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HISTORY OF THE
First DISCOVERY AND
SETTLEMENT OF
VIRGINIA:
BEING
An ESSAY towards a General HISTORY of this COLONY.

By WILLIAM STITH. A. M.
Rector of Henrico Parish, and one of the Governors of William and Mary College.

Tantae molis erat ** condere gentem. Virg.

WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed by WILLIAM PARKS, M, DCC, XLVII.
THE PREFACE.

HERE present the Reader with the first Part of my History of our own Country. When I had left my laborious Employment at the College, and began to enjoy a little Leisfure, I could not think myself wholly discharged from the Service of the Publick. As therefore my late Uncle, Sir John Randolph, had purpofed to write a Preface to our Laws, and therein to give an Historical Account of our Constituition and Government, but was prevented from prosecuting it to Effect, by his many and weighty Publick Employments, and by the vast Burthen of private Business from his Clients, I thought the History of Virginia would be no mean or unacceptable Undertaking. For such a Work, well performed, must naturally be a great Satisfaction, and even Ornament, to our Country. Besides which, I was farther induced by some other Reasons. It is now an hundred and forty Years, since the first Discovery and Settlement of Virginia; and as many useful Papers and Records, relating to our History, may probably be found at present, which will perhaps be lost hereafter, I conceived it high time, that something material should be attempted in it. For I need not say, how empty and unsatisfactory every thing, yet published upon the Subject, is; excepting the excellent but confused Materials, left us in Captain Smith's History.

I speak not this with the Pride and Malevolence of an Author, that would raise his own Reputation by depreciating his Brother Writers; but it is a Censure most justly due to those, who have yet meddled with our History, and which I, for my own Part, owe them, for the Vexation and Disappointment I met with, in reading their Works. And I can further declare with great Truth, that had any thing of Consequence been done in our History, I could most willingly have saved myself the Trouble, of conning over our old musty Records,
The P R E F A C E.

cords, and of studying, connecting, and reconciling the jarring and disjointed Writings and Relations of different Men and different Parties. However, I was sorry to see all our Hopes at an End by the Death of Sir John Randolph; and was unwilling the Design should be entirely abandoned, and that our History should still remain in its old Confusion and Uncertainty. I had also, by my Intimacy with that Gentleman, had the Sight and Perusal of many excellent Materials in his Hands; and thought I could not handomely be denied the Use of any thing else to my Purpose, either in our publick Offices, or the Possession of private Gentlemen.

I may further add, that I at present enjoy a perfect Leisure and Retirement, and am not burdened with any publick Post or Office. So that such a Work will be a noble and elegant Entertainment for my vacant Hours, which it is not in my Power to employ more to my own Satisfaction, or the Use and Benefit of my Country.

As to my Helps in carrying on this Work, besides De Brye's Edition of Hariot's Treatise and With's Cuts and Maps, and besides casual Assiduities from such Parts of Purchas, as I could procure, from Dr. Heylen, and other things in Print, the inquisitive Reader will easily perceive, how much of this Volume is founded on Captain Smith's Materials. They are large and good, and of unquestionable Authority, for what is related, whilst he said in the Country. But they are however, as I before observed, vastly confused and perplexed, and took me more Labour and Pains to digest them, than I at first expected. The latter Part of his History also, especially from Captain Argall's Government, is liable to some just Suspicion. Not that I question Captain Smith's Integrity; for I take him to have been a very honest Man, and a strenuous Lover of Truth. But being himself absent in those times upon other Projects, and having an Acquaintance and Friendship with Sir Thomas Smith and Captain Argall, he seems chiefly to have depended upon them and their Friends for his Account of things. And particularly, his Account of Captain Argall's Government is expressly taken from himself, and from a Relation of Mr. Rolfe's. Besides which, it is evident that his Mind was somewhat eagered by the Neglects shown him, and by the Refusal of some just Reward for his many and great Services. So that he does not seem much inclined, to think well of the Company or their Proceedings. And such Prejudices and Partialities do silently and imperceptibly slide into the best and honestest Minds; and ought therefore to be carefully watched and guarded against by all Men, but especially by Historians. But from whatever Cause it proceeded, it is certain, that he gave a very wrong Idea of Captain Argall and his
The Preface.

his Government, and of the Reasons of the Dissolution of the Company, in which he has been implicitly followed by all our succeeding Historians. And I would not have the Reader surprised to find my Account of these Particulars, so very different from all others, yet in Print. For I assure him, there is not one Article, scarce a Word, in my Relation, which is not founded on the express Testimony, and the incontestible Authority, of our Records in the Capitol, and the Company's Journals.

For besides these printed Accounts, I have had the greatest and most considerable Assurances from authentick Manuscripts. Sir John Randolph's Collection of publick Papers, and the Capitol Records, have been of no little Use to me, and will be still of greater Service and Consequence in the Prosecution of the Work. But I must confess myself most indebted, in this Part of my History, to a very full and fair Manuscript of the London Company's Records, which was communicated to me by the late worthy President of our Council, the Honourable William Byrd, Esq; Neither could I well excuse myself, if I did not likewise acknowledge, with what Humanity and Politeness, that well bred Gentleman and Scholar, not only communicated those Manuscripts to me, but also threw open his Library (the best and most copious Collection of Books in our Part of America) and was himself even studious and judicious, to search out and give me, whatever might be useful to my Undertaking.

As these Records are a very curious and valuable Piece of the Antiquities of our Country, I shall give the Reader an Account of them, which I received, many Years ago, in Conversation with Col. Byrd and Sir John Randolph. I had then no Thoughts of writing the History of Virginia, and therefore took less Notice, than I otherwise should have done. However, as I am perhaps the only Person now living, anything acquainted with their History, it will not be improper to give it to the Reader, as I judge it highly worthy of his Knowledge.

These Records are a Journal of the Company's Proceedings, from Day to Day; and are written in two large Folio Volumes, on a Kind of Elephant Paper, generally in a very fair and legible Hand. Each Page is subscribed by Edward Collingwood, the Company's Secretary, thus: Com. Collingwood, which is, as I take it, Compared, Collingwood. Besides which, there is a Testification at the End of each Volume. At the End of the first, under the Hands of Edward Waterhouse and Edward Collingwood, Secretaries of the two Companies for Virginia and the Somer-Islands, that they had compared that with the Original Court-Book, and found...
The PREFACE.

found it to be a true and perfect Copy of the same, except the
Omission of one Court and Part of another. The second Vo-
rium is signed by the said Secretary Collingwood and Thomas
Collet, of the Middle Temple, Gentleman, testifying the
same thing, except in a few immaterial Points, where were
wanted some Original Papers: These Volumes only contain
the Company's Proceedings for a little above five Years, viz.
from April 28, 1619 to June 7, 1624; including the whole
Time of Sir Edwin Sandys's and the Earl of Southampton's
Administration. However they are not a brief and summary
Entry of the principal Points and Matters concluded upon,
according to the common Methods of Courts, but give, at
length, the chief Speeches, Reasons, and Debates, that hap-
pened in their Courts, during that time. And as it was a Pe-
riod of vast Contests and Dispute, they often recur back to
former Times and Transactions, and thereby give us a clear
Idea and Account of the chief Matters and Proceedings of the
Company, almost from its first Institution and Foundation.

THIS Copy was taken, by the Order, and for the Use of
the Earl of Southampton, the Company's Treasurer at that
time; who seeing, how things were going with the Company,
had their Records thus carefully copied and compared, and au-
thentically attested. Whether his Lordship intended to Stand
Suit with the King for the Rights and Privileges of the Com-
pany, or whether he did it only in Vindication of his own
and the Company's Reputation, is uncertain. However they
were carefully preserved in the Family; and as the Original
Court-Books were taken from the Company by the King and
Privy Council, and never again restored to them, that I can
find, but probably destroyed or lost, this is perhaps the only
Copy, now extant. After the Death of that Earl's Son, the
Duke of Southampton (the worthy Partner in the Ministry
with the Earl of Clarendon, after the Restoration, which
happened in the Year 1667, the late Col. Byrd's Father, be-
ing then in England, purchased them of his Executors, for
fifty Guineas. And thus have they been handed down, to
clear the Honour and Uprightness of the Actions of that No-
bleman and the Company, and to the full Conviction of King
James's arbitrary and oppressive Proceedings against them.

I therefore hope, my Freedom with that King's Character,
will need no Apology. For if more than a Century is not
enough to un-solomonize that fily Monarch, I must give up
all my Notions of things. A King's Character, whilst he
lives, is, and ought to be sacred, because his Authority de-
PENDS upon it. But when his Authority, the Reason of it's
being sacred, determines, the Inviolableness of his Character
is also at an End. And I take it to be the main Part of the
Duty.
Duty and Office of an Historian, to paint Men and Things in their true and lively Colours; and to do that Justice to the Vices and Follies of Princes and great Men, after their Death, which it is not safe or proper to do, whilst they are alive. And herein, as I judge, chiefly consists the Strength and Excellency of Tacitus and Suetonius. Their Stile and Manner are far inferior to Livy's, and the Writers of the Julian and Augustan Ages. But they have more than painted, and exposed alive to View, the greatest Train of Monsters, that ever disgraced a Throne, or did Dishonour to human Nature; and thereby have obtained to themselves a Rank, among the best and most valuable Writers. King James I. fell indeed far short of the Caesar's superlative Wickedness and Supremacy in Vice. He was, at best, only very simple and injudicious, without any steady Principle of Justice and Honour; which was rendered the more odious and ridiculous, by his large and constant Pretensions to Wisdom and Virtue. And he had, in Truth, all the Forms of Wisdom; for ever erring very learnedly, with a wise Saw, or Latin Sentence, in his Mouth. For he had been bred up under Buchanan, one of the brightest Genius's and most accomplished Scholars of that Age, who had given him Greek and Latin in great Waste and Profusion, but it was not in his Power to give him good Sense. That is the Gift of God and Nature alone, and is not to be taught; and Greek and Latin, without it, only cumber and overload a weak Head, and often render the Fool more abundantly foolish. I must therefore confess, that I have ever had, from my first Acquaintance with History, a most contemptible Opinion of this Monarch; which has perhaps been much heightened and increased, by my long studying and conning over the Materials of this History. For he appears, in his dealings with the Company, to have acted with such mean Arts and Fraud, and such little Tricking, as highly mibecome Majesty. And I am much mistaken, if his arbitrary Proceedings and unjust Designs will appear from any Part of his History more fully, than from these Transactions with the Company and Colony; which have been thus far unknown to the English Historians, and will perhaps be still thought too insignificant for their Notice. However I hope, my speaking my Mind thus sincerely and impartially will give no Umbrage or Offence to any Man, or Party of Men. For I declare myself to be of no Party; but have laboured solely with a View, to find out and relate the Truth. And as for King James I. I think and speak of him, with the same Freedom and Indifference, that I would think and speak of any other Man, long since dead; and therefore I have no way restrained my Stile, in freely exposing his weak and injurious Proceedings.
IN the succeeding Parts of this History, I am afraid, shall meet with much greater Difficulties, than I have yet encountered. For I must chiefly depend on such of our Records, as are still extant. Many of them doubtless perished in the State-house at James-Town, and by other Accidents; and those, which have survived the Flames and Injuries of Time, have been so carelessly kept, are so broken, interrupted, and deficient, have been so mangled by Moths and Worms, and lie in such a confused and jumbled State (at least the most ancient of them) being huddled together in single Leaves and Sheets in Books out of the Binding, that I foresee, it will cost me infinite Pains and Labour, to reduce and digest them into any tolerable Order, so as to form from them a just and connected Narration. And some of them have been lost, even since Mr. Hickman was Clerk of the Secretary's Office. For I cannot find, among the Papers in our Offices, some old Rolls, to which he refers. I have therefore been obliged, in a few Points, to depend upon the Fidelity of that Gentleman's Extracts out of our oldest Records, made for the Use of Sir John Randolph. But these things were so far from discouraging and rebuffing me, that they were rather an additional Spur to my Industry. For I thought it highly necessary, before they were entirely lost and destroyed, to apply them to their proper Use, the forming a good History. But as the House of Burgesses, in a late Session, upon my shewing their moldering and dangerous State to some of the Members, have justly taken them into their Consideration, and have ordered them to be reviewed and fairly transcribed, I doubt not, by their Assistance, and with the Help of the late Sir John Randolph's Papers, and such others, as are in the Hands of private Gentlemen in the Country, and will undoubtedly be readily communicated to further so noble and so useful a Design, to be able to collect and compose a tolerably regular and complete History of our Country.

Varina, Dec. 10, 1746.
THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

BOOK I.

VERY Country hath it's Fables concerning it's Original, which give great Scope to light and fanciful Historians, but are usually passed over with a slight Mention by the solid and judicious. The late Discovery of America, in historical and well-known Times, might, one would think, have exempted it from this common Fate of Nations. Yet such is the Pride of some Men to seem of deep Reach and Insight, and to strike out Things untouched and unthought of by others, and such their preposterous Delight in groping after Truth in the Dark, and yet neglecting her in the clear and meridian Brightness of Day, that even this new World hath been endowed with it's fabulous Age, and old Tales revived, or new ones invented, to stretch it's Antiquities beyond Columbus, and the short Date of two hundred and fifty Years. We are therefore told of one Hanne, a Carthaginian Captain, who made a Voyage to America. But in what Age he lived, or upon what Authority or Pretext the Story is grounded, I have not been yet able fully to discover. Even the monstrous Legends of Arthur, Malgæ, B
The History of VIRGINIA. Book I.

and Madoc, a Welch Prince, and of the Friar of Lynne, who by his black Art transported himself to the Northern Parts of America, have found Men weak enough to be the Relators and Propagators of them. Plato's Fable also of the Atlantick Islands has been applied to this Subject; and Seneca the Tragedian, who could never yet obtain from the Criticks a firm Rank among the best and most approved Chicks, hath nevertheless been acknowledged by the Historians as a true Prophet, and some Verses of his quoted, as containing a Prediction of the future Discovery and Settlement of America. But as I have ever had an utter Contempt and Aversion for all such learned Trumpery, and have often been disgusted and concerned to see Authors, otherwise of Judgment and Genius, carried by their Credulity to far into those dark and uncertain Tracts of Time, I shall leave these, with other Stories of the like Nature, to their first Authors or Inventors, and shall apply myself to give a plain and exact History of our Country, ever regarding Truth as the first requisite and principal Virtue in an Historian, and relating nothing without a sufficient Warrant and Authority.

The European Nations had continued, through all Ages, in the most profound Ignorance of all the rest of the World, except the best Part of Europe, and the most obvious and adjacent Countries of Asia and Africa. And although the attractive Power of the Loadstone had been long known and observed, yet it's Poles, and the wonderful Qualities and Inclination of the magnetical Needle, were still a Secret, till it seemed good to Divine Providence, that one John Gioia, of Amalfi in the Kingdom of Naples, discovered them about the Year 1300. This important Discovery lay long useless, without any Application to Navigation; neither can we certainly say, who first turned it to this great End. However the Use of the Sea-Compass crept in by Degrees, and was undoubtedly the grand Instrument and Foundation of all these later Discoveries.

The Portuguese was the first Nation of Europe, that engaged in maritime Expeditions, in order to explore and discover the unknown Parts of the World. For Prince Henry of Portugal, in the Year 1417, sent two small Barks to make Discoveries along the Coast of Africa; which Beginning, having some Success, was afterwards prosecuted, during the Life of that Prince, under his Aufpices and Direction. After his Death, they still advanced by Degrees, in their Trade and Discoveries, till at length in the Year 1496 they reached the Cape of Good-Hope. But it was 1497, five Years after the Discovery of America, before
Book I. The History of VIRGINIA.

Vasco de Gama, by the Command, and in the Service, of Emanuel, King of Portugal, failed round that Cape to the East-Indies.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by Birth, a Person of great Knowledge and Experience in naval Affairs, of good Learning, and a comprehensive Mind, and being also led perhaps by the late Discoveries of the Portuguese, was strongly possessed with a Notion of some Lands to the Westward, beyond the great Atlantic Ocean. He therefore first offered his Service to his native Country, the Republick of Genoa; but being rejected as a whimsical and chimerical Man, he applied himself to King John II. of Portugal, Henry VII. of England, and to Ferdinand and Isabel, King and Queen of Castile. Many Years being spent in fruitless Solicitations, and after much Vexation and Disappointment, he was at last entertained in the Service of the King and Queen of Castile, and sent upon the Discovery, which he happily effected the 11th of October 1492. After this, Columbus, being animated with a publick Spirit and a generous Principle of Glory, and the Spaniards, being as eagerly pushed on by an infaatable Thirst of Gold, so ardently pursued, and so successfully improved this first Discovery, that they soon became Masters of vast Tracts of rich and fertile Country, abounding in Gold, Silver, Pearls, Emeralds, and many other the most precious and delicious Products of this Globe. The Portuguese likewise, altho' sufficiently loaded and embarrased with their vast Acquisitions on the Coast of Africa and in the East-Indies, yet nevertheless found the Means and Opportunity to make good their great Discovery of Brazil. Neither were the French entirely idle; but they made many vigorous Efforts towards gaining a Share of the Riches and Territory of this new World.

The English in the mean time, a maritime Nation, of great Bravery, and of a bold and adventurous Nature, lay quite negligent and supine, and let slip all Opportunities in those early Times of acquiring some rich and useful Provinces in America. For altho' they had in the Year 1497, under Sebastian Cabot, made the Discovery of Newfoundland, and of the main Continent of America from 38 to 68 Degrees of Northern Latitude, yet they made no other Advantage of this Discovery, but to send out a few fishing Barks in common with other Nations of Europe. At length Sir Humphry Gilbert, a Gentleman of great Reputation for his Skill in naval Affairs, and of a high and resolute Spirit, undertook to settle a Colony in Newfoundland, a cold, barren, and unfruitful Soil, and most unfriendly Clime. And
to this End, he obtained Letters patent from Queen Elizabeth, bearing Date the 11th of June, 1578.

These Letters patent granted "free Power and Liberty to him, his Heirs and Assigns for ever, to discover, find, search out, and view, all such remote, heathen, and barbarous Lands, Countries, or Territories, as were not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People; and thither to lead and carry with him, to travel thitherward, and there inhabit, such and so many of her Majesty's Subjects, as would willingly accompany and join in the Enterprize.

AND that he should have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, to himself, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, all such Lands, Countries, and Territories, to be discovered or possessed, with the Rights, Royalties, and Jurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the said Lands and Countries, or the Seas thereunto adjoining, with full Power to dispose thereof to her Majesty's Subjects, and of any or every Part thereof, in Fee-simple, or otherwise, according to the Laws of England, as nearly as conveniently might be; paying to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, for all Services, Duties, and Demands whatsoever, the fifth Part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver, which should at any Time there be gotten; holding all the said Lands and Countries of her Majesty, her Heirs, and Successors, by Homage, and by the Payment of the said fifth Part, before referred.

Moreover granting to him, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, Licence to encounter, expel, repel, and resist all Person or Persons whatsoever, that should attempt to inhabit in the said Countries, without his special Licence and liking, or within the Space of two Hundred Leagues of the Place, where he, his Heirs, or Assigns, should, within Six Years next ensuing, make their Dwelling and Abode; provided the said Countries were not before planted or inhabited, within the aforesaid Limits, by the Subjects of any Christian Prince, in Amity with her Majesty. And giving and granting to him, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, full Power and Authority, to take and surprize, by all manner of Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, or other Goods and Furniture, that should be found trafficking within the Limits aforesaid, without the Licence of the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs, or Assigns; the Subjects of the Queen's Realms and Dominions, and all other Persons in Amity with her, being driven thither by Force of Tempest or Shipwreck, only excepted.
AND for uniting in more perfect League and Amity, such Lands and Countries with the Realms of England and Ireland, and for the better Encouragement of those, who would engage in the Enterprize, the Queen grants and declares, that the said Countries, so to be possessed and inhabited, should from thenceforth be in the Allegiance and Protection of her, her Heirs, and Successors; and farther grants to the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs, and Assigns, and to every other Person or Persons, to their, and every of their Heirs, that they, and every of them, that should thereafter be inhabiting in the said Lands, Countries, and Territories, should and might have and enjoy all the Privileges of free Denizens, or Persons native of England; any Law, Custom, or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

AND she farther grants to the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, full Power and Authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule, as well in Causes capital or criminal, as civil, all such her Subjects or others, as should adventure themselves in the said Voyages, or should at any Time thereafter inhabit the said Lands, Countries, or Territories, or should dwell within two hundred Leagues of the Place or Places, where the said Humphry, his Heirs, or Assigns, or any of his or their Associates, should inhabit within six Years ensuing the Date thereof; with Power to constitute such Statutes, Laws, and Ordinances as should by him, the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs, or Assigns, be devised or established, for the better Government of the said People: Provided always, that they should be, as near as conveniently might, agreeable to the Laws and Policy of England; and provided also, that they be not against the true Christian Faith, professed in the Church of England, nor any way tend to withdraw the Subjects or People of those Lands or Places from the Allegiance of the Queen, her Heirs, or Successors.

Provided always, and she thereby declares to all Christian Kings, Princes, and States, that if the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs, or Assigns, or any other by their Licence or Appointment, should at any Time or Times thereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust or unlawful Hostility, to any of the Subjects of England, or of any other King, Prince, or State, in League or Amity with the Crown of England, that then, upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint thereof, the Queen, her Heirs, or Successors, should make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of England commodious.
modius, that the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs, or Assigns, or any other, to whom those Letters patent might extend, should, within the Term to be limited in the said Proclamations, make full Restitution and Satisfaction for all Injuries so done: In Default whereof, it should be lawful for the Queen, her Heirs, or successors, to put the said Sir Humphry, his Heirs, or Assigns, with his or their Adherents, and all the Inhabitants of the said Places, out of their Allegiance and Protection; and that from such Time as they should be so put out of the Protection of the Crown of England, it should be free for all Princes and others, to pursue them with Hostility, as being no longer Subjects of England, nor by the Queen, her Heirs, or successors, any ways to be avowed, maintained, or defended.

In Consequence of these ample Powers and Privileges, Sir Humphry Gilbert, with the Conjunction and Assistance of many other Gentlemen, prepared to put to Sea with a noble Fleet. But just on the Point of Departure, upon some Disagreement and Dissension, he was deserted by his Associates, and left with only a few of his firm and faithful Friends. With these, however, he ventured to Sea, but having been exposed to some Misfortunes, and lost a large Ship of his Fleet, he was obliged to return without effecting anything. These expensive and unsuccessful Preparations had so impaired his Fortune, that it was 1583, before he made any farther Attempt. But then having sold his Estate, and being joined by divers Gentlemen of Fortune, he again set Sail with two Ships and three small Barks. Coming before St. John's Harbour in Newfoundland, he was refused Entrance by the fishing Vessels within, to the Number of thirty six Sail, of all Nations. He therefore prepared to make his Way good by Force of Arms; but first sent his Boat in to inform them, that he had a Commission from the Queen, to take Possession of those Lands for the Crown of England. Queen Elizabeth's Name was revered through all Europe, and her Power and Authority at Sea, in particular, much honoured and revered. These Fishing-Barks therefore readily submitted, and even made a Contribution of Provisions, to supply the Wants of this small Fleet.

After this, Sir Humphry went ashore, being conducted by all the English there; and having caused a Tent to be set up in View of the Bay and Vessels, being attended by his Captains, Masters, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, he summoned all the Merchants and Masters, both English and Foreigners, to be present at his taking a formal and solemn Possession
Bodkin. Tie
HISTORY
^VIRGINIA.

Possession of the Country. He then caused his Commission to be openly read, and to be interpreted to those who were Strangers to the English Tongue. By Virtue of this Commission, he declared, that he took Possession of the Harbour of St. John's, and of the Territory two hundred Leagues every way, and invested her Majesty with the Title and Dignity thereof. And having had a Twig and a Turf of the Soil delivered to him, he entered Possession also for himself, his Heirs, or Assigns, for ever. He further signified to those present, and through them to all Men, that, from thenceforward, they should look upon those Territories, as pertaining to the Queen of England, and upon himself, as authorised by her Majesty to possess and enjoy them, with Power to ordain Laws, under which all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit or to trade, should submit themselves and be governed. And to exercise his Power and Jurisdiction, he enacted three Laws, immediately to take Place and be of Force; and granted divers Parcels of Land, lying by the Sea Side, as well in the Harbour of St. John's, as elsewhere.

After some Excursions to search the Country, and the pretended Discovery of a Silver Mine, with which Sir Humphry was much gullied and delighted, they set Sail to the Southward, in order to explore and discover the main Coast of America. But falling among some Shoals, and meeting with very bad and tempestuous Weather, after having undergone much Danger and Fatigue, they resolved to return for England. Sir Humphry, the better to search the Coast, and to run up into Creeks and Harbours, had gone on board a small Bark of ten Tons; and could not afterwards be persuaded to leave her in their Return homewards, till her Lights were suddenly extinguished in the Night, at which Time she was supposed to sink, and was never after seen or heard of.

The learned and valiant Mr. Walter Ralegh was half Brother to Sir Humphry Gilbert; his Father having married Sir Humphry's Mother, when a Widow, and had by her this his fourth and youngest Son, with some other Children. Led by this near Relation, and being also a Person of a noble and enterprising Genius, he had been one of the principal Adventurers in this Undertaking of Sir Humphry, and had fitted out, entirely at his own Charge, the largest Ship of his Fleet, called the Ralegh Bark. Some Authors say, he went himself upon the Expedition, and commanded his own Ship in Person. But however that might be, it is certain, this Ship was, within a few Days, obliged to put back to Plymouth, greatly distressed by a violent and contagious Sickness.
8

The History of VIRGINIA. Book I.

ness among her Company. But notwithstanding this Disappointment, and the unhappy End of his rash and unfortunate Brother, Mr. Ralegh was not discouraged; but being moved with the Voyages and Relations of others, he still persisted in the Design of discovering and making a Settlement in America. He therefore obtained Letters patent from Queen Elizabeth, of whom he was at that Time one of the chief Favourites, bearing Date the 25th of March, 1584, for discovering and planting any such Lands and Countries, as were not already in the actual Possession of any Christian Nation. These Letters patent are in Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages; but that Book is so very rare, that our Country does not afford one Copy of it, at least that I could find out or procure. I have not therefore been able to obtain a Sight of these Patents; but we are told, that they were, mutatis mutandis, the very same with those granted to Sir Humphry Gilbert; of which I have therefore before given a particular Extract.

About the same Time, the Queen granted Mr. Ralegh another Patent, to licence the vending of Wine throughout the Kingdom; which was designed, as it has been supposed, to enable him by the Profits, that would thence arise, to sustain the vast Charges which this Undertaking of a Colony would necessarily bring upon him. But yet the better to strengthen himself, and carry on the Affair, he persuaded divers other Gentlemen and Merchants to join with him; particularly his noble and gallant Kinman, Sir Richard Greenvil, and Mr. William Sanderson, who had married his Neice, and was much engaged among the Merchant Adventurers of that Time; and was also one of the Queen's Commissioners for the Spanish Prizes, and of Note for the great Globes, which, by his Encouragement, were first brought to Perfection. They therefore, with all convenient Speed, provided two small Vessels, and having plentifully furnished them with Necessaries, put them under the Command of Captain Philip Amidas, and Captain Arthur Barlow; which last was also a Land-Officer, and had served under Mr. Ralegh in the Wars of Ireland, with great Bravery and Honour. But Mr. Ralegh, being hindered by his Employments, and too busily engaged in his ambitious Pursuits at Court, did not come himself upon the Expedition, as hath been generally, tho' erroneously, thought.

On the 27th of April, 1584, these Adventurers set Sail from the Thames; and having passed the Canaries and the West-Indies, (a Circuit both needless and unhealthy, but through the Inexperience of those Times thought necessary) they fell in, on the 2d of July, with the Coast of Florida.
Florida. For that was the Name which all this Northern Continent from Cape Florida then bore, there being yet no distinct Settlements, which gave particular Names to the several Places along the Coast. They were met at Sea with a most delicate and delightful Smell; and soon after making the Land, they coasted it along for about an hundred and twenty Miles, without finding any convenient Harbour. The first they saw, they entered with much Difficulty; and having returned Thanks to God, they went ashore to view the Country, and to take Possession of it in the Queen's Name. The Place of their first landing was a low and sandy Beech; but it yielded such a wonderful Abundance of Grapes, as very much surprized and delighted them. Every little Shrub was covered with them, and the Tops of the tallest Cedars were over-run and loaded with their Clusters.

They concluded, that the Place of their landing was on the main Continent of America; but going up to the Top of a small Eminence at a little Distance from the Shore, they perceived it to be an Island, of about twenty, or as Mr. Harriot judged, of fifteen Miles in Length, and six in Breadth. This Island was called Wecacon, and lay between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear; and must therefore be the Island of Occoeeck, or at least some of the other small Islands along that Coast. For it cannot be, by With and Harriot's Plan, Roanoke, or any other of those which beset and stop up the Mouth of Albemarle Sound, in North-Carolina, as has been commonly supposed. It was covered with tall and stately Trees, Cedars, Pines, Cypress, Saffaras, and many others of excellent Smell and Quality; and abounded in Deer, Conies, and Wild-fowl, in incredible Numbers.

They saw none of the Natives, till the third Day after their Landing, when they spied three in a Canoe. One of them went ashore, and waited without any Signs of Fear, till the English rowed to him. He spake much to them in his own Language, and then went boldly aboard their Vessels. They gave him a Shirt, a Hat, Wine, and Meat, with which he was much pleased. Having attentively viewed every thing, he went away; and within half an Hour he had loaded his Canoe with Fish, which he brought and divided between the Ship and the Bark.

The next Day several Canoes came, and in one of them the King's Brother. His Name was Granganameo; the King was called Wingina, and the Country Wingandacoa. The King himself at that Time lay, at his chief Town, ill of the Wounds which he had lately received in a Battle. Granganameo, leaving his Canoes at some Distance, went to

to the Point of Land where the English had gone to the Indian the Day before. Having spread a Mat, he sat down upon it; and when the English came to him well armed, he shewed no Fear; but made Signs to them to sit down, stroaking his own Head and Breast, and then theirs, to express his Love. The Natives were a proper, well-proportioned People, very civil in their Behaviour, and highly respectful to Granganameo. For none of them sat down, or spoke a Word in his Presence, except four; on whom the English also bestowed Presents. But Granganameo took them all from them, and made Signs, that every thing belonged to him. After some small Traffick, he went away; but returning in two Days, he eat and drank very merrily with them. Not long after, he brought his Wife and Children on board. They were of mean Stature, but well-favoured, and very bashful and modest. His Wife had a Band of white Coral about her Forehead, and Bracelets of Pearl in her Ears, hanging down to her Middle, of the Bigness of large Pease. As to the rest, they were decked with red Copper, and such Ornaments, as are at present in Fashion and Esteem among our Indians.

After this, there came down, from all Parts, great Numbers of People, with Leather, Coral, and divers Kinds of Dyes. But when Granganameo was present, none durst trade but himself, and those, who wore red Copper on their Heads, as he did. He would have engaged a Bag of Pearl for a Suit of Armour; but the English refused, as not regarding it, that they might thereby the better learn, where it grew. He was very just to his Promise; for they often trusted him, and he never failed to come within his Day to keep his Word. He commonly sent the English every Day a Brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and Fife; and sometimes Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Pease, and divers Kinds of Roots. And the English, to try the Strength and Goodness of the Soil, put some of their Pease into the Ground, which grew wonderfully, and were found in ten Days time fourteen Inches high.

An Acquaintance being thus contracted by mutual Returns of Kindness and Beneficence, Captain Amidas, with seven more, ventured up the River Occam, as they call it, which must be Pamptico Sound. The next Evening they came to the Isle of Roanoke, at the Mouth of Albemarle Sound, about seven Leagues, as they say, from the Harbour, where they first entered. But this is a gross Mistake, and must be an Error in the Copy. For by the Scale in Wicth's Map, it cannot be less than thirty Leagues, from Wiccon to Roanoke. On this Island they found a small Town.
Book I. The History of VIRGINIA.

Town, consisting of nine Houses; in one of which Gran- genamou lived. He was absent; but his Wife entertained them with wonderful Courtefy and Kindnefs. She made some of her People draw their Boat up, to prevent it's being injured by the Beating of the Surge; some she ordered to bring them ashore on their Backs; and others, to carry their Oars to the House, for Fear of being stole. When they came into the House, she took off their Cloaths and Stockings, and washed them, as likewise their Feet in warm Water. When their Dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner Room (for there were five in the House, divided by Mats) where they found Hominy *, boiled Venison, and roasted Fish; and as a Dessert, Melons, boiled Roots, and Fruits of various Sorts. While they were at Meat, two or three of her Men came in with their Bows and Arrows, which made the English take to their Arms. But she, perceiving their Distrust, ordered their Bows and Arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the Gate. In the Evening the English returned to their Boat; and putting a little off from Shore, lay at Anchor. At which she was much concerned, and brought their Supper, half boiled, Pots and all to the Shore Side; and seeing their Jealousy, she ordered several Men, and thirty Women, to sit all Night upon the Shore, as a Guard; and sent five Mats to cover them from the Weather. In short, she omitted nothing, that the most generous Hospitality and hearty Desire of pleasing could do, to entertain them.

And this was the farthest Discovery made upon this first Voyage, except some confused and uncertain Accounts of the Country, which they gathered from the Indians. They returned to England about the Middle of September, carrying with them two of the Natives, Manteo and Wanchese; and their Discovery was so welcome there, that the Queen herself was pleased to name the Country VIRGINIA, in Memory of it's having been first found out in the Reign of a Virgin Queen. Or as some have been pleased to gloss and interpret it, because it still seemed to retain the Virgin Purity and Plenty of the first Creation, and the People their primitive Innocency of Life and Manners. And soon after their Return, Mr. Ralegh was elected, together with Sir William Courtenay, Knight of the Shire for the County of Devon. On the 14th of December, he caused a Bill to be brought into the House, to confirm his Patent for discovering foreign Countries; which being committed to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, Secretary Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney,

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* A Food made of Indian Corn, or Maize, beaten and carefully husked, something like Fumety in England; and is an excellent Dish various W...
Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Greenvil, Sir William Courtenay, and others, it was in a few Days past, after many Arguments and a Proviso added. And not long after, the Queen was pleased to Knight him, upon Occasion, it is said, of this grateful Discovery. But Mr. Osborne, an ingenious Observer on her Reign, says with Respect to Sir Francis Vere, a Man nobly descended, and Sir Walter Ralegh, exactly qualified, that they, with such others, were let apart in her Judgment for military Services, Neither did she ever raise them above Knighthood; saying, when solicited to make Vere a Baron, That in his proper Sphere, and her Estimation, he was above it already.

The advantageous Accounts, which these first Adventurers gave of the Fertility, Pleasantness, and Wholesomeness of the Country, induced Sir Richard Greenvil himself to make a Voyage thither the next Year. And he accordingly set out from Plimouth the 9th of April, with seven Ships. Having made the usual Circuit of the Canaries and West-Indies, where they took two rich Spanish Prizes, and forced a profitable Trade, they fell in with the Continent of America near Cape Fear, and were in great Danger of being lost upon it. But having happily escaped, they came to an Anchor off the Island of Wococon the 26th of May. They immediately sent to the Isle of Roanoke, to Virginia the King; and Mr. Arundel went to the Main, with Manteo, who proved throughout their whole Stay, very faithful and useful to them. Soon after, the General, Sir Richard Greenvil, went himself to the Main, with a select Body of Men; and ranging about, discovered several Indian Towns. At one of them the Indians stole a Silver Cup; for which they burnt their Town, and destroyed their Corn, and so returned to their Ships at Wococon. At Hatteras, whither they went soon after, Granganameo, the King's Brother, came aboard the Admiral with Manteo. This is the last Visit he made to the English; for sometime this Year he died, and in him they lost a sincere and hearty Friend.

Sir Richard Greenvil, having only made that small Excursion on the Continent, returned to England this Summer. In his Way home, he took another Spanish Prize, of three hundred Tons, richly laden, and with her arrived at Plimouth the 18th of September. But he left behind him an hundred and eight Persons, as a Colony, to keep Possession of, and inhabit the Country. Of these, he constituted Mr. Ralph Lane Governor, a military Man of Note, who was afterwards Knighted, and applying himself to the Sea Service, was of eminent Command in the English Navy. With him remained Captain Philip Amidas, as Admiral,
one of the Commanders in Chief in the first Adventure; Mr. Thomas Harriot; Captain Stafford; Mr. Kendall; with several others of Name in the Expedition.

This Colony chose Roanoke, an Island at the Mouth of Albemarle Sound, for the Place of their Habitation; and their chief Employment was to reconnoitre and view the Country. Their farthest Discovery to the Southward was Secotan, an Indian Town, by their Reckoning, eighty Leagues from Roanoke, lying up between the Rivers Pamlico and Neus, in North-Carolina. To the Northward they went an hundred and thirty Miles to the Chesapeaks, a Nation of Indians, seated on a small River, to the South of our Bay, now called Elizabeth River, from whom, as these first Discoverers tell us, the Bay itself took its Name. But some pretend to give another Derivation of this Word; and say, that Chesapeake signified, in the Indian Language, The Mother of Waters; implying, that it was the Parent and grand Reservoir of all the great Rivers within it. But this is a dark and uncertain Guess; especially considering the Unsteadiness and vast Mutability of the Indian Tongues, and that no body at present can pretend to understand their Language at that Time. The best Authority that I have met with for this Derivation, is what a Gentleman of Credit once assured me, that in a very old Spanish Map, which he had seen, our Bay was laid down under the Name of Madre des Acquas, or some Expression to the like Purpose.

This Town of the Chesapeaks, we are told, for Pleasantsness of Situation, for Temperature of Cline, Fertility of Soil, and Commodiousness to the Sea, was not to be excelled by any in the World. To the Northwest, these Discoverers went up Albemarle Sound and Chowan River, an hundred and thirty Miles, to a Nation of Indians called the Chawonocks, inhabiting above the Fork of that River, where one Branch takes the Name of Meherrin, and the other of Nottoway.

The King of the Chawonocks, whose Name was Menatonon, was lame, but the most sensible and understanding Indian they had met with. He amused Mr. Lane and his Company with a Story of a Copper Mine, and of a Pearl Fishery, which by the Description was some where upon our Coast, and with a strange Relation of the Head of the River Moratoc, now called Roanoke. This River was described, as springing out of a Rock, so nigh the Sea, that in high Winds the Surge beat over into the Spring. And the English very sanguinely concluded this Sea to be either the Bay of Mexico, or the South Sea, or at least some Arm that opened into it. Having their Heads filled with these chimerical
chimerical Fancies, they formed many Schemes, and undertook a very fatiguing and hazardous Voyage up that River. And so eager were they, and resolutely bent upon this golden Discovery, that they could not be persuaded to return, as long as they had one Pint of Corn a Man left, and two Maffiff Dogs, which being boiled with Saffarfas Leaves, might afford them some Sustenance in their Way back. But after some Days spent in vain, and having undergone much Misery and Danger, they at last returned, and joyfully arrived at their old Habitation on Roanoke Island.

The Death of Granganameo had caused a great Alteration in the Affairs of the Colony. For whilst he lived, his Credit with the King, joined to the Interest of Ensenore, their Father, had restrained his Perfidy and Malice, and kept him within Bounds. But upon the Death of Granganameo, he changed his Name from Wingina to Pemissapan, and became a secret but bitter Enemy to the English. To his Machinations chiefly were owing the many Hardships and Dangers, they had encountered in their last Journey up the River Chowan. For he had given secret Intelligence to those Indians of the coming of the English; and had craftily intimated Jealousies into the Indians of the English, and into the English of the Indians. But a Rumour being spread, that Mr. Lane and his Company were all either slain or starved in this Journey, he began to act more openly. He blasphemed the God of the English, and endeavoured, by all the Devices he could, to hurt and annoy them. And Ensenore, his aged Father, the best Friend the English had left after the Death of Granganameo, lost all his Credit to assist or serve them. But their Return soon after, and their bringing the Son of Menatonon, their greatest King, Prisoner, joined to the Testimonies of Manteo, and three other Indians, that went with them, how little they valued any People they met, or feared Hunger, Death, or any thing else, restrained his Devices for the present, and brought Ensenore again into Credit and Esteem.

Soon after, Menatonon, King of the Chowonocks, sent a Present of Pearl to Mr. Lane; and Okisco, King of Wepomocock, (another powerful Nation, possessing all that Country from Albemarle Sound and Chowan River, quite to the Chesapeakes and our Bay) came himself, with twenty four of his principal Men, to own Submission to the Queen of England. All which so wrought on the Heart of Virginia, that by Ensenore's Persuasions, they came and made Weirs for the English, when they were ready to famish, and planted their Fields of Corn, which they intended to abandon. But this good Intelligence was soon broke off by the
the Death of Ensenore, which happened on the 20th of April. For Wingina, under Pretence of solemnizing his Father’s Funeral, had laid a Scheme of drawing together sixteen or eighteen hundred Indians, and of cutting off all the English at once. But his Design took Wind, and was at last fully discovered to Mr. Lane by his Prisoner Skico, King Menatonon’s Son. Then the English, in their Turn, endeavoured to seize all the Canoes upon Roanoke, and thereby to have all the Indians in the Island at their Mercy. But they took the Alarm, and after a small Skirmish, in which five or six Indians were slain, the rest escaped and fled into the Woods. After this, neither Side cared much for trusting the other; and at last, after much Tricking and Diffimulation on both Parts, Wingina was entrapped by the English, and slain, with eight of his chief Men. This is the Account of that Action, as it is delivered by the Persons concerned in it. But I find, that Mr. Harlot, who was likewise upon the Spot, blames the Violence and Forwardness of the English; and thinks, that the Causes of Suspicion and Resentment had been better dissembled and passed over.

In the Time of these Confusions and Broils with the Indians, Mr. Lane had been obliged, through Want of Provisions, to send Captain Stafford, with twenty more, to Croatan, on the South Part of Cape Look-out, to shift for themselves, and to see, if they could spy any Sail pass by the Coast. In like Manner he detached Mr. Prideaux, with ten, to Hatteras, upon the same Design; and other small Parties he sent to the Main, to live upon Roots and Oysters. Seven Days after the Death of Wingina, Captain Stafford, (who through the whole Voyage was very vigilant and industrious, and spared no Labour or Danger, to perform any serious and important Service, committed to him) sent Mr. Lane Word, that he descried twenty three Sail of Ships; and the next Day, he came himself with a Letter from Sir Francis Drake. Sir Francis was then returning from an Expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, where he had taken Carthagena, and the Capital City of Hispaniola; and had burnt St. Anthony, and St. Helena, on the Coast of Florida; and done much other Damage to the Enemy. He had Orders from the Queen to visit the Colony of Virginia in his Return, and to afford them such Assistance and Encouragement, as was proper. He therefore offered to supply their Wants, and to do any thing else, in his Power, towards their Relief and the Furtherance of the Undertaking; and after mature Deliberation, he appointed them a Ship of seventy Tons, with an hundred
hundred Men, and four Months Provisions, besides two Barks and four small Boats, with able Masters and sufficient Gangs. But just as all was ready, there arose such a Storm, as had like to have driven the whole Fleet ashore. Many Ships were forced out to Sea, among which was that lately given to the Colony, with all their Provisions and Company aboard.

This Accident did not discourage the Admiral, but he allotted them another Ship of an hundred and seventy Tons, with all Provisions as before, to carry them to England the next August, or when they should have made such Discoveries as they thought sufficient. But their Harbour, which was very indifferent, would not receive a Ship of her Burthen; and to lie in the open Road, exposed to the Winds and Sea, was very dangerous. And therefore, after Consultation, it was unanimously agreed, to desire the Admiral to take them home with him in his Fleet; for they had already undergone much Misery and Danger, and there appeared but little Hopes of Sir Richard Greenvill's Return. And so this first Attempt towards a Settlement became abortive, and they all arrived safe at Portsmouth the latter End of July, 1586. But in his Way home, Sir Francis Drake touched on the Coast of New-England; where he landed, and spent two or three Days in trading with the Natives, and one of the Indian Kings came, and submitted himself to Queen Elizabeth.

Upon this Voyage, Sir Walter Ralegh, by the Queen's Advice and Directions, sent, at no small Expence, Mr. John With, a skilful and ingenious Painter, to take the Situation of the Country, and to paint, from the Life, the Figures and Habits of the Natives, their Way of Living, and their several Fashions, Modes, and Superstitions; which he did with great Beauty and Exactness. There was one Theodore de Bry, who afterwards published, in the Year 1624, the beautiful Latin Edition of Voyages, in six Volumes, Folio, a most curious and valuable Work. He being in England soon after, by the Means of the Rev. Mr. Richard Hakluyt, then of Christ's-Church, in Oxford, who, De Bry tells us, had himself seen the Country, obtained from Mr. With a Sight of these Pieces, with Permission to take them off in Copper Plates. These, being very lively and well done, he carried to Frankfort, on the Maine, where he published a noble Edition of them, with Latin Explanations, out of John Wechelius's Press, in the Year 1590. And these are the Originals from which Mr. Beverley's, and the Cuts of many of our late Writers and Travellers, have been chiefly imitated. And to shew, that the Inhabitants
Inhabitants of England were once as wild and barbarous as those of Virginia, Mr. With gave him the Figures of three of the Pisas and two of their Neighbours, that he had found delineated in an old English History; which were accordingly published with them, and was no mean or impolitic Device, to recommend the Prosecution of the Enterprize to the English Nation.

But besides this Painter, Sir Walter sent upon this Voyage a Domestick of his, one Mr. Thomas Hariot, a Mathematician, and highly in his Patron’s Intimacy and Friendship. He was a Man of Learning, and a very observing and understanding Person, and went chiefly to make Observations on the Situation of the Country, and to assist Mr. With in the Plan. After his Return, to obviate the clamorous and unjust Reports of some of the Company, he published a small Treatise concerning the Country, divided into three Parts. The first treats of such Commodities, as would be useful towards the Improvement of Commerce; the second, of those natural Products of the Earth, and of such Fish, Fowl, and Beasts, as would contribute to the Sustenance of Man, and the Support of human Life; and the third, of the Trees and Timber, and other proper Materials for building Houses, Ships, and the like. After which he subjoins the following Account of the Doctrines and Manners of the Natives.

They believed, that there is one chief God, who hath existed from all Eternity: That he created the World; but first made other Gods of a principal Order, to be his Instruments in the Creation and Government thereof: That next the Sun, Moon, and Stars were created, as petty Gods, and as Instruments to those other Gods of a superior Order: That then the Waters were created, out of which were formed all Creatures: That a Woman was first made; who, by the Congress of one of the Gods, conceived and brought forth Children; and that thence Man-kind had their Beginning. They thought, the Gods were all of human Shape, and therefore represented them by Images, which they placed in their Temples; and they worshipped, prayed, sung, danced, and made many Offerings to them. They held the Immortality of the Soul; which after Death, according to its Works in the Flesh, was either carried up to the Tabernacles of the Gods, to eternal Happiness; or else to Popogusso, (a great Pit at the farthest Parts of the Earth, where the Sun sets) into perpetual Fire and Torment. And this Doctrine they supported by the Authority of two Persons, who, as they pretended, had risen from the Dead.
These Opinions were thought to make but slight Impressions on their Worsances, or Kings and Rulers; or upon their Priests, and other Persons of Figure among them. For that Christian Custom, for the Great and Eminent to free their Consciences from the Shackles of a Creed, and exempt their Actions from the unwieldy Clog of Religion and Morality, had reached even among those wild and savage Nations. But these Doctrines had a great Influence on the common Sort. They kept them in proper Subjection to their Rulers; and made them very solicitous to obtain the Bliss, and avoid the Torments of the next Life.

They were not however so firm to their own Doctrines, but that they were very open to receive any Instructiions from the English. Their Compasses, Perspective Glasses, Burning Glasses, Clocks, Books, Writing, Guns, and other Instruments and Inventions, so exceeded their Capacities, and amazed them, that they thought them to be the Works of Gods rather than Men; or at least, that the Gods had taught the English how to make them. This caused them to give great Credit to whatever they said concerning God and Religion. And Wingina himself would often be at Prayers with them; and when he was sick, which, he thought, proceeded from having offended the English and their God, he would send for some of them, to pray, and be a Means to their God, of his living with him after Death; as also did many others. And once, when their Corn was much hurt and withered with a long Drought, thinking it proceeded from some Injury done the English, they came to them in Flocks, and begged them to pray to their God to preserve their Corn, for which they promised, when it was ripe, to give them a Part.

And this high Opinion of the English was greatly increased, by a marvellous Accident. The Country was that Year afflicted with an epidemical Disease, which was observed to fall upon none, but those Nations which had endeavoured to injure or betray the English. This wrought many extravagant and superstitious Opinions, which were much confirmed by the Healthiness of the English Colony. Some thought it was the Work of the English God; and others, that they themselves shot invisible Bullets from the Place, where they dwelt. Others observing, that the English had no Women of their own, nor cared for any of theirs, thought they were not born of Women, but were Men of an ancient Generation, risen again to Immortality; that there were more of them still in the Air, as yet invisible and without Bodies, who would afterwards come, and destroy their Generation, and take their Places; and that these,
there, by the Entreaty, or out of Love to the English, made the People die as they did, by shooting invisible Bullets into them. And their Physicians, to cover their Ignorance, would make them believe, that they fucked out of the Bodies of the Sick, Leaden Bullets in the Strings of Blood. In short, Wingina and others were so firmly persuaded, that it happened through their Means, that when any of their own Enemies had affronted or abused the English, they would desire them to make them die in the same Manner. And altho' the English remonstrated to them the Unrighteousness of their Request, and how disagreeable it was to God; yet because the Effect fell out soon after, they would come and return them Thanks in their Way; thinking, altho' they had denied them in Words, yet they had in Reality fully answered their Desire.

He likewise tells us of the great Esteem and Veneration, in which the Natives held a Plant, which grew spontaneously in the Country, and was by them called Uppowoc, but is now well known by the Name of Tobacco; derived, it is said, from the Island of Tobago, one of the Caribbees in the West-Indies, where it grew in vast Quantities. The Leaves of this they cured and dried, and then being rubbed into a Sort of Bran and Dust, they put it into Earthen Tubes, and drew the Smoke through the Mouth. They thought this Plant of so great Worth and Virtue, that even the Gods themselves were delighted with it. And therefore they sometimes made sacred Fires, and instead of a Sacrifice, threw in this Dust; and when they were caught in a Tempest, they would sprinkle it into the Air and Water. Upon all their new fishing Nets they would cast some of it; and when they had escaped any remarkable Danger, they would throw some of this Dust into the Air, with strange distorted Gestures, sometimes striking the Earth with their Feet, in a kind of Time and Measure, sometimes clapping their Hands, and throwing them up on high, looking up to the Heavens, and uttering barbarous and dissonant Words.

Mr. Harriot also, in passing through their Towns, would shew them the Bible, and explain the Contents: That in that Book was taught the true and only God, his Omnipotence, the Doctrine of Salvation by Jesus Christ, and the other principal Heads of our Religion. But he was obliged to tell them, that there was no particular Virtue in the material Book itself, but only in the Doctrines, which it contained. For they paid their Kind of Adoration to the Book, by handling, hugging, and kissing it, and by applying it to their Head and Breast, and stroking it over the other Parts of their Body.
AND here, if it were an Imputation worthy of Notice, I might transiently remark the great Injustice, done to this learned Mathematician and pious Scholar. For as Sir Walter Ralegh was aspersed with holding atheistical Principles, so it has been said, that he imbibed them from this Mr. Harriot, whom he retained in his Service with a handsome Pension, to teach him the mathematical Sciences at his leisure Hours. But an orthodox Divine, Dr. Richard Corbet, afterwards a Bishop, tells us, that Harriot's deep Mine was without Dross. And Mr. George Chapman, another Contemporary, a grave and virtuous Author, says, That his Judgment and Knowledge in all Kinds were deep and incomparable, and as much to be admired, as his most blameless Life, and the right sacred Expence of his Time, were to be honoured and reverenced. To which might be added other Testimonies, which have been carefully collected by the diligent and industrious Mr. Oldys, in his accurate Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, lately prefixed to his History of the World; who likewise shews, that the famous French Philosopher, Descartes, borrowed much of his Light from this excellent Mathematician; and that the learned Dr. Wallis gave the Preference to Harriot's Improvements, before Descartes', altho' he had the Advantage of coming after, and being assisited by him.

As to this groundless Asperation, the Truth of it perhaps was, that Sir Walter and Mr. Harriot, were the first, who ventured to depart from the beaten Tract of the Schools, and to throw off and combat some hoary Follies and traditional Errors, which had been riveted by Age, and rendered sacred and inviolable in the Eyes of weak and prejudiced Persons. Sir Walter is said to have been first led to this, by the manifest Detection, from his own Experience, of their erroneous Opinions concerning the Torrid Zone; and he intended to have proceeded farther in the Search after more solid and important Truths, 'til he was chid and restrained by the Queen, into whom some Persons had infused a Notion, that such Doctrine was against God. And this was sufficient Ground for Men, zealous without Knowledge, and stiffly orthodox, with a Charity usual to some Persons, to brand him with the odious Names of Atheist and Deist; altho' he was an eminent Assertor of God and Providence, and has in many Parts of his Writings, especially in the History of the World, given stronger Evidence of his Christian Faith, than any of his Detractors ever did of theirs.

Mr. Lane and his Company carried home some Tobacco, which, Camden thinks, was the first, that ever was brought
brought to England. And Sir Walter Ralegh, a Man of
gaiety and Fashion, readily gave into it, and by his In-
terest and Example, soon brought it into such Vogue at
Court, that many great Ladies, as well as Noblemen, made
no Scruple sometimes to take a Pipe. We are not inform­
ed, whether the Queen made Use of it herself; but it is
certain, she gave great Countenance and Encouragement
to it, as a Vegetable of singular Strength and Power, which
might therefore prove of Benefit to Mankind, and Advan­
tage to the Nation. So far, as Mr. Oldys well observes,
was this wife Princess from the refined Taste of her Suc­
cessor, who held Tobacco in such Abomination, that he
not only refused the Use of it himself, but endeavoured to
destroy and suppress it among his Subjects, and would
thereby have robbed the Crown of what has since proved
one of its noblest Jewels and most considerable Revenues,
and the Nation of a very advantageous and important Branch
of Trade.

Sir Walter Ralegh's Tobacco-Box, with some of his
Pipes, was lately extant, and laid up among the Rarities in
the Museum of that curious Antiquarian, the late Mr. Ralph
Thoresby, of Leeds, in Yorkshire. There are also some hu­
morous Stories still remembered, concerning his first Use of
Tobacco; particularly his Wager with the Queen, that he
would determine exactly the Weight of the Smoke which
went off in a Pipe of Tobacco. This he did by first weigh­
ing the Tobacco, and then carefully preserving and weigh­
ing the Ashes; and the Queen readily granted, that what
was wanting in the prime Weight, must be evaporated in
Smoke. And when she paid the Wager, she said pleasedly,
that she had heard of many Labourers in the Fire, that turned
their Gold into Smoke, but Ralegh was the first, who
had turned his Smoke into Gold. It is also related, that a
Country Servant of his, bringing him a Tankard of Ale
and Nutmeg into his Study, as he was intently engaged at
his Book, smoking a Pipe of Tobacco, the Fellow was so
frightened at seeing the Smoke reek out of his Mouth, that
he threw the Ale into his Face, in order to extinguish the
Fire, and ran down Stairs, alarming the Family, and cry­
ing out, His Master was on Fire, and before they could get
up, would be burnt to Ashes.

But whilst Mr. Lane and the Colony were in the above­
mentioned Streights and Difficulties in America, Sir Walter
Ralegh was not idle at home. He provided a Ship of an
hundred Tons, and loaded her with plenty of all things
necessary for the Settlement; but it being Easter before she
departed, Mr. Lane and his Company had shipped them­selves
felves for England in Sir Francis Drake's Fleet, a few Days before her Arrival. Having therefore spent some Time in seeking them up the Country without Effect, they returned that Summer to England, with all their Provision.

Those Authors who will have Sir Walter Ralegh to have been in Virginia, say, that he came upon this Voyage. But the Conduct of it was so weak and trifling, that I cannot be easily induced to believe it agreeable to a Person of his Sense and Resolution; who, had he been there, would certainly have made some vigorous Searches and Enquiries, and left some useful Remarks on the Country, as he did in his Voyage to Guiana. Indeed it does not appear, that Sir Walter was ever in his Colony himself. The only Authority of Weight for it, that I have met with, is the Translation of Mr. Harriot's Treatise, which mentions the Actions of those, qui Generofum D. Walterum Ralegh in eam regionem comitati funt. But this, I am inclined to think, must be an Error of the Translator, who seems to have been a Frenchman, and might not therefore perfectly understand our Language; and I could never yet get a Sight of Harriot's original Discourse, which was written in English, but have been obliged to make Use of the Latin Translation, published by De Bry, at Frankfort, 1590. But if Mr. Hackluyt ever was in Virginia, as we are expressly told by De Bry, it must have been, I think, either in this Voyage, or that immediately following by Sir Richard Greenvil, of which we have such brief and summary Accounts. For it is not to be supposed, that a Person of his Figure and Consideration, would have been entirely passed over in the full and particular Relations, that we have of all the other Voyages.

About a Fortnight after the Departure of this Ship, Sir Richard Greenvil arrived with three Ships more, well provided; but he neither found that Ship, according to his Expectation, nor could hear any News of the Colony, which he himself had feated and left there the Year before. Therefore, after travelling in vain up and down to seek them, finding their Habitation abandoned, and being unwilling to lose the Possession of the Country, he landed fifty Men on the Island of Roanoke, plentifully furnished with all Provisions for two Years, and so returned to England.

These unlucky Crosses and Accidents gave Occasion to many Persons to discant on their Proceedings, to the Disparagement of Sir Richard Greenvil. But their Censure was very unjust. For to plant Colonies abroad, and to diffuse and propagate our Nation and our Trade, is certainly a most princely and noble Enterprise, and highly worthy a Person
Book I. The History of Virginia.

Perfon of his eminent and illustrious Family. And indeed he seems to have embarked in the Affair with great Heartiness and Resolution, and to have hazarded and exposed his Perfon very freely in the Prosecution of it. And it was upon Occasion of these Murmurs and Reports, that Mr. Hariot wrote and published his Discourse, before mentioned.

The next Year, three Ships were sent, under the Command of Mr. John White, who was appointed Governor of the Colony, with twelve Assistants, as a Council. To these Sir Walter Raleigh gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the Name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginis, with express Directions to seat at Chesapeake; which, however useful and important, they nevertheless disobeyed and neglected. Having taken the old Route by the West-Indies, they had like to have been cast away upon CapeFear, through the Error or Design of Simon Ferdinando. He had been with Captain Amidas in the first Expedition; and being made Pilot in this, was suspected of a Design to ruin the whole Voyage. But being prevented by the Vigilancy of Captain Stafford, they arrived all safe at Hatteras the 22d of July.

They went immediately to Roanoke, to look for the fifty Men, left there by Sir Richard Greenvil, but they found nothing but the Bones of a Man; and where the Plantation had been, the Houses were untouched, but overgrown with Weeds, and the Fort defaced. They refitted the Houses; and Mr. George How, one of the Council, straggling abroad, was slain by the Indians. Soon after, Captain Stafford, with twenty Men, and Manteo, who, I believe, had been again in England this Voyage, went to Croatan, to enquire, if they could hear any News of the Colony. There they understood, that Mr. How had been slain by some ot Wingina's Men of Dassamonpeake; that the fifty, left the Year before, had been suddenly set upon by three hundred Indians, of Secotan, Aquasgeoc, and Dassamonpeake; that after a small Skirmish, in which one Englishman was slain, they retired to the Water Side, and having got their Boat, and taken up four of their Fellows gathering Crabs and Oysters, they went to a small Island by Hatteras; that they staid there some time, but after departing they knew not whither. And with this Account, Captain Stafford returned to the Fleet at Hatteras.

However, Mr. White endeavoured to renew and keep up a good Understanding with the several Nations of Indians on the Sea Coast. But finding his Offers of Friendship not much regarded, he resolved no longer to defer his Revenge on those of Dassamonpeake. This Nation was seated right
opposite to Roanoke Island, on the Main, in the Neck of Land, between the River now called Allegator, and the Narrows. About Midnight, Mr. White set forward, with Captain Stafford, and twenty-four Men, whereof Manteo was one, who was their Guide, and behaved himself as a most faithful Englishman. They landed by Break of Day, and having got beyond the Town, they assaulted some Indians that were sitting by a Fire. One was shot through, and they hoped to have been fully revenged, but were soon undeceived, and found that they were their Friends of Croatan, come to gather their Corn, because they understood, that the Dassamonpeake Indians had fled after the Death of Mr. How. Manteo, their Countryman, was grieved at the Mistake; but however, imputed it all to their own Folly. And so having gathered what was ripe, and left the rest unspoiled, they returned to Roanoke.

On the 13th of August, Manteo, according to Command from Sir Walter Ralegh, was baptized, and sealed Lord of Roanoke and Dassamonpeake, in Reward of his Fidelity. And on the 18th, the Governor’s Daughter, Wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Council, was delivered of a Daughter, which, being the first Child born there, was called Virginia. And soon after, there arose a Dispute between the Governor and his Assistants or Council, concerning a Person to be sent to England to sollicit Supplies. All refused, except one, who was thought very unequal to the Business. At last, they unanimously pitched upon the Governor, as the fittest Person; and having signed a Paper, testifying his Unwillingness to leave the Colony, they at length prevailed upon him, with much Importunity, to undertake it. Leaving therefore above an hundred Persons on one of the Islands of Hatteras, to form a Plantation, he departed, and after many Crosses and Difficulties, got first to Ireland, and from thence went to England.

At this time, the Nation was in great Commotion and Apprehension of the Spanish Invasion and invincible Armada, as it was vainly called, and the Queen caused frequent Councils to be held, by the oldest and most experienced Commanders at Sea; and also appointed a Council of War, of such Persons as were in highest Repute for military Skill and Knowledge, in order to put the Land Forces of the Kingdom in the best Posture of Defence. For this Purpose were chosen the Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knollis, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Greenwel, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, Esq; late Governor of Virginia, who were therefore all entirely taken up with those important Conclusions.
However, having laid a Plan of Operations, and made proper Dispositions for the Defence of the Nation, Sir Walter found Leisure to fit out a small Fleet for the Relief of the Colony, at Biddeford, early the next Year, which was put under the Command of Sir Richard Greenvil, and only waited for a fair Wind. But the Alarm of the vast and formidable Armament, made by the King of Spain, encreasing, all Ships of Force, then in any Readiness, received Orders from the State to lay in their Harbours, for the Defence of their own Country; and Sir Richard Greenvil was personally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall, where Sir Walter Ralegh then was himself, mustering and training the Forces, and performing other Duties of his Office, as Lieutenant of that County. However, Governor White laboured so strenuously with them, that he obtained two small Barks, and put to Sea from Biddeford, the 22d of April, 1588. But these Vessels, tho' of little Force, being more intent on a gainful Voyage, than the Relief of the Colony, ran in Chace of Prizes; till at last, one of them, meeting with two Ships of War, was, after a bloody Fight, overcome, boarded, and rifled. In this maimed, ransacked, and ragged Condition, she returned to England in a Month's Time; and in about three Weeks after, the other also returned, having perhaps talked of the same Fare, at least without performing her intended Voyage, to the Distress, and as it proved, the utter Destruction of the Colony in Virginia, and to the great Displeasure of their Patron at home.

These Disappointments gave much Vexation to Sir Walter Ralegh, who had by this Time expended, as we are authentically assured, not less than forty thousand Pounds, upon the Enterprize. He had also, not long before, received, as a Reward for his great Services in the Irish War, a very large Grant, out of the Earl of Desmond's Lands there; the Terms of which he fairly and honestly endeavoured to fulfil, by planting those Lands with English, and made Use of none of the Arts and Frauds, which others of those Grantees were charged withal. So that this great Bounty of the Queen was at present rather a Burthen and Charge to him, than any real Profit or Advantage. Besides which, he was among the foremost of the military Geniuses of that time, who were fired with the Spanish Invasion, and prosecuted the War against them with great Cost and Industry, and with an incredible Courage and Success. For all these Reasons, Sir Walter Ralegh made an Assignment, by Indenture, bearing Date the 7th of March, 1588-9, to Thomas Smith, (afterwards Sir Thomas Smith, and a Person...
**The History of VIRGINIA. Book I.**

1589.

Son of Note in the Sequel of this History) with other Merchants and Adventurers of London, and to Governor White, and other Gentlemen, for continuing the Plantation of Virginia. By this Indenture, he grants to the said Thomas Smith, John White, and the rest, according to a Charter, formerly granted for the City of Raleigh, free Liberty to carry to Virginia, and there inhabit, such of her Majesty's Subjects, as would willingly accompany them; as also to them their Heirs, or Assigns, free Trade and Traffick to and from Virginia, or any other Part of America, where the said Sir Walter, his Heirs, or Assigns, did, or might claim any Interest, Title, or Privilege. And he did farther, for their Encouragement, and for the common Utility, freely and liberally give them one hundred Pounds, to be employed for planting the Christian Religion in those barbarous and heathen Countries.

And thus Sir Walter Raleigh, having disengaged himself for the present from this burthenome and expensive Affair, gave a Loose to his martial Genius, and bent his whole Thoughts against the Spaniards, which soon became the fixed and ruling Passion of his Nature; as abasing the exorbitant Power of France, and preventing its ill Consequences on the Liberties of Europe, did, in later Times, engross all the Thoughts and Inclinations of King William, and was the principal Aim of most of his Steps and Actions. And although this Comparison may be thought very unequal with Relation to the Power and Dignity of the two Persons, yet it will, I think, be found just and exact with Respect to their Inclinations and Desigins. For no Man of that Age was more deeply sensible of the pernicious Consequences of the Spanish Power and Aims, or was more eager and assiduous in speaking, writing, and acting against them, than Sir Walter Raleigh.

But these new Assignees were not so diligent and careful of the Business, as they ought to have been. For it was a Year after, March, 1589-90, before any thing was undertaken by them for the Relief of the Colony. Then Mr. White, with three Ships, set Sail from Plimouth; and passing by the West-Indies, they stayed some time there, to perform some Exploits, as they call them, which was to attack and plunder the Spaniards, among whom they got a considerable Booty. On the 3d of August, they fell in with some low sandy Islands, to the Westward of Wococon. From thence they went to Croatan, and so to Hatteras. There they descried a Smoke, at the Place, where the Colony had been left three Years before. The next Morning, they discharged some Cannon, to give Notice of their Arrival; and
and having fitted out two Boats, Captain Cooke and Captain Spicer went ashore, but found no Man, nor the Sign of any, that had been there lately. The next Day, they prepared to go to Roanoke; but the Wind being hard at North-East, one of the Boats, in passing a Bar, was half filled with Water, and the other overfell. Captain Spicer, with six more, were drowned; but four, who could swim a little, and did not trust themselves to their Legs on the Shoals, but kept in deep Water, were saved by the Care and Dexterity of Captain Cooke in the other Boat. This Accident so discomfited the Sailors, that they could hardly be prevailed upon to make any farther Search for the Colony. But indeed, considering the Shoals and Dangers, with their Ignorance and Inexperience of the Coast, which they unfortunately happened upon in this their first Attempt towards a Settlement, it is rather to be wondered, that they met not with more Accidents and Misfortunes, than they really did.

The Sailors being at length encouraged by the Forwardness and Readiness of their Captains, two Boats more were fitted out for Hatteras, with nineteen Men. When Mr. White left the Colony three Years before, they talked of going fifty Miles up into the Main; and it had been agreed between them, that if they left the Place, where they then were, they should write the Name of the Place, to which they went, on some Tree, Door, or Post; and if they had been in any Distress, they should signify it, by making a Cross over it. When they landed therefore, they sounded a Trumpet, but received no Answer; and going up to the Fire, they found, it was nothing but the Grass and some rotten Trees burning. Then searching up and down the Island, they at last found three fair Roman Letters carved, C. R. O. but without any Sign of Distress; and looking farther, they saw CROATAN, carved in fair Capital Letters on one of the chief Posts, but still without the Cross, as a Sign of Distress. Their Houses were taken down; and an high Palisado built, after the Manner of a Fort. They likewise found, where their Goods had been buried; but many of them had been dug up, and scattered about, and all were spoiled; yet Mr. White knew and distinguished several of his own among them. With this joyful Discovery, as they hoped, of where they were, they returned to their Ships; but had like to have been cast away by a violent Storm, that continued all that Night.

The next Morning, weighing Anchor for Croatan, which was an Indian Town on the South Part of Cape Look-out, one of their Cables broke, and carried off another.
other Anchor with it. But letting go their third, the Ship went so fast adrift, that she was very near stranded. Discouraged with these Misfortunes, and having but one Anchor left, and their Provisions near spent, they gave over all thoughts of farther Search for the present, and determined to go to the West-Indies, to winter and refresh themselves (chiefly perhaps with more Spanish Plunder) and to return in the Spring, to seek their Countrymen. But the Vice-Admiral was obstinately bent upon going directly for England; and the Wind being contrary, the rest were obliged, within two Days, to make for the Western-Islands, where they arrived the 23d of September 1590, and met with many of the Queen’s Ships, their own Comfort, and divers others. But many suspected, that private Interest was the chief Occasion of their Failure in this Undertaking; and that the Riches, gotten from the Spaniards in the West-Indies, was the true Reason of their Return, for which the Storm only furnished them with a colourable Pretext. However it is certain, that the Assignees made no farther Search, nor gave themselves any other Trouble about the Matter; but these poor Souls were basely deserted by them, and left a Prey to the barbarous Savages, neither were they ever seen or heard of afterwards.

The following Year 1591, Sir Richard Grenville was sent, by the Queen, Vice-Admiral to the Lord Thomas Howard, with seven Ships of War, and a few other small Vessels, to intercept the Spanish Plate-Fleet. At the Azores, this small Squadron was surprized by fifty three capital Ships, purposely sent from Spain; and Sir Richard Grenville, who was unwilling to leave a great Part of his Men, then on Shore for Water and other Necessaries, to the Infolence and Barbarity of the Islanders, staid so long in getting them off, that he was hemmed in between the Enemy’s Fleet and the Island of Flores. In this dangerous Situation, he scorned to shew any Signs of Fear, or to owe his Safety to Flight; but he bravely bore down upon the Enemy, and endeavoured to break through them, in which Attempt he maintained a gallant and obstinate Fight, with the best of the Spanish Ships, for fifteen Hours together. He was at once laid aboard by the St. Philip, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tons and seventy eight large Pieces of Ordinance, and four other of the stoutest Ships in the Spanish Fleet, full of Men, in some two hundred, in some five hundred, and in others eight hundred Soldiers, beside Mariners; and he never had less than two large Galleons by his Side, which from time to time, were relieved by fresh Ships, Men, and Ammunition. Yet he behaved himself with such uncommon Bravery...
very and Conduct, that he disabled some, sunk others, and obliged them all to retire. Neither did he ever leave the Deck, tho' wounded in the Beginning of the close Fight, till he received a dangerous Wound in the Body by a Musket Bullet. When he went down to have it dressed, he received another Shot in the Head, and his Surgeon was killed by his Side. By this time also most of his bravest Men were slain, his Ship much disabled, his Deck covered with Dead, and Wounded, and scattered Limbs, and his Powder spent to the very last Barrel. Yet in this Condition he ordered the Vessel to be sunk, but it was prevented by the rest of the Officers; tho' many of the Crew joined with him, and the Master-Gunner, if he had not been restrained, would have killed himself, sooner than fall into the Hands of the Spaniards. When the Ship, or rather Wreck, was surrendered, Sir Richard was carried on board the Spanish Admiral, where he died within two Days, highly admired by the very Enemy, for his extraordinary Courage and Resolution. And when he found the Pangs of Death approach, he said to the Officers, that stood round him, in the Spanish Tongue: Here die I, Richard Greenvil, with a joyful and quiet Mind, having ended my Life like a true Soldier, that fought for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour: Thus summing up, in short, all the generous Motives, that fire the Breasts of the truly Brave and Great, to exert themselves beyond the common Pitch of Humanity.

And such was the gallant End of this noble Gentleman, who, next to Sir Walter Raleigh, was the principal Person concerned in this first Adventure of Virginia. He was a Man eminently fitted to serve his Country, in Peace or War, by Land or Sea, and was so deeply rooted in the Affection and Esteem of his illustrious Kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, that he honoured his Death with a particular Relation of the Action by his own excellent Pen, which he caused to be immediately printed the latter End of the same Year 1591, to obviate some Aspersions, cast upon him by some of the Spaniards. The rest of the English Ships having Sea-Room, fought bravely, and did every thing, that could be expected from valiant Men, whilst they had the Advantage of the Wind. The Lord Howard was for even hazarding the whole Fleet in the Rescue of Sir Richard Greenvil, and for charging up to the Place, where he was engaged. But he was over-ruled by the other Officers, whose Prudence is commended even by Sir Walter Raleigh; altho' no Person can certainly say, I think, what might have been the Event, had six Ships of War more besides

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**Book I. The History of VIRGINIA.**

1591.
the Privateers, fallen upon an Enemy, whom one Ship alone
had for so long a time kept in such warm Action. When
the Night parted them from the Enemy, they all went off
safe, and in their Way home took several rich Prizes. Sir
Richard's Ship too, the Revenge, of 500 Tons Burthen,
and about 20 Iron Guns, made good her Name. For a few
Days after she foundered at Sea, and drowned two hundred
Spaniards, who had been put aboard to carry her to Spain.

But Sir Walter Ralegh, being, by the above-mentioned
Assignment, eased in some Measure of the Undertaking of
Virginia, was soon engaged by his active and enterprising
Genius in other Adventures and Discoveries. He contri-
buted generously towards the Discovery of the North-West
Passage, and other things of the like Nature. But having
lost his Royal Mistress's Favour, by debauching one of her
Maids of Honour, whom he afterwards married, he under-
took in Person, in the Year 1595, the Voyage and Disco-
very of Guiana, a rich Country up the River Oronague, in
South America. After his Return, he wrote a most excel-
lent Discourse upon his Expedition, in which his chief Aim
was to engage the Queen and Nation in the Prosecution of
the Enterprise, and Settlement of the Country. But all
his Reasons were overpowered by the Envy of some great
Men to his Person and Merit; and altho' he was restored
to the Queen's Favour, yet he could never get any thing
done to Effect in this important and judicious Design.
However he never quitted it himself, but sent twice imme-
diately after, to make farther Discoveries, and to keep up
the good Dispositions of the Natives towards the English.
Even after his Fall, and when he was in the Tower, he
found Means to continue this Design; and his last Voyage
thither, after his Release, with the fatal Consequences of
it, is too well known, to need a particular Relation here.
Neither was he, notwithstanding the Assignment, negligent
or forgetful of the Colony, which had been seated in Virginia
upon his Account. For he sent five several Times, to search
after, and relieve them; and last he dispatched Samuel Mace
of Weymouth, in March 1602. But he, like all the rest,
performed nothing, but returned with idle Stories and fri-
volous Allegations.

However, these Efforts of Sir Walter were only in-
tended to recover and bring off those poor People, and no
ways in Prosecution of his first Design of settling a Colo-
ny. So that all Thoughts of Virginia were abandoned,
and the Project lay dead for near twelve Years, when it
was revived by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who under-
took a Voyage thither, and set Sail from Dartmouth, on
the
the twenty sixth of March 1602, in a small Bark, with thirty two Men. He kept as far North as the Winds would permit and was the first that came in a direct Course to America.

On the 11th of May, being about the Latitude of forty three, they made Land, on the Coast of New-England, as it hath been since called. But as all this Continent bore the Name of Florida, till the Discovery of the English in 1584, so afterwards all that Tract of Country, from 34 to 45 Degrees of Northern Latitude, was called Virginia, till from different Settlements it got different Names. The Land was low; the Shore white Sand, and rocky, yet overgrown with fair and stately Trees. Coming to an Anchor, eight Indians, in a Shallop, with Mast and Sail, came boldly on board them. By their Signs, and by the Shallop and other things, which they had, they judged, that some Biscayners had been fishing there. But finding no good Harbour, they weighed, and stood to the Southward into the Sea. The next Morning, they found themselves embayed with a mighty Head-land; and going to the neighbouring Hills, they perceived it to be Part of the Continent, almost environed with Islands. Here, in a few Hours, they caught more Cod, than they knew, what to do with; from whence the Place obtained the Name of Cape-Cod. And they thence also concluded, that a good Fishery might be found there, in the Months of March, April, and May.

Soon after they went to the Islands, and anchored near one of them. They found it four Miles in Compass, without House or Inhabitant. In it was a Lake, near a Mile in Circuit; and the rest so overgrown with Vines, which covered all the Trees and Bushes, that they could scarce pass through them. They likewise found Plenty of Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries, and divers other Fruits in Bloom, and therefore called the Island Martha's Vineyard. They then visited the rest of the Isles, and found them replenished with the like Products. One they named Elizabeth's Island, in Honour to their ancient Sovereign, in which they planted Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Pease, which sprung up nine Inches in fourteen Days. From hence they went to the Main, where they stood for some time ravished at the Beauty and Delicacy of the Country. But soon after returning to Elizabeth's Island, they spent three Weeks in building a House, in a small Island of about an Acre of Ground, which stood in the Midst of a large Lake of fresh Water, about three Miles in Circumference.

They saw several of the Natives, with whom they made mutual Presents, and had some small Traffick. They were
were of an excellent Constitution of Body, active, strong, healthful, and very ingenious, as divers of their Joys testified. The baser Sort would steal, but those of better Rank were very civil and just. Not one of the English was affected with any Sicknes; but they rather grew more healthy and strong, notwithstanding their bad Diet and Lodging. Twelve had resolved to stay; but, considering how meanly they were provided, they were at last all obliged to leave this Island, not without much Sorrow and Reluctancy, and arrived at Exmouth the 23d of July.

1603. The Beginning of the next Year, died that ever-memorable and glorious Princess, Queen Elizabeth, and was succeeded by King James VI. of Scotland. He was scarce warm in his Throne, before, as a Prefage of his future weak and inglorious Reign, he confined Sir Walter Ralegh in the Tower, for a most mysterious and inextricable Plot. This great Man, as he was the first Undertaker and Mover of these Discoveries, is usually looked upon as the Founder and Farther of our Country. And indeed we are proud to own for such, a Person of his distinguished Merit and Parts, who was one of the brightest Ornaments of his Age and Country, highly in the Favour and Esteem of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards the Sacrifice of her mean and pusillanimous Successor. But yet it must be confessed, that his Adventurers touched but once, and then lightly, on our Country; but still kept on in the same unfortunate Tract, on the foally and importuous Coast of North-Carolina. Altho' his Judgment soon distinguished from the Accounts, he received, the Advantages of Chesapeake for seating his Capital City of Ralegh; and had his Orders been followed, it might perhaps have given a quite different Turn to the Affairs of the Colony. For it would not only have freed them from the Hazards and Difficulties, they encountered on that dangerous Coast, and every where have supplied them with safe and convenient Harbours, but would have naturally led them to the Search and Discovery of one of the most commodious Countries perhaps in the World, for Shipping and Vessels.

The same Year 1603, by the Persuasions of Mr. Richard Hakluyt (a curious and inquisitive Gentleman, and soon after a Prebend of Westminster, who published the noted Collection of Voyages and Travels) the Mayor and Aldermen, with most of the Merchants of Bristol, raised a Stock of a thousand Pounds, and fitted out two Vessels. But first they obtained the Leave and Permission of Sir Walter Ralegh, as Proprietor of the Country, to make Discoveries in Virginia. Martin Pring was made Captain,
Book I. The History of VIRGINIA.

an understanding Gentleman and able Mariner; and Robert Saltern, who had been with Captain Gosnold the Year before, was appointed his Assistant and Pilot. But as, for the most Part, they followed Captain Gosnold’s Course, their Discoveries were nothing extraordinary or different from his.

But another Bark was this Year sent from London, under the Command of Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who had likewise been with Captain Gosnold. After some small Trade in the West-Indies, they fell in with the Coast of America in about 37 Degrees of Northern Latitude; and some Authors say, they run up into Chesapeake Bay, where the Captain, going ashore, was killed with four of his Men. This struck such a Damp and Discouragement into the rest, that they immediately weighed Anchor, and returned to England, without any further Attempt or Discovery.

Two Years after, Captain George Weymouth was sent by the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Warder, to make Discoveries on the Coast of Virginia. He intended to the Southward of 39; but was forced by the Winds farther Northward, and fell among some Shoals in 41 Deg. 20 Min. But having happily disengaged themselves, on the 18th of May they made Land. It appeared to be a main high Land, but they found it an Island of six Miles in Compass. From thence they could discern the Continent and very high Mountains; and coasting among the Islands, adjoining to the Main, they found an excellent Harbour. They dug a Garden the twenty second of May; and among their Seeds, they sowed Barley and Pease, which grew up eight Inches in sixteen Days; altho’ they judged the Mould much inferior to what they found afterwards on the Main. On the 30th of May, the Captain with thirteen more, went to view and discover the Continent; and having found a fair River, running up into the Country, they returned back to bring in the Ship. What River this was, and what Part of the American Coast they fell upon, is difficult to determine exactly. For their neglecting to tell us what Course they steered, after they were disengaged from the Shoals, renders it doubtful, whether they fell in with some Part of the Massachusset’s Bay; or rather farther Southward, on the Coast of Rhode-Island, Naraganset, or Connecticut; altho’ I am most inclined to believe, this River was either that of Naraganset or Connecticut; and the Island, what is now called Block-Island. However it is certain, that Oldmixon, (the Author of the Book, entitled, The British Empire in America) according to his usual Custom, is here most egregiously bewildered and lost. For after having, injudiciously enough, determined the small Island they first made,
34

The History of Virginia. Book I.

made, of six Miles in Compass, to be Long-Island, on the Coast of New-York, he immediately after, with still greater Absurdity and Grofsness, calls this the River of Powhatan, now James River, to the Southward, as he says, of the Bay of Chesapeake.

When Captain Weymouth returned aboard, he found, that the Indians had contracted an Acquaintance with his Crew; that they had had some small Trade together; and that there was much outward Shew of Kindness and Civility between them. For as the English intended to inhabit their Country, and as it was the chief Design of the noble Adventurers, who had sent them, to propagate Christianity among those barbarous People, they used them very kindly; and exchanging Hostages, would sometimes lie ashore with them, and they sometimes aboard with the English. At last they were very pressing with the Captain, to go to the Main, to trade with their Bashabes, or chief Lord. He accordingly manned his Boat with fourteen Hands, and attended them. But having plainly discovered their Treachery, and that it was only a Stratagem to cut them off, he seized five, and ever afterwards treated them with great Civility, but never more trusted them.

Having spent some time in sounding all the Isles, Channels, and Inlets, and found four several Ways of bringing a Ship into the Bay, they at last ran theirs twenty six Miles up the River. They found, it flowed eighteen Feet, was a Mile wide forty Miles from the Mouth, had a bold Channel from six to ten Fathom deep, and every half Mile beautiful Coves and Harbours, some of them to contain an hundred Sail of Vessels. The Land was very rich, tending all along in an equal Plain, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green Border of Grass; and the Woods were large and tall, and delightfully watered with many fresh Springs and Rivulets. Leaving their Ship, they went seven Miles higher than the salt Water flowed, and then marched towards the Mountains. But the Weather was so hot, and the Fatigue so great, that having erected a Cross, they willingly returned to their Ship. Soon after, they sailed for England, and arrived at Dartmouth the 18th of July; carrying with them the five Indians, taken by the Captain, whereof one was a Sagamo, or Commander, and three others, Persons of Figure and Distinction in their own Country.

THE
CAPTAIN Bartholomew Gosnold had made a
Voyage to the Northern Parts of Virginia, in
the Year 1602, as hath been before related.
He was so wonderfully pleased with the Plea-
santness and Fertility of the Places he saw,
that, after his Return to England, he made it his Busi-
ness to solicit all his Friends and Acquaintance, to join with him
in an Attempt to settle so delightful a Country. After some
Years spent in vain, he at last prevailed with Captain John
Smith, Mr. Edward-Maria Wingfield, the Rev. Mr. Robert
Hunt, and divers others, to join in the Undertaking. But
settling Colonies is an Enterprise of two great Burthen and
Expence for a few private Persons; and therefore after many
vain Projects, they applied themselves to several of the No-
bility, Gentry, and Merchants, and by their great Charge
and Industry, recommended their Scheme so effectually to
them, that they came into it very heartily.

And first, Letters patent were obtained from King
James I. bearing Date the 10th of April, 1606, to Sir Tho-
mas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hack-
luyt, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, Edward-Maria
Wingfield, with others unnamed, for the Southern Colony;
and to Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqrs, Wil-
liam Parker, and George Popham, Gentlemen, and others
 unnamed, for the Northern Colony. By this Charter, all that Tract of Country, from 34° to 45° Degrees of North Latitude, which then went under the common Name of Virginia, was divided into two Parts; called the First Colony and the Second. The First or Southern Colony was designed for the City of London, and such as would adventure with them, to discover and choose a Place of Settlement, any where between the Degrees of 34 and 41. The Second or Northern Part, was appropriated to the Cities of Bristol, Exeter, Plimouth, and the Western Parts of England, and all those, that would adventure and join with them, to make their Choice, any where between the Degrees of 38 and 45; provided, there should be at least an hundred Miles Distance between the two Colonies. For each of them was to extend fifty Miles from the Place of their first Habitation, each way along the Coast. But I shall make no Abstract of this Charter, having caused it to be printed at large in the Appendix, to which I refer the Reader.

But besides this Charter, the King gave divers Articles, Instructions, and Orders, under his Sign Manual, and the Privy Seal of England, dated the 20th of November, 1606, wherein he establishes and ordains a Council, under the Name of the King's Council for Virginia. This consisted of the following Persons; Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Cope, Sir George More, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Trevor, Sir Henry Montagu, Recorder of the City of London, and Sir William Romney, Knights; John Dodderidge, Solicitor General, and Thomas Warr, Esqrs; John Eldred, of the City of London, Thomas James, of Bristol, and James Bag, of Plimouth, in the County of Devon, Merchants. But these being soon found too few, and by Reason of the Distance of their Habitations from each other, difficult to be got together in any competent Number, his Majesty, by an Ordinance dated the 6th of March following, augmented this Council with Sir Thomas Challenor, Sir Henry Nevil, Sir Fulke Grevil, Sir John Scot, Sir Robert Mansel, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Morris Berkeley, Sir Edward Michelborne, Sir Thomas Holcroft, Sir Thomas Smith, Clerk of the Privy Council, Sir Robert Kilgrew, Sir Herbert Croft, Sir George Copping, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Thomas Roe, and Sir Anthony Palmer, Knights, nominated to him by and on the Behalf of the first Colony; and with Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Mallet, Sir John Gilbert, Sir Thomas Flete, Sir Richard Hawkins, and Sir Bartholomew Mitchel, Knights; Thomas Seamer, Bernard Greenvil;
In this last Instrument, there was a Distinction and Separation made of the two Councils; but in the former of the 20th of November, Sir William Wade, and the rest, were constituted his Majesty's Council for both Colonies.

For all Matters that should happen in Virginia, or any the Territories of America, between 34 and 45 Degrees of North Latitude, according to the Purport and Tenor of the Letters patent: That they should have full Power and Authority, at the Pleasure, and in the Name of his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, to give Directions to the Councils, resident in America, for the good Government of the People there, and for the proper ordering and disposing all Causes within the same, in Substance as near to the Common Law of England, and the Equity thereof, as might be; referring to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, a Power to increase, alter, or change the said Council, at their Will and Pleasure: And that this his Majesty's Council in England, should nominate and appoint the first Members of the several Councils, to be resident in the Colonies.

That the said Councils, resident in the Colonies, or the major Part of them, should chuse one of their own Body, not being a Minister of God's Word, to be President of the same, and to continue in that Office by the Space of one whole Year, and no longer: And that it should be lawful for the major Part of the said Councils, upon any just Cause, either of Absence or otherwise, to remove the President, or any other of the Council; and in Case of Death or such Removal, to elect another into the vacant Place: Provided always, that the Number of each of the said Councils should not exceed thirteen.

That the said Presidents, Councils, and the Ministers, should provide, that the true Word and Service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said Colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the Savages bordering upon them, according to the Rites and Doctrine of the Church of England.

That they should not suffer any to withdraw the People of the said Colonies from the Allegiance of the King, his Heirs, or Successors; but should cause all Persons so offending, to be apprehended and imprisoned, till full and due Reformation, or if the Cause so required, should send them to England, with all convenient Speed, there to receive suitable Punishment.
The History of VIRGINIA Book II.

"THAT all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, should be had, inhabited, and enjoyed, within the said Colonies, as the like Estates are held and enjoyed, by the Laws in England.

"THAT Tumults, Rebellion, Conspiracy, Mutiny, and Sedition, together with Murder, Manslaughter, Incest, Raipes, and Adultery, committed within any of the Degrees aforesaid, (and no other Offences) should be punished by Death without Benefit of Clergy, except in Case of Manslaughter, to which Clergy should be allowed: And that the said Presidents and Councils, within their several Limits and Precincts, should have full Power and Authority, to hear and determine concerning the said Offences, in Manner and Form following; viz. by a Jury of twelve honest and indifferent Persons, returned by proper Officers, and sworn upon the Evangelists, who should, according to the Evidence given, upon their Oath, and according to the Truth in their Consciences, convict or acquit the several Persons so accused, and tried by them: That every Person who should voluntarily confess the said Offences, or should stand mute, and refuse to plead, or make direct Answer, should be, and be held as fully convicted of the same, as if he had been found guilty by the Verdict of the twelve Jurors aforesaid: That the said Presidents and Councils, or the major Part of them, within their several Precincts and Limits, should have full Power and Authority, to give Judgment of Death upon every such Offender, without Benefit of Clergy, except in Case of Manslaughter only: And that no Person, so adjudged or condemned, should be reprieved, but by the Consent of the said President and Council, or the major Part of them; nor should receive full Pardon, or be absolutely discharged from the said Offences, but by the Pardon of the King, his Heirs, or Successors, under the Great Seal of England: And finally, that all Persons offending as aforesaid, within the Degrees aforesaid, but out of the Precincts of their own Colony, should be tried and punished in their proper and respective Colony.

"THAT the said Presidents and Councils, within their several Precincts and Limits, should have Power and Authority, to hear and determine all other Wrongs, Trespasses, and Misdemeanors whatsoever; and on sufficient Proof upon Oath, should respectively punish the Offenders, either by reasonable corporal Punishment and Imprisonment, or else by awarding such Damages, or other Satisfaction, to the Parties aggrieved, as to them, or the
more Part of them, should seem fit and convenient: And
that the said Presidents and Councils should have Power
to punish all Manner of Excess, through Drunkenness
or otherwise, and all loitering, idle, and vagrant Persons,
within their respective Precincts, according to their best
Discretions, and with such convenient Punishment, as
they, or the most Part of them, should think fit: That
these judicial Proceedings should be made summarily and
verbally, without Writing, till they came to the Judgment
ment or Sentence, which should be briefly registered into
a Book, kept for that Purpose, together with the Cause,
for which the said Judgment or Sentence was given, sub-
scribed by the said President and Council, or by such of
them as gave the Judgment.

THAT for five Years, next after their landing on the
Coast of Virginia, the said several Colonies, and every
Person thereof, should trade altogether in one Stock, or
in two or three Stocks at most, and should bring all the
Fruits of their Labours there, with all their Goods and
Commodities from England or elsewhere, into several
Magazines or Storehouses, for that Purpose to be erected,
in such Order, Manner, and Form, as the Councils of
the respective Colonies, or the more Part of them, should
prescribe and direct: That there should be annually chosen
by the President and Council of each Colony, or the
major Part of them, one Person of their Colony, to be
Treasurer or Cape-Merchant of the same, to take Charge
of, and to manage, all Goods and Wares, brought into,
or delivered out of, the said Magazines; upon whose
Death, voluntary Resignation, or Removal for any just
and reasonable Cause, it should be lawful for the said
President and Council, to elect any other, or others, in
his Room: That there should also be elected, by the
said President and Council, two others (or more, if need
be) Persons of Discretion; the one to enter into a Book,
kept for that Purpose, all Goods, Wares, and Merchand-
ises, brought into; and the other to charge, in a like
Book, all taken out of the said Magazines or Storehouses;
which Clerks should continue in their Places, only at the
Will of the President and Council of their respective
Colony: And lastly, that every Person of each of the said
Colonies, should be furnished with Necessaries out of the
said Magazines, for the Space of five Years, by the Appoint-
ment, Direction, and Order, of the President and
Council of their respective Colonies, or of the Cape-
Merchant and two Clerks, or the major Part of them.
THAT the Adventurers of the first Colony should chuse, out of themselves, one or more Companies, each consisting of three Persons at the least, to reside in or near London, or at such other Place or Places, as the Council for that Colony, for the time being, or the most Part of them, during the said five Years, should think fit: In the same Manner, that the Adventurers of the Second Colony should chuse the like Companies, to be resident at or near Plimouth, or at such one, two, or three other Places or Ports, as the Council for that Colony should think fit: And that these minor Companies should, from time to time, take Care and Charge of the Trade, and an Account of all the Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes, that should be sent from England to their respective Colonies, and brought from the Colonies into England, and of all other Things, relating to the Affairs and Profits of their several Companies.

THAT no Person should be admitted to abide or remain in the said Colonies, but such as should take, not only the usual Oath of Obedience, but also the Oath, prescribed in the last Session of Parliament, holden at Westminster in the fourth Year of his Majesty's Reign, for due Obedience to the King, his Heirs, and Successors.

THAT the Presidents and Councils of the said Colonies, or the major Part of them, should have Power to constitute, make, and ordain, from time to time, Laws, Ordinances, and Officers, for the better Order, Government, and Peace of their respective Colonies; provided nevertheless, that those Ordinances and Constitutions did not touch any Party in Life or Member: And that the said Laws and Ordinances should stand and continue in full Force, till the same should be otherwise altered or made void by the King, his Heirs, or Successors, or by his Majesty's Council in England for Virginia, or by their own Council, there resident: Provided always, that the said Alterations should stand with, and be in Substance consonant to, the Laws of England, or the Equity thereof.

THAT all Persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen People in those Parts, and use all proper Means to draw them to the true Service and Knowledge of God, and that all just and charitable Courses should be taken with such of them, as would conform themselves to any good and sociable Traffick, thereby the sooner to bring them to the Knowledge of God, and the Obedience of the King, his Heirs, and Successors, under such severe
Book II. The History of VIRGINIA.

**severe Pains and Punishments, as should be inflicted by the respective Presidents and Councils of the several Colonies.**

That as the said Colonies should, from time to time, encrease in Plantation, the King, his Heirs, and Successors, should ordain and give such Order, and further Instructions, Laws, Constitutions and Ordinances, as by them should be thought fit and convenient: Provided always, that they be such as might stand with, and be consonant to the Laws of England, or the Equity thereof.

And lastly, that his Majesty's Council in England for Virginia, should take such Oath, as should be limited and appointed by the Privy Council; and each Counsellor, resident in the Colonies, should take such Oath, as should be prescribed by the King's Council in England for Virginia: And that these, as well as all future Orders and Instructions of the King, his Heirs, or Successors, should be transmitted over to the several Councils, resident in the said Colonies, under the legal Seal of the King's Council in England for Virginia.

These Articles contain several Things of an extraordinary Nature; which Sir John Randolph, in the Sketch, he has left of the Beginning of his History of Virginia, promised afterwards to animadvert upon. I am no Lawyer, and therefore shall not presume to enter deeply into the Matter. I shall only transiently remark, that, notwithstanding the frequent Repetition of the Laws of England, and the Equity thereof, his Majesty seems, in some things, to have deviated grossly from them. He has certainly made sufficient Provision for his own despotic Authority; and has attributed an extravagant and illegal Power to the Presidents and Councils. For he has placed the whole Legislative Power solely in them, without any Representative of the People, contrary to a noted Maxim of the English Constitution; That all Freemen are to be governed by Laws, made with their own Consent, either in Person, or by their Representatives. He has also appointed Juries only in Cases of Life and Death; and has left all other Points, relating to the Liberty and private Property of the Subject, wholly to the Pleasure and Determination of the Presidents and Councils. He has indeed, agreeably to the Dictates of his own Nature, been express enough with Respect to Rebellion, Conspiracy, and other Offences immediately against the Magistrate; but then he has been very sparing in all other criminal Matters. For altho' he has made Adultery punishable with Death, contrary to the Laws of England, and
and contrary to a greater, the Law of the Gospel, in the noted Determination of our B. Saviour, concerning the Woman taken in Adultery; yet he has passed over all the several Species of Robbery, Burglary, and Felony, with other Crimes, capital by the Laws of England, and declared, that none, but those there specified, should be subject to the Punishment of Death.

However, furnished with these Powers and Authorities, the First or Southern Colony, which still retains the Name of Virginia, was undertaken and begun by several Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and Citizens, in and about London; and they chose Sir Thomas Smith, a very eminent and wealthy Merchant of London, their Treasurer, to have the chief Management of their Affairs, and to summon and preside in all Meetings of the Council and Company in England. He had been the chief of Sir Walter Raleigh's Associates, and was either now, or soon after, Governor of the East-India Company; and had also been sent, two Years before, his Majesty's Embassador to the Emperor of Russia. And next, having provided two Ships and a small Bark, they committed the Transportation of the Colony to Captain Christopher Newport, who was esteemed a Mariner of Ability and Experience on the American Coasts. For he had fourteen Years before, Anno 1592, with much Reputation and Honour, conducted an Expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies; where, with three Ships and a small Bark, he took several Prizes, plundered and burnt some Towns, and got a considerable Booty.

To him therefore, by an Instrument, bearing Date the 10th of December, 1606, under the legal Seal of the Council, they gave Power to appoint all Captains, Soldiers, and Mariners, and to have the sole Charge and Command of the same, and of the whole Voyage, from the Date thereof, till they should land on the Coast of Virginia; and in Case of his Death, the several Captains of the Ships and Bark were ordered and empowered, to proceed and carry them to the Coast of Virginia aforesaid. To Captain Newport, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, and Captain John Ratcliffe, they also delivered several Instruments, close sealed with the Councils Seal, which they, the Survivors, or Survivor of them, should, within twenty four Hours after their Arrival on the Coast of Virginia, and not before, open and unseal, and publish the Names of the Persons, therein set down, who should be declared and taken to be his Majesty's Council for that Colony: That the said Council should immediately proceed to the Choice and Nomination of
of a President, who should have two Votes in all Matters of Controversy and Question, where the Voices happened to be equal; and should have full Power and Authority, with the Advice of the rest of the Council, or the greater Part of them, to govern, rule, and command, all the Captains and Soldiers, with all other Persons whatsoever of the said Colony: And that the President, immediately upon his Election, should, in the Presence of the Council, and of twenty others of the principal Adventurers in the Voyage, to be by the President and Council called thereto, take his Oath, according to a Form prescribed, to bear true Allegiance to the King, and for the Performance of his Duty in the Place and Office of President; after which he should administer the like Oath to each of the Council particularly. And finally, Captain Newport was commanded, with such a Number of Men, as should be assigned him by the President and Council, to bestow two Months in the Search and Discovery of the Rivers and Ports of the Country, and to give present Order for the lading the two Ships (the Bark being designed to remain in the Country) with such principal Commodities and Merchandise, as could there be had and found, and to return with the said Ships, full laden, bringing a particular Account of every thing, by the last of May following, if God permit.

To these Orders the Council added other Instructions, by way of Advice, concerning their strict Observation of the above-mentioned Ordinances by the King's Majesty, delivered to them under the Privy Seal; concerning the Choice of a Place, and the Manner of seating themselves; the necessary Orders and Methods of Discovery; their Caution before, and Behaviour towards the Natives; with various other Counsels and Directions for the better conducting themselves and the Enterprise. And as the Council in England were ever solicitous and intent on the Discovery of the South-Sea, as the certain and infallible Way to immense Riches, they were commanded, if they happened to discover divers navigable Rivers, and among them any, that had two main Branches, if the Difference was not great, to make Choice of that which tended most towards the North-west; since the other Sea, as they judged, would be soonest found that Way. And they were to discover, if they could, whether the River, on which they seated, sprang out of the Mountains or out of Lakes. For if it rose from any Lake, it was likely, that the Passage to the other Sea would be the more easy, and that out of the same Lake they might find some other Stream, running the contrary Way, towards the East-India, or South-Sea. And they con-
concluded lastly and chiefly, that the Way to prosper and obtain Success was to make themselves all of one Mind, for their own and their Country's Good, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all Goodness, since every Plantation, which he did not plant, would certainly be rooted out.

All these Orders and Instructions being put into a Box, they set Sail from Blackwall the 19th of December 1606; but were kept six Weeks on the Coast of England by contrary Winds. Even then they neglected the Councils last salutary Advice, concerning Unity and Concord among themselves. For they began to fall into such Factions and Discord, as would have ruined the whole Voyage, had not Mr. Hunt, their Preacher, by his prudent Conduct and pious Exhortation, allayed their Fury and Disaffection. That good Man, altho' he was so sick and weak the whole Time, that few expected his Recovery, and had the additional aggravation of being the principal Object of their Malice and Reproach, yet bore all with the utmost Meekness and Patience. And he never betrayed the least seeming Design to leave the Business, altho' his Habitation was but twenty Miles from the Downs, but preferred the Service of God and his Country, in so good a Voyage, before all other private Respects or Considerations whatsoever.

As soon as they got clear of the Coast of England, they took the old Route by the Canaries, where they watered. Here their Quarrels and Differences grew so high, that Captain Smith was seized and committed close Prisoner. It was suggested by Mr. Wingfield and some others of the chief among them, who envied his Repute and Interest with the Company, that he intended to murder the Council, usurp the Government, and make himself King of Virginia; and this, they pretended, would be attested and proved against him by several of his Confederates, who were dispersed in all the three Ships. Upon these scandalous Suggestions, he was suspected, and kept in close Confinement thirteen Weeks. From the Canaries they went to the West-Indies, where having traded with the Natives, and stayed three Weeks to refresh themselves, they steered away Northward in Search of Virginia. The Mariners had passed their Reckoning three Days, and yet found no Land; which so disheartened the Company, that Captain Ratcliffe, Commander of the Bark, was urgent to bear up the Helm, and return for England. But a violent Storm, obliging them to hull it all Night under their bare Poles, drove them providentially, beyond all their Expectations, to their desired Port. For the next Day, being the 26th of April 1607, they
they made a Coast, which none of them had ever seen. The first Land, they descried, they called Cape-Henry, in Honour to the Prince of Wales; as the Northern Cape was named Cape-Charles, after the Duke of York, King James’s second Son at that Time, and afterwards King Charles I. of England. Thirty Men went ashore on Cape-Henry, to recreate and refresh themselves; but they were suddenly assaulted by five Savages, who wounded two of them very dangerously.

Within these Capes they found a Country, which, according to their own Description, might claim the Prerogative over the most pleasant Places in the known World, for large and majestic navigable Rivers, for beautiful Mountains, Hills, Plains, Valleys, Rivulets, and Brooks, gurgling down, and running most pleasantly into a fair Bay, encompassed on all Sides, except at the Mouth, with fruitful and delightful Land. In the Bay and Rivers were many Islands, both great and small, some woody, others plain, but most of them low and uninhabited. So that Heaven and Earth seemed never to have agreed better, to frame a Place for Man’s commodious and delightful Habitation, were it fully cultivated and inhabited by industrious People.

The Night of their Arrival, the Box was opened, and the Orders for Government read. In them Edward-Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were appointed of the Council. They were employed, till the 13th of May, in seeking a Place for their Settlement; and then they resolved on a Peninsula, on the North Side of the River Powhatan, about forty Miles from the Mouth. After which, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, the Council sworn, and an Oration made; why Captain Smith was not admitted of the Council, as the rest. But besides these Gentlemen and Mr. Hunt, their Chaplain, there came over another Person of very great Distinction and Quality. This was the Honourable Mr. George Percy, of the ancient Family of the Percies, so renowned in Story, and Brother to the Earl of Northumberland. Neither did his Actions here disgrace the Nobility of his Birth. For he justly obtained the Reputation of being a Gentleman of great Honour, Courage, and Industry. He seems to have come merely a Volunteer upon the Expedition, and bore no Post or Office of Government; which might perhaps have proceeded from the Cloud, under which his Brother, the Earl of Northumberland, then lay. For on some distant Surmises, and upon Account of
Mr. Percy, his Kinman, who was concerned in that Treason, the Earl was suspected to have been privy to the Gunpowder Plot; and was therefore thrown into the Tower, where he lay above twelve Years, was fined thirty thousand Pounds Sterling in the Star-Chamber, and underwent much hard Usage. And besides Mr. Percy, there were Anthony Gofnold, Captain Gabriel Archer, Nathaniel Powell, Kellam Throgmorton, William Smithes, Richard Frith, and divers others of Note in this first Plantation. And Mr. Thomas Studley was elected the first Cape-Merchant, or Treasurer, of the Colony.

Having pitched upon a Place to settle, they called it James-Town, in Honour of his Majesty then reigning, and every Man fell to work. The Council contrive the Fort; and of the rest, some cut down and clear away the Trees, to make a Place to pitch their Tents; some get Clapboard, to relade the Ships; whilst others were employed in making Gardens and Nets, and providing other necessaries and Conveniences. The Indians often visited them kindly, which was a great Satisfaction to them. For the President's Jealousy would admit of no Exercise at Arms, nor any other Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees cast together in the Form of a Half Moon, by the extraordinary Pains and Diligence of Captain Kendall. And soon after, Newport and Smith, with twenty others, were sent to discover the Head of the River Powhatan, which, from King James, was afterwards called James River. They passed by divers small Habitations; and in six Days arrived at a Town, called Powhatan, consisting of about twelve Houses, pleasantly seated on a Hill, on the North Side of the River, with three fertile Isles before it. This Place I judge to be either Mrs. Mayo's, or else Marring's Plantation; and it was the principal Seat, by Inheritance, of Powhatan, Emperor of the Country. To this Place they found the River navigable; but within a Mile higher, by reason of the Rocks and Isles, there was no Passage for a small Boat; and this they called the Falls. They were kindly treated by the People in all Parts; but being returned to James-Town, they found seventeen Men hurt, and a Boy slain, by the Indians; and had not a Cross-bar Shot from the Ships happened to strike a Bough from a Tree among them, which frightened, and made them retire, the English had been all cut off, being securely at Work, and their Arms in dry Fats. After this the President permitted the Fort to be parliadoed, the Ordinance to be mounted, and the Men to be armed and exercised. For many and sudden were the Assaультs and Ambuscades of the Indians; and the English, by
by their disorderly straggling, were often hurt, whilst they, by the Nimbleness of their Heels, escaped.

ALTHO' Captain Newport was named of the Council, yet was he only hired for their Transportation, and was to return with the Ships. The time of his Departure approaching, Captain Smith's Enemies pretended, out of Tenderness and Compassion to him, to refer him to the Council in England, to receive a Reprimand, rather than by pushing on their Accusation, to endanger his Life, or utterly destroy his Reputation. But he, being a Man of high Spirit, and conscious of his Innocency, scorned their Charity, and defied their Malice; and behaved himself in the whole Affair with such Clearness and Prudence, that all the Company perceived his Integrity, and their Envy and Injustice. Infilling therefore upon his Trial, the Persons, suborned to accuse him, accused their Suborners; and altho' many Falshoods were alledged against him, yet were they all so plainly disproved, that it raised a general Resentment in the Hearts of the Audience against such unjust Commanders, and the President was condemned to pay him two hundred Pounds, in Reparation of the Injury. In Consequence hereof, all the President's Effects were seized in Part of Satisfaction; but Smith generously presented them to the publick Store for the Use of the Colony. Soon after their Heats and Animosities were appeased by the good Doctrine and Exhortations of Mr. Hunt, who procured Captain Smith to be admitted of the Council; and the next Day, they all received the Communion, in Confirmation of their Peace and Concord. The Day after, being the 15th of June, the Indians voluntarily sued for Peace, and Captain Newport set Sail for England, leaving an hundred Persons behind him in Virginia.

The Colony, being now left to their Fortunes, fell into such a violent Sickness, that within ten Days scarce ten among them could either go or stand. This was chiefly owing to the Difference of their Diet. For whilst the Ships stayed, either by Way of Traffick, or for Money, or Love, they got a daily Proportion of Biscuit and other Provisions from the Sailors, who always abounded even to Luxury and Profusion. But now they were all reduced to the common Kettle; which contained the Allowance of half a Pint of Wheat, and as much Barley, boiled with Water, for a Man a Day. And this, having sunked for fix and twenty Weeks in the Ship's Hold, contained nothing substantial, being only Bran, with as many Worms as Grains. The Council in England, but especially Sir Thomas Smith, their Treasurer, were justly charged with much
much Cruelty and Inhumanity for these scanty and ill-conditioned Provisions; which Management however continued, more or less, the whole time of that Gentleman's Administration of the Affairs of the Company and Colony. This unwholesome Food, together with their continual Toil and Labour in the Extremity of the Heat, carried off fifty of the Company by September; in which Number was Captain Gosnold, the first Mover and Projector of the whole Business. The rest, that survived by the Care of Captain Smith, and the Skill and Diligence of Mr. Thomas Wotton, their Surgeon-General, subsisted on Crabs and Sturgeon, till September.

But the President, all this while, had felt neither Want nor Sicknes. For he had embezzled the publick Oatmeal, Sack, Aquae-vita, Beef, and Eggs, and had lived in great Plenty and Elegance. Soon after, having projected an Escape to England in the Bark, it raised such Indignation in the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Captain John Ratcliffe in his Room. Kendall was likewise at the same time disgraced, and removed from the Council, for being concerned in these male Practices of the President. And now, when all their Provisions were spent, the Surgeon gone, and no Prospect of Relief from any Quarter left, God wrought so wonderful a Change in the Hearts of the Indians, that they brought such Plenty of their Fruits and Provisions, as no Man wanted.

Newport was gone, Gosnold dead, and Wingfield in Disgrace; neither were their Places supplied by the Election of any others, according to the Authority given. So that the whole Government and Power of the Council now rested in the new President, Martin, and Smith. But the President and Martin, being little esteemed or beloved, of weak Judgment in Dangers, and less Industry in Peace, at first very candidly and wisely permitted every thing to Smith's Management, who was peculiarly fitted for conducting such an Undertake, by a good Judgment, undaunted Courage, and an invincible Industry and Resolution. He immediately set about the building of James-Town; and by good Words, fair Promises, and his own Example (himself always bearing the greatest Share of the Labour and Fatigue) he pushed on the Work with such Vigor and Diligence, that he had, in a short time, provided most of them with Lodgings, neglecting any for himself. After which, finding the Autumn Superfluity of the Savages begin to decrease, he resolved to search the Country for Trade. The Want of the Language and a sufficient Power, with Cloathing for his Men and other Ne-
Necessaries, were infinite Impediments to this Design, but no Discouragement to his bold and adventurous Spirit. For with five or six more, he went down the River, in a Shallop, to Kiequotan; where at first they scorned them, as poor famished Creatures; and would offer, in derision, a Handful of Corn, or a Piece of Bread, for their Swords, Muskets, or Cloaths. But Smith, finding, that nothing was to be had by Trade and Courtefy, ventured to exceed his Commision, and entered upon such Measures, as Necessity and the Exigency of his Case required. And therefore, having discharged his Muskets among them, he ran his Boat ashore; at which the Indians all fled into the Woods. Then marching up to their Houses, they saw great Heaps of Corn. But Smith with much ado restrained his hungry Soldiers from immediately seizing it; expecting, the Savages would return to assault them, as it soon after happened. For sixty or seventy of them, some painted black, some red, some white, and some party-coloured, issued out of the Woods, singing and dancing, and making a most hideous Noise, with their Okée borne before them. This was an Idol, made of Skins, stuffed with Moss, and all painted and hung with Chains and Copper. For there was no Place in Virginia found so barbarous and void of Humanity, in which they had not a Religion, Deer, Bows, and Arrows. In this Savage Manner, being armed with Clubs, Targets, Bows, and Arrows, they charged the English, who received them so warmly with a second Volley of Muskets, loaded with Pistol Shot, that down fell their God, and several of them lay sprawling on the Ground. The rest fled again into the Woods, and soon after sent one of their Priests, to redeem their God and offer Peace. Smith told him, if only six would come unarmed, and load his Boat with Corn, he would not only restore their Okée, but would be their Friend, and give them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: Which was agreed to, and performed to the Satisfaction of both Parties. And then they brought him Venison, Turkeys, Wildfowl, Bread, and whatever else they had, singing and dancing in Sign of Friendship, till he departed. And in his Return up the River, he discovered the Town and Country of Warrasqueake.

After his Return to James-Town, he made several Journeys by Land, and discovered the People of Chicabomy. In one of these, Wingfield and Kendall, seeing all things at Random in Smith's Absence, and the Company's Scorn of the President's Weakness and Martin's never-mending Sickness, took Advantage of the Occasion, and combined with the Sailers and others to regain their former
former Authority, or at least to seize the Bark, which Smith had fitted for a trading Voyage, and in her to escape and go for England. But Smith, returning unexpectedly, with much Difficulty prevented their Design. For he was obliged to turn the Cannon of the Fort upon them, and to force them to stay or sink in the River; which Action cost the Life of Captain Kendall. And not long after their new President Ratcliffe and Captain Gabriel Archer intended to abandon the Country; but their Project was likewise restrained and suppressed by Smith. The Spaniards was never more greedy of Gold, that he was of Provisions; neither did the rest desire more eagerly to abandon the Country, than he to keep it. And therefore, having found Plenty of Corn up the River Chickahominy, he went a trading Voyage thither, and was received by hundreds of Indians, who stood in divers Places with Baskets, expecting his Coming. And now the Winter likewise coming on, the Rivers were covered with Swans, Geese, and Ducks, that they daily feasted with good Bread, Virginia Pease, Pumpions, and Paffimmons, and with Fih, Fowl, and divers Sorts of wild Beasts, as fast as they could well eat them. So that none of their humourfome and tuftaffety Sparks (as Smith calls them) were any longer discontented, or defirous to go to England.

But Captain Smith's Activity and Industry, in discovering the Country, and providing for the Colony, could not screen him from the vain Exceptions and Murmurs of many Idlers at James-Town. He was cenfured by some, and even taxed by the Council, of being too remifs and negligent in discovering the Head of Chickahominy River. And therefore soon after, with much Labour in cutting away Trees and clearing a Passage, he went up as far, as his Barge could pass. And then leaving her in a broad Bay, beyond the Reach of the Indians Shot, he himfelf, with two English more, and two Indians, proceeded higher up in a Canoe. When he left the Barge, he ordered, that none should go ashore, till his Return. But he was not long gone, before his disorderly and ungovernable Crew disobeyed this Command, and thereby gave the Indians an Opportunity of surprising one George Caffen; and indeed narrowly escaped being all cut off to a Man. For Opechancanough, Brother to Powhatan, and King of Pamunkey, a subtle and savage Barbarian, was there with three hundred Bowmen. And after having extorted from Caffen, which Way his Captain was gone, he put him to Death in a moft cruel and barbarous Manner, and then went in Pursuit of Smith.

CAPTAIN
Captain Smith had got up twenty Miles higher, among the Swamps and Marshes at the Head of the River; and leaving the Canoe to the Care of Robinson and Emry, his two Men, he himself was gone to kill some Provisions. Opechancanough first happened on the two Men, asleep, as it was supposed, by the Fire; and shooting them full of Arrows, slew them. And then they traced the Captain; who, finding himself belated, bound an Indian, whom he had for his Guide, to his Arm for a Buckler, and received their Attack so smartly with his Fire-Arms, that he soon laid three dead upon the Spot, and so wounded and galled divers others, that none of them cared to approach him. He himself received a slight Wound in the Thigh, and had many Arrows sticking in his Cloaths, but without any great Hurt. Having the Indians thus at bay, he endeavoured to shear off to his Canoe; but regarding them, as he went, more than his Way, he suddenly slipped up to his Middle into an oozy Creek. Although he was thus hampered, yet none of them durst come near him, till, being almost dead with Cold, he threw away his Arms and surrendered. Then drawing him out, they carried him to the Fire, where his Men were slain, and carefully chafed his benumbed Limbs. For this Winter, 1607, was extremely cold in Virginia, as it was likewise remarkable for an extraordinary Frost in Europe.

When Smith was a little recovered, he asked for their Captain, and being shewed Opechancanough, he presented him with a round Ivory double compass Dial. They wondered greatly at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch, because of the Glass, that covered them. But when he explained by it the Roundness of the Earth, the Skies, the Sphere of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, with other surprising and unheard of Doctrines to them, they all stood amazed. Yet within an Hour after, they tied him to a Tree, and drew up in Order to shoot him. But the King holding up the Compass in his Hand, they all laid down their Arms at once. And then, with much Triumph, and in martial Order, they conducted him to Orapakes, which was a hunting Town and Seat, lying on the upper Part of Chickahominy Swamp, on the North Side, belonging to, and much frequented by Powhatan and the Imperial Family, on Account of the Abundance of Game, it afforded. In their March, they drew themselves all up in File; and Opechancanough, being in the Midst, had the English Swords and Muskets carried before him. Captain Smith came next, led by three great Savages, holding him fast by each Arm; and on either
Side went six in File, with their Arrows notched. When they arrived at the Town, the Women and Children stood staring at a human Creature, so unlike whatever they had before seen; and the Soldiers, that had taken him, performed their military Exercise, throwing themselves with great Dexterity into their War-Dance, with strange Distortions and antic Postures, singing and yelling out frightful and inharmonious Notes and Screeches. But they treated Smith here very kindly, and feated him with that Formality and Abundance, that he suspected, they intended to fatten and to eat him. In the midst of these melancholy Thoughts and Surmises, one of them, in Return for some Beads and Toys, which Smith had given him at his first Arrival, brought him his Gown; which was of singular Service to him, and a very seasonable Defence against the excessive Coldness of the Season.

But whilst his Mind was thus taken up with imaginary Deaths, he had like to have met a real one. For a Man came violently upon him, and would have slain him for the Death of his Son, had he not been prevented by his Guard. Whether this was one of those, that were wounded when Smith was taken Prisoner, or whether he was dying a natural Death, which they, through Ignorance and Superstition, attributed to some Sorcery in Smith, is not easy to be determined. However, they carried him to recover the poor Man, breathing out his last. Smith told them, he had a Water at James-Town, that would do it, if they would let him fetch it. But they had more Sense than to permit that, or to trust him out of their Hands.

They were now making the greatest Preparations, they could, to assault James-Town. To this End they desired Smith's Advice and Assistance; and, as a Reward, promised him Life, Liberty, Land, and Women. But he represented to them the extreme Danger and Difficulty of the Attempt; and described the Springing of Mines, great Guns, and other warlike Engines, in such a Manner, as exceedingly frighted and amazed them. And then he persuaded some of them to go to James-Town, under Pretence of fetching some Toys; and in Part of a Table-Book, he informed them at the Fort, what was intended, and directed them, how to behave and affright the Messengers, and without fail, to send him such Things, as he wrote for. Within three Days, the Messengers returned, through as bitter Weather as could be, for Frost and Snow; and were greatly astonishe themselves, as well as all that heard it, how Smith could divine, or the Paper speak. For all Things were delivered them, and had happened at James-Town, according as he foretold.
All Thoughts of an Attack upon James-Town being therefore laid aside, they led Smith in Show and Triumph about the Country. And first they carried him to those, that dwelt on Youghtanund, or as it is now called, Pamunkey River. For the main River, which is since named York River, was then called Pamunkey; altho’ the Country of Pamunkey, over which Opechancanough was King, lay in the Fork of the River, and his chief Seat was nearly, where the Pamunkey Town now is. From the Youghtanunds they led him to the Mattaponies, the Piankatanks, the Nantaquacunds, on Rappahanock, and the Nominies, on Patowmack River. And having passed him over all those Rivers, they brought him back, through several other Nations, to Opechancanough’s Habitation at Pamunkey; where, with frightful Howlings, and many strange and hellish Ceremonies, they conjured him three Days, to know, as they told him, whether he intended them well or ill. After this, they brought him a Bag of Gunpowder, which they judged to be a Grain, springing out of the Earth, as other Grains did; and therefore they carefully preserved it, intending to plant it the next Spring, as they did their Corn. And then he was invited; and feafted, in a sumptuous Manner, by Opechapan, second Brother to Powhatan, and next Heir to all his Dominions. But here, as in all other Places, none of them would touch a Morzel with him; although they would feast very merrily upon what he left. At last they conducted him to Werowocomoco, where Powhatan the Emperor, was. Werowocomoco lay on the North Side of York River, in Gloucester County, nearly opposite to the Mouth of Queen’s Creek, and about twenty five Miles below the Fork of the River. It was at that Time Powhatan’s principal Place of Residence; altho’ afterwards, not admiring the near Neighbourhood of the English, he retired to Orapakes.

Powhatan himself was a tall well-proportioned Man, of a four Aspet, and of a very strong and hardy Constitution of Body. His proper Name was Wahunsonacock; and he had that of Powhatan, from the Town so called, near the Falls of James River, which was the chief Seat and Metropolis of his hereditary Dominions; and he seems to have removed to Werowocomoco for Conveniency, after he had extended his Conquests far North. For his hereditary Countries were only Powhatan, Arrohattakek, about twelve Miles lower down, which hath since been corrupted to Haddihaddocks, Appamatock, Youghtanund, Pamunkey, and Mattapony; to which may be added, Werowocomoco, and Kiskiack, or as it hath since been called, Cheesecake, between...
between Williamsburg and York. All the rest were his Conquest; and they were bounded on the South by James River, with all its Branches, from the Mouth to the Falls, and so across the Country, nearly as high as the Falls of all the great Rivers, over Patowmack even to Patuxen in Maryland. And some Nations also on the Eastern Shore, owned Submission to him. These Dominions descended, not to his Sons or Children, but first to his Brothers, whereof he had three, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh; and then to his Sisters, according to their Seniority; and after them to the Heirs male or female of the eldest Sister, and so of the rest; but never to the Heirs of the Males.

He lived in great barbaric State and Magnificence. He usually had about his Person forty or fifty of the tallest Men, his Country afforded; which Guard was, after this time, increased to two hundred, on Account of the English. Every Night, upon the four Corners of his House were placed four Sentinels, each a flight Shot from the other; and every half Hour, one from the main Guard hollowed, shaking his Finger between his Lips, and every Sentinel was obliged to answer from his Stand. If any failed, an Officer was immediately sent, who beat him extremely. At all his ancient Inheritances, he had Houses, some of them thirty or forty Yards long; and at every House, Provision for his Entertainment, according to the Season. He kept as many Women, as he pleased; and when he laid down, one sat at his Head, and another at his Feet; but when he was up, one sat on his right Hand, and another on his left. And as he was weary of them, he bestowed them on such of his Servants, as had most pleased him, or best deserved them at his Hands.

ALTHO' both himself and People were very barbarous, and void of all Letters and Civility, yet was there such a Government among them, that the Magistrates for good Command, and the People for due Submission, excelled many Places, that would be counted very civil. He had under him above thirty inferior Kings or Werowances, who had Power of Life and Death, but were bound to govern according to the Customs of their Country. However, his Will was, in all Cases, their supreme Law, and must be obeyed. They all knew their several Lands, Habitations, and Limits to fish, fowl, or hunt in. But they held all of their great Werowance, Powhatan; to whom they paid Tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearl, Deer, Turkeys, wild Beasts, and Corn. All his Subjects reverenced him, not only as a King, but as half a God; and it was curious
Boole II. The History of VIRGINIA. 55

to behold, with what Fear and Adoration they obeyed him. For at his Feet they presented whatever he commanded; and a Frown of his Brow would make their greatest Spirits tremble. And indeed it was no Wonder; for he was very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such, as offended him, with Variety of Cruelty and the most exquisite Torture.

When Smith was presented to him, he was about sixty Years of Age, something hoary, and of a savage Majesty and Grandeur. He sat before a Fire, upon a wooden Throne, like a Bedstead, cloathed with a great Robe of Raccoon Skins, and with a Coronet of Feathers about his Head. On either Hand, sat a young Wench, of about sixteen or eighteen Years of Age; and along each Side of the House, a Row of Men, and behind them, as many Women, painted and adorned in their best Manner. When Smith entered, all the People gave a Shout; and the Queen of Appomattox was appointed to bring him Water to wash his Hands, and another brought a Bunch of Feathers, instead of a Towel, to dry them. After that, having feasted him in their best Manner, a long Consultation was held; at the Conclusion of which, two great Stones were brought before Powhatan, and Smith was dragged to them, and his Head laid thereon, in order to have his Brains beat out with Clubs. But Pocahontas, the King’s darling Daughter, when no Entreaty could prevail, got his Head into her Arms, and laid her own upon it, to save his Life. Whereupon Powhatan was persuaded to let him live, to make himself Hatchets, and her Bells, Beads, and Copper. For the King himself would make his own Robes, Shoes, Bows, Arrows, and Pots; and would hunt, plant, and do every thing else, like the rest; and therefore they thought him of all Occupations, as well as themselves. And besides this surprising Tenderness and Affection of Pocahontas, who was at that Time about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, Captain Smith received many Services from Nantaquaus, the Emperor’s Son. He was a Youth of the comeliest and most manly Person, and of the highest Spirit and Courage, of any in the Court of Powhatan; and he embraced Smith’s Interest with much Warmth and Heartiness, and did him many Acts of Friendship and Kindness.

Two Days after, Powhatan, having disguised himself in the most frightful Manner, he could, caused Captain Smith to be carried to a great House in the Woods, and there to be left alone on a Mat by the Fire. Not long after, from behind a Mat, which divided the House, was made the most doleful Noise, he had ever heard; and then Powhatan, with about two Hundred more, as frightful as himself,
self, came to him, and told him, they were now Friends, and he should immediately go to James-Town, to send him two great Guns and a Grindstone; for which he would give him the Country of Capahowick, and ever after esteem him, as his Son Nantaquaus. Captain Smith put little Confidence in his Words, and expected every Minute, even till he got to James-Town, to be put to one Kind of Death or other. But Powhatan sent him off immediately, with twelve Guides; and having lodged that Night in the Woods, he arrived the next Morning early at the Fort.

And thus Captain Smith, after seven Weeks Captivity, returned to James-Town, with the Advantage of being much improved in the Knowledge of the Country and their Language. He used his Guides with the utmost Kindness; and shewed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty Servant, two Demi-Culverins and a Mill-stone, to carry to their Master. Their Weight was sufficient to deter them from the Attempt; but when they saw him discharge them, loaded with Stones, among the Boughs of a great Tree, hung with Icicles, the Terror of the Report, and the Ratling of the Boughs and Ice, so frightened the poor Savages, that they ran away, half dead with Fear. But having regained some Conference with them, he gave them such Toys for themselves, and sent Powhatan, his Women, and Children, such Presents, as gave a general Satisfaction.

At James-Town every thing was in Confussion, and the strongest were preparing once more to run away with the Bark. But Smith, with the Hazard of his Life, forced her the third time, to stay or sink in the River. And the next Day, several combined with the President, to put him to Death by the Levitical Law, for the Lives of Robinson and Emry, whom, they said, he had led to their End, and was consequently the Author of their Death. But he quickly took such Order with those Lawyers, that he laid them by the Heels, till he sent some of them Prisoners to England. And then, by his Relation of the Plenty, he had seen, among the Natives, especially at Werowocomoco, and of the State and Bounty of Powhatan, till then unknown, he very much appeased their Fears, and revived their dead Spirits. And Pocahontas, with her Attendants, ever once in four or five Days, brought him so much Provision, as saved the Lives of many, who must otherwise have perished with Hunger. Several others also of the Natives repaired daily to the Fort, with such Provisions, as sufficiently served them from Hand to Mouth. Part they always brought Smith, as Presents from their Kings or Pocahontas; and he,
as their Market-Clerk, set the Price upon the rest. So much had he astonished and enchanted those poor souls, whilst their Prisoner, that they esteemed him as a Demi-God, and were ready, at his Beck, to do, whatever he commanded. And the God, who created all things, they knew, he adored as his God, and would, in their Discourse, call him the God of Captain Smith.

And this their high Opinion was much increased by the Arrival of Captain Newport, whom Smith, among them, called his Father, nearly about the time, that he had fore-told. For the Treasurer and Council in England sent two Ships, the latter End of this Year, with a Supply of Provisions, and an hundred and twenty Men. These came, well furnished with all things, that could be imagined necessary, as Captain Smith tells us. But however, we must always make some Allowance in his Account of these things. For he was a very great Friend to Sir Thomas Smith; and we shall see hereafter, from several authentick Papers, but especially from a Representation of our General Assembly, among the Records in the Capitol, that that Officer was most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, particularly in this Matter of Supplies. One of these Ships was commanded by Captain Newport, the other by Captain Francis Nelson, an honest Man and expert Mariner. But such was the Lewardness of his Ship, that tho' he was within Sight of Cape-Henry, yet by contrary Winds and Stormy Weather, he was driven off the Coast, and forced to the West-Indies, to repair his Masts, and to get a Recruit of Wood and Water. But before, this, the President and Council so much envied Smith's Esteem among the Natives, altho' they all equally participated of the good Effects of it, that to raise their Credit and Authority above his, they would give them four times as much for their Commodities, as he had appointed. And now, out of Joy for the Arrival of this first Supply, and to gratify the Mariners, they gave them free Liberty to trade, as they pleased. So that in a short time, what was before bought for an Ounce of Copper, could not be had for a Pound. To which Captain Newport's profuse Presents to Powhatan were added, and gave the finishing Blow to their Trade. They served indeed to entertain and keep up the high Idea of Newport's Greatness, which Smith had raised in Powhatan, and made him very desirous to see him.

Accordingly the Bark was prepared, and a great Coil there was at James-Town to set him off. Captain Smith and Mr. Matthew Scrivener, a discreet and understanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Council,
Council, attended him with a Guard of thirty or forty chosen Men. When they came to Werowocomoco, Newport began to entertain many Fears and Suspicions of Treachery. But Smith, with twenty Men, undertook to encounter the worst, that could happen; and going ashore, was kindly conducted by two or three hundred Indians to the Town. Powhatan strained himself, upon this Occasion, to the utmost of his Greatness to entertain them, with great Shouts of Joy, Orations, and Protestations, and with the most sumptuous and plentiful Banquet, he could provide. He sat on a Bed of Mats, with a Pillow of Leather embroidered with Pearl and white Beads; and was clothed in a Robe of Skins, as large as an Irish Mantle. At his Head and Feet sat a handsome young Woman; and on each Side the House, twenty of his Concubines, with their Heads and Shoulders painted red, and a great Chain of white Beads about each of their Necks. Before them, sat his chief Men, in the like Order; and above forty Platters of fine Bread stood in two Files, on each Side of the Door. Four or five hundred People attended as a Guard; and Proclamation was made, that none, upon Pain of Death, should presume to do the English any Wrong or Discourtesy. And thus did Smith and he spend the Day, in a kind Renewal of their former Acquaintance, and in feasting, and seeing them dance and sing, and play their other Feats of Humour and Activity. And that Night, the English were quartered and lodged by Powhatan.

The next Morning, Newport came ashore, and they spent three or four Days more in feasting, and dancing, and trading. In all which time, Powhatan behaved himself with such Loaffins and State, and yet with so much Discretion, that they could not forbear admiring his natural Parts and Understanding. Scorning to trade, as his Subjects did, he told Newport, that he esteemed him a great Werowance, as well as himself; that it was not agreeable to their Dignity to trade, in that pedling Manner, for Trifles; and that therefore, if he would lay down all his Commodities together, he would chuse, what he liked, and give him their Value. Smith, who was their Interpreter, and knew Powhatan’s Disposition, told the Company, his Intent was only to cheat them. But Newport, thinking to out-brave this fately Barbarian in Oftentation and Greatness, and by his Bounty to obtain from him, whatever he pleased, accepted the Condition. And then Powhatan, having taken what he liked, valued his Corn at such a Rate, that they had not four Bushels, for what they expected twenty Hogheads. This bred some Distaffe between the two English Captains.
Captains. But Smith, smothering his Dislike before the Savages, glanced several Trifles in the Eyes of Powhatan, who soon fixed his Fancy on some blue Beads. He was a long time importunate to have them; but Smith valued them so much the higher, and told him they were composed of a rare Substance of the Colour of the Skies, and were not to be worn by any, but the greatest Kings in the World. This made him the more eager and mad for them; so that, for a Pound or two of blue Beads, he drew from him two or three hundred Bushels of Corn, and yet parted in good Friendship. Upon this Voyage, Newport gave Powhatan a Boy, named Thomas Savage, whom he called his Son; and Powhatan gave him Namontack, a Servant of his, of a shrewed and subtle Capacity.

From Werowocomoco they went to Pamunkey, where they were feafted in like Manner by Opechancanough. Smith fitted him also, at the same Rates, with blue Beads; which, by this Means, grew into such Estimation, that none durst wear them, but their great Kings, or their Wives and Children. At length, weighing from thence, they returned to James-Town; where this new Supply of Corn being lodged with the rest, their Storehouse was by some Accident fired, and so the Town, which, being thatched with Reeds, burnt with that Fiercenes and Violence, as soon consumed their wooden Fortifications, with their Arms, Apparel, and Bedding, and much private Goods and Provision. The good Mr. Hunt loft all his Library, with every thing else that he had, except the Cloaths on his Back; yet no one ever heard him murmer or repine at it.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate Accident, they had yet a tolerable Stock of Oatmeal, Meal, and Corn, had not the Ship loitered fourteen Weeks in the Country, when she might as well have been gone in fourteen Days. For they thereby helped to consume a great Part of the Colony’s Store, and near all the Provisions, sent to be landed. When they departed, they left them what little they thought proper to spare; which they were glad to receive, and make up an Account, highly commending their Care and Providence, lest they should discourage the Council at home from sending any more. Yet those Persons, who had either Money, spare Cloaths, Credit for Bills of Exchange, Gold Rings, Furs, or any such valuable Commodities, were always welcome to this floating Tavern. Such was their Necessity and Misfortune, to be under the Lash of those vile Commanders, and to buy their own Provisions at fifteen times their Value; suffering them to feaft at their Charge, whilst themselves were obliged to fast, and yet
dare not repine, lest they should incur the Censure of being factious and seditious Persons. By these Means and Management, the Colony was rather burthened than relieved, by the vast Charge of this Ship; and being reduced to Meal and Water, and exposed, by the Loss of their Town, to the most bitter Cold and Frost, above half of them died. Smith indeed and Scrivener endeavoured to correct all Abuses, and to put things into a better Posture; but they could do nothing to Effect, being overpowered by the President and his Party, who had long before this laid aside their Deference to Smith's Judgment and Management.

About this time also, there sprung up a very troublesome Sect of Gold-finders, which was headed by Captain Martin, and warmly embraced by Newport. There was no Thought, no Discourse, no Hope, and no Work, but to dig Gold, wash Gold, refine Gold, and load Gold. And notwithstanding Captain Smith's warm and judicious Representations, how absurd it was, to neglect other things of immediate Use and Necessity, to load such a drunken Ship with gilded Dust; yet was he over-ruled, and her Returns made in a Parcel of glittering Dirt, which is found in various Parts of the Country, and which they very fanguinely concluded to be Gold-Dust. And in her they sent home Mr. Wingfield and Captain Archer, to seek some better Place of Employment in England. For they had assumed many empty Titles of Offices here, as Admirals, Recorders, Chronologers, Justices of the Peace and of the Courts of Plea, with other such idle and insignificant Pretensions.

And now Martin and the President carrying all things as they pleased, by their Faction, lived in great Splendor by the Sale of the Store's Commodities, as if they had been their proper and hereditary Revenue. And the Spring approaching, Captain Smith and Mr. Scrivener prepared Fields for Corn, and applied themselves to rebuild James-Town, and repair the Church, Store-house, and Fortifications. But whilst they were all busily engaged at their several Labour, Captain Nelson, who had been driven off the Coast, as was before said, and as they all thought, unexpectedly arrived, to their great Joy. He had been very careful and provident, and had fed his Company on what he got at the West-India Islands; so that the Provisions he now landed, joined to their former Store, were sufficient to support them half a Year, according to their present Allowance. He himself also freely imparted whatever he had; and by his fair and generous Behaviour, he got the Good-word and Love of the whole Colony. And the President,
ident, to send some good News by this Ship, ordered Cap-
tain Smith, with sixty able Men, to discover the Country
of the Monacan, or as they were afterwards called, the Ma-
nakin Indians; a Nation above the Falls of James River,
not subject to Powhatan, but professed Enemies to him and
his Dominions. For that strange Blood-thirstiness, and, as
it were, judicial Infatuation, of warring against and exter-
mating each other, which at present infests our Indians,
and has been the Caufe of the utter Extirpation of moift of
the Nations on this Continent, was even then rooted in their
Nature, and may be observed in the oldeft Accounts that
we have of them. However, as it was the Time of plant-
ing Corn, and this Ship was to be dif patched, Captain Smith
thought tho fe and other things more urgent at that time,
and therefore deferred the Discovery, till he could perform
it with less Charge and more Leifure.

When Newport left the Country, Powhatan prefented
him with twenty Turkies, and in Return demanded twenty
Swords, which were immediately fent him. Afterwards
he prefented Captain Smith with the like Number; but
having no Swords in Return, he was highly offended, and
ordered his People to take them by Stratagem or Force.
So that they became infufferably troublefome and infolent,
would furprife the Englifh at their Work, and feize their
Swords at the very Ports of James-Town. The President
and Martin, who now bore the Sway, would keep their
Houfes, or do any thing, rather than tranfgress a strict
Command from England, not to offend them. But at
length they happened to meddle with Captain Smith, who
gave them a rough Encounter, hunted them up and down
the Ifland, and fefed seven, whom he whipped and impris-
foned. By this and other fmart Proceedings, he brought
them to Submission; and they unanimously confefled, that
they acted by Powhatan’s Direction, in order to get Swords
from the Englifh, to cut their own Throats; and they like-
wise discovered, how, where, and when, this Defign was
to be put in Execution; all which was confirmed by many
concurrent Circumftances. But Powhatan, finding that
things went not according to his De f ire and Intent, fent Po-
cabontas with Prefents, to excuse himfelf for the Injuries
done by fome of his ungovernable Captains; and he defired
their Liberty for this time, with Affurances of his Love
and Friendship for ever. And Smith having given them a
proper Correction, delivered them to Pocabontas; for whole
Sake alone he pretended to fave their Lives, and give them
their Liberty. Thus, without the Death of one Man, he
reftra ined their Infolence, and brought them into fuch per-
fear and Obedience, that his very Name was sufficient to fright them; whereas before they had sometimes Peace and War twice in a Day, and seldom a Week passed without some Treachery or Ambuscade. But the peaceable Council were highly offended at these Proceedings, and expostulated warmly with him for his Rashness and Cruelty.

There had been a Dispute between Martin and Smith, whether this Ship should be laded with Cedar or Dirt. But her Freight being concluded to be Cedar, she was, by the Diligence of her Captain and Smith, quickly dispatched. In her Captain Martin, being always sickly and unserviceable, and having his Head full of the idle Whimsey of a Gold Mine, was most willingly admitted to return to England. In these two Ships, besides Mr. Scrivener, came Walter Ruffel, Doctor of Physic, Richard Fetherstone, and some others of Note. And whilst Nelson and Smith were engaged in loading the Ship, Mr. Scrivener was neither idle nor slow in carrying on the Works of Jamestown. But the President's Prodigality and State went so deep, and was so sensibly felt in their small Store, that he and Smith were obliged to bind him and his Parasites to the Rules of Proportion.

On the second of June Captain Nelson fell down the River, and was accompanied to the Capes by Smith, who, in an open Boat of about three Tons Burthen, together with Dr. Ruffel and thirteen more, was going to discover Chesapeake Bay. Parting with the Ship at Cape-Henry, they stood over to those Islands, which were then called, after him their first Discoverer, Smith's Islands. The first People they saw, were two grim and stout Indians on Cape Charles, with long Poles, like Javelins, headed with Bone. They sternly demanded, what they were, and what they wanted; but grew afterwards more kind, and directed them to Accomack, the Habitation of their Werowance. This King treated them very kindly, and was the comeliest, most proper, and civil Indian, they had met with. They spoke the Language of Powhatan, and at that time lay under the Misfortune of a strange Mortality, which they attributed to a Miracle. Passing on from thence, they coasted it along, and searched every Inlet and Bay, that seemed proper for Harbours or Habitations; and many Harbours they found for small Vessels, but none fit to receive large Ships. Then spying many Islands out in the Bay, they bore up for them; but before they could reach them, there rose such a Guff of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, and Rain, that with great Difficulty they escaped being foundered. These Islands they named Ruffel's Islands,
after Dr. Ruffel; and they are the same with those now called Tanger-Islands. Being in Want of Water, and finding none in these Islands, they were obliged to follow the next Eastern Channel, which brought them into the River Wighcocomoco, which is the River now called Pokomoke. The Northern Point, at the Mouth, they called Watkins's Point, and a Hill, on the South of Pokomoke Bay, Keel's Hill, after two of the Company. Running up the River, the Natives at first threatened, with great Fury, to assault them; but at last became very tractable and kind. They dug in several Places, and searched their Habitations, yet could get but little Water, and that mere Puddle. Yet such was their Distress two Days after, that they would have refused a Quart full of Gold for a Point of that Puddle. 

DEPARTING from thence, they found on a high Point of Land, which they called Point Player, a Pond of fresh Water, but so exceedingly hot, that they supposed it to be some Bath. Then standing over to some other Islands, there arose such another Thunder-Gust, that their Mast and Sail was blown overboard, and such mighty Waves over-racked their Boat, that they could scarce, with much Labour in bailing out the Water, keep her from sinking. Two Days they staid among these Islands, and because of the Gufts and Storms that then happened, they called the Place Limbo; but they are the same, which have since been named Wats's Islands. Having repaired the Loss of their Sail with their Shirts, they stood over again to the Eastern Shore, and fell in with a pretty convenient River, then called Cuscarawock. This is, what is laid down in our present Charts by the Name of Wighcocomoco, by whatever Accident that Name hath shifted, in Process of Time, from Pokomoke River to this. Here the Natives opposed them very furiously; but leaving some Toys in their Huts, they brought some of them over at last, to be very fond and obliging. On this River lived the Nations of Sarapinagh, Nause, Arsek, and Nantaquack, who were the best Merchants and greatest Traders of all the Indians of this Country. They had the finest Furs, and made large Quantities of the best Roanoke; which was a Sort of white Bead, that occasioned as much Discontent among those Barbarians, as Gold and Silver among Christians. They told the English, of, and highly extolled, a great Nation, called the Massawomecks; in Search of whom they returned again, by Limbo, into the Bay. And finding the Coast of the Eastern Shore nothing but shallow, broken Isles, and for the most Part without fresh Water, they stood away from
from thence across the Bay, bearing a little upwards, and fell in on the Western Side, above the Mouth of Patuxent River, against some high Cliffs, which they called Ricards's Cliffs. From hence they sailed thirty Leagues farther Northward, without finding any Inhabitants. The Coast was all along well watered, but very mountainous and barren, except the Valleys, which were rich and fertile, but extremely thick wooded, and therefore abounded in Wolves, Bears, Deer, and other wild Beasts. They passed by many Coves and small Streams. The first they found navigable for a Ship, they called Bolus River, because the Clay in many Places under the Cliffs, grew up in red and white Knobs, like Gum out of Trees, and they concluded it to be Bole Armeniac and Terra Sigillata. This River, by its Situation and Bearings, must be the same with Patapscio in Maryland.

And now Captain Smith's Crew, who at first feared nothing so much as his too hasty Return, began to be very much foiled and fatigued. They had lain twelve or fourteen Days in that open Boat, were often tired at the Oars, and their Bread was spoiled and rotten with the Rain; so that they were very importune with him to return. But he reminded them of the memorable Resolution of Sir Ralph Lane's Company, in the Discovery of the River Matorax, who insisted on his going forward, as long as they had a Dog left, which, being boiled with Saffras Leaves, would afford them a rich Repast in their Return. And he told them, what a Shame it would be, to oblige him to return, with so much Provision as they then had, when they could scarce say, where they had been, or give any Account of what they were sent to discover: That they could not deny, but he had shared with them in the worst of what was past; and he was willing, to take to himself the worst Part of what was to come: That it was not likely any thing worse should befall them, than what had already happened; and that to return was as dangerous, as to proceed. He therefore advised them to resume their lost Courage; for he was determined not to desist, till he had seen the Massawomecks, found Patowmack, or traced the Head of the Bay. But after this, they were detained by the Wind and Weather three Days; which added such a Discouragement, that three or four fell sick, whose Dissatisfaction and piteous Complaints at last prevailed with him to return.

On the 16th of June, they fell in with the Mouth of Patowmack. Their Fears being now gone, and Men recovered, they all agreed to take some Pains in the Discovery of
of that seven-mile broad River. For altho' Smith had been
carried over it in his Captivity, yet he knew it not again by
the Mouth. For thirty Miles they found no Inhabitants; but
afterwards were conducted, by two Savages, up a little
bayed Creek, towards Nominy, where they discovered the
Woods laid with Ambuscades, to the Number of three or
four Thousand Indians, strangely grimmed and disguised,
and making a horrible shouting and yelling. They made
many Bravadoes, and Smith prepared, with as great seem-
ing Willingness, to encounter them. But commanding
some Muskets to be discharged on Purpose, the grazing of
the Bullets on the Water, together with the Report and
Eccho of the Woods, so frighted and amazed them, that
they threw down their Arms, and became very kind and
hearty Friends. They owned, they were commanded to
betray that Party of English, by the Direction of Pow­
hatan, who was desired so to do, by some discontented
Persons at James-Town, because Captain Smith obliged them
to stay in the Country against their Will. They afterwards
went up the River, as high as they could with their Boat;
and were received in some Places kindly, and in others in a
hostile Manner. Up a small River, then called Quiquoughg,
which I take to be Patowmack Creek, was a Mine like
Antimony. In this the Indians dug, and washing away the
Dros in a clear Brook, which ran by, they put up the Re­
mainder in little Bags, and sold it all over the Country, to
deck their Bodies, Faces, and Idols; which made them
look like Blackamores, dusted over with Silver. Newport
had carried some of these Bags home, and assured them,
that they were found, upon Trial, to contain half Silver.
Being therefore very eager after this Mine, they obtained
Guides from Japazawus, King of Patowmack, who lived at
the Mouth of that little River, and went up to it; but all,
they got, proved of no Value. Towards the Falls of Pa­
towmack, they met several Parties of Indians in Canoes,
loaded with the Flesh of Bears, Deer, and other wild
Beasts, which they generously imparted to them; and in
divers Places, they saw that Abundance of Fish, lying with
their Heads above Water, that their Barge driving among
them, for Want of a Net; they attempted to catch them
with a frying Pan. But they found that a bad Instrument
to catch Fish.

From Patowmack they set Sail for Rappahanack, or as
it was by many called, Toppahanack River; where the Cap­
tain intended to visit his Captivity-Acquaintance. But their
boat, by Reason of the Lowness of the Tide, ran aground
on some Shoals, at the Mouth of that River, where they
F
spied many Fish, lurking in the Sedge. The Captain diverted himself by nailing them to the Ground with his Sword; and the rest betaking themselves to the same Sport, they took more Fish in an Hour, than they could eat in a Day. But Captain Smith, taking from his Sword a Fish, like a Thornback, with a long Tail, in the Midst of which was a poisoned Sting, of two or three Inches Length, bearded like a Saw on each Side, she struck her Sting into his Wrist an Inch and a half. No Blood or Wound was seen, but only a little blue Spot; yet such was the Extremity of Pain, and his Hand, Arm, and Shoulder, were so swoln in four Hours Time, that they all, with much Sorrow, expected his Death, and prepared his Grave in an Island by, as he himself directed. But it pleased God, by the Application of an Oil, which Dr. Ruffel had with him, his Torment was so eas'd and affwaged before Night, that to the great Joy of the Company, he eat of the Fish for his Supper. And in Memory of this Accident, they called the Isle Stingray Island, after the Name of the Fish.

Their Provisions being near spent, and being also detTered by this Misfortune, they set Sail immediately for James-Town; and passing by the Mouths of Pinkatank and Pamunkey Rivers, they arrived the next Day at Kecquotan. From thence they proceeded up to Warrafqueake; where trimming their Barge with painted Streamers, and other such Devices, they were taken for a Spanish Frigot at James-Town, where they arrived the 21st of July. There they found the last Supply of Men all sick; and of the rest, some lame, some bruised, and all in a Tumult and Uproar against the unreasonable Pride and Cruelty of the President, whom they would as strangely have tormented with Revenge, had it not been for this seafonable Arrival of the Discovery Barge. He had riotously consumed the Store, and had greatly harrassed and fatigued the People, in building an unnecessary House of Pleasure for himself in the Woods. But their Fury was much appeased, by the good News of this Discovery, and by the Hopes, from some mistaken Interpretation of the Savage's Account, that our Bay reached to the South-Sea, or somewhere near it; but above all, by the depoeming Ratcliffe, and Captain Smith's taking the Government upon himself.

Smith substituted his good Friend Mr. Scrivener, who then lay exceeding ill of a Calenture, in the Presidency; and having settled all things to his own, and the People's Satisfaction, he laid but three Days at James-Town. For the 24th of July, he set forward, with twelve Men, to finish the Discovery of the Bay. They were detained tw...
or three Days at Kiequotan, by contrary Winds, where they were kindly entertained and feafted by the King, and in Diversion fired several Rockets, which greatly terrified and astonifhed the poor Savages. From thence they an­chored, the first Night, at Stingray Island; and the next Day, croffing the Mouth of Patowmack, they hafted to the River Bolus. A little beyond that, they found the Bay divided into four Streams, all which they searched, as far as they could fail. Two of them they found inhabited, the Rivers Susquefahanock, and Tockwogh, since called Saffdfs River. In croffing the Bay, they met seven or eight Can­oes, full of Maffawomecks, a great and powerful Nation of Indians inhabiting upon some of the Lakes of Canada, and the Original perhaps of thofe, at present known by the Name of the Senecas or Six Nations. They were at that Time profefi Enemies, and a great Terror, to the Nations dwelling on the upper Part of our Bay, and had then been at War with the Tockwogs. After mutual Threats of Af­fault between them and the English, they were at laft in­duced to go on board the Barge; and by interchangeable Presents becoming good Friends, they depaft without farther Intercourfe or Conversation.

The next Day, entering the River Tockwogh, they were invironed with a Fleet of Canoes, full of armed Men. But coming to a Parley, and the Tockwogs feeing the Maffe­womeck Arms, which they had prefented to the English the Day before, and which the English made them believe, they had taken in War, they were soon reconciled, and con­ducted them to their Town. It was pallifadoed round, mantled with the Barks of Trees, had Scaffolds, like Mounts, and was breafed very formally. The Men, Wo­men, and Children did their utmost to exprefs their Affec­tion; and welcomed them with Songs, Dances, Fruits, and Furs, and with whatever else they had. Here they saw many Hatchets, Knives, and Pieces of Iron and Brails, which, they told them, they had from the Susquefahanocks, a mighty Nation, dwelling on the chief of the four Branches at the Head of the Bay, two Days Journey above the Fails of that River. They prevailed with two Tockwogs to go and invite fome of the Susquefahanocks to them. In three or four Days, fify of thofe gigantic People came down, with Prefents of various Kinds; and the Wind being too high for their Canoes, five of their chief Werowances came boldly on board the English Barge, and croffed the Bay to Tockwogh.

This Nation of the Susquefahanocks could mufier a­bout fix Hundred fighting Men, and lived in pallifadoed Town,
68 The History of VIRGINIA. Book II.

Towns, to defend themselves against the Massawomecks, their mortal Enemies. They were very large, well-proportioned Men, and appeared like Giants to the English and other Indians; yet seemed of an honest and simple Disposition, and were scarcely restrained from adoring the English, as Gods. And their Language and Attire were very suitable to their Stature and Appearance. For their Language founded deep, and solemn, and hollow, like a Voice in a Vault. Their Attire was the Skins of Bears and Wolves, so cut, that the Man's Head went through the Neck, and the Ears of the Bear were fastened on his Shoulders, while the Nose and Teeth hung dangling down upon his Breast. Behind was another Bear's Face split, with a Paw hanging at the Nose. And their Sleeves, coming down to their Elbows, were the Necks of Bears, with their Arms going through the Mouth, and Paws hanging to the Nores. One had the Head of a Wolf, hanging to a Chain, for a Jewel; and his Tobacco Pipe was three Quarters of a Yard long, carved with a Bird, a Deer, and other Devices at the great End; which was sufficient to beat out a Man's Brains. They measured the Calf of the largest Man's Leg, and found it three Quarters of a Yard about, and all the rest of his Limbs were in Proportion; so that he seemed the tallest and most goodly Personage, they had ever beheld. His Arrows were five Quarters long, headed with the Splinters of a white chrysal-like Stone, in Form of a Heart, an Inch broad, and an Inch and half, or more, long. These he carried at his Back, in a Wolf's Skin for his Quiver, with his Bow in one Hand, and his Club in the other.

The Manner of the English was daily to have Prayers with a Psalm; at which Solemnity those poor Barbarians wondered greatly. Prayers being done, the Susquehanocks held a Consultation; and then began in a very passionate Manner to hold up their Hands to the Sun, with a most frightful Song. Then embracing Captain Smith, they began to adore him in like Manner. He rebuked them for it; but they persisted, till their Song was finished. After which, with a strange furious Action, and a dismal Voice, they began an Oration of their Love; which ended, they covered him with a large painted Bear's Skin. One stood ready with a great Chain of white Beads, weighing six or seven Pounds, which he hung about his Neck. The others had eighteen Mantles, made of divers Sorts of Skins sewed together; all which, with many other Baubles, they laid at his Feet stroaking their Hands about his Neck, for his Creation to be their Governor and Protector. They promised him Aids of Men and Victuals, and even offered all, that they
they had, if he would stay with them, to defend and re-
venge them on the Maffawomecks. But he was obliged to
leave them at Tockwogh, very sorrowful for his Departure;
yet promised to visit them again the next Year. They
knew nothing of Powhatan and his Territories, but the
Name; and they informed the English, that their Hatchets
and other Commodities came originally from the French of
Canada.

HAVING searched all the Rivers and Inlets, worth
Note, they passed down the Bay, naming all the remark-
able Head-lands and Places after some of the Company or
their Friends. On the River Patuxen they found the
People tractable and civil above all others. They, as well as
the Patowmacks, were very urgent with Smith to revenge
them on the Maffawomecks, which he promised to do, but
was afterwards crossed in his Purpose. For depending upon
the Assistance and Provisions of those two Nations, and of
the Susquehanocks, he was very willing to hazard his Per-
son in the Expedition; and therefore, after his Return, he
petitioned the Council for forty Men, to effect such a Con-
quest and Discovery. But the Council, envying his In-
dustry and Success, and deterred perhaps also by the Diffi-
culty of the Undertaking, refused to risk the Lives of so
many Men, in so long and so dangerous an Enterprise.

IN the Discovery of Rappahanock River, they were
kindly received and entertained by the People of Moraugh-
tacund. Here they met with an old Friend and Acquain-
tance, one Mesco, a lusty Indian of Wiccoscoco on the
River Patowmack. They supposed him some Frenchman's
Son, because he had a thick, black, bushy Beard, and the
Indians seldom have any at all. And he was not a little
proud of this, and to see so many of his Countrymen. He
was very officious and useful to the English; and advised
them, by all Means not to pass over to the Rappahanocks,
who would certainly kill them for being Friends with the
Moraughtacunds, who had lately stolen three of their
King's Women. But thinking, he only said this to secure
their Trade to his Friends, they crossed the River to the
Rappahanocks. There, under Pretence of Trade, they were
invited up Rappahanock Creek, where they had laid an Am-
buff; and after a smart Skirmish, in which many Indians
were slain and wounded, the English came off Victors with-
out the least Hurt. Having driven them up into the Woods,
they seized three or four Canoes, full of Commodities,
which, with some Arrows, they had gathered up, they
presented to Mesco for his Kindness. And he, on his Part,
received them in the most triumphant Manner, and in the
bed
The History of Virginia. Book I.

They spent the rest of the Day in fitting up their Boat with a Breast-work of MassawomeckTargets, which they had received from them, as Presents, at the Head of the Bay, and which had been of singular Use in the Battle with the Rappahanocks. They were made of small Twigs, woven together so firmly with Strings of wild Hemp and Silk-grafs, that no Arrow could possibly pierce them. The next Morning, they set Sail up the River; and Mosco followed along the Shore, and at last desired to go with them in the Boat. As they passed by Piscacao, Matchopeake, and Mecuppm, three Towns, situate on the North Side of the River, on high, white, clay Cliffs, with a low Marsh over against them, and the River but narrow (the Place, where the Bristol Works now are) thirty or forty Rappahanocks had so disguised themselves with Branches, that they took them for little Bushes, growing in the Sedge. They saw their Arrows often strike against the Targets, and drop into the River; and at last Mosco, falling flat on his Face in the Boat, cried out; The Rappahanocks. They soon perceived them to be the Bushes in the Sedge, which at the first Volley fell down. And when they had passed about half a Mile further, they again shewed themselves, finging and dancing very merrily. But they were kindly treated by the rest of the Nations to the Falls, and they even used their utmost Interest with Mosco, to bring the English to them.

Between Secobeck, on the South, and Massawomeck, on the North Side of the River, there was a small Island or two, which made the River broader, than ordinary. Here Mr. Richard Fetherston, one of their Company died; who, from his first coming to the Country, had behaved himself honestly, valiantly, and industriously. They buried him in a little Bay, which they then called Fetherston's Bay, with a Volley of their Arrows. But the rest of the Last Supply, who had, on the Expedition, been miserably sick and hurried with their Seasoning, had by this time perfectly recovered their Health.

The next Day, they sailed up as high as their Boat could go, setting up Créfes, and carving their Names on the Trees; which they constantly did at all the highest Places, they went to. As they ranged about at the Falls, the Sentinel twas an Arrow fall by him; and giving the Alarm, they perceived about an hundred nimble Indians, skipping from Tree to Tree, and letting fly their Arrows as fast as they could. But after half an Hour's Skirmish, they all vanished as suddenly, as they came. As the English returned from the Pursuit, they found an Indian, lying as dead
dead, shot in the Knee. Mosco, who had been of great Service in the Battle, was as furious to beat out his Brains, as ever Dog was against a Bear. But protecting him from his Rage, and carrying him to the Surgeon, who attended to cure the Captain's Hurt of the Stingray, he was within an Hour so far recovered, that he both eat and spoke. He was Brother to the King of Hassininga, one of the four Nations of the Mannahoocks. These were a People, dwelling above the Falls of Rappahanock, Neighbours to, and in strict Friendship and Alliance with the Manakins against Powhatan and his Territories. For the Manakins were not confined to one Place or Town, as is vulgarly thought, but spread all that Country, from a small Distance above the Falls of James River up to the Mountains, in several Towns; and they were the Heads or Chiefs of the League and Confederacy of the upland and mountain Indians against the Power and Tyranny of Powhatan. These Mannahoocks, their Neighbours and Allies, lived on small Streams, in a hilly Country, chiefly by hunting; and were then come down to fish at Mohaskahod, a small Hunting Town, on the North Side of the Falls of Rappahanock, and the Boundary between them and the Nantaughtacunds, a large Nation on the navigable River, below the Falls. The English asked their Prisoner; Why they had endeavoured to destroy them, who came to them in Peace, to seek their Friendship. He answered, that they heard, the English were a People, come from under the World, to take their World from them. Being asked; how many Worlds, he knew, he said, he knew none but that, which was under the Sky, that covered him, and which consisted of the Powhatans, the Manakins, and the Massawomecks. And he told them, that the last dwelt on a great Water, had many Boats, and so many Men, that they warred on all the World besides. After many other Questions concerning the Country, especially beyond the great Mountains, to which he could give no satisfactory Answers, they presented him with some Toys, and persuaded him to go along with them. But he pressed them much to stay the coming of the Mannabock Kings, who, for their good Usage to him, should be their Friends. And notwithstanding Mosco's eager Representations to be gone, they resolved to stay till Night, preparing themselves to entertain, whatever should come.

All this while the King of Hassininga was seeking the rest, and held a long Consultation, what to do. When the English had weighed, and were gone, they followed them all Night, yelling, and hollowing, and shooting their Arrows, and would come to no Terms or Discourse. But in the
Morning, being brought to a Parley, Amoroleck, the Prisoner, held a long Discourse with them. He told them, how good the English were, and how kindly they had used him; that they had a Patawmack with them, that loved them as his Life, and would have slain him, had they not prevented it; and that he might have his Liberty if they would be Friends; to which he advised them by all means, since to do them any Hurt was impossible. Upon this they all hung their Bows and Quivers upon the Trees; and one came swimming aboard with a Bow tied on his Head, and another with a Quiver of Arrows. Having presented them to the Captain, he used them very kindly, and told them, that the other three Kings should do the same, and then the great King of his World should be their Friend. This was no sooner demanded, than performed; and so going ashore on a low moral Point of Land, those four Kings came, and received Amoroleck. And after many mutual Civilities and Presents, the English departed, leaving four or five hundred Mannahocks, singing and dancing, and making loud and barbarous Rejoicings.

In their Return down the River they visited all their Friends, who rejoiced much at their Victory over the Mannahocks. By their Intreaty, Captain Smith was induced to make Peace with the Rappahanocks; upon Condition, that they should present him the King's Bow and Arrows, and not offer to come armed, where he was; and that they should be Friends with the Moraughtacunds, his Friends, and give their King's Son a Hostage for the Performance. Accordingly, the Kings of Nantaughtacund and Pifafock met the English at the Place, where they first fought. There the King of Rappahanock presented his Bow and Arrows, and performed all, they demanded, except the delivering his Son. For having no other, he said, he could not live without him; and he offered in his Stead, to give up the three Women, which the Moraughtacunds had stolen from him. This was accepted; and the Women being brought, Captain Smith presented each of them with a Chain of Beads. Then causing the King of Rappahanock, of Moraughtacund, and Mosco to stand before him, he bid the King of Rappahanock take her, he loved best, Moraughtacund to chuse next, and to Mosco he gave the third. And thus was the Peace concluded and celebrated with feasting, singing, and dancing. And Mosco, to express his Love to the English, changed his Name to Uttafantasough, which signified in their Language, Stranger, and was the Name, by which they called the English. And then all the Indians, promising to be always their Friends, and to plant
plant Corn purposely for them; and the English, on their side, to provide Hatchets, Beads, and Copper for them; they departed, giving them a Volley of their Fire-Arms, which they returned with as loud Shouts and Cries, as their Strengths could utter.

That Night they anchored in the River Piankatank, and discovered it as high as it was navigable. But the People were gone out to hunting, except a few old Men, Women, and Children, that were tending their Corn. Of these they obtained a Promise of Part, when they should fetch it; as they had likewise done of all the Nations, where-ever they had been. Going from thence to Point Comfort, they were in a Bay on the South of the Mouth of York River, then called Gosnold's Bay, surprized, in the Night, with such a sudden Gust of Thunder and Rain, that they never expected more to see James-Town. But discerning the Land by the Flashes of Lightening, they avoided splitting on the Shore; till, by the Help of the same Light, they found Point Comfort, where they landed, and refreshed themselves the rest of the Night.

Having discovered so many Nations at a Distance, they thought it highly proper and necessary to know their near Neighbours, the Chesapeakes, and Nansemonds, of whom they had, as yet, only heard. Therefore setting Sail for the Southern Shore, they entered a narrow River, then called Chesapeake, but now Elizabeth, on which the Town of Norfolk stands. It had a good Channel, but some Shoals about the Entrance. They failed up six or seven Miles, and saw two or three little Garden-plots, with Houses, and the Shores overgrown with the largest Pines they had ever seen in the Country. But neither seeing, nor hearing any People, and their River being very narrow, they returned back, and coasted the Shore towards Nansemond, which they found to be chiefly Oyster-Banks. At the Mouth of Nansemond, they spied six or seven Indians, making their Weirs, who presently fled. But the English went ashore, and threw divers Toys where they were working, and so departed. They were not gone far, before the Indians returned, and began to sing, and dance, and call them back. One of them came voluntarily into their Boat, and invited them up the River to his House, which was in a little Island, where (as well as on the main Land against it) they saw many and large Corn-fields. He treated them with great Civility, and they in return, presented him, his Wife, and Children, with such Toys as highly pleased them. By that time the others being come, invited them higher up the River, under Pretence of going to their Houses likewise.
likewise. But they soon found, that they only intended to
decoy them up into the Narrows of the River, where the
whole Nations of the Nansemonds and Chesapeaks, were in
Ambush to receive them. Having discovered the Treachery,
they made the best of their Way down into the
Open, amidst the Shot of three or four hundred Indians,
which they returned from their Muskets with such Effect,
that they soon made them glad to take Shelter behind the
Trees. Above an hundred Arrows stuck in their Breast-
work of Massawomeck Targets, and about the Boat, yet
none was hurt. Only Anthony Bagnall, the Surgeon, was
shot in his Hat, and another in the Sleeve. Having gained
the Open against the Island, they seized on all their Canoes,
and resolved, upon Consultation, to burn every thing on
the Island at Night. In the mean while they began to cut
to Pieces their Canoes; at the Sight of which the Indians
threw down their Arms, and sued for Peace; which the
English granted, on Condition, they would bring their
King's Bow and Arrows, with a Chain of Pearl; and should,
when they came back again, give them four hundred
Baskets of Corn. Otherwise they threatened, to break all
their Canoes, to burn their Houses and Corn, and to de-
stroy all that they had. To these Conditions the Indians
most joyfully agreed; and flocking down in great Numbers
with their Baskets, they soon loaded their Boat with Corn,
and so parted good Friends.

And thus having viewed and reconnoitered all the Places
on the Bay, one of the finest perhaps and most commodious
Countries in the World, which Nature seems to have
formed for one noble and complete Dominion, but which
is since unhappily divided by the large Grant to the Lord
Baltimore, and having passed about three thousand Miles,
according to their own Computation, in that small and open
Boat, and in the Midst of many barbarous and savage Na-
tions, they returned with Joy and Triumph to James-
Town, where they arrived safe the 7th of September, 1608.
There they found Mr. Scrivener, and several others, well
recovered; some sick; many dead; the late President a
Prisoner for Mutiny; and the Corn, by Mr. Scrivener's
honest Diligence, gathered; but the Provisions in the Store
much injured by the Rain.

But whilst Capt. John Smith and others were thus industri-
ously engaged in making good this Settlement, the Second
or Northern Colony, granted by the Letters patent to the
Town of Plimoth, and others, was embraced and under-
taken by several Persons of Fortune and Distinction, and
particularly by Sir John Popham, Lord Chief-Justice of En-
gland.
He was a Gentleman of one of the greatest Families in the West of England, but is memorable to all Posterity for his infamous Partiality and Injustice in the Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh. However, he was a Person, at that Time, of great Power and Interest, and in high Esteem with many for Wisdom and Virtue; and having procured Men and Money, he sent Captain George Popham, as President, Captain Raleigh Gilbert, as Admiral, and many other Gentlemen in several Posts and Offices, with an hundred Men, to poise and settle the Country. They set Sail from Plymouth, the last of May, 1607, and fell in with some Islands, then called Monahigan. From thence they proceeded to the Continent, and settled upon a very barren and rocky Coast, at the Mouth of Sagadahock, a large navigable River, which must be either the River Saco in New-England, or else St. Juan in Acadia. But that Winter was so extremely cold and frozen, that they could not range much about, nor search the Country; and their Provision was so scanty, that they were obliged to send all, except forty five of their Company, back. Captain Popham, their President, died soon; and not long after, they were informed by the Ships that brought them Supplies, of the Death of the two principal Promoters and Supporters of the Undertaking, the Lord Chief-Justice Popham, and Sir John Gilbert. This last Gentleman, who was Brother, or perhaps rather Nephew, to the famous Sir Humphry Gilbert, before-mentioned, was chosen President of the Council for the Northern Colony. His Brother, Captain Raleigh Gilbert, Admiral of this Colony, succeeding to his Estate, was obliged to return to England, to enter upon his Inheritance, and take Care of his Affairs. And the rest also, being doubtful of proper Assistance and Encouragement, and having no Prospect in the Country, but of the most extreme Misery and Famine, all returned to England this Year 1608. And thus was this Plantation begun and ended in one Year; and that vast Grant, in which lay large Tracts of fine and noble Country, was stigmatized in the Gross, and despised, as a cold, barren, mountainous, and rocky Desert.

About this Time also, Captain Henry Hudson discovered Long-Island, New-York, Hudson's River, and the Parts adjacent. As the English were busily employed in their own Discoveries and Settlements, he could hope for but little Advantage from his own Country; and therefore he applied himself to the States-General of the United Provinces, and sold this important Discovery to them. But this Sale was always excepted against by the English, as the Discovery was made by his Majesty's Commission, and the Sale...
Sale passed without the King's Consent, to whom, of Right, all new Lands and Discoveries belong. However, the Dutch crept in by Degrees, built new Amsterdam, and other Towns, strongly fortified themselves, planted, and became a flourishing Colony.

Doctor Whitgift, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, a Man of a mild and gentle Disposition, having died four Years before this, was succeeded in that high Preferment by Dr. Richard Bancroft, a Person of a quite different Temper. He had very high Notions with Relation to the Government of both Church and State; and was accordingly a great Stickler for, and Promoter of, the King's absolute Power, and failed not to take all Occasions, to oblige the Puritans to conform to the Church of England. This Prelate's Harshness and Warmth caused many of that People to take the Resolution this Year of settling themselves in Virginia, and some were actually come off for that Purpose. But the Arch-bishop finding, that they were preparing in great Numbers to depart, obtained a Proclamation from the King, forbidding any to go, without his Majesty's express Leave. And this was the more readily granted, as the Court mortally hated that Sect, and were now afraid, that they would become too numerous and too powerful in Virginia.

In Virginia, on the 10th of September, by the Election of the Council, and the Request of the Colony, Captain Smith was invested with the Government; which, till then, he would by no Means accept, tho' often importuned to it. And now the building of Ratcliffe's Palace was stopped, and Works of more immediate Use and Necessity undertaken. The Church was repaired; the Store-house new covered; and a Place made ready for the Reception of the Supplies, they daily expected from England. The Fort was reduced into Form; the Order of the Watch was renewed; the Troops trained at each Setting of the Watch; and the whole Company every Saturday exercised, in the Plain towards the West, which was prepared for that Purpose, and called Smithfield; where sometimes above an hundred Indians would stand in Amazement, to behold how a File would batter a Tree, where the President had made them a Mark to shoot at. And now being the Time of gathering Corn, and of Plenty among the Indians, the Boats were trimmed for Trade, and sent out under the Command of Lieutenant Percy. But in their Way, meeting Captain Newport with the second Supply, he brought them back to James-Town.

Captain Newport was in reality an empty, idle, interested Man; very fearful and suspicious in Times of Danger and Difficulty; but a very great and important Person.
in his own Talk and Conceit. He had, by the Advantage of going to and fro, gained so much upon the Ear and Confidence of the Council and Company in England, that whatever he proposed, was, for the most part, concluded and resolved on. And upon this Voyage, he obtained a private Commission, not to return without a Lump of Gold, a Certainty of the South-Sea, or one of the lost Company, sent out by Sir Walter Ralegh. Besides, he brought an express Command, to discover the Country of the Manakins, with a Barge, for Conveniency of Carriage, to be taken into five Pieces, which they were to carry beyond the Falls, to convey them to the South-Sea. He likewise brought over a Crown for Powhatan, with Orders for his Coronation, and Presents of a Basin and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Cloaths, and other costly Novelties; which stately Kind of Court had this bad Effect, that it made him value himself too much, and overrate his Favour, which they had before much better for a plain Piece of Copper. In this Voyage came over many Persons of Distinction; Captain Peter Wynne, and Captain Richard Waldo, two old Soldiers and valiant Gentlemen, both appointed of the Council; Mr. Francis West, Brother to the Lord Delaware; Ralegh Croshaw, John Russel, John Codrington, Daniel Tucker, Mr. Hunt, Thomas Forrest, and others, to the Number of seventy Persons. In this Ship likewise arrived Mrs. Forrest, and Anne Burras, her Maid, the first Englishwomen ever in this Country. And eight Poles and Germans were sent, to make Pitch, Tar, Glass, Mills, and Soap-Ashes; which, when the Country was replenished with People and Necessaries, would have done exceedingly well, but in that their infant State, they were only a Burthen and Hindrance to the rest, who were sufficiently puzzled and employed to find Subsistence for themselves.

CAPTAIN Smith, whose Mind was solid and provident, and plainly forefaw the ill Consequence of spending that Time in these Projects, which ought to be employed in the speedy Dispatch of the Ship, and in trading and laying in a Store of Provisions for the Year, was much mortified and perplexed with these Orders, and strenuously opposed their Execution in Council. But Newport undertook to freight the Bark of twenty Tons with Corn, in going and returning from the Manakins; and to obtain another Load for her of Powhatan, from Werowocomoco. He also promised a large Proportion of Victuals from the Ship; which he was so far from performing, that the Colony was obliged to spare him three Hogheads of Corn to victual him homeward. In short, he represented Smith's Opposition, as a mere Device,
to hinder his Journey, that he might himself effect the Discovery; and he said, that his Cruelty to the Indians might well be a Means to hinder these Designs, and to make them seek Revenge. Smith's Opinion being therfore over-ruled by the unanimous Voice of the Council, all other Works and Designs were laid aside, and an hundred and twenty chosen Men appointed for Newport's Guard on the Expedition.

But Smith, to clear himself of these Suspicions, and to shew, that the Indians were not so desperate, as was pretended by Newport, and how willing he was to assist, as far as he could, undertook himself to carry their Message to Powhatan, and to invite him to James-Town to receive his Presents. And taking with him only Captain Waldo, and three more, he went across by Land, about twelve Miles, to Werowocomoco, where he passed the River in an Indian Canoe. Powhatan, being thirty Miles off, was immediately sent for; and in the mean time, Pocahontas and her Women entertained him with a strange Mask and barbarian Piece of Revelry, and feasted them with all the savage Dainties, they could devise. The next Day Powhatan came, and Smith delivered his Message, together with Namontack, his Servant, whom he had sent to England. And he desired him to come to his Father Newport, to receive his Presents, and to enter upon Measures for their effectual Revenge against the Manakins. To this that subtle Barbarian answered: That if their King had sent him any Presents, he also was a King, and that was his Land: That he would stay eight Days, to receive them: That Newport ought to come to him, and not he to go to their Port, which was too foolish a Bait to be taken: That as to the Manakins, he could revenge his own Wrongs; and for any Salt Water beyond the Mountains, he told him, that all the Relations, they had received from his People, were false. Whereupon he began to draw Plots upon the Ground, according to his Discourse, of all those Regions. Many other complimental Discourses passed between them; and so Smith returned with this Answer to James-Town.

Hereupon the Presents were sent round by Water, and the Captains went across by Land, with a Guard of fifty Men. All being met at Werowocomoco, the next Day was appointed for his Coronation. Then the Presents were brought; his Bason and Ewer, Bed and Furniture, were set up; and his Scarlet Cloak and Apparel, with much ado, put on him, being persuaded by Namontack, that they would not hurt him. But a great Coil and Trouble there was to make him kneel, to receive his Crown. He neither knew the Majesty of a Crown, nor the Meaning of bending the Knee.
Knee, which obliged them to use so many Persuasions, Examples, and Instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his Shoulders, he stopped a little, and three, being ready with the Crown, put it on his Head; when, by the Warning of a Pistol, the Boats were prepared with such a Volley of Shot, that the King started up in a horrible Fright, till he saw, all was well. Then recollecting himself, to return their Kindness, he gave his old Shoes and Mantle to Captain Newport; and finding him determined to discover the Manakins, he did his utmost to divert him from his Purpose, and refused to lend him either Men or Guides, except Namontack. And so after some slight Compliments on both Sides, in Requital for his Presents, he gave Newport a Heap of Ears of Corn, which might contain seven or eight Bushels, and as much more was purchased in the Town, with which they returned to the Fort at James-Town.

Immediately upon their Return, Captain Newport, with an hundred and twenty chosen Men, led by Captain Waldo, Lieutenant Percy, Captain Wynne, Mr. West, and Mr. Scrivenor, set forward for the Discovery of the Manakins; leaving the President at the Fort, with eighty or ninety weak and sickly Men, to load the Ship. Arriving at the Falls, they marched by Land about forty Miles, and found a very fair, fertile, well-watered Country. Two Towns of the Manakins they discovered, situate on the South Side of the River. The People used them neither well nor ill; yet for their Security, they took one of their petty Kings, and led him bound, to conduct them the Way. In their Return, they spent some Time in searching for Mines, having with them one William Callcut, a Refiner, for that Purpose. From the Crust of Earth, which they dug, he persuaded them, that he extracted some small Quantity of Silver. With this poor Trial, they returned down the same Path, they went, to the Falls; where the Indians feigned, that many Ships were come into the Bay, to kill the English at James-Town. But as for their Corn, they had hid it in the Woods, and could by no Means be induced to trade. And being thus deluded and disappointed, they returned to James-Town, half sick, and all complaining, being sadly harrased with Toil, Famine, and Discontent.

No sooner were they landed, but the President dispersed as many, as were able, some to make Glafs, and others for Pitch, Tar, and Soap-Ashes. Leaving them at the Fort under the Councils Care and Overfight, he himself carried thirty about five Miles down the River, to learn to cut down Trees, make Clapboard, and lie in the Woods. Among these he chose Gabriel Beadle and John Ruffel.
1608.

John Smith
President.

fine and proper Gentlemen of the last Supply. These were, at first, strange Diversions for Men of Pleasure. Yet they lodged, ate, and drank, worked or played, only as the President himself did; and all things were carried so pleasantly, that within a week they became Masters, and thirty or forty of such voluntary Gentlemen, would have done more in a day than an hundred of the rest, who must be driven to it by Compulsion. Being inured to labour by these means, they soon made it their Delight, to hear the Trees thunder, as they fell; and afterwards became very hardy, useful, and resolute Men, especially Mr. Russell. But the Axes often blistering their tender Fingers, they would, at every third Stroke, drown the Echo, with a loud Volley of Oaths. To remedy which Sin, the President ordered every Man's Oaths to be numbered, and at Night, for every Oath, to have a Can of Water poured down his Sleeve; which so washed and drenched the Offender, that in a short time, an Oath was not heard for a Week.

In the mean while, Mr. Scrivener, Captain Waldo, and Captain Wynne, at the Fort, each, in their several Way, carefully regarded their Charge. But when the President returned, seeing the Time consumed, and no Provisions got, and that the Ship lay idle at a great Charge, and did nothing, he immediately embarked in the Discovery Barge, taking with him eighteen Men and another Boat, and leaving Orders with the Council, to send Lieutenant Percy after him, with the next Barge, that arrived at the Fort. Going into Chickahominy, the Indians were surly, and knowing his Wants, with much Scorn and Insolence refused to trade. But the President, perceiving, it was Powhatan's Policy to starve the English, told them, that he came not so much for Corn, as to revenge his own Captivity and the Death of his two Men; which he pretended to attribute to them. And so landing his Men, and making ready to charge them, they immediately fled. Soon after they sent Ambassadors, with Corn, Fowl, and whatever else they had, to make their Peace. Their Corn being that Year but bad, they complained extremely of their own Wants, yet freighted their Boats with an hundred Bushels, and in like manner Lieutenant Percy's, that not long after arrived. Returning to James-Town, the Colony was much pleased and revived by this seasonable Supply. Yet such was the Malice and Envy of some, that they had rather hazard a Starving, than that Smith's Endeavours should prove so much more effectual, than theirs. And Newport and Ratcliffe had projected, not only to de-
pose him, but to keep him out of the Fort; under Pre-
tence, that, being President, he had left his Place and the
Fort, without their Consent. But their Horns were too
short, and they themselves narrowly escaped a greater
Mischief.

All this while, their old Tavern, the Ship, made as
much of all them, that had either Money or Ware, as
could be desired. By this time, they were become perfect
on all Sides, the Sailors, the Soldiers, and the Indians; and
much more Care was taken, to maintain their private and
pernicious Trade, than to provide things necessary for the
Colony. Newport and his Mariners had so many private
Factors at the Fort, that in six or seven Weeks, of two or
three hundred Axes, Hoes, Pick-axes, and other Instru-
ments for the Use of the Colony, scarce twenty could be
found; and for Pike-heads, Powder, Shot, or any thing
else they could steal, they knew well, how to convey them
secretly, to trade with the Indians for Furs, Baskets, young
Beasts, and other such-like Commodities. So that, altho'=
Virginia afforded no Commodities for those, who were at
the Expence of the Settlement, yet these Men found
Means, by these indirect Methods, of driving on a very
profitable Trade. And thus, by their false Excuses, In-
formations, and Advices in England, and by their unlawful
Trade here, the Adventurers were confened, and the Ac-
tion almost overthrown. Upon this Account therefore, as
well as under Pretence, that his Orders were, not to return
without a Lump of Gold, a Certainty of the South-Sea, or
one of Sir Walter Ralegh's lost Company, the President
had once determined to send away the Ship, and to oblige
Newport to stay one Year in the Country, to learn to speak
of his own Experience. But upon his Submission and Ac-
knowledgment, this Punishment was remitted, and he was
suffered to return to England in the Ship; where, it is
not to be doubted, but that he represented Matters in the
worst Light.

It is certain, that the Treasurer and Council in England
were greatly disappointed in their Hopes. For they expect-
ed, upon their Discoveries in America, to have speedy Re-
turns in Gold and Silver, and such other rich Commo-
dities, as the Spaniards found at their first Arrival. But Vir-
ginia is not a Country of Mines. It is formed by Nature
for producing all the Necessaries, or even Elegancies of
Life, to as high a Degree, as perhaps any other Country
whatever. It lies under the same Clime, as some Parts
of Spain, Italy, and Sicily, and is a Country of Plenty and
Abundance; and therefore, in the End, is more valuable,
and even richer, than those Regions, which abound in Gold and Silver. The Truth of this is confirmed by Experience; and it is an undeniable Maxim in Politicks, that Commodities of the first Necessity, or such as are of absolute Use for our Subsistence and the Support of Life, have a much greater real and intrinsic Value, than those, which only receive an imaginary Worth, by Compact or Agreement, and are wholly designed, as a Gage, or Measure, of the real and intrinsic Value of other Commodities. The true Riches therefore, and Power of every Country, depend upon the plentiful Production of Corn, Stocks, Cloathing, and other such Commodities of the first Necessity; the Want of which can, by no Means, be supplied by ever so great an Abundance of Gold and Silver. But the Want of them, on the contrary, may be, and often have been, supplied, by stamped Leather, Tallies, Shells, Paper, or other such arbitrary Representations. But altho' these Necessaries of Life are of this greater real Value, yet they are not to be had at once. Previous Preparations by Culture, Manufacturing, Stocks, and other Improvements, are necessary; which often require a long Time to bring them to any tolerable Degree of Perfection. And the English, when they first came to Virginia, happened upon a Land, just as God had made it, little planted, manured, or improved. The Inhabitants were an idle, improvident, vagabond People; knowing nothing of Gold and Silver, and other valuable Commodities; and careless of every thing, but just from Hand to Mouth.

But however free they might be from Blame, the Council in England were certainly very much fretted with the Disappointment, and by this Ship, wrote the President a very angry Letter. They complained of the vain Hopes, they had been fed with, and very small Proofs; and of their Factions and silly Projects about dividing the Country, concerning which the late President and his Faction had written some idle Story to the Earl of Salisbury, at that time chief Minister of State. And they threatened, unless the Charge of this Voyage, amounting to about two thousand Pounds, was defrayed by the Ship's Return, they should be deserted, and left to remain here, as banished Men. To this Letter Captain Smith gave a very plain and soldierly Answer by the Ship, which was at length dispatched, with the Trials of Pitch, Tar, Glass, Frankincense, and Soap-Ashes, and with what Wainscot and Clapboard could be provided. In it he endeavoured to lay open to them the Causes, that kept them from laying such a Foundation, as might have given better Satisfaction; and advises them against expecting...
ing any profitable Returns at present. He declares his own Integrity and Sincerity towards them, and warns them against some Persons, who caused them to believe much more, than was true. He tells them, that their Directions by Newport had been followed, altho' he himself was directly against them, as they were very prejudicial and to the imminent Hazard of the whole Colony, which was then, when it was too late, generally confessed. He complains of Newport, exposes the Vanity and ill Consequences of his Projects, his Lingerings in the Country, the good Cheer and Luxury of him and the Sailors, and their Embezzlement of the publick Stores. For of the two thousand Pounds, which this Ship cost them, he assures them, that the Colony had not received the Value of an hundred Pounds. He blames Ratcliffe, Archer, and others, as the Authors of their Factions and Disturbances; and tells them, that he had sent Ratcliffe, a counterfeit Impostor, whose right Name was Sicklemore, home, lest the Company should cut his Throat. And he judiciously insists upon their sending useful Labourers and proper Tradesmen for their present Condition; and upon providing, first of all, Food, Lodging, and such other Necessaries, as were absolutely requisite for their Being and Subsistence, before they went on any other Projects of Gain or Curiosity, for which they were no ways fitted, in their present weak and infant Condition. At the same time, he sent them two Barrels of such Stones, as he thought contained some Kind of Ore, with Notes, signifying in what Places he found them. And to shew, he could make as large a Discovery, as Newport's of the Manakins, for less Charge, than he spent them at every Meal, he sent them a Map of the Bay and Rivers, with a Relation annexed, of the Countries, and of the Nations, that dwelt upon them. And this indeed was done with such wonderful Exactness, as shewed him to have traveled far, and seen much; and it has ever since been the Original, from which all later Maps and Descriptions of Virginia have been mostly copied.

And now the Ship being gone, the grand Remora and Obstacle to all necessary Business, the Colony began to look about them. The Prospect was dismal, and they were all in the utmost Confennation, expecting nothing else but the most extreme Famine. However, to make up, in some measure, their lost Time, Mr. Servener had been sent, before Newport's Departure, with the Bark and Barges to Werowocomoco. There he found the Indians more ready to fight, than to trade. But his Vigilancy prevented their Plots; and by the Means of Namontack, he got three or four
four Hogheads of Corn, and as much Pocones, a red Root, at that time esteemed an excellent Dye. Meeting Newport at Point Comfort, he returned to the Fort; and the President, taking him and Captain Wynne, set off immediately for Nansemond. That Nation at first denied him, not only the four hundred Baskets of Corn they had promised, but any Trade at all. They excused themselves on Account of their Corn’s being almost spent, and because they were commanded by Powhatan, to keep what was left, and not to let the English even enter their River. The President finding, nothing was to be done in the Way of Peace, resolved to use Force. At the first Onset, the Indians all fled, without shooting an Arrow. Then marching up to their Houses, they set Fire to the first they came to. When the Indians perceived that, they offered, if they would make no more Spoil, to give them half the Corn they had. Accordingly, before Night, they loaded their three Boats; and for sparing them this Year, they promised to plant Corn purposely for them the next. With this they returned to Jamestown, about the Time, that John Laydon was married to Anne Burras; which was the first Christian Marriage that ever was in Virginia. But the President stayed not long at the Fort. For he fitted himself and Captain Waldo out immediately with two Barges, and made a Voyage up the River. From Wyanoake, and all Parts there-abouts, he found the Indians fled; and therefore hafting up higher, he then first discovered the River and People of Appamatox. The little Corn, they had, was equally divided; and the President gave them Copper for it, and such other Toys, as fully satisfied them. At the same time, Mr. Scrivener and Lieutenant Percy, went abroad in Quest of Provisions, but could find nothing. About this time, the President was invited by Powhatan to come to him; and he promised to load his Ship with Corn, provided he would send some Workmen to build him a House, and would give him a Grind-stone, fifty Swords, some Muskets, a Cock and a Hen, with much Copper and Beads. The President was not ignorant of his Devices and Subtlety; yet was unwilling to neglect any Opportunity of getting Provisions, and resolved sooner than fail, to take him and all his Store by Surprise. To this End, he took Order with Captain Waldo, whom he knew to be sure in Time of Danger, to second him, if Need required. But Captain Wynne and Mr. Scrivener did their utmost to hinder their Project. For Scrivener’s strict Friendship with Captain Smith was now much cooled; and he was thought to join with some others, in a Plot to ruin him
in England. But the President, whom no Eloquence could persuade to starve, sent off two Englishmen before by Land, and four Germans, to build the House for Powhatan against his Arrival. And then, having left Mr. Scrivener his Substitute, he set forward with the Bark and two Barges, manned only with such, as offered themselves voluntarily to go upon the Service. In the Discovery-Barge went himself, Mr. Raleigh Crosthwaite, John Russel, and several other Gentlemen and Soldiers; and Mr. William Phitiplaice, as Captain, Lieutenant Percy, Mr. Francis West, Mr. Robert Ford, Clerk of the Council, with many others, went on board the Bark.

The 29th of December they left James-Town, being victualled only for three or four Days. That Night they lodged at Warrafqueke, where the President got sufficient Provision. The King of that Town did his utmost to divert him from seeing Powhatan; but finding he could not prevail, he told him, that Powhatan would use them kindly, although he had sent for them only to cut their Throats. He therefore advised him, not to trust him, and to be sure to give him no Opportunity of seizing his Arms. The President thanked him for his good Counsel; and having obtained Guides from him to the Chowanocks, a Nation dwelling in the Fork of Chowan, between Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers, he sent Michael Sicklemore, a very valiant, honest, and painful Soldier, with Presents to that King; but chiefly to look for Silkgras[s], and to enquire after Sir Walter Raleigh’s lost Colony. The next Night they lodged at Kicquatan, and were detained there six or seven Days by the extreme Wind, Rain, Frost, and Snow. This obliged them to keep their Christian among the Savages; and they were never more merry in their Lives, lodged by better Fires, or fed with greater Plenty of good Bread, Oysters, Fish, Flesh, and Wildfowl. Departing thence, they arrived on the 12th of January, thro’ various Accidents, at Werowocomoco; where they found the River frozen near half a Mile from the Shore. But the President, running his Barge up, as far as he could by breaking the Ice, was left by the Ebb upon the oozy Shoals. In this dangerous Situation, he plunged first into the River himself; and by his Example, taught them to march, near Middle deep, a Flight-shot, through the frozen Ooze. When the Barge should float, he appointed two or three to return her aboard the Bark; where they, soon after, came into such Difficult for Want of Water, that the River being salt, they were obliged to make fresh Water, by melting the Ice. The President and his Company quartered in the next Cabbins, they found, and sent to Powhatan for Provision.
He sent them Plenty of Bread, Turkey, and Venison; and the next Day, feafted them after his usual Manner. But he pretended, he had not sent for them; neither had he any Corn, and his People much less; and soon began to be importunate with them to be gone. But the President confronting him with the Persons, who brought the Message, he endeavoured to put the Matter off with a Laugh, and asked for his Commodities. But he liked nothing, except Guns and Swords, and valued a Basket of Corn higher than a Basket of Copper; saying, he could rate his Corn, but not the Copper. Captain Smith, seeing his Intent, told him; That he had many Ways, to have got Provisions, but relying on his Promises, he had neglected all to satisfy his Desire, and had sent his Men to make his Buildings, whilst his own were undone: That he knew, he had engroffed his People's Corn, and forbid them to trade; thinking, by consuming Time, to consume them: That as for Swords and Guns, he had none to spare; and that he must know, those, he had, could keep him from starving: Yet he would neither rob nor wrong him, nor dissolve that Friendship, they had mutually promised, unless constrained to it by bad Usage. The King listened attentively to this Discourse; and promised, that both he and his People should spare him, what they could, and that they should receive it within two Days. But, says he, I have some Doubt about the Reason of your coming hither. I am informed from many Hands, that you come, not to trade, but to invade my People, and to possess my Country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my People from bringing in their Corn. And therefore, to ease them of that Fear, leave your Arms aboard, since they are needless here, where we are all Friends, and for ever Powhatans.

In these, and many such insidious Discourses, that Day was spent. But Captain Smith afterwards discovered, that the Germans, whom he had sent to build Powhatan's House, finding his Plenty and the Wants of the English, and thinking it scarce possible, that they could escape both him and Famine, had, to gain his Favour, revealed to him all, they knew, of the State and Designs of the English, and advised him, how to counteract and prevent them. And this Treachery was the more odious and unsuspected, because the President had placed one of them, as a Spy upon Powhatan, being a Man of Judgment and Resolution, and therefore thought most proper for that Employ. And as he was sure of his Wages for his Labour, and had ever been well used, both he and his Countrymen, there was at that time little
litle Doubt concerning his Honesty. But whilst they ex-
pected the coming in of the Country, they wrangled Pow-
hatan put of eighty Bushels of Corn for a Copper Kettle; 
which the President seeing him much affect, he told him, 
it was of much greater Value, yet in Regard of his Scarci-
ty, he would accept that Quantity at present, provided he 
should have as much more the next Year, or the Mana-
kin Country. Both being satisfied with the Condition, 
Powhatan begun to expostulate the Difference of Peace and 
War, with Captain Smith, after this Manner.

He told him, with a Vanity usual to Persons, who affect 
to be thought very old, that he had seen the Death of all 
his People thrice; and that not one of those three Genera-
tions was then living, except himself: That he knew the 
Difference of Peace and War better, than any in his Coun-
try: That he was now grown old, and must die soon; and 
that the Succession must descend, in Order, to his Brothers, 
Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and then to 
his two Sifters, and their two Daughters. He wished their 
Experience was equal to his; and that Smith's Love to 
them might be no less, than his to Smith. He asked him, 
Why he would take that by Force, which he might quick-
ly have by Love? Why he would destroy them, that pro-
vided him Food? and, What he could get by War? For 
they could hide their Provifions, and fly into the Woods; 
and then he must consequently famifh by wronging his 
Friends. He defired to know the Reafon of his Jealousy, 
since he faw them unarmed, and willing to supply his Wants, 
if he would come in a Friendly Manner, and not with 
Swords and Guns, as to invade an Enemy. And he told 
him, that he was not fo fimple, as not to know, it was 
better to eat good Meat, lie well, and fleep quietly with 
his Women and Children; to laugh and be merry with the 
English, and being their Friend, to have Copper, Hatchets, 
and whatever elle he wanted; than to fly from all, to lie 
cold in the Woods, feed upon Acorns, Roots, and such 
Travf, and to be fo hunted, that he could neither reft, eat, 
or fleep. In that Circumstance, his tired Men muft watch, 
and if a Twig did but break, all would be crying out, 
Here comes Captain Smith; and fo, in this miferable Man-
ner, to end his miferable Life; which might likewife foon 
be Captain Smith's Fate too, through his Rafhness and Un-
advisednefs. He therefore earneftly exhorted him to peace-
able Counfels; and above all infifted, that the Guns and 
Swords, the grand Caufe of their Jealousy and Uneafines, 
should be removed and fent away.
To this crafty Discourse the President replied: That it was the Fashion of the English, always to wear their Arms, like their Cloaths; and that they would, by no Means, part with them: That his People came frequently to James-Town, and were entertained with their Bows and Arrows, without any Exceptions: That if the English had intended him any Hurt, they could long since have affected it, as was evident to him, and all the World, especially considering the Superiority of their Arms: That though Revenge was always in their Power, yet, out of an Inclination to Mercy and Friendship, they passed over the daily Violations of the Peace by his Subjects: And as to hiding his Provisions, and flying into the Woods, he told him, they should not so unadvisedly starve, as he imagined. For they had a Rule to find things hidden, beyond his Knowledge. After much more Discourse, they at last began to trade.

But the King, seeing that his Will would not be admitted as a Law, and that Smith was obstinate, not to dismiss his Guard, or disarm his Men, breathed out his Mind once more in this Manner, with a Sigh.

Captain Smith, I never use any Wroanice so kindly as yourself; yet from you I receive the least Kindness of any. Captain Newport gave me Swords, Copper, Cloaths, or whatever else I desired, ever accepting what I offered him; and would send away his Guns, when requested. No one resists to lie at my Feet, or do, what I demand, but you only. Of you I can have nothing, but what you value not, and yet you will have whatsoever you please. Captain Newport you call Father, and so you call me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will do what you will, and we must both study to humour and content you. But if you intend so friendly, as you say, send away your Arms. For you see, my undesigning Simplicity and Friendship cause me, thus nakedly, to forget myself.

The President, perceiving this Barbarian only trifled the Time to cut his Throat, resolved to treat him in his own Way. He therefore procured the Indians to break the Ice, that his Boat might come, to fetch him and his Corn; and at the same Time, gave Order for more Men to come ashore, to surprize the King. In the mean while, to protract the Time, he endeavoured to entertain him with much specious and fallacious Discourse; promising, the next Day to quit his Arms, and to shew, by trusting to his Word, that he loved and trusted in him, as a Father. But whilst the Ice was breaking, Powhatan conveyed himself away, with his Women, Children, and Luggage. Yet to avoid Suspicion, he left two or three of his Women, talking with the President, whilst he secretly ran off, and his Men as secretly
Book II. The History of VIRGINIA.

secretly beset the House. Which being presently discovered, the President issued forth, with his Pistol, Sword, and Target. At his first Shot, those, next him, tumbled one over another; and the rest fled nimbly off, some one way, some another. And thus, without any Hurt, only accompanied with Mr. John Ruffel, he reached the main body of his Men. But when the Indians perceived him so well escaped, they used their utmost Art, to excuse and dissimile the Matter. Powhatan sent him a great Bracelet and Chain of Pearl, by an ancient Orator, who told him, that their Emperor was fled for Fear of his Guns: That knowing, when the Ice was open, there would come more Men ashore, he had sent those Numbers, whom he had assaulted, only to guard his Corn from being stole, which might happen without the President's Knowledge: That although some were hurt by his Mistake, yet Powhatan was still his Friend and for ever would continue so. And he desired, since the Ice was open, that he would send away his Corn; and if he expected his Company, that he would also send away his Guns, which so frightened his People, that they were afraid to bring in their Corn, as he had promised they should. And when Baskets being provided for the English to carry their Corn to the Boats, those Indians kindly offered their Service, to guard their Arms, lest they should be stolen. There was a great Number of goodly, well-proportioned Fellows, painted and grimmed like Devils. But the very Sight of the English cocking their Matches, and being ready to charge, made them quit their Bows and Arrows, at Command, to the Guard, and carry down the Corn upon their Backs. And there was no Occasion to importune them, to make Dispatch.

But Powhatan and the Germans were still eager to have the Head of Captain Smith. For if they could but kill him, they thought, all would be their own. And therefore, the English being staid by the Ebb till late within Night, the King spent his Time in making ready his Forces, to surprize the House and him at Supper. But Pocahontas, in a very dark and dismal Night, came alone through the Woods, and told the President, that great Cheer would be sent them soon; but that Powhatan, with all the Power, he could make, would come after to kill them all, if those, who brought the Victuals, could not affect it with their own Arms, while they were at Supper. And therefore, as they tendered their Lives, she advised them to be gone. The President would have given her such Things, as he knew, she delighted in. But, with Tears running down her Cheeks, she refused them; saying, she durst not be seen.
to have any of them. For should her Father know it, it would be certain and immediate Death to her. And so she ran away, by herself, as the came. Within less than an Hour after, came eight or ten lusty Fellows, with large Platters of Venison and other Victuals, and they were very importunate with the English, to put out their Matches; pretending, their Smoke made them sick. But the President made them taste of every Dish; and then sent some of them back to Powhatan, to bid him make haste; for he was ready for his coming. Soon after came more Messengers, to see what News; and not long after them, others. And thus was the Time spent, with equal Vigilancy on both Sides, but without any farther Hurt. At high Water, the English departed; but to oblige Powhatan, they left him, at his Request, Edward Brynton, to kill him Fowl, and the Germans, who were yet unsuspected, to finish his House.

They had no sooner set Sail, but Powhatan returned, and sent two of the Germans to James-Town. They pretended to Captain Wynne, that all things were well, and that the President had Occasion for their Arms; and therefore they desired new ones, with some spare Tools, and shift of Apparel; all which were readily granted them. During their loitering there, by the Promise of Powhatan’s Favour, and of an Exemption from the Miseries, which would certainly happen to the Colony, they drew over to their Confederacy six or seven more, such expert Thieves, as presently furnished them with fifty Swords, eight Muskets, eight Pikes, and Powder and Shot; which were speedily conveyed away, by Indians at Hand for that Purpose. The other German Powhatan kept, as a Pledge; whose Diligence provided him with three hundred Tomahawks, or Indian Hatchets. In the mean Time, Edward Brynton and Thomas Savage, seeing the Germans so diligent to accommodate the Indians with Arms, attempted to make their Escape to James-Town. But they were apprehended, and brought back, and expected, every Minute, to be put to Death.

The President and the rest, being arrived at Pamunkey, were entertained some Days by the King, with great Feasting and Mirth. The Day, appointed to begin their Trade, he went ashore with Lieutenant Percy, Mr. West, Mr. Ruffel, Mr. Bebethland, Mr. Crofha, Mr. Powel, Mr. Ford, and others, to the Number of fifteen; and going up to Opechancanough’s House, a Quarter of a Mile from the River, they found nothing but a lame Fellow and a Boy, and all the Houses round abandoned, and stripped of every thing. They stayed not long, before the King came, and after
after him several of his People, loaded with Bows and Arrows. But their Commodities were so trifling, and these held at such a Rate, that the President began with the King, and said: That the Professions of his Tongue were proved by his Actions to be mere Deceit: That last Year he kindly freighted his Vessel; but had now treacherously invited him, with a View to famish and destroy him: That as the King was not ignorant of his Wants, so neither was he of the King's Plenty; of which by some Means, he must have Part. And he told him, it was highly proper and decent for Kings above all others, to keep their Promise. And therefore, shewing his Commodities, he offered him his Choice, and the rest, he said, he would proportion in fit Bargains for his People. Opechancanough seemed kindly to accept his Offer; and the better to colour his Designs, told them what they had, at their own Price; promising the next Day, more Company, better provided.

The next Day, the President, with the same fifteen, marched up to the King's House, where they found four or five Men, newly arrived, with each a great Basket. Soon after came the King; and putting on a strained Cheerfulness, he entertained them in Discourse, about the great Pains he had been taking, to keep his Promise; till Mr. Ruffel brought in News, that at least seven hundred Indians, well armed, had inquired the House, and beset the Fields. The President, seeing some of the Company greatly dismayed at the thought of such a Multitude, told them: That he was less concerned at the Danger and Number of the Enemy, than at the malicious Representations, which the Council, and their open-mouthed Minions, would make to England, of his breaking the Peace: That he, alone, was once assaulted by three hundred; and had it not been for an Accident, would have made his Way good among them all: That they were now sixteen, and the Enemy but seven hundred at the most. And therefore he desired them, to fight like Men, and not die like Sheep. For if they dared to follow his Example, and to do, as he did, he doubted not, by God's Assistance, to extricate them out of the present Difficulty and Danger. The Time not permitting any Argument, they all cheerfully vowed, to execute, whatever he attempted, or die. But that they might not fight for nothing, or be even ruined and starved by their Victory, the President told Opechancanough: That he saw his Plot to murder him, but he feared it not: That their Men had done no Harm, but by their Directions: That therefore, if each of his Men would bring a Basket of Corn, he would stake against it the Value in Copper,
and they two would go over into the Island, in the River, against that Place, and decide the Matter by single Combat: That he should have his Choice, and all Advantage of Weapons: and, That the Conqueror should have all, and be Lord and Master over all their Men.

But duelling in fair and open Field is not the Manner of the Indians. Their chief Valour consists in way-laying and murdering the unsuspecting an unprovided, or perhaps the weak and helpless. Neither had Opechancanough such Regard for the Lives of his Subjects, as to save them from Danger, at the Hazard of his own. He therefore kindly endeavoured to appease the President's Anger and Suspicion, by a Present at the Door, which he intreated him to accept. This was only to draw him out, where the Bait was guarded with two hundred Men, besides thirty, which lay behind a great Tree, fallen across, with each his Arrow notched, ready to shoot. But the President, having discovered the Treachery, seised the King, in the Midst of his Men, by his long Lock of Hair, and presented his Pistol, ready cocked, to his Breast. Thus he led him, trembling and half dead with Fear, among his People; who were easily induced to throw down their Arms, and to deliver the King's Vambrace, Bow, and Arrows; little dreaming, that any one durst to use their King in that Manner. And now Opechancanough, to rescue himself, bestowed his Presents in serious Sadness; and his Subjects, being upbraided and threatened by the President in a smart and angry Speech, mixed with some Expressions of Love and Confidence, cast away their Bows and Arrows; little dreaming, that any one durst to use their King in that Manner. For two or three Hours, they so thronged and wearied him, that he retired into the House to rest, leaving others to trade, and receive their Presents. Whilft he was asleep, fifty of their choice Men, with each an English Sword or Club in his Hand, and seconded by two or three hundred more, pressed into the House to murder him. But the President, being waked from his Sleep, by the Noise of the People and shaking of the House, betook himself to his Arms, together with Mr. Crosthaw and some others; which soon made them throng back, faster than they came. But Opechancanough and some of his Ancients, who were kept Prisoners with him, endeavoured, in a long Oration, to excuse this Intrusion. The rest of the Day was spent with much Kindness, the Indians renewing their Presents, and feasting the English with their best Provisions.

While these things were transacting, there happened an unlucky Accident, at the Fort. Mr. Scrivener had received
Book II. The History of Virginia.

1609.

John Smith

President

ceived Letters from England, which gave him towering thoughts, and made him decline entirely in his affection and friendship to Captain Smith, who still regarded and loved him, as his brother. This made him more headstrong and conceited, than was naturally consistent with his prudence and moderation. And having taken it into his head to visit Hog-Island, he could not be turned from it, by the advice and repeated entreaties of Captain Waldo and several others. Therefore, taking with him Captain Waldo, who was not to be absent from the fort, but to be ready to second the president, if called for, and Mr. Anthony Gofnold, a very worthy, honest, and industrious gentleman, and brother to Captain Bartholomew Gofnold, with eight others, he went into the Skiff. She was so overloaded, that she scarce could have lived in calm weather; but, in that cold and boisterous day, she sunk, none knowing how or where, and all aboard were drowned. To advertise the president of this heavy news, none could be got, till Mr. Richard Wyffin undertook it alone. He was encountered with many dangers and difficulties, in all places, as he passed. And at Werowocomoco, not finding the president, and perceiving such preparations for war, he was certainly assured, that some mischief was intended. But Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent those, who pursued him, the quite contrary way. At length, by her means and extraordinary bribes and trouble, in three days travel, he found the president at Pamunkey, in the midst of those broils and difficulties. The president, having sworn him to conceal this unhappy news from the company, and dissembling his sorrow with the best countenance, he could, went safely aboard at night, and left Opechancanough at liberty, according to his promise, and likewise with a design, the better to entrap Powhatan in his return. Soon after, he went down the river, having searched the countries of Yeughtanund (now Pamunkey river) and Mattapony; where the poor creatures imparted the little corn, they had, with such complaints, and tears from the eyes of women and children, as fully satisfied, and moved them with compassion.

Powhatan had threatened death to his men, if they did not, by some means or other, kill Captain Smith. But they hated fighting with him, almost as bad as hanging. And the president, on his side, was as eager, to surprize and take that subtle and pernicious barbarian. Therefore, in his way down the river, there were many feints and stratagems, on both parts, but without any remarkable effect. Only the president, with Mr. West and some others, would
would have been poisoned, had their Art been equal to
their Will. It only made them sick and so worked itself
off. And thus, through many Dangers and Difficulties,
they returned to James-Town; where they delivered, near
200 lbs. of Deer's Suet, and 479 Bushels of Corn, to the
Cape-Merchant.

At James-Town they found nothing done, but their Pro-
visions spent, and a great Part of their Tools and Arms
conveyed to the Indians. But altho' what was left by the
Ship was so rotten with the Rain, and so mangled by the
Rats and Worms, that the Hogs would scarceley eat it, yet
upon casting up their Store, they found a sufficient Provi-
sion for the Year. Wherefore, the Fear of starving being
laid aside, the Company was ranged into proper Divisions;
and fix Hours each Day spent in Work, the rest in Paf-
time and merry Exercises. And the President, having cal-
led them together, told them: That their late Experience
and Misery were sufficient to persuade every one to a pre-
sent Amendment: That they must not think, that either
his Pains, or the Adventurers Purfes, would forever main-
tain them in Sloth and Idlenefs: That he knew, many de-
served more Honour, and a better Reward, than was yet
to be had; but that far the greatest Part of them muft be
more industrious, or starve: That it was not reasonable,
that the Labours of thirty or forty honest and industrious
Men should be confumed, to maintain an hundred and fifty
Loiterers: and, That therefore every one, that would not
work, should not eat: That they had often been fcreened
and protected, in their Disobedience to his juft and neceffary
Commands, by the Authority of the Council: But that
now, all being either dead or gone, except Captain Wynne
and himself, that whole Power refted, in Effect, solely in
him. And therefore, he advised them, not to feed them-
selves up with the vain Prefumption, that his Authority was
but a Shadow, and that his Life muft answer for theirs.
For the Letters Patent, and other Powers, would prove
the contrary, and should, every Week, be read to them;
and every one, that offended, might assuredly expect his
due Punishment. He also made a Table, as a publick Me-
morial of each Man's Deferts, to encourage the Good, and
to spur on the reft by Shame. By this, many became very
industrious; but more were driven to their Business, by
Punishment, and the President's extraordinary Vigor and
Diligence.

As they came down Pamunkey (since called York River)
off of Werowocomoco, the President had sent Mr. Chroshaw
and Mr. Ford to James-Town, by Land. In their Way,
they met four or five of the German's Confederates, going to Powhatan; who to clear themselves from those Gentlemen's Suspicion, that they were running to the Indians, returned with them to the Fort, and there continued. But the Germans, to know the Reason of their Stay, sent one of their Company, a stout young Fellow, disguised like an Indian, to the Glass-house. This stood in the Woods, about a Mile from James-Town, and was the common Place of Rendezvous for all their secret Villany. The President, hearing of this, immediately sent to apprehend this German. But he being gone, he dispatched twenty good Shot after, to intercept him in his Return to Powhatan. They soon brought him back, and notwithstanding his fair Tale and plausible Excuses, he was thrown into Prison. However the President spared his Life, hoping thereby to regain his Countrymen.

CAPTAIN Smith, having sent all his Men after the German, returned from the Glass-house alone, armed only with a Faucheon. In his Way he met the King of Papakaney, a Man of great Strength and gigantic Stature. At first, he endeavoured to draw the President into his Ambuscade; but failing in that, he attempted to shoot him. But Smith, to prevent it, closed in and grappled with him. And the Indian, by mere Dint of Strength, bore him into the River, with a Design to drown him. Long they struggled in the Water, till the President got such Hold of his Throat, that he almost strangled him. And then, having disengaged himself, so as to draw his Faucheon, the poor Savage begged his Life, in such a pitiful Manner, that he led him to James-Town, and put him into Chains; where he continued for some time, till by the Negligence of his Keepers, he escaped. Some Endeavours were used to retake him, but without Effect; only the President took two Indians Prisoners, Kemps and Tussore, the two most exquisite Villains in all the Country. These Men would have betrayed both King and Kindred for a Piece of Copper; and had Captain Wynne and Lieutenant Percy, who were sent upon the Business with fifty Men, followed their Directions, they would certainly have regained the King, and been fully revenged for the Injury and Assault. However, that this might not encourage them to farther Boldness, they attacked and slew several of the Nation, burnt their Houses, took their Canoes and fishing Weirs, and planted some of them at James-Town, and were resolved to prosecute them with War, till they were fully humbled and subdued.
Not long after, the President, passing by Paspahegy in his Way to Chickahominy, was assaulted by them. But as soon as they knew him, they all threw down their Arms, and sued for Peace. Their Spokesman was a lusty young Fellow, named Okaning, whose Discourse well deserves to be remembered. He told the President, that the King, his Master, was there present in the Company: That they took him for Captain Wynne, who pursued them in War, altho' they had never injured him: That if the King offended him in escaping from Prison, he ought to consider, that the Fishes swim, the Fowls fly, and the very Beasts strive to escape the Snare and live: That therefore, his Master, who was a Man, ought not to be blamed, for following this necessary Instinct of Nature even in brute Animals. He reminded him of the Pains, his Master took, to save his Life, when a Prisoner; and if he had since injured him, he was compelled to it, and it had however been already fully revenged, to their too great Loss. And he further told him, if he still persisted in his Resolution to destroy them, they must abandon their Habitation, and settle somewhere beyond his Reach; which would only cost them more Labour, but would be of worse Consequence to the English, who could not well subsist without their Corn and Fruits. And therefore he earnestly entreated him to grant them his Friendship, and to permit them to enjoy their Houses, and plant their Fields, in Peace and Security. Concluding, that if he would promise them Peace, they would trust to his Word; but if he proceeded in his Revenge, they would quit the Country. Whereupon the President promised them Peace, if they would do no farther Injury, and would bring in Provisions to the Fort. To which they joyfully agreed, and parted good Friends, and so continued, till Smith left the Country.

Soon after this, an Indian, who had been imprisoned at James-Town for Theft, had stifled himself, by a Charcoal Fire in a close Room of the Prison, that he seemed to be dead. But the President, by the Application of Vinegar and Aqua-vita, brought him to himself; which was soon spread abroad among the Indians, throughout the whole Country, as a Miracle; and it was generally believed, that Captain Smith could raise a dead Man to Life. And another at Werowocomoco, having got a large Bag of Powder, to shew his extraordinary Skill among his Companions, dried it on the Back of an Armour, as he had seen the Soldiers at James-Town do. Many stood peeping over, to see his Skill; till at last it took Fire, and blew him, with one or two more, to Death, and so scorched and mangled the rest, that
that it raised a vast Dread and Astonishment in them, and
a great Admiration of the Power and Art of the English.
These, with some other Accidents, so frightened and amazed Powhatan and his People, that they flocked from all Parts, and with Presents desired Peace; returning many stolen Things, which had never been demanded, or thought of, by the English. And ever after, during the Remainder of Capt. Smith’s Administration, both Powhatan and his People would send back to James-Town, such as had been taken stealing, to receive their Punishment; and the whole Country became as absolutely free and safe to the English, as to themselves.

And now the Colony pursued their Business with Alacrity and Success. They made three or four Lath of Tar, Pitch, and Soap-Ashes; produced a Trial of Glass; sunk a Well in the Fort, of excellent Water, which till then was wanting; built about twenty Houses; new covered the Church; provided Nets and Weirs for fishing; and to stop the Disorders of the Thieves and Indians, they built a Block-house in the Neck of the Island, to receive the Trade of the Indians; and none, neither Indian nor Christian, was suffered to pass or repass, without the President’s Order. Thirty or forty Acres of Ground were broke up and planted. Of three Sows, in eighteen Months, increased sixty odd Pigs; and near five hundred Chickens brought up themselves, without having any thing given them. But the Hogs were transported to Hog-Island; where also was built a Block-house, with a Garrison, to give Notice of any Ships; and for their Exercise at leisure Times, they made Clip-board and Wainscot. In this Time, died Captain Pynne; so that the Government devolved wholly upon the President, as it had before in Effect done, by his having two Voices in the Council.

But this Flow of Plenty and Prosperity lasted not long. For, upon Examination, they found half their Corn rotten, and the rest consumed by Rats; which, coming originally from the Ships, had increased to incredible Multitudes. So that all Works were intermitted, and the People sufficiently employed to get Provisions. But at first, the Indians, to express their Love, brought in an hundred a Day, at least, of Squirrels, Turkies, Deer, and other wild Beasts; and Powhatan spared them near half his Stock of Corn. But the President was nevertheless obliged to detach sixty or eighty down the River, to live upon Oysters. Twenty were sent to the Falls with Mr. West; and as many more with Lieutenant Percy to Point Comfort, to try for a Fishery. But he being very sick, and sorely burnt with Gun-powder, they would not agree in six Weeks, once to cast out their Net.
Many were billetted among the Indians, who knew, that they had such a commanding Power at James-Town, that they durst not wrong them in the least. And in all this Time of Distress, they caught more Sturgeon than could be devoured by Man and Dog. This the industrious drying and pounding, would mingle with Caviare, Sorrel, and wholesome Herbs, and make Bread and good Meat. Others would gather as much Tuckahoe Root in a Day, as would make them Bread for a Week. So that, upon these wild Products, and what they caught, the diligent lived very well and plentifully.

Yet such was the insufferable Sloth and unreasonable Perverseness of far the greater Number, that they would sooner have perished, than have been at the Pains to gather Food. And they were even importunate with the President, to fell their Tools and Iron, nay, their Swords and Firelocks, and their very Houses and Ordinance, to the Indians for this Trash. And they took Occasion from hence, in a very turbulent and clamorous Manner, to insist on the Necessity of leaving the Country. But the President, having punished one of the worst and most seditious among them, called the rest together, and represented to them the extreme Folly and Iniquity of their Proceedings. And he told them, that if any more were found attempting to run away to Newfound land with the Bark, they might assuredly expect the Gallows, as their Fate: That he never had more from the Store than the worst of them; for they well knew and saw, that his extraordinary Allowance, as President, was constantly distributed among the Sick: and, That since he found, Necessity had not Power to force them to gather the Fruits of the Earth, he was resolved, that they should gather, not only for themselves, but also for the Sick; and that whatsoever would not gather, every Day, as much, as he himself did, should, the next Day, be set beyond the River, and banished from the Fort, as a Drone. This Order raised a great Clamour and Outcry; but it made most of them be suit themselves so well, that they had Plenty of Food to eat, and continued very healthy and strong. Yet many of them, understanding, how well they were used, that were billetted among the Indians, ran away to Kemps and Tupper, their old Prisoners. But Kemps first made himself Sport with them, shewing his Countrymen, how he was used, when a Prisoner, and feeding them upon this Condition, that they, who would not work, should not eat; and then he carried them back, by Force, to the President.

This deterred many others, who intended to follow; and made them content, rather to labour at home, than venture
venture among the Indians. For the Kings, and better Sort of
that People, were so afraid, or so friendly, that when the
English punished some of their bafer Sort with great Severity,
they would hire them, not to tell it to their Kings or Coun-
trymen; left they should punifh them again, and send them
to James-Town, to give full Satisfaction to the President.

About this time, Mr. Sicklemore returned from Chas-
wonock; but without any Information of Sir Walter Raleigh's
lost Company, or satisfactory Account of the Silk-grafs.
And the President, to pursue a Point thought so necessary
by the Council in England, sent off Mr. Nathaniel Powel
and Anas Todkill, to the Mangoags, a Nation of Indians,
not subject to Powhatan, dwelling on the upper Branches
of Nottoway, or some small Streams of Roanoke River. He
obtained Guides from the King of the Quiyoughquohankaeks,
a small Nation of Indians, seated on the South Side of James
River, about ten Miles above James-Town. This good
King did ever affect the English above all others; and al­
tho' he was very zealos to his false Gods, yet he confessed,
that the English God as much exceeded his, as their Guns
did his Bow and Arrows; and in Time of Drought, he
would often fend Presents to Captain Smith, to pray to his
God for Rain. His Guides conducted Powel and Todkill,
three Days Journey, into a high Country, towards the
Southwest; where they saw, there and there, a Cornfield,
by some little Spring or small Brook, but no large River.
The People were, in all Respects, like the reft, except their
Language. They lived chiefly by hunting, and on Fruits
and Roots; and they trafficked their Skins with those to­
wards the Sea and fatter Countries, for dried Fisb and Corn.
But neither did they here, or ever after, hear any thing of
this Colony, left by Mr. White, in the Year 1587, on one
of the Islands of Hatteras.

All this while, they employed one William Volday, a
Zwitzer, by Promifes and Pardons to reclaim his Country­
men, the Germans, and one Bentley, another Fugitive. But
this vile Hypocrite, pretending highly to detefr their Villa­
ny, hereby got an Opportunity, to convey them every thing
they wanted, to effect their Projects, and destroy the Col­
ony. With much Devotion they looked for the Spaniard,
to whom they were willing and intended to do good Service.
And finding, the English were obliged to disperse themselves
to gather Food, they importuned Powhatan to lend them
his Forces; and they undertook, not only to destroy the
Hogs, fire the Town, and seize on the Bark, but to bring
moft of the Colony to his Service and Subjection. This
Scheme was communicated to many of their Confederates
at the Fort; but two, whose Hearts relented at the Horror
of the Act, revealed it to the President. He ordered them to keep it still a Secret, and to draw them into such Ambuscades, as he had prepared. But the thing taking Air, and coming to the Ears of the impatient Multitude, they were outrageous to go and destroy them immediately. Lieutenant Percy and Mr. John Codrington, two Gentlemen of high and resolute Spirits, offered their Service, to go to Werowocomoco, and to cut their Throats before the Face of Powhatan. But the President cared not to hazard such Permons, for whom he had other Employment; and gave Way to Mr. Wyffin and Serjeant Jeffery Abbot, to undertake the Matter. But the Germans so blinded Abbot, with a fair Tale, that he relented; and Wyffin, tho' willing, cared not to attempt it alone. When Powhatan underftood their Business, he sent immediately to the President, to inform him, that he neither detained them, nor hindered his Men from executing his Command. For he neither did, nor would maintain them, or any other, to his Displeasure. But altho' these treacherous Foreigners did all they could, to raise and incend Powhatan and the Indians against the English, yet such exact Intelligence had Captain Smith of their Plots, that their Machinations were his greatest Advantage and Security. And if any Commotion had happened, he always had it in his Power to take Revenge. For all the Country now stood more in Fear of him, than of Powhatan; and he had such Parties among the bordering Nations, that, out of Love or Fear, they would have done any thing, he commanded. However, not long after, one of the Germans returned to his Duty; but the other still remained with Powhatan.

WHILST these things were passing, Captain Samuel Argall arrived, who was afterwards an active Person here, and a noted Governor of the Country. He came to truck with the Colony, and to fish for Sturgeon, with a Ship well furnished with Wine and other good Provision. This was, at that Time, a prohibited Trade; but he being a Kinsman to Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer, it was connived at and overlooked. The Necessities of the Colony obliged them to take his Provisions, by which his Voyage was lost; but they revaluated him, when their next Supply arrived, and sent him to England with a full Account of the State of their Affairs. By this Ship, they received Letters, which taxed the President for his hard Usage of the Natives, and for not returning the Ships freighted. And now also, they first had an Account of the Alterations in England, and of the great Preparations and large Supply, to be sent by the Lord Delaware, appointed Captain-General and Governor in Chief of Virginia.
THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

BOOK III.

HE Treasurer, Council, and Company in England, were still intent upon present Gain, and gaping after the Mines of Mexico and Peru from their Discovery; and upon the last Voyage, not finding that Profit and Return, they expected, they were much disappointed and enraged. To this was added Newport's Account of things, which was certainly not very favourable to their Conduct and Management in Virginia. The Company therefore made Interest to his Majesty, to grant them a new Charter, which bears Date the 23d of May 1609, and contains larger Powers and more ample Privileges, than the former; as may be seen in the Original, printed at large in the Appendix. By this Charter the Power and Authority of the President and Council in Virginia, were expressly abrogated; and they were strictly commanded, upon their Allegiance, to pay Obedience to such Governor or Governors, as should be appointed by the Council in England. In Consequence of which Power, the Council constituted Sir Thomas West, Lord Delawarr, Captain-General of Virginia; Sir Thomas Gates, his Lieutenant-General; Sir George Somers, Admiral; Captain Newport, Vice-Admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, High-Marshall; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, General of the Horse; and so, many other Offices, to several worthy Gentlemen, for their Lives.
This new Charter was granted to the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, Southampton, Pembroke, and other Peers, to the Number of twenty one; to the Honourable George Percy and Francis West, Esqrs; to Sir Humphry Weld, Lord Mayor of London, and ninety eight other Nights, expressly named; and to Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, with a great Multitude more, of Doctors, Esquires, Gentlemen, Officers, Merchants, and Citizens, together with many Corporations and Companies of London. So many Persons of great Power, Interest, and Fortune, engaging in the Enterprize, and the Lord Delaware, with the other Gentlemen of Distinction, appointed to the several Offices, soon drew in such large Sums of Money, that they dispatched away Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, with nine Ships, and five hundred People. These three Gentlemen had, each of them, a Commission, who first arrived, to call in the old. But because they could not agree for Place, it was concluded, that they should all go in one Ship, called the Sea-Venture. They sailed from England the latter End of May, 1609; but the 25th of July, the Admiral-Ship was parted from the rest of the Fleet, by the Tail of a Hurricane, having on board the three Commanders, an hundred and fifty Men, their new Commission, and Bills of Lading, together with all Manner of Instructions and Directions, and the best Part of their Provisions. She arrived not, but was foundered on Bermudas, as shall be hereafter related. A small Catch likewise perished in the Hurricane; but the seven other Ships came safe. In them, as Captains, came Ratcliffe, (whose right Name, as is said, was Sicklemore) Martin, and Archer, with Captain Wood, Captain Webbe, Captain Moon, Captain King, Captain Davies, Mr. Ralph Hamer, and divers other Gentlemen, of good Fortune, and eminent Birth. The President, being informed by his Scouts of the Arrival of this Fleet, little dreamed of such a Supply, but supposed them, at first, to be Spaniards. He therefore put himself into the best Posture of Defence he could; and being seconded by the Indians (who, upon this Occasion, shewed their Friendship, and prepared, with great Alacrity, to assist the English with their utmost Power) they thought themselves so well provided for the Reception of an Enemy, that they little feared their Coming.

Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, had bred much Disturbance at Sea, and had paved the Way, for being even more troublesome ashore. For they had infused such Jealousies and Prejudices into the Company against Captain Smith, that they mortally hated him, before they had ever seen him.
him. But several of better Sense and Experience among them, from their first Landing, hearing the general good Report of his old Soldiers, and seeing the Prudence and Up-rightness of his Actions, were soon undeceived, and saw into the Malice of Ratcliffe and his Faction. They therefore left their Society, and ever adhered to Captain Smith, as his firm and faithful Friends. But a great Part of this new Company consisted of unruly Sparks, packed off by their Friends, to escape worse Deftinies at home. And the rest were chiefly made up of poor Gentlemen, broken Trademen, Rakes and Libertines, Footmen, and such others, as were much fitter to spoil or ruin a Commonwealth, than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd Company therefore were led by their seditious Captains, into many Mischiefs and Extravagancies. They assumed to themselves the Power of disposing of the Government; and conferred it sometimes on one, and sometimes on another. To-day, the old Commiffion must rule; To-morrow, the new; and next Day, neither. So that, all was Anarchy and Distraction; neither were there any Hopes, from the present Pofture of Affairs, but of the utmost Misery and Confufion.

The German also, that had returned to the English, seeing this distracted State of things, and hoping for some Advantage from it, fled again, with one of his Companions, to Powhatan; to whom he promised Wonders, at the Arrival of Lord Delawarr. But that sensible Barbarian, knowing the Wickedness and Perfidy of their Nature, replied; That they, who would have betrayed Captain Smith to him, would certainly betray him to this great Lord, to make their Peace. And so, he ordered his Men, to beat out their Brains. But Volday, the Zwitzer, made a shift to get to England; where persuading the Merchants what rich Mines he had found, and what Services he would do them, he was well rewarded, and sent back with the Lord Delawarr. But being found a mere Impofitor, he died in a most contemned and miserable Manner.

Captain Smith, all this Time of Turbulency and Distraction, was sadly troubled and perplexed, how to proceed. At first, finding his Authority thus unexpectedly cancelled and changed, he resolved to leave all, and return for England. But afterwards, seeing, there was little Hope of the Arrival of this new Commiffion, and that his own was not legally superseded, but by the actual Production of another, he determined to bear up, and to act with Vigor and Resolution. He therefore set himself, with great Courage, and the perpetual Hazard of his Life, to oppose this Tor-
rent of Faction and Immorality; and at last, so far mastered it, that he cast Ratcliffe, Archer, and the other Chiefs, into Prison, till he had more Leisure, to bring them to a fair and legal Trial. And the better to dissipate the Humours, and to break their Confederacies, he sent Mr. Weft, with an hundred and twenty, the best, he could choose, to make a Settlement at the Falls; and Martin, with near the same Number, to Nanfamond; allowing each their due Proportion of all the Provisions, according to their Number. And now the Year of his Presidency being near expired, he made Captain Martin, who was become more tractable, President in his Room. But Martin, knowing his own Insufficiency, and the People's Carulinenis and little Regard for him, within three Hours, resigned it again to Captain Smith. For as Ratcliffe had been removed from the Council, and was not again restored, Martin and Smith were the only two then in the Country, that could either elect, or be elected President. And Martin, having thus wisely disengaged himself from an Office, which he was then no ways able to execute or support, proceeded to make his Settlement at Nanfamond. That Nation, having been reduced to Subjection and Contribution, used him kindly; yet such were his unreasonable Jealousy and Fear, that he surprized the poor naked King, and his Monuments and Houses, with the Island, wherein he lived, and there fortified himself. But the Indians, soon perceiving his Fear and Distraction, ventured to assault him; and they killed several of his Men, released their King, and gathered and carried off a thousand Bushels of Corn; whilst he, in the mean while, never once offered to intercept them, but sent to the President, then at the Falls, for thirty Soldiers. These were presently sent him from James-Town. But he so employed them, that they did nothing, and soon returned, complaining of his Tenderness and Cowardice. And he likewise, leaving his Company to their Fortunes, came away with them to James-Town.

The President followed the other Company up to the Falls, to see them well seated. But he was surprized, in his Way, to meet Captain Weft, so soon returning to James-Town; and he found the Settlement very inconsiderately made, in a Place, not only liable to the River's Inundation, but also subject to many other intolerable Inconveniences. To remedy which, he immediately sent to Powhatan, to purchase the Place, called Powhatan. The Conditions of their Agreement were these: That the English should defend him against the Manakins: That he should resign to them the Fort and the Houses, with all that Country, for a
The proportion of Copper:

That all Thieves should be sent thither, to receive their Punishment: That every House, as a Custom, should pay the President a Bushel of Corn, for an Inch square of Copper, and a certain Quantity of Poconos to King James, for their Protection: and, That they should barter, what else they could spare, at their best Discretion. But Captain West's Company depended so much on the Lord General's new Commission, that they regarded no Person or thing. And supposing, the Manakins' Country reached to the South-Sea, and was all Gold, they pleased themselves with the vain Conceit, that it was entirely under their Power and Command, and that none should go thither, but whom they pleased. They therefore rejected the President with Insolence and Contempt. However he ventured, with five Men, to land among them; and committed the Heads of the Mutiny to Prison, till, by their Numbers, they obliged him to retire. In making off, he happily surprized one of their Boats, with which he returned to the Ship; and had not the Mariners proved very tractable and faithful to him, he had small Means and little Probability of escaping their Fury.

The Indians also came to him; complaining, that he had brought them, for Protectors, worse Enemies, than the Manakins themselves, that they stole their Corn, robbed their Gardens, broke open their Houses, beat them, and kept several in Prison; and that, till then, they had borne all this, out of Love to him, but desired Pardon, if thereafter they defended themselves. They likewise offered him their Assistance, and to fight for him against them, if he would lead them on. But having spent nine Days, to no Purpose, in endeavouring to reclaim them, he departed for James-Town. The Ship was no sooner under Sail, but twelve Indians assaulted those hundred and twenty in their Fort. And finding many straggling abroad in the Woods, they killed some, and so frighted the rest, that their Countrymen in Prison escaped, and they went safely off, with the Swords and Cloaks of those, they had slain. But before the Ship had failed half a League, she grounded; which gave the President an Opportunity of summoning them, once more, to a Parley. And now he found them so amazed with that silly Assault of the Indians, that they surrendered themselves, upon any Terms, to his Mercy. He therefore laid fix or seven of the chief Offenders by the Heels; and seated the rest at Powhatan, the strongest and most pleasant Place, he had seen in the Country; and for that Reason, they called it Nonfuch. Here they had dry Houses for Lodgings, near two hundred Acres of Land,
1609.

John Smith
President.

The History of VIRGINIA. Book III cleared and ready for planting, with a Savage Fort, ready built, and prettily fortified with Poles and Barks of Trees, and sufficient to have defended them against all the Indians in the Country. He likewise appeased the Indians, making Restitution and Satisfaction, to each Party, for their former Losses and Damages.

And now, new Officers being appointed, and the President ready to depart, just at that Instant arrived Captain West; whose gentle Nature was so wrought on and abused, by Compassion for the Prisoners, and the Persuasions of the Mutineers, who alleged, they had only done this for his Honour, that all things were again thrown into Confusion and Mutiny. But the President, having no Inclination to contend with Mr. West, and little Power to curb their Insolence, left them to their Fortunes, and returned to James-Town. And soon after they abandoned Nonfuch, and went back to their first Settlement at Weft’s-Fort.

But passing down the River, as Captain Smith was asleep in the Boat, his Powder-bag, by some Accident, was fired; which tore the Flesh from his Body and Thighs, nine or ten Inches square, in a most dreadful Manner. To quench the Fire, which fryed and tormented him in his Cloaths, he leaped overboard, and was almost drowned, before they could recover him. In this piteous State, he arrived at James-Town, where Ratcliffe, Archer, and the rest of their Confederates, were soon to come to their Trials. But their guilty Consciences misgiving them, and seeing the President unable to stand, and almost bereft of his Senses by reason of his Torment, they entered into a Conspiracy to murder him in his Bed. But his Heart failed him, who was to have given Fire to the Pistol. And so, being disappointed in this Purpose, they joined together, to usurp the Government, and thereby escape their Punishment. In the mean time, the President’s old Soldiers, being provoked, beyond all Patience, at their Malice and Sedition, flocked to him, and importuned him to give them but the Word, and they would fetch the Heads of the boldest among them, that durst defy his Commands. Yet he would not suffer them to bring the Matter to a civil Broil; but sent immediately for the Masters of the Ships, and took Order with them for his Return to England. For there was neither Chirurgeon nor Chirurgery at the Fort; and his Wounds were so grievous, and Torments so cruel, that few expected, he could live. And he likewise highly resented, and was much chagrined, to see his Authority suppressed, he knew not why; himself and his Soldiers to be rewarded for their past Labours and Dangers, he knew not how.
how; and a new Commission granted, to they knew not whom. And besides, he found himself unable to follow his Business, suppress those Factions; and range the Country for Provisions, as he before intended. And he well knew, that his own Presence and Activity were as requisite in those Affairs, as his Advice and Directions. For all which Reasons, he resolved upon leaving the Country, and went presently on board one of the Ships.

Captain Percy had been, for some time, in a very bad State of Health, and had taken his Passage in one of the Ships, to go to England. But now, upon Smith's Departure, many came about him; and by Intreaties and Persuasions, prevailed with him to stay, and take upon him the Government. But there were many others up in Arms, calling themselves Presidents and Counsellors; several of which began now to fawn upon and solicit Smith, to give up his Commission to them. And after much ado, and many bitter Repulses, that their Ruin and Confusion might not be attributed to him, for leaving the Country without a Commission, he permitted it to be stolen, but never could be induced to resign it into such vile Hands. In which he seems to have been something froward and peevish. For since the old Soldiers, and better Sort of new Comers, had generally agreed upon Captain Percy for their Governor, a Person every way fit for the Office, except in Point of Health, it would have been but reasonable in him, to have endeavoured to confirm him in his Authority, and when he departed, to have delivered up his Commission to him.

And thus, about Michaelmas 1609, Captain Smith left the Country, never again to see it. He left behind him three Ships and seven Boats; Commodities ready for Trade; the Corn newly gathered; ten Weeks Provison in the Store; four hundred ninety and odd Persons; twenty four Pieces of Ordinance; three hundred Muskets, with other Arms and Ammunition, more than sufficient for the Men; the Indians, their Language, and Habitations, well known to an hundred trained and expert Soldiers; Nets for fishing; Tools, of all Sorts, to work; Apparel, to supply their Wants; six Mares and a Horse; five or six hundred Hogs; as many Hens and Chickens; with some Goats, and some Sheep. For whatever had been brought, or bred here, still remained. But this seditious and distracted Rabble, regarding not anything, but from Hand to Mouth, riotously consumed, what there was; and took Care for nothing, but to colour and make out some Complaints against Captain Smith. For this End, the Ships were stay'd three Weeks, at a great Charge, till they could produce and bring...
bring them to bear. But, notwithstanding their perverse Humours and unreasonable Clamours, Captain Smith was undoubtedly a Person of a very great and generous Way of thinking, and full of a high Idea of the publick Good and his Country's Honour. To his Vigor, Industry, and undaunted Spirit and Resolution, the Establishment and firm Settlement of this Colony was certainly owing; and therefore it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, to have some farther Account of his Person and Actions. And this we are enabled to do the more authentically, as he hath himself, at the Request of Sir Robert Cotton, the famous Antiquarian, left a brief Relation of his principal Travels and Adventures.

He was born a Gentleman, to a competent Fortune, at Willoughby in Lincolnshire, in the Year 1579. From his very Childhood, he had a roving and romantic Fancy, and was strangely set upon performing some brave and adventurous Achievement. Accordingly, being about thirteen Years of Age at School, he sold his Satchel and Books, and all, he had, to raise Money, in order to go secretly beyond Sea. But his Father dying just at that Time, he was stopped for the present, and fell into the Hands of Guardians, more intent on improving his Estate, than him. However, at fifteen, in the Year 1594, he was bound to a Merchant at Lynne, the most considerable Trader in those Parts. But because he would not send him immediately to Sea, he found Means in the Train of Mr. Peregrine Berty, second Son to the Lord Willoughby, to pass into France. Here, and in the Low-Countries, he first learnt the Rudiments of War; to which Profession he was led, by a strong Propensity of Genius. He was afterwards carried into Scotland, with delusive Hopes, from a Scottish Gentleman, of being effectually recommended to King James. But soon finding himself baffled in his Expectations, he returned to Willoughby, his native Place; where meeting with no Company, agreeable to his Way of thinking, he retired into a Wood, at a good Distance from any Town, and there built himself a Pavilion of Boughs, and was wholly employed, in studying some Treatises of the Art of War, and in the Exercise of his Horse and Lance. But his Friends, being concerned at such a whimsical Turn of Mind, prevailed with an Italian Gentleman, Rider to the Earl of Lincoln, to insinuate himself into his Acquaintance; and as he was an expert Horseman, and his Talent and Studies lay the same Way with Mr. Smith's, he drew him from his sylvan Retirement, to spend some time with him at Tattersfall.
Book III. The History of Virginia.

But Smith's restless Genius soon hurried him again into Flanders; where lamenting to see such Effusion of Christian Blood, he resolved to try his Fortune against the Turks. In order to this, he passed through France, with Variety of Adventure and Misfortune, in which he always shewed a high and martial Spirit. At Marseilles he embarked for Italy. But the Ship meeting with much foul Weather, a Rabble of Pilgrims, on board, hourly cursed him for a Hugonot, railed at Queen Elizabeth and his whole Nation, and swore, they should never have fair Weather, as long as he was in the Ship. At last, the Passions of these pious Christians rose so high, that they threw him overboard; trusting, we may suppose, in the Merrit and Supererogation of that holy Pilgrimage, to expiate the trifling Offence and Peccadillo of Murder. However, Smith, by the Divine Assistance, got safe to a small uninhabited Island, against Nice in Savoy. From thence he was the next Day taken off by a French Rover, who treated him very kindly, and with whom he therefore made the Tour of the whole Mediterranean, both on the Mebonitan and the Christian Coasts. At length, after a desperate Battle, having taken a very rich Venetian Ship, the generous Frenchman set him ashore, with his Share of the Prize; amounting to five hundred Sequens in Specie, and a Box of rich Commodities, worth near as much more. And now out of Curiosity ranging all the Regions and Principalities of Italy, he at last went to Vienna, and entered himself a Gentleman Volunteer, in Count Meldritch's Regiment, against the Turk.

He had not been long in the Christian Army, before he was distinguished for a Man of great personal Bravery; and in the Sieges of Olumpagh and Alba-Regalis, he was the Author of some Stratagems, which shewed a happy Talent for War, and did signal Service to the Christian Cause. He was thereupon immediately advanced to the Command of a Troop of Horse; and was, soon after, made Serjeant Major of the Regiment, a Post, at that Time, next to the Lieutenant Colonel. But Count Meldritch, a Transylvanian Nobleman by Birth, afterwards passed with his Regiment, out of the Imperial Service, into that of his natural Prince, Sigismund Bathori, Duke of Transylvania. And here, endeavouring to recover some patrimonial Lordships, then in the Possession of the Turk, he laid Siege to a strong Town, chiefly inhabited by Renegades and Banditti. Whilst their Works were advancing slowly, and with great Difficulty, a Turkish Officer issued forth of the Town, and challenged any Christian, of the Dignity of a Captain, to a single Combat. Many were eager of the Honour of humbling this
this haughty Musselman; but it was at last decided, by Lot, in favour of Captain Smith. Accordingly, the Ramparts of the Town being filled with fair Dames and Men in Arms; and the Christian Army drawn up in Battalia, the Combatants entered the Field, well mounted and richly armed, to the Sound of Hautboys and Trumpets; where, at the first Encounter, Smith bore the Turk dead to the Ground, and went off triumphantly with his Head. But the Infidel Garrison being enraged at this, he afterwards engaged two other Officers; and being a great Master of his Arms, and the Management of his Horse, he carried off their Heads, in the same Manner. After which, being attended with a Guard of six thousand Men, with the three Turkish Horses led before him, and before each a Turk's Head upon a Spear, he was conducted to the General's Pavilion; who received him with open Arms, and presented him with a fine Horse, richly caparisoned, and with a Scimitar and Belt, worth three hundred Ducats. Soon after, the Duke himself, coming to view his Army, gave him his Picture, set in Gold; settled three hundred Ducats upon him, as a Yearly Pension; and issued his Letters patent of Noblesse, giving him three Turks Heads, in a Shield, for his Arms; which Coat he ever afterwards bore, and it was admitted and recorded in the Herald's Office in England, by Sir William Segar, Garter, principal King at Arms.

But soon after, the Duke of Transilvania was deprived of his Dominions by the Emperor; and Smith, at the fatal Battle of Rottenton, in the Year 1602, was left upon the Field, among the dreadful Carnage of Christians, as dead. But the Pillagers, perceiving Life in him, and judging by the Richness of his Habit and Armour, that his Ransom might be considerable, took great Pains to recover him. After that, he was publickly sold, among the other Prisoners; and was bought by a Bashi, who sent him to Constantinople, as a Present to his Mistress Charatza Tragybigzanda, a beautiful young Tartarian Lady. Smith was then twenty three Years of Age, in the Bloom of Life, and, as it seems, of a very handsome Person. For this young Lady was so moved with Compassion, or rather Love, for him, that she treated him with the utmost Tenderness and Regard. And to prevent his being ill used, or sold, by her Mother, she sent him into Tartary, to her Brother, who was Timor Bashi of Nalbrits, on the Palus Maestis. Here, she intended, he should stay, to learn the Language, together with the Manners and Religion of the Turks, till Time should make her Mistress of herself.
Book III. The History of VIRGINIA.

But the Bashaw, suspecting something of the Matter, from the affectionate Expressions, with which she recommended and pressed his good Usage, only treated Smith with the greater Cruelty and Inhumanity. Smith's high Spirit, raised also by a Conscience of Tragabigzanda's Passion, could but ill brook this harsh Treatment. At last, being one Day threshing alone, at a Grange above a League from the House, the Timor came, and took Occasion, to kick, spurn, and revile him, that forgetting all Reason, Smith beat out his Brains, with his threshing Bat. Then reflecting upon his desperate State, he hid the Body under the Straw, filled his Knapsack with Corn, put on the Timor's Cloaths, and mounting his Horse, fled into the Deserts of Circassia. After two or three Days fearful Wandering, he happened providentially, on the Caftragan, or great Road, that leads into Muscovy: Following this, for sixteen Days, with infinite Dread and Fatigue, he at last arrived at a Muscovite Garrison, on the Frontiers. Here he was kindly entertained and presented, as also at all the Places, through which he passed. Having travelled through Siberia, Muscovy, Transylvania, and the Midst of Europe, he at length found his old Friend and gracious Patron, the Duke of Transylvania, at Leipsick, together with Count Meldritch, his Colonel. Having spent some time with them, the Duke, at his Departure, gave him a Pass, intimating the Services, he had done, and the Honours, he had received; presenting him, at the same Time, with fifteen hundred Ducats of Gold, to repair his Losses. And although he was now intent on returning to his native Country, yet being furnished with this Money, he spent some time, in travelling through the principal Cities and Provinces of Germany, France, and Spain. From the last, being led by the Rumour of Wars, he passed over into Africa, and visited the Court of Morocco. Having viewed many of the Places and Curiosities of Barbary, he at last returned, through France, to England; and in his Passage in a French Galley, they had a most desperate Engagement, for two or three Days together, with two Spanish Men of War. In England, all things were still, and in the most profound Peace; so that, there was no Room or Prospect for a Person of his active and warlike Genius. And therefore, having spent some time, in an idle and uneasy State, he willingly embarked himself with Captain Gosnold, in the Project of settling Colonies in America, and came to Virginia.

His Conduct here hath been sufficiently related; and I shall finish his Character, with the Testimonies of some of his Soldiers and Fellow-Adventurers. They own him to have
have made Justice his first Guide, and Experience his second: That he was ever fruitful in Expedients, to provide for the People under his Command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing, he either had, or could procure: That he rather chose to lead, than send his Soldiers into Danger; and upon all hazardous or fatiguing Expeditions, always shared every thing equally with his Company, and never desired any of them, to do or undergo any thing, that he was not ready, to do or undergo himself: That he hated Baseness, Sloth, Pride, and Indignity, more than any Danger: That he would suffer Want, rather than borrow; and Starve, sooner than not pay: That he loved Action, more than Words; and hated Falseness and Covetousness, worse than Death: and, That his Adventures gave Life and Subsistence to the Colony, and his Loss was their Ruin and Destruction. They confess, that there were many Captains in that Age (as there are indeed in all Ages) who were no Soldiers; but that Captain Smith was a Soldier, of the true old English Stamp, who fought, not for Gain or empty Praise, but for his Country's Honour and the publick Good: That his Wit, Courage, and Success here, were worthy of eternal Memory: That by the mere Force of his Virtue and Courage, he awed the Indian Kings, and made them submit, and bring Presents: That, notwithstanding such a stern and invincible Resolution, there was seldom seen a milder and more tender Heart, than his was: That he had nothing in him counterfeit or fly, but was open, honest, and sincere: and, That they never knew a Soldier, before him, so free from those military Vices, of Wine, Tobacco, Debts, Dice, and Oaths.

From this Account of Captain Smith, extracted from his own Writings and the Testimony of his Contemporaries and Acquaintance, it will be easily seen, that he was a Soldier of Fortune, who had run through great Variety of Life and Adventure. And indeed he was so famous for this in his own Age, that he lived to see himself brought upon the Stage, and the chief Dangers, and most interesting Passages of his Life, racked, as he complains, and misrepresented in low Tragedies. I cannot therefore forbear transiently observing Oldmixon's Mistake, who says, that the Company took him into their Service, because he was a noted Seaman, and famed for his Experience in maritime Affairs. But to remark all the Errors of our Historians, but most especially of Oldmixon, the weakest, most idle, and erroneous of all others, would be an infinite Work, and too often interrupt and break the Thread of my Narration. I hope therefore, the courteous Reader will be satisfied
Book III. The History of Virginia.

Satisfied with this short Caution and Animadversion, once for all. For to speak the Truth ingenioufly, I had rather find out and correct one Miftake in my own, than expose and ridicule twenty Blunders in the Histories of others. But to return to the Affairs of Virginia.

It hath been before said, that the Admiral-Ship, with Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport President, on board, was separated from the rest of the Fleet in a Storm. She was so racked and torn by the violent Working of the Sea, and became so shattered and leaky, that the Water rose in the Hold above two Tire of Hogheads; and they were obliged to stand up to their Middles, with Kettles, Buckets, and other Vessels, to bail it out. And thus they bailed and pumped, three Days and Nights, without Intermiſſion; and yet the Water seemed rather to gain upon them, than decrease. At last, all being utterly spent with Labour, and seeing no Hope, in Man's Apprehension, but of prefently finking, they resolved to shut up the Hatches, and to commit themselves to the Mercy of the Sea and God's good Providence. In this dangerous and desperate State, some, who had good and comfortable Waters, fetched them, and drank to one another, as taking their last Leaves, till a more happy and joyful Meeting in the other World. But it pleased God, in his moſt gracious Providence, so to guide their Ship, to her beſt Advantage, that they were all preferved, and came safe to Shore.

For Sir George Somers had sat, all this Time, upon the Poop, scarce allowing himſelf Leifure, either to eat or sleep, cunning the Ship, and keeping her upright, or the muft, otherwise, long before this, have foundered. As he there sat, looking withſfully about, he moſt happily and unexpectedly defcried Land. This welcome News, as if it had been a Voice from Heaven, hurried them all above Hatches, to see what they could ſcarce believe. But thereby, improvidently forſaking their Work, they gave fuch an Advantage to their greedy Enemy, the Sea, that they were very nigh being swallowed up. But none were now to be urged, to do his best. Altho' they knew it to be Bermudas, a Place, then dreaded and ſhunned by all Men, yet they spread all the Sail, and did every thing else, in their Power, to reach the Land. It was not long, before the Ship struck upon a Rock; but a Surge of the Sea caſt her from thence, and ſo from one to another, till she was moſt luckily throwen up between two, as upright, as if she had been on the Stocks. And now the Danger was, left the Billows, overtaking her, ſhould, in an Infiant, have ſashed and ſhivered her to Pieces. But all on a ſudden, the Wind
lay, and gave Place to a Calm; and the Sea became so peaceable and still, that, with the greatest Conveniency and Ease, they unhitched all their Goods, Victuals, and People, and in their Boats, with extreme Joy, almost to Amazement, arrived in Safety, without the Los of a Man, altho' more than a League from the Shore.

How these Islands came by the Name of Bermudas, is not certainly agreed. Some say, that they were so named after John Bermudaz, a Spaniard, who first discovered them about the Year 1522. Others report, that a Spanish Ship, called the Bermudas, was cast away upon them, as she was carrying Hogs to the West-Indies, which swam ashore, and increased to incredible Numbers. But they had been, in all Times before, infamous and terrible to Mariners, for the Wreck of many Spanish, Dutch, and French Vessels. They were therefore, with the usual Elegance of the Sea Stile, by many called the Isle of Devils; and were esteemed the Hell or Purgatory of Seamen, the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorn Place in the World.

But the safe Arrival of this Company was not more strange and providential, than their Feeding and Support was beyond all their Hopes or Expectation. For they found it the richest, pleasantest, and most healthful Place, they had ever seen. Being safe on Shore, they disposed themselves, some to search the Islands for Food and Water, and others to get ashore, what they could, from the Ship. Sir George Somers had not ranged far, before he found such a Fishery, that, in half an Hour, he took, with a Hook and Line, as many as sufficed the whole Company. In some Places, they were so thick in the Coves, and so big, that they were afraid to venture in amongst them; and Sir George Somers caught one, that had before carried off two of his Hooks, so large, that it would have pulled him into the Sea, had not his Men got hold of him. Two of those Rock-Fish would have loaded a Man; neither could any where be found, fatter, or more excellent Fish, than they were. Besides, there were infinite Numbers of Mullets, Pilchards, and other small Fry; and by making a Fire in the Night, they would take vast Quantities of large Crawfish. As for Hogs, they found them in that Abundance, that, at their first Hunting, they killed thirty two. And there were likewise Multitudes of excellent Birds, in their Seacons; and the greatest Facility, to make their Cabins with Palmeta Leaves. This caused them to live in such Plenty, Eafe, and Comfort, that many forgot all other Places, and never desired to return from thence.
In the mean while, the Thoughts of the two Knights were busily employed, how to proceed, in this desperate State of their Affairs. At last, it was resolved, to deck the Long-boat with the Ship's Hatches, and to send Mr. Raven, a stout and able Mariner, with eight more in her, to Virginia; to get Shipping from thence, to fetch them away. But she was never more heard of; and such was the Malice, Envy, and Ambition of some, that, notwithstanding Sir George Somers's eminent Services, there arose great Differences between the Commanders. So that, as if, according to the Observation of a Spanish Author, the Air of America was infectious, and inclined Men's Minds to Wrangling and Contention, they lived asunder, in the Height of this their Calamity, rather like mere Strangers, than distressed Friends. But the several Parties, each resolved upon building a Vessel. In the mean while, two Children were born. The Boy was called Bermudas, and the Girl Bermuda; and in the midst of all their Sorrows, they had a merry English Wedding. But the two Cedar Ships being, at length, finished, and rigged with what they saved from the Sea-Venture, they calked them, and paid the Seams with Lime and Turtle's Oyl, instead of Pitch and Tar; which quickly became dry, and as hard as a Stone. Sir George Somers had no Iron in his Bark, except one Bolt in the Keel. And now, their Provisions being laid in, and all Things in Readiness, after about Nine Months Abode there, they set Sail, on the 10th of May, 1610. They left behind them two Men, Christopher Carter and Edward Waters; who, for their Offences, fled into the Woods, and desired, rather there to end their Days, than to stand to the Event of Justice. For one of their Accomplices had been shot to Death, and Waters was actually tied to a Tree to be executed; but he had, by Chance, a Knife about him, with which he secretly cut the Rope, and ran into the Woods. There also came from England with them, two Indians, named Namontack and Machumps. But, upon some Difference, Machumps slew Namontack; and having made a Hole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut off his Legs, and laid them by him. Neither was the Murder ever discovered, before he got to Virginia.

Whilst these Things were passing in Bermudas, the Colony in Virginia was reduced to the utmost Misery and Distresses. Captain Percy, their Governor, was so sick and weak the whole Time, that he could neither go nor stand. Wherefore he could not keep up his Authority with such a Seditious Crew, nor act with that Vigor and Industry, as
might justly have been expected from him. Captain Martin from Nanfanond, and Captain West from the Falls, having lost their Boats, and near half their Men, were returned to James-Town. For the Indians no sooner understood, that Smith was gone, but they revolted, and spoiled and murdered all they met. And now they had twenty Presidents, with all their Appurtenances of Parasites and Profusion. They lavishly spent the Provisions, sent from England in the last Ships; which, however, were so bad, and so insufficient in Proportion, that the poor famishing People, in the Bitterness of their Heart, poured forth, the whole Time, the most dreadful Curses and Excommunications against Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer. And they were therefore soon obliged, to depend wholly, on what Captain Smith left; which he had provided, only to serve his own Company for some Time, with Intention, afterwards to lay in a much larger Stock. But before these Provisions were quite consumed, Captain West and Captain Ratcliffe, each with a small Ship, and thirty or forty Men well appointed, went abroad to trade. Ratcliffe, upon Confidence of Pocabento's fair Professions, was slain, with thirty others, as careless as himself. Only one Man of the Company escaped; and Pocabento saved a Boy, one Henry Spilman, who lived for many Years, by her Means, among the Patowmacks. But Pocabento, still as he found Opportunity, cut off their Boats, and denied them Trade; so that Captain West failed off in his Ship to England.

And now, they were all deeply sensible of the Loss of Captain Smith. Even his bitterest Enemies, and greatest Maligners, would curse their Destiny for his Departure. Instead of Corn and Contribution from the Indians, which his Industry and Authority still wrested from them, they had nothing but Scrofts and mortal Wounds. And as for their Hogs, Sheep, Goats, Hens, and other Animals, their riotous Commanders, and the Indians, daily consumed and destroyed them. So that they traded away their Swords, Firelocks, and any thing else they had, with the Indians; who were thereby enabled, the more easily, often to embrace their cruel Hands in their Blood. Tho' who had Starch, made no little Use of it, in this Extremity; and the very Skins of their Horses were prepared, by stewing and hasting, into dainty and welcome Food. Nay, so great was the Famine, that the poorer Sort took up an Indian, that had been slain and buried, and eat him; and so did several others, one another, that died, boiled and stewed with Roots and Herbs. And one, among the rest, killed his Wife, powdered her up, and had eaten Part of her, before.
before it was discovered; for which he was, afterwards, deservedly executed. In short, so extreme was the Famine and Distress of this Time, that it was, for many Years after, distinguished and remembered by the Name of the Starving Time. And by these means, of near five hundred Persons, left by Captain Smith at his Departure, within six Months, there remained not above sixty, Men, Women, and Children; and those most poor and miserable Creatures, preserved, for the most part, by Roots, Herbs, Acorns, Walnuts, Berries, and now and then a little Fish. Neither was it possible for them to have held out ten Days longer, without being all utterly extinct and famished with Hunger.

In this calamitous State, did Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers find the Colony, at their Arrival, on the 24th of May. These two noble Knights, being utter Strangers to their Affairs, could understand nothing of the Cause and Reason of these Miseries, but by Conjecture from their Clamours and Complaints, either accusing, or excusing one another. They therefore embarked them all, in the best manner they could, and set Sail for England. At their Departure, many were importunate to burn the Houses and Fort at James-Town. But God, who did not intend, that this excellent Country should be so abandoned, put it into the Heart of Sir Thomas Gates, to save the Town and Fortifications. For having fallen down to Hog-Island, and thence to Mulberry-Point, they descried the Long-boat of the Lord Delawarr; who, being then Captain-General of Virginia, a Title ever after given to our Governors in Chief, came up with three Ships, exceedingly well furnished with all Necessaries, and returned them back to James-Town. His Lordship arrived the 9th of June, accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Waynman, General of the Horse, (who soon after died here) Captain Holcroft, and divers other Gentlemen of Figure. The 10th he came up with his Fleet, went ashore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entered into Consultation about the Affairs of the Colony. Then he made a short Speech to the Company, justly blaming them for their Pride, Vanity, and Sloth, and earnestly entreating them to amend their Ways, lest he should be compelled to draw the Sword of Justice, and cut off such Delinquents; which, he professed, he had much rather draw, to the shedding his own vital Blood, in their Cause and Defence. He also constituted proper Officers of all Kinds, and allotted every Man his particular Place and Business. This Oration was received with a general Applause; and you might soon see the Idle and silly Humours of a divided Multitude, by the Splendor, Union, and Authority of
1610. 

Lord Delawarr, Governor.

The History of Virginia. Book III.

this Government, substantially healed. Captain Martin was removed from the Council, for his weak, cruel, and disorderly Behaviour; and those, who knew not the Path to Goodness before, would now chalk it out to their Fellows, endeavouring to outstrip each other in Diligence and Industry. The French prepared to plant the Vines; the English laboured in the Woods and Grounds; and every Man knew his particular Business and Vocation, which he followed with Alacrity and Pleasure.

But altho' his Lordship's Stores were very plentiful for his own Company, yet were they far from being enough to suffice the whole Colony. For it was computed, that all the Provision landed from England, the whole first three Years, was not sufficient to have served the People, according to their Numbers, six Months. Understanding therefore, what Plenty there was of Hogs and other good Provisions in Bermudas, he determined to send thither for a sufficient Supply. Whereupon Sir George Somers, who, by his Diligence in ranging those Islands, was best acquainted with the Place, and whose generous Mind ever regarded the publick Good, more than his own private Ends, altho' of above three score Years of Age, and of a Fortune in England suitable to his Rank and Quality, yet offered his Service to perform this dangerous Voyage to those rocky and unfortunate Islands; and he promised with God's Assistance, soon to return, with six Months Provision of Flesh. On the 19th of June, he embarked, in his own Cedar Vessel, of thirty Tons; and Captain Samuel Argall was also sent with him, in another small Bark. But Captain Argall was forced back by Stre's of Weather; and was sent, by the Lord Governor, to Patowmack River, to trade for Corn. He there found the English Boy, Henry Spilman, preserved by Pocahontas and those Indians, from the Fury of Powhatan. He was a young Gentleman, well descended; and, by his Acquaintance and Help, Captain Argall received such good Usage from that kind People, that his Vessel was soon freighted with Corn, with which he returned to James-Town. But Sir George Somers struggled long with foul Weather and contrary Winds; and was at last forced to the Northern Parts of the Continent, where he refreshed himself and his Men on the unknown Coast. But departing thence again, he at length arrived safe at Bermudas. Using too much Diligence and Pains in dispatching his Business, and the Strength of his Body not answering the ever memorable Vigor of his Mind, having lived long in honourable Employments, much beloved, and highly esteemed, thro' his whole Life, Nature at last could no longer support the Burthen,
Burthen, but sunk under his too great Labour and Fatigue. Finding his Time but short, after having made a proper Disposition of his Estate, he called them together, and like a valiant Captain and worthy Patriot, exhorted them to be true and constant to those Plantations, and with all Expedition and Diligence, to return to Virginia.

Thus died this virtuous and honourable Knight, in the very Place, where they afterwards built a Town, from him called St. Georges; and the Islands themselves have ever since borne the Name of the Somer-Islands, in Honour to his Memory. But Captain Matthew Somers, his Nephew, and all his Men, were in such Grief and Consternation at his Death, and were so hkeless and unconcerned for the Colony, that they utterly neglected his dying Instructions, to return to Virginia. For having buried his Heart and Entrails, and erected a Cross over the Place; they embalmed his Body, and set Sail with it, in his Cedar Ship, for England. Arriving safe at Whitechurch in Dorsetshire, he was there honourably entered, with many Volleys of Shot, and the Rites of a Soldier. But the Cross was accidentally found, nine Years after, in a Bye-place, overgrown with Bushes, by Captain Nathaniel Butler, then Governor of those Islands. Resolving to have a better Memorial of so worthy a Soldier, and finding a large Marble Stone, brought from England, he caused it to be handsomely wrought by Masons, and laid over the Place; engraving an Epitaph, agreeable to the Taste and Manner of the Times, and environing the whole with a square Wall of hewn Stone. But I understand, that this Monument is now utterly obliterated, and the Place quite forgot and unknown in that Country.

Upon this Occasion, there also happened a very humorous Circumstance. Carter and Waters had been left here, when the rest went to Virginia, as hath been said. And now, by Carter's Persuasions, Waters was still stayed, and one Edward Chard joined himself to them. This Vessel once out of Sight, these three Lords and sole Inhabitants of all those Islands, began to erect their little Commonwealth, with equal Power and brotherly Regency, building a House, preparing the Ground, planting their Corn, and such Seeds and Fruits, as they had, and providing other Necessaries and Conveniences. Then making Search among the Crevices and Corners of those craggy Rocks, what the Ocean, from the World's Creation, had thrown up among them, besides divers smaller Pieces, they happened upon the largest Block of Ambergrafe, that had ever been seen or heard of, in one Lump. It weighed
fourcore Pounds; and is said, itself alone, besides the others, to have been then worth nine or ten thousand Pounds. And now being rich, they grew so restless and ambitious, that these three forlorn Men, above three thousand Miles from their native Country, and with little Probability of ever seeing it again, fell out for the Superiority and Rule. And their Competition and Quarrel grew so high, that Chard and Waters, being of the greatest Spirit, had appointed to decide the Matter in the Field. But Carter wisely stole their Arms; chusing rather, to bear with such troublesome Rivals, than, by being rid of them, to live alone. So doubtful a Good are Riches, and so preposterous a Thing the Mind of Man!

In the mean while, the Lord Delawarr, in Virginia, built two Forts at Kicquoian; and called one, Fort Henry, the other Fort Charles. They stood on a pleasant Plain, near a little River, which they named Southampton River, in a wholesome Air, having Plenty of Springs, and commanding a large Circuit of Ground, which contained Wood, Pasture, and Marsh, with fit Places for Vines, Corn, and Gardens. Here it was intended, that those, who came from England, should be quartered at their first Landing, that the Weariness and Nausea of the Sea might be refreshed, in this pleasant Situation, and wholesome Air. Sir Thomas Gates he sent to England; and Captain Percy, with Mr. Stacy and fifty or three score good Shot, was dispatched to revenge some Injuries of the Passages. But those Indians flying, they burnt their Houses, and took the Queen and her Children Prisoners, whom not long after they slew. So much was the Government already altered from the Clemency of Smith's Administration, who never did, nor would have been permitted, to shed the least Drop of Indian Blood, by Way of Punishment; but was obliged to supply the Want of sufficient Vigor and Power in his Authority, by his own Activity, Industry, Art, and Circumvention.

Some time after, as my Lord Delawarr was at the Falls, the Indians assaulted his Troops, and killed three or four of his Men. But his Lordship had now been long sick. Immediately upon his Arrival, he was seized with an Ague, which, being put by for the present, soon returned with greater Violence than ever; and he began to be distempered with other grievous Sicknesses. He was first affailed by the Flux, then by the Cramp, and after that by the Gout; all which reduced him to so weak and low a State, that, being unable to stir, it brought upon him the Scurvy. Therefore, by the Advice of his Friends, on the 28th of March,
March, he shipped himself, with Dr. Bobun and Captain Argall, for Mavis in the West-Indies, an Island, at that time, famous for wholesome Baths. At his Departure, he committed the Colony to the Charge of Captain Percy, till the Arrival of Sir Thomas Dale. And he left behind about two hundred Persons, most of them in good Health, and well provided with Victualls, and the Natives to all outward Appearance, tractable and friendly. But being crossed by Southerly Winds, they were obliged to shape their Course to the Western-Islands; where his Lordship met with much Relief from Oranges and Lemons, a sovereign Remedy for that Disorder. However he was advised, not to hazard himself back to Virginia yet, but to return to England, for the perfect Recovery of his Health.

The Council in England were, all this while, still eæger after some immediate Profit. Therefore, finding the Smallnes of the Return by those Ships, which had carried the last Supply, they entered into serious Consultation, whether it were better, to come into a new Contribution, or in time to abandon the Country, and give over the Enterprise. Wherefore, upon the Arrival of Sir Thomas Gates, they adjured him to deal plainly with them, and he with a solemn and sacred Oath, gave them a full Account of the State and Prospect of Things. And he told them, that all Men knew, they lay at the Mercy of politic Princes and States; who, for their own proper Utility, devised all Methods to grind their Merchants, and, on any Pretence, to confiscate their Goods, and draw from them all Manner of Gain; whereas Virginia, in a few Years, might furnish all their Wants, with Honour and Security. But, by this time, some of the Adventurers were become suspicious of the Treasurer’s Fairness in the Carriage and Management of the Business. To which the Lord Delawarr’s Return added a farther Damp and Discouragement, and bred such a Coldness and Irresolution in many of them, that they endeavoured to withdraw their Payments. Being sued, some pleaded in Chancery, upon their Oaths, that the Monies were not converted to the Use intended, but to private Mens Gains; and that no Accounts were kept, or at least legally audited and examined. But this was overruled, and no ways regarded or believed; and Sir Thomas Smith’s Integrity was then thought so unquestionable, that they were obliged to pay their Sums subscribed. The Lord Delawarr also, being much pleased with the Country, and cordial in the Affair, made a publick Oration in the Council; which he afterwards published, to allay their Discontents, and give Satisfaction to all. And his Lordship protested himself willing.
Sir Thomas Dale, Governor.

1611.

The History of Virginia. Book III.

Sir Thomas Dale, Governor.

Sir Thomas Dale, High Marshal of Virginia, with three Ships, Men, and Cattle, and with all other Provisions, thought necessary for a Year; which arrived safe, the 10th of May, 1611. Sir Thomas found the People again falling into their former Estate of Penury and Want. For they were so improvident, as not to put Corn into the Ground, but trusted wholly to the Store, then furnished with only three Months Provisions. His first Care, therefore, was to employ all Hands in planting Corn at the two Forts at Kecocktan; and the Season being then not fully past, they had an indifferent Crop of good Corn. And having taken Order for this Business, and committed the Care of it to his Under-Officers, he hailed back to James-Town; where he found most of the Company, at their daily and usual Work, bowling in the Streets. But he soon employed them about things more necessary; as selling Timber, and repairing their Houses, ready to fall on their Heads. He likewise set many to providing Pales, Posts, and Rails, to empale the new Town, he purposed to build; but being yet unacquainted with the Country, he had not resolved, where to seat it. He therefore spent some time, with an hundred Men, in viewing the River of Nanfamond, in Despight of the Indians, at that time their Enemies. And then he examined James River, up to the Falls; and at length pitched upon a Place for his new Town, on the Narrow of Farrar's Island, in Varina Neck, upon a high Land, nearly inworned by the main River.

But he found it not easy Matter, to reduce his turbulent and seditious People to good Order. About this time, Sir Thomas Smith sent over a printed Book of Articles and Laws, chiefly translated from the martial Laws of the Low Countries. These were very bloody and severe, and no ways agreeable to a free People and the British Constitution; neither had they any Sanction or Authority from the Council and Company in England. However, Sir Thomas Dale, being sadly troubled and pestered with the mutinous Humours of the People, caused them to be published, and put into Execution with the utmost Rigor. And altho' the Manner was harsh and unusual to Englishmen, yet had not these military Laws been so strictly executed at this time, there were little Hopes or Probability of preventing the ut-
ter Subversion of the Colony. For, this Summer, one Webb and one Price entered into a Plot against the Government; which was, soon after, followed by a more dangerous Conspiracy of Jeffrey Abbot. This Abbot had served long as a Soldier, both in Ireland and the Netherlands, and was here Serjeant of Captain Smith's Company; who declares, that he never knew in Virginia, a more able Soldier, less turbulent, of a better Wit, more hardy and industrious, or more forward to cut off those, who endeavoured to abandon the Country, or wrong the Colony. But from what Cause ever his Discontents arose, whether he resented his being neglected and unrewarded, and having others put over his Head and preferred before him, or whether there was any other Reason of his Disatisfaction, it is certain, that this Man, who never received any Reward for his long Services and Deserts, now met with an immediate Punishment for this sudden and passionate Deviation from his Duty. One Cole also, and Kitchens, with three more, plotted to run away to the Spaniards, whom they supposed, from some wrong Information, to be inhabiting, some where within five Days Journey of the Fort. And these Commotions justified Sir Thomas Dale's necessary Severities, which might otherwise have been branded, as many were then ready to do, with being too cruel and tyrannical. But however salutary such sharp and summary Proceedings might be at that time, as I find them owned to have been, and commended by all Parties; and however Sir Thomas Dale might safely be trusted with so great a Power; a Man of much Honour, Wisdom, and Experience; yet it is certain, that these Articles were utterly destructive of the English Freedom and Laws, and gave the Governor such a commanding and despotic Authority, as is, by no means, to be lodged in any Hand, in a Country, that has the least Thoughts or Pretensions to Liberty.

In the Beginning of August, Sir Thomas Gates arrived in six tall Ships, with three hundred Men, an hundred Cattle, two hundred Hogs, and with all Manner of other Munition and Provifion, that could be thought of, as needful and proper. At his Arrival, Sir Thomas Dale's Authority determined, who, after mutual Salutations, acquainted him with what he had done, and what he intended. And now, being eafe of the Burthen of Government, and more at Leifure, he set himself hearty about building his Town; and Sir Thomas Gates, highly approving the Design, furnished him with three hundred and fifty Men, such as he himself made Choice of. He set Sail from James-Town, the Beginning of September; and being arrived at the Place,
Sir Thomas Dale, Governor.

he environed it with a Palisade, and in Honour of Prince Henry, called it Henrico. And then he built a Church, and Storehouses; and at each Corner of the Town, high commanding Watch Towers. This being accomplished, he next provided proper and convenient Houses for himself and Men, which were finished with all possible Speