured through his persuasions to leave their native country, and undertake that voyage; and that some enemies to him and the action at his return to England would not spare to slander falsely both him and the action, by saying he went to Virginia, but politicly, and to no other end but to lead so many into a country, in which he never meant to stay himself, and there to leave them behind him. Also, he alleged that seeing they intended to remove fifty miles further up into the main presently, he being then absent, his stuff and goods might be both spoiled, and most of them pilfered away in the carriage; so that at his return he should be either forced to provide himself of all such things again, or else at his coming again to Virginia find himself utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some proof, being but once from them but for three days. Wherefore he concluded that he would not go himself.

The next day, not only the assistants but divers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the
governor again, to take upon him to return into England for the supply and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond under all their hands and seals for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his return to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his assignees, whencsoever the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony under their hands and seals, they forthwith made and delivered into his hand. The copy of the testimony I thought good to set down.

May it please you, her Majesties subjects of England, we your friends and countrymen, the planters in Virginia, do by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that for the present and speedy supply of certain our known and apparent lacks and needs, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, we all of one mind and consent, have most earnestly entreated, and unceasingly requested John White, governor of the planters in Virginia, to pass into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the aforesaid supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and will labor and take pains in that behalf for us all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honor and maintenance of the action, has at last, though much against his will, through our importunity, yielded to leave his government, and all his goods among us, and himself in all our behalves to pass into England, of whose knowledge and fidelity in handling this matter, as all others, we do assure ourselves by these presents, and will you to give all credit thereunto, the 25th of August, 1587.

The governor being at the last, through their extreme entreating, constrained to return into England, having then but half a day's respite to prepare himself for the same, departed from Roanoke the seven and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight came aboard the Fly-boat, who already had weighed anchor, and rode without the bar, the admiral riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither again. The same day both ships weighed anchor and set sail for England.
At this weighing their anchors, twelve of the men which were in the Fly-boat were thrown from the capstone, which by means of a bar that broke, came so fast about them, that the other two bars thereof struck and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them never recovered it: nevertheless as they assayed presently again to weigh their anchor, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weigh it, but were thrown down and hurt the second time. Wherefore having in all but fifteen men aboard, and most of them by this unfortunate beginning so bruised and hurt, they were forced to cut their cable, and lease their anchor. Nevertheless they kept company with the admiral until the seventeenth of September, at which time we fell with Coruo, and saw Flores.

September

The eighteenth, perceiving of all our fifteen men in the Fly-boat there remained but five, which by means of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labor; and that the admiral meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the island of Tercera for purchase, the Fly-boat departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly. But by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty days, having had sometimes scarce and variable winds, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storm at Northeast, which for six days ceased not to blow so exceeding, that we were driven further in those six days than we could recover in thirteen days, in which time others of our sailors began to fall very sick and two of them died, the weather also continued so close, that our master sometimes in four days together could see neither sun nor star, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beer, and lees of wine which remained, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at sea.

34 Dregs, sediments.
October

The 16th of October we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day. About sunset we put into a harbor, where we found a hulk of Dublin, and a pinnace of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was neither had we any boat to go ashore, until the pinnace sent off their boat to us with six or eight men, of whom we understood we were in Smerwick in the west parts of Ireland. They also relieved us presently with fresh water, wine and other fresh meat.

The 18th the governor and the master rode to Dingen a Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Fly-boat for England, and for relief of our sick and hurt men, but within four days after the boatswain, the steward, and the boatswain's mate died aboard the Fly-boat, and the twenty-eighth the master's mate and two of our chief sailors were brought sick to Dingen.

November

The first the governor shipped himself in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the Fly-boat and all his company in Ireland. The same day we set sail, and on the third day we fell with the north side of the land's end, and were shut up the Severne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5th the governor landed in England at Martasew, near Saint Michael's mount in Cornwall.

The 8th we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had been there three weeks before. And also that Fernando the master with all his company were not only come home without any purchase, but also in such weakness by sickness, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbor, but were forced to let fall anchor without, which they could not weigh again, but might all have perished there if a small bark by great hap had not come to them to help them. The names of the
chief men that died are these, Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other sailors, whose names I know not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The Names of All the Men, Women and Children, Which Safely Arrived in Virginia, and Remained to Inhabit There 1587. Anno Regni Reginae Elizabethae 29.

John White,                             John Spendlove,
Roger Bailey,                           John Hemmington,
Ananias Dare,                           Thomas Butler,
Christopher Cooper,                     Edward Powell,
George Howe,                            John Burden,
Simon Ferdinando                        James Hynde,
Nicholas Johnson,                       Thomas Ellis,
Thomas Warner,                          William Browne,
Anthony Cage,                           Michael Myllet,
John Jones,                             Thomas Smith,
William Willes,                         Richard Kemme,
John Brooke,                            Thomas Harris,
Cuthbert White,                         Richard Taverner,
John Bright,                            John Earnest,
Clement Taylor,                         Henry Johnson,
William Sole,                           John Starte,
John Cotsmur,                           Richard Darige,
Humphrey Newton,                       William Lucas,
Thomas Colman,                          Arnold Archard,
Thomas Gramme,                          John Wright,
Mark Bennett,                           Thomas Stevens,
John Gibbes,                            John Sampson,
John Stilman,                           Dionys Harvie,
Robert Wilkinson,                      Roger Prat,
John Tydway,                            William Dutton,
Ambrose Viccars,                        Maurice Allen,
Edmund English,                        William Waters,
Thomas Topan,                           Richard Arthur,
Henry Berry,                            John Chapman,
Richard Berry,                         William Clement,
Robert Little,

Women

Eleanor Dare, Margery Harvie, Agnes Wood, Wenefred Powell, Joyce Archard, Jane Jones, Elizabeth Glane, Jane Pierce, Audry Tappan, Alice Chapman, Emma Merimoth, ——— Colman, Margaret Lawrence, Joan Warren, Jane Mannering, Rose Payne, Elizabeth Viccars.

Boys and Children

John Sampson, Robert Ellis, Ambrose Viccars, Thomas Archard, Thomas Humfrey, Thomas Smart, George Howe, John Prat, William Wythers.

Children Born in Virginia

Virginia Dare, ——— Harvie.

Savages That Were in England and Returned Home to Virginia With Them

Manteo Towaye.
Indians around the fire, reproduced from Theodore de Bry's engraving of John White's water color.
THE FIFTH VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA
SEARCH FOR THE LOST COLONY, 1590

John White’s Report

To the Worshipful and My Very Friend, Master Richard Hakluyt, much happiness in the Lord:

Sir,—As well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made unto you at my last being with you in England, I have sent you (although in a homely style, especially for the contentation of a delicate ear,) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and parts of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of February, in the year of our redemption 1590. And what events happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainly perceive by the sequel of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to go for the West Indies, at the special charges of M. John Wattes, of London, merchant. But when they were fully furnished and in readiness to make their departure, a general stay was commanded of all ships throughout England. Which so soon as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had at sundry times afore been chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and relief of the planters in Virginia; so likewise that by his endeavor, it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceed on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God’s pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him. Whereupon he by his good means obtained license of the queen’s majesty, and order to be taken that the owner of the three ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assigns in three thousand pounds, that those three ships in consideration of their releasement should take in and transport a convenient number of passengers, with their

25 On account of the approaching Spanish Armada.
furnitures and necessaries, to be landed in Virginia. Neverthe¬
less that order was not observed, neither was the bond
taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in
contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and
commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or
any thing else transported in any of the said ships, saving
only myself and my chest; no, not so much as a boy to attend
upon me, although I made great suit and earnest entreaty
as well to the chief commanders, as the owner of the said
ships. Which cross and unkind dealing, although it very
much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcity of time
was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir
Walter Raleigh with complaint, for the ships being then all
in readiness to go to the sea, would have been departed be¬
fore I could have made my return. Thus both governors,
masters, and sailors, regarding very small the good of their
countrymen in Virginia determined nothing less than to
touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to
seek after purchase and spoils, spending so much time there¬
in, that summer was spent before we arrived at Virginia.
And when we were come thither, the season was so unfit,
and weather so foul, that we were constrained of force to
forsake that coast, having not seen any of our planters, with
loss of one of our ship-boats, and seven of our chiefest men.
And also with loss of three of our anchors and cables, and
most of our casks with fresh water left on shore, not pos¬
sible to be had aboard. Which evils and unfortunate events
(as well to their own loss as to the hinderance of the plant¬
ers in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set down by
Sir Walter Raleigh had been observed, or if my daily and
continual petitions for the performance of the same might
have taken any place. Thus may you plainly perceive the
success of my fifth and last voyage to Virginia, which was
no less unfortunately ended than frowardly begun, and as
luckless to many, as sinister to myself. But I would to God
it had been as prosperous to all, as noisome to the planters;
and as joyful to me as discomfortable to them. Yet, seeing
it is not my first crossed voyage, I remain contented. And
wanting my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that where¬
unto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will.
FIFTH VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA

Thus committing the relief of my discomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to help and comfort them, according to His most holy will, and their good desire, I take my leave. From my house at Newtown, in Kilmore, the 4th of February, 1593.

Your most well-wishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.

THE FIFTH VOYAGE OF M. JOHN WHITE INTO THE WEST INDIES AND PARTS OF AMERICA CALLED VIRGINIA, IN THE YEAR 1590.

The 20th of March the three ships the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, put to sea from Plymouth with two small shallops.

The 25th at midnight both our shallops were sunk being towed at the ships stern by the Boatswain’s negligence.

On the 30th we saw ahead us that part of the coast of Barbary, lying east of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi. The next day we came to the Isle of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a pinnace of London called the Moonshine.

April

On the first of April we anchored in Santa Cruz road, where we found two great ships of London laden in sugar, of whom we had two shipboats to supply the loss of our shallops.

On the 2nd we set sail from the road of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4th we saw Alegranza, the east Isle of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5th of April we gave chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and took her, with loss of three of their men slain, and one hurt.

On Monday the 6th we saw Grand Canary, and the next day we landed and took in fresh water on the southside thereof.
On the 9th we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of April we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anchor on the south side thereof.

May

The first of May in the morning many of the savages came aboard our ship in their canoes, and did traffic with us; we also the same day landed and entered their town from whence we returned the same day aboard without any resistance of the savages; or any offence done to them.

The 2nd of May our admiral and our pinnace departed from Dominica leaving the John our viceadmiral playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outward bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three small islands called Los Santos, leaving Guadalupe and them on our starboard.

The 3rd we had sight of St. Christopher's Island, bearing northeast and east off us.

On the 4th we sailed by the Virgins, which are many broken islands, lying at the east end of St. John's Island; and the same day toward evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of fowls. Here we stayed but three hours, and from thence stood into the shore northwest, and having brought this island southeast off us, we put toward night through an opening or swash, called the passage, lying between the Virgins, and the east end of St. John. Here the pinnace left us and sailed on the south side of St. John.

The 5th and 6th the admiral sailed along the north side of St. John, so near the shore that the Spaniards discerned us to be men of war; and therefore made fires along the coast, as we sailed by, for so their custom is, when they see any men of war on their coasts.

The 7th we landed on the northwest end of St. John, where we watered in a good river called Yaguana, and the same night following we took a frigate of ten ton coming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place
Pedro a Mollato, who knew all our state ran from us to the Spaniards.

On the 9th we departed from Yaguana.

The 13th we landed on an island called Mona, whereon were ten or twelve houses inhabited of the Spaniards, these we burned and took from them a pinnace, which they had drawn aground and sunk, and carried all her sails, masts, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards over all the island; but they hid in caves, hollow rocks, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14th we departed from Mona, and the next day after we came to an island called Saona, about five leagues distant from Mona, lying on the south side of Hispaniola near the east end. Between these two islands we lay off and on four or five days, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleet doubling this island, as a nearer way to Spain than by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape St. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19th our viceadmiral from whom we departed at Dominica, came to us at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five days between Saona and Mona to the end aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was informed that our men of the viceadmiral, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young savages, which were the chief Cosique's sons of that country and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Island, where the viceadmiral landed to take in ballast.

On the 21st the admiral came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the John Evangelist, our pinnace, staying for us. Here we took in two Spaniards almost starved on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for 100 miles in length are nothing else but a desolate and mere wilderness, without any habitation of people, and full of wild bulls and boars, and great serpents.

The 22nd our pinnace came also to anchor in Aligato Bay at Cape Tyburon. Here we understood of M. Lane, captain of the pinnace, how she was set upon with one of the king's gallyes belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with
400 men, who after he had fought with him three or four hours, gave over the fight and forsook him, without any great hurt done on either part.

The 26th the John, our viceadmiral, came to us to Cape Tyburon, and the frigate which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo fleet.

On Whitsunday Eve at Cape Tyburon one of our boys ran away from us, and at ten days end returned to our ships almost starved for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carcasses of divers men, who had perished (as we thought) by famine in those woods, being either straggled from their company, or landed there by some men of war.

**June**

On the 14th of June we took a small Spanish frigate which fell among us so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we rode, so that he could not escape us. This frigate came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert pilot, the other a mountaineer, and the third a vintner, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a town in the west part of Hispaniola where many fugitive Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17th being Wednesday Captain Lane was sent to Yaguana with his pinnace and a frigate to take a ship, which was there taking in freight, as we understood by the old pilot, whom we had taken three days before.

The 24th the frigate returned from Captain Lane at Yaguana, and brought us word to Cape Tyburon, that Captain Lane had taken the ship, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proved not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of war had taken and spoiled her before we came. Nevertheless her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, cannafistula, copper-pannes, and casauifis.

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33 Wine merchant.
37 Conobistula, the drumstick tree; also its pods used as a purgative.
38 Probably cassova or cassovi one of various tropical or subtropical American shrubs or herbs.
The second of July Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to us at Cape Tyburon accompanied with a small pinnace, whereof one M. Harps was captain. And the same day we had sight of a fleet of 14 sails all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gave chase, but they upon the first sight of us fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there. Wherefore we were forced to divide ourselves and so made after them until 12 of the clock at night. But then by reason of the darkness we lost sight of each other, yet in the end the admiral and the Moonlight happened to be together the same night at the fetching up of the Vice-admiral of the Spanish fleet, against whom the next morning we fought and took him, with loss of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs four slain and six hurt. But what was become of our vice-admiral, our pinnace, and prize, and two frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3rd of July we spent about rifling, rummage and fitting the prize to be sailed with us.

The 6th of July we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboard, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboard.

Upon the 8th of July we saw the Island of Pinos, which lies on the south side of Cuba near unto the west end or cape called Cape St. Anthony. And the same day we gave chase to a frigate, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sailing of our admiral, and lack of the Moonlight, our pinnace, whom Captain Cook had sent to the cape the day before.

On the 11th we came to Cape St. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonlight and her pinnace abiding for our coming, of whom we understood that the day before there passed by them 22 sails, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tons loaded with the King's treasure from the main, bound for Havana. From this 11th of July until the 22nd we were much becalmed; and the wind being very scarce, and the weather exceeding hot, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken. Wherefore we were driven to land all the Spaniards saving three, but the place where we landed them was of their own choice on the
south side of Cuba near unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23rd we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken islands thereof called the Martires.

The 25th being St. James' day in the morning, we fell with the Matancas, a head-land eight leagues towards the east of Havana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three days.

On Sunday the 26th of July plying to and fro between the Matancas and Havana, we were espied of three small pinnaces of St. John de Ullva bound for Havana, which were exceedingly richly laden. The three pinnaces came very boldly up to us, and so continued until they came within musket shot of us. And we supposed them to be Captain Harp's pinnace, and two small frigates taken by Captain Harp, wherefore we showed our flag. But they presently upon the sight of it turned about and made all the sail they could from us toward the shore, and kept themselves in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gave them over with expense of shot and powder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set our flag, we might have taken them all three, for they would not have known us before they had been in our hands. This chase brought us so far to leeward as Havana; wherefore not finding any of our consorts at the Matancas, we put over again to the Cape of Florida, and from thence through the channel of Bahama.

On the 28th the Cape of Florida bare west of us.

The 30th we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to sea for to gain the help of the current which runs much swifter afar off than in sight of the coast. For from the cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the south and southwest.

The 31st our three ships were clearly disbocked, the great prize, the admiral, and the Moonshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from us without taking leave of our admiral or consort, and sailed directly for England.

42 Probably, disembarked.
On the first of August the winds scanted, and from thence forward we had very foul weather with much rain, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about us nigh unto our ships.

The third we stood again in for the shore, and at mидday we took the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Toward night we were within three leagues of the low sandy islands west of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceedingly foul, that we could not come to an anchor near the coast, wherefore we stood off again to sea until Monday the 9th of August.

On Monday the storm ceased, and we had very great likelihood of fair weather; therefore we stood in again for the shore, and came to an anchor at 11 fathoms in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy island being one of the lands, west of Wokokon. In this land we took in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Between the main (as we supposed) and that land it was but a mile over and three or four feet deep in most places.

On the 12th in the morning we departed from there and toward night we came to an anchor at the northeast end of the land of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceived to lie out two or three leagues into the sea. Here we rode all that night.

The 13th in the morning before we weighed our anchors, our boats were sent to sound over this breach. Our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fathoms; and a ship's length from us we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fathoms, and by and by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, and then 8, next cast 5, and then 6, and then 4, and then 9 again, and deeper; but 3 fathoms was the last, 2 leagues off from the shore. This breach is in 35 degrees and a half, and lies at the very northeast point of Croatoan.

40 A break in the shore line.
whereas goes a fret\textsuperscript{41} out of the main sea into the inner waters, which part the islands and the main land.

The 15th of August toward evening we came to an anchor at Hatorask, in 36 degrees and one-third, in five fathoms of water, three leagues from the shore. At our first coming to anchor on this shore, we saw a great smoke rise in the Isle Roanoke, near the place where I left our colony in the year 1587, which smoke put us in good hope that some of the colony were there expecting my return out of England.

The 16th and next morning, our two boats went ashore, and Captain Cooke, and Captain Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to pass to the place at Roanoke, where our country men were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our master-gunner to make ready two minions and a falcon well loaded, and to shoot them off with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and our two boats put off unto the shore; in the admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our ship until we came within a mile of the shore, nine, eight, and seven fathoms; but before we were half way between our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the southwest of Kindriker's mounts; we therefore thought good to go to that second smoke first; but it was much further from the harbor where we landed, than we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before we came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was that, when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor sign that any had been there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drink. Being thus wearied with this journey, we returned to the harbor where we left our boats, who in our absence had brought their cask ashore for fresh water; so we deferred our going to Roanoke until the next morning, and caused some of those sailors to dig in those sandy hills for fresh water, whereof we found very sufficient. That night we returned aboard with our boats and our whole company in safety.

The next morning, being the 17th of August, our boats and company were prepared again to go up to Roanoke, but

\textsuperscript{41} A strait.
Captain Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by means whereof it was ten of the clock aforesnoon before we put from our ships which were then come to anchor within two miles of the shore. The admirals boat was half way toward the shore, when Captain Spicer put off from his ship. The admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea break into our boat which filled us half full of water, but by the will of God and careful steerage of Captain Cook we came safe ashore, saving only that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoiled. For at this time the wind blew at northeast and direct into the harbor so great a gale, that the sea broke extremely on the bar, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our admirals boat was hauled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captain Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was half passed over, but by the rash and indiscreet steerage of Ralph Skinner, his master's mate, a very dangerous sea broke into their boat and overset them quite; the men kept the boat, some in it and some hanging on it; but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let go of their hold, hoping to wade ashore, but the sea still beat them down, so that they could neither stand nor swim, and the boat twice or thrice was turned keel upward, whereon Captain Spicer and Skinner hung until they sunk and were seen no more. But four that could swim a little, kept themselves in deeper water and were saved by Captain Cook's means, who so soon as he saw their oversetting, stripped himself and four others that could swim very well, and with all haste possible rowed unto them and saved four. They were eleven in all, and seven of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thos. Bevis, Hance the surgeon, Edward Kilborne, and Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the sailors, that they were all of one mind not to go any further to seek the planters. But in the end by the commandment and persuasions of me and Captain Cook, they prepared the boats, and seeing the Captain and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our
boats and all things fitted again, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of nineteen persons in both boats; but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceedingly dark, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile; there we espied towards the north end of the island the light of a great fire through the woods, to which we presently rowed; when we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at daybreak and coming to the fire we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From here we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk, and from there we returned by the water side round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of savages' feet of two or three sorts trodden in the night; and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C R O: which letters we presently knew to signify the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them; which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles in the main. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a cross + in this form; but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with curtains and flankers, very fort-like; and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five foot from the ground in fair capital letters, was graven C R O A T O A N, without
any cross or sign of distress; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron-fowlers, iron locker shot, and such like heavy things thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence we went along the water side toward the point of the creek, to see if we could find any of their boats or pinnace, but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last falcons or small ordnance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors meeting us, told us that they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long since digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cook and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amadas, where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things,
spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust; this could be no other but the deed of the savages, our enemies at Dasamonguepeuc, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan, and as soon as they were departed, digged by every place where they suspected anything to be buried; but although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends.

When we had seen in this place so much as we could, we returned to our boats, and departed from the shore toward our ships, with as much speed as we could; for the weather began to overcast, and very likely that a foul and stormy night would ensue. Therefore the same evening with much danger and labor, we got ourselves aboard, by which time the wind and sea were so greatly risen that we doubted our cables and anchors would scarcely hold until morning; wherefore the captain caused the boat to be manned with five lusty men, who could swim all well, and sent them to the little island on the right hand of the harbor to bring aboard six of our men, who had filled our casks with fresh water. The boat the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our casks, ready filled, they left behind, impossible to be had aboard without danger of casting away both men and boats; for this night proved very stormy and foul.

The next morning it was agreed by the captain and myself, with the master and others, to weigh anchor, and go for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were; for that then the wind was good for that place, and also to leave that cask with fresh water on shore in the island until our return. So then they brought the cable to the capstan, but when the anchor was almost apeak the cable broke, by means where-of we lost another anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shore, that we were forced to let fall a third anchor, which came so fast home that the ship was almost aground

42 In a vertical line.
by Kenrick's mounts; so that we were forced to let slip the
cable, end for end. And if it had not chanced that we had
fallen into a channel of deeper water, closer by the shore
than we accounted of, we could never have gone clear of
the point that lies to the southward of Kenrick's mounts.
Being thus clear of some dangers and gotten into deeper
waters, but not without some loss; for we have but one
cable and anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to
be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our cask and
fresh water lost; it was therefore determined that we would
go for Saint John or some other island to the southward for
fresh water. And it was further purpose, that if we could
any ways supply our wants of victuals and other necessities,
either at Hispaniola, Saint John, or Trinidad, that then we
should continue in the Indies all the winter following, with
hope to make two rich voyages of one, and at our return to
visit our countrymen at Virginia. The captain and the
whole company in the admiral (with my earnest petitions)
thereunto agreed, so that it rested only to know what the
master of the Moonlight, our consort, would do herein. But
when we demanded them if they would accompany us in
that new determination, they alleged that their weak and
leaky ship was not able to continue it; wherefore the same
night we parted, leaving the Moonlight to go directly for
England, and the admiral set his course for Trinidad, which
course we kept two days.

On the 28th the wind changed, and it was set on foul
weather every way; but this storm brought the wind west
and northwest, and blew so forcibly that we were able to
bear no sail, but our fore-course half-mast high, wherewith
we ran upon the wind per force, the due course for England,
for that we were driven to change our first determination
for Trinidad, and stood for the islands of Azores, where we
proposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to
meet with some English men-of-war about those islands,
at whose hands we might obtain some supply of our wants.
And thus continuing our course for the Azores, sometimes
with calms, and sometimes with very scarce winds, on the
fifteenth of September the wind came southeast, and blew
so exceedingly, that we were forced to lie 

atry all that day. At this time by account we judged ourselves to be about twenty leagues to the west of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the storm ceased, and fair weather ensued.

On Thursday the seventeenth we saw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anchor that night, by reason the wind shifted. The next morning being the eighteenth, standing in again with Cueruo, we espied a sail ahead us, to whom we gave chase; but when we came near him, we knew him to be a Spaniard, and hoped to make purchase of him. But we understood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleet already taken by the John our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our viceadmiral and pinnace had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleet, and had forced them with their Admiral to flee unto Jamaca under the fort for succor, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and took out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further we understood of them, that in their return from Jamaca about the Organes near Cape Saint Anthony, our viceadmiral met with two ships of the main land, come from Mexico, bound for Havana, with whom he fought. In which fight our viceadmiral's lieutenant was slain, and the captain's right arm struck off, with four other of his men slain, and sixteen hurt. But in the end he entered, and took one of the Spanish ships, which was so sore shot by us under water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunk; so that we lost thirteen pipes of silver which sunk with her, besides much other rich merchandise. And in the meantime the other Spanish ship being pierced with nine shots under water, got away; whom our viceadmiral intended to pursue. But some of their men in the top made certain rocks, which they saw above water near the shore, to be gallies of Havana and Cartagena, coming from Havana to rescue the two ships; wherefore they gave over the chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was given us by this our prize, he departed from us, and went for England.

43 Balancing the sails.
On Saturday the 19th of September we came to anchor near a small village on the north side of Flores, where we found riding five Englishmen of war, of whom we understood that our vice-admiral and prize were gone thence for England. One of these five was the Moonlight our consort, who upon the first sight of our coming into Flores, set sail and went for England, not taking any leave of us.

On Sunday the 20th the Mary Rose, Admiral of the Queen’s fleet, wherein was General Sir John Hawkins, stood in with the Flores, and divers others of the Queen’s ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareil, the Rainbow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchant ships of war, as the Edward Bonaventure, the Merchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of Sir John Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnaces, all attending to meet with the king of Spain’s fleet, coming from terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22nd of September we went aboard the Rainbow, and towards night we spoke with the Swift-sure, and gave him three pieces. The captains desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them, who at this time with ten other ships stood for Faial. But the general with the rest of the fleet were separated from us, making two fleets, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleet.

On Wednesday the 23rd we saw Gratiosa, where the admiral and the rest of the Queen’s fleet were come together. The admiral put forth a flag of counsel, in which we determined that the whole fleet should go for the main, and spread themselves on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, so far as conveniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleet in those parts.

The 26th we came to Faial, where the admiral with some other of the fleet anchored, others plied up and down between that and the Pico until midnight, at which time the Anthony shot off a piece and weighed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleet stood to the east, the wind at northeast by east.

On Sunday the 27th toward evening we took our leave of the admiral and the whole fleet, who stood to the east. But our ship accompanied with a fly-boat stood in again with
St. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday, the 30th of September, seeing the wind hang so northerly, that we could not attain the Island of St. George, we gave up our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October

The 2d of October, in the morning, we saw St. Michael's Island on our starboard quarter.

The 23rd, at 10 of the clock, afore noon, we saw Ushant, in Brittany.

On Saturday, the 24th, we came in safety, God be thanked, to an anchor at Plymouth.
GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO'S EXPLORATIONS, 1524


TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE,
FRANCIS THE FIRST

The relation of John de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name of his Majesty. Written in Dieppe the eighth of July, 1524.

I wrote not to your Majesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the northern parts, of the success of the four ships, which your Majesty sent forth to discover new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Majesty had been already duly informed thereof. Now by these presents I will give your Majesty to understand, how by the violence of the winds we were forced with the two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such evil case as they were) to land in Brittany. Whereafter we had repaired them in all points as was needful, and armed them very well, we took our course along by the coast of Spain, which your Majesty shall understand by the profit that we received thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discovery of new countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun, which I propose at this present to recount unto your Majesty to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17th of January the year 1524 by the grace of God we departed from the uninhabited rock by the isle of Madeira, appertaining to the king of Portugal, with 50 men, with
victuals, weapons, and other ship munition very well pro­vided and furnished for 8 months: and sailing westwards with a fair easterly wind, in 25 days we ran 500 leagues, and the 20th of February we were overtaken with as sharp and terrible a tempest as ever any sailors suffered: whereof with the divine help and merciful assistance of Almighty God, and the goodness of our ship, accompanied with the good hap of her fortunate name, we were delivered, and with a prosperous wind followed our course west and by north. And in another 25 days we made above 400 leagues more, where we discovered a new land, somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived by the great fires that we saw by the seacoast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the land stretched to the southwards. In seeking some convenient harbor wherein to anchor and to have knowledge of the place, we sailed fifty leagues in vain, and seeing the land to run still to the southwards, we resolved to return back again towards the north, where we found ourselves troubled with the like difficulty. At length being in dispair to find any port, we cast anchor upon the coast, and sent our boat to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the seaside; and seeing us approach, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and look back, beholding us with great admiration; but afterwards being animated and assured with signs that we made them, some of them came hard to the seaside, seeming to rejoice very much at the sight of us, and marvelling greatly at our apparel, shape and whiteness, showed us by sundry signs where we might most commodiously come aland with our boat, offering us also of their victuals to eat.

Now I will briefly declare to your Majesty their life and manners, so far as we could have notice thereof: these people go altogether naked, except only that they cover their private parts with certain skins of beasts like unto martens, which they fasten unto a narrow girdle made of grass very artificially wrought, hung about with tails of divers other beasts, which round about their bodies hang dangling down to their knees. Some of them wear garlands of birds’ feathers. The people are of color russet, and not
much unlike the Saracens: their hair black, thick and not very long, which they tie together in a knot behind and wear it like a little tail. They are well featured in their limbs, of mean stature, and commonly somewhat bigger than we: broad-breasted, strong-armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, saving that they have somewhat broad visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them well favored, having black and great eyes, with a cheerful and steady look, not strong of body, yet sharp witted, nimble and exceeding great runners, as far as we could learn by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the east parts of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China. We could not learn of this people their manner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship riding far off in the sea. And not far from these we found another people, whose living we think to be like unto theirs; (as hereafter I will declare unto your Majesty) showing at this present the situation and nature of the aforesaid land.

The shore is all covered with small sand, and so ascended upwards for the space of 15 feet, rising in the form of little hills about 50 paces broad. And sailing forwards, we found certain small rivers and arms of the sea, that fall down by certain creeks, washing the shore on both sides as the coast lieth. And beyond this we saw the open country rising in height above the sandy shores with many fair fields and plains, full of mighty great woods, some very thick, and some thin, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Majesty may not think that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wild deserts of Tartary, and the northern coasts full of fruitless trees: but they are full of palm trees, bay trees, and high cypress trees, and many other sorts of trees unknown in Europe, which yield most sweet savors far from the shore, the property whereof we could not learn for the cause aforesaid, and not for any difficulty to pass
through the woods, seeing that they are not so thick but that a man may pass through them.

Neither do we think that they partaking of the east world round about them, are altogether void of drugs or spicery, and other riches of gold, seeing the color of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beasts, as stags, deer and hares, and likewise of lakes and pools of fresh water, with great plenty of fowls, convenient for all kind of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34 degrees, with good and wholesome air, temperate, between hot and cold, no vehement winds do blow in those regions, and those that do commonly reign in those coasts, are the northwest and west winds in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the sky clear and fair with very little rain: and if at any time the air be cloudy and misty with the southern wind, immediately it is dissolved and waxeth clear and fair again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, the waves gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat shoaled and without harbor, yet it is not dangerous to the sailors, being free from rocks and deep, so that within 4 or 5 feet of the shore, there is 20 feet deep of water without ebb or flood, the depth still increasing in such uniform proportion. There is very good riding at sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can never perish there by breaking of her cables, which we have proved by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is usual in all regions) being in the sea oppressed with northern winds, and riding there, we found our anchor broken before the earth failed or moved at all.

We departed from this place, still running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the east, and we saw everywhere very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harbor, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashore with 25 men: where by reason of great and continual waves that beat against the shore, being an open coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly

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44 Latitude 34 passes fifteen miles below Wilmington, N. C., and through New Hanover, Brunswick, and Columbus counties.
go ashore without losing our boat. We saw there many people which came unto the shore, making divers signs of friendship, and showing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Majesty shall understand by the success. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteem, as sheets of paper, glasses, bells, and suchlike trifles; we sent a young man one of our mariners ashore, who swimming towards them, and being within 3 or 4 yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things upon the shore: but seeking afterwards to return, he was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiving, ran to catch him, and drawing him out, they carried him a little way off from the sea. The young man perceiving they carried him, being at the first dismayed, began then greatly to fear, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheer him and to give him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foot of a little hill against the sun, they began to behold him with great admiration, marveling at the whiteness of his flesh: and putting off his clothes, they made him warm at a great fire, not without our great fear which remained in the boat, that they Would have roasted him at that fire, and have eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength, and having stayed a while with them, showed them by signs that he was desirous to return to the ship: and they with great love clapping him fast about with many embracings, accompanying him unto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leaving him along, went unto a high ground and stood there, beholding him until he was entered into the boat. This young man observed, as we did also, that these are of color inclining to black as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of mean stature, handsome visage, and delicate limbs, and of very little strength, but of prompt wit: further we observed not.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the north in 50 leagues' space we came to
another land which showed much more fair and full of woods, being very great, where we rode at anchor: and that we might have some knowledge thereof, we sent 20 men aland, which entered into the country about 2 leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for fear. They saw only one old woman with a young maid of 18 or 20 years old, which seeing our company, hid themselves in the grass for fear: the older woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a child of 8 years old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came unto them, the women cried out: the old woman made signs that the men were fled into the woods. As soon as they saw us to quiet them and to win their favor, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them, to eat, which the old woman received thankfully: but the young woman disdain ed them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They took a child from the old woman to bring into France, and going about to take the young woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially having great woods to pass through, and being far from the ship, we purposed to leave her behind, bearing away the child only. We found those folks to be more white than those that we found before, being clad with certain leaves that hang on boughs of trees, which they sew together with threads of wild hemp: their heads were trussed up after the same manner as the former were: their ordinary food is of pulse, whereof they have great store, differing in color and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreover they live by fishing and fowling, which they take with gins, and bows made of hard wood, the arrows of canes, being headed with the bones of fish, and other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder than in Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20 feet long, and 4 feet broad, which are not made with iron or stone, or any other kind of metal (because that in all this country for the space of 200 leagues which we ran, we never saw one stone of any sort:) they help themselves with fire,
burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollow­ness of the boat; the like they do in making the stern and the forepart, until it be fit to sail upon the sea. The land is in situation, goodness and fairness like the other: it hath woods like the other, thin and full of divers sorts of trees: but not so sweet, because the country is more northerly and cold.

We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which growing up, took hold of the trees as they do in Lombardy, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yield excellent wines: for having oftentimes seen the fruit thereof dried, which was sweet and pleasant, and not differing from ours, we think that they do esteem the same, because that in every place where they grow, they take away the under branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbs, and sweet and odiferous flowers different from ours. We knew not their dwellings, because they were far up in the land, and we judge by many signs that we saw, that they are of wood and of trees framed together.

We do believe also by many conjectures and signs, that many of them sleeping in the fields, have no other covert than the open sky. Further knowledge have we not of them: we think that all the rest whose country we passed, live all after one manner. Having made our abode three days in this country, and riding on the coast for want of harbor, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore between the north and east, sailing only in the daytime, and riding at anchor by night. In the space of 100 leagues sailing we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certain little steep hills: from amidst the which hills there ran down into the sea an exceeding great stream of water, which within the mouth was very deep, and from the sea to the mouth of the same with the tide which we found to rise eight feet, any great ship laden may pass up.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S LETTER TO SIR ROBERT CECIL

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.¹


Sir,

Whereas as I wrate unto yow in my last that I was gonn to Weymouth, to speake with a pinnes of myne arived from Virginia, I found this bearer, Captayne GILBERT, ther also, who went on the same voyage. Butt myne fell 40 leaugs to the west of it, and this bearer as much to the east; so as neither of them spake with the peopell. Butt I do sende both the barks away agayne, having saved the charg in sarsephraze woode; butt this bearer bringing sume 2200 weight² to Hampton,³ his Adventurers have taken away their parts and brought it to London.

I do therfore humblie pray yow to deale withe my Lord Admirall for a letter to make seasure of all that which is cume to London, ether by his Lordships octoretye or by the Judge: because I have a patent that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther, without my leve. And whereas sarsephraze was worth 10s., 12s., and 20s. a pound before GILBERT returned, his cloying of the market will overthrow all myne, and his owne also. He is contented to have all stayde; not only for this present: butt, being to go agayne, others will also go and distroy the trade, which, otherwize, would yeild 8 or 10 for on,⁵ in certenty, and a returne in xx weekes.

I desire butt right herein; and my Lord Admirall, I hope, will not be a hinderance to a matter of trade graunted by the Great Seale of Inglande; his Lordship havinge also freedome and an interest in the countrye. A man of my Lord's of Hampton, arested part of GILBERT'S, for the tenths. I hope my Lord will not take it; beyong not unto hym; having also hymsealf poure to trade ther⁶ by his

² Sassafras.
³ 22,000 lb. or 22 cut, as then computed.
⁴ Southampton.
⁵ One.
⁶ That is to Virginia.
interest. And it were pitty to overthrow the enterprize; for I shall yet live to see it an Inglish nation.

Ther was also brought 26 cedar trees by GILBERT, which one STAPLYNE of Dartmouth hath. If my Lord will vouchsauf to write to C. Harris⁷ to seaze them, we will part them in three parts,—to seele⁸ cabineats, and make bords⁹ and many other delicate things. I beseich yow vouchsauf to speak to my Lord. I know his Lordship will do mee right herein. I, for hast, have not written. For, if a stay be not made, it wilbe spent, and sold into many hands.

This bearer, Captayne GILBERT—who is my Lord COB-HAME'S man—will find out wher it is. Hee came to mee with your post letter. It is he,—by a good token,—that had the great diamonde.

I beseich yow, favor our right; and yow shall see what a pretty, honorabell, and sauf trade wee will make.

Your's ever to serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I hope yow will excuse my cumbersome letters and sutes. It is your destne to be trobled with your frinds, and so must all men bee. Butt what yow thinck unfit to be dun for mee shall never be a quarrell, ether internall or externall. I thank yow evermore for the good, and what cannot be effected, farewell hit! If wee cannot have what we would, methinks it is a great bonde to finde a frinde that will strayne hyme sealf in his frind's cause in whatsoever,—as this world fareth.

Wemouth, this 21 of August [1602].

[SECOND POSTSCRIPT.]—GILBERT went without my leve, and therfore all is confiscate; and he shall have his part agayne.

Addressed:

To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principal Secritorye, &c.

Endorsed:


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⁷ Christopher Harris, an officer of the Admiralty.
⁸ Cieel.
⁹ "Bords" is probably here used in the sense of "tables".
ACCOUNTS WRITTEN FOR THE KING OF SPAIN, 1600

LETTER OF GONZALO MENENDEZ DE CANCO,¹⁰ GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA, TO PHILIP II OF SPAIN, JUNE 28, 1600.

Translated by Katherine Reding, M.A., University of Kansas.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES. Seville.

Testimony of David Glauin,¹¹ Irish Soldier

On the aforementioned day, month and year, Governor and Captain-general Gonzalo Mendez de Canco ordered to appear before him, David Glauin, an Irish soldier of this garrison, who took oath in due form, making the sign of the cross with his right hand. Having heard the decree of the Governor and the chapter from the letter of his Majesty, he said that he has never been in la Tama, nor knows the land; what he knows of these provinces is that he has lived in them and in this garrison of St. Augustine for more than five years; that in '84 the English stole from him a ship, loaded with wine and merchandise as he was rounding the cape of Surlinga, coming from Nantes in the Province of Brittany; that they brought him with them to the Indies. Richard de Campoverde was general of nine large and small sailing vessels; the latter brought him to el Jacan which is on this coast at a latitude of 36 degrees. There he entered port and disembarked 150 settlers. The witness remained with them since there was no means of escape and there, as soon as they had disembarked, they began to make brick and fabric for a fort and houses. He was there with them a year and a half until Francis Drake, who sacked some Indian ports, and among them this of St. Augustine, came with his Armada. Then he carried off the English in el Jacan, and with them this witness, and took them to England. In London the witness understood that the Queen was much displeased with this act of Francis Drake, and

¹⁰ The Georgia Historical Quarterly, published by the Georgia Historical Society, XIII (March, 1924), 1.
¹¹ This name appears as Glaud, Glauid, Chuin.
saw that two ships were fitted out with two hundred men, many settlers and their wives, to return again to el Jacan. They seized again this witness and brought him again to el Jacan. Thus he came with them to the Island of Porto Rico, where in a port on the southern coast, they took water and provisions. Then this witness escaped and warned Porto Rico that in England they were making ready five ships to come and sack Porto Rico, and that they might be there by Easter. He warned Diego Menéndez, who was then Governor of Porto Rico, that he be on his guard; and because they were on their guard, the galleons did no harm although they came at the appointed time. Their plan was to carry more settlers to el Jacan after this attack, and to follow the ships in which the witness came; thus he considers it certain that the English are in el Jacan. For more proof he said that that past year of '99 he was in Havana; don Beltran de la Cueva was bringing certain Englishmen of Lima from an English boat which he took from the son of Juan Ales; among them one youth declared that the same time that they left Plemua for the Straits of Magellan, two ships had left in their company with the aid of people, ammunition, clothes, implements, axes and spades for the settlers of el Jacan; by which he confirmed his opinion that they are there.

Being asked his opinion of the said Jacan at the time he was there, and if there was gold and silver on it, and what fruit it produced, he said that when he was there they sowed wheat and barley and that it grew in great abundance; that the land produced many and good fruits, for example, grapes, plums, apples, cherris, chestnuts, in great abundance; many nuts, corn, beans, squashes, fish of many kinds so that each month has its species; that there was also much gold, and pearls, because he saw Richard de Campoverde bargain for more than one arroba of gold. His opinion was that the gold was not greatly refined for he heard it said that it must be from 16 to 18 karats; this was because it was crude since the Indians did not know how to purify it. Among the chief-tains he noticed that all wore nose rings of gold; there was

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12 An arroba was a twenty-five pound measure.
also among them a great quantity of pearls, some of them very large and Richard of Campoverde carried off many of these. This witness traded for one the size of an acorn, and even greater than an acorn, very transparent and beautiful. When Richard de Campoverde discovered it, he took it away from him. Moreover the English had word that at forty leagues from there, up the river, at the foot of a range by the source of the river, there were gold mines, but they did not reach that far on account of the lack of rations, but they have the word of the Indians that the mines are there. It does not seem probable that they would abandon a land so fertile, where there was so much gold, so many pearls. The witness has given this account to the said general in order that it may be given to his Majesty. This is what he knows, and has seen according to the oath he took, and having heard it reread, he signed it with his name. He said that he was about forty years of age.

David Glauid signed this before me, Juan Ximenes, scribe. Testimony—in the city . . .

I, Juan Ximenez, public scribe and chief clerk of the government of these provinces, city and fort of St. Augustine of Florida, by the order of the Governor and Captain-general Gonzalo Mendez de Canco, took this copy from the original which was made in my presence . . . and I sign with the usual name:

GONZALO MENDEZ DE CANCO (Seal)

JOHN XIMENEZ, scribe (signed and sealed)

Letter of the Governor of Florida Gonzalo Mendez de Canco to his Majesty

Sir:

The 13th of this month, there arrived to this city . . .

If your Majesty wishes to inquire about the town of el Jacan through England, you must ask about Virginia, which
is the name the English have given it, because about el Jacan
they will know nothing.

From St. Augustine of Florida, June 28, 1600.

GONZALO MENDEZ DE CANCO (Sealed)

(On the back one reads—Let this be put with the rest and
carried by the Relator.) (Sealed).

EDITOR’S NOTE. The English attempt to establish a
colony on Roanoke Island (el Jacan) aroused great uneasi­
ness in Florida and Spain. This was the first serious threat
against Spain’s territorial monopoly on the south Atlantic
mainland of North America, and was the cause of several
expeditions by land and water to forestall English preten­
sions in that quarter. This document gives some idea of
the importance attached by Spain to the Southeast,—a fac­
tor usually overlooked by historians,—and the measures
proposed for holding the region against other European
claimants. Of special interest is the account of the expedi­
tion into the interior of la Tama. It would seem that the
soldiers and priests composing the party set out from the
important Spanish settlement of Guale, on St. Catherine’s
Island, and did not turn back until they reached the neigh­
borhood of the present city of Atlanta.

Copies of the manuscript are to be found in the Bancroft
Collection of the University of California and the Lowery
Collection now in the possession of the Library of Congress.
The editor’s thanks are due Miss Reding for the successful
consummation of a difficult and exacting piece of work.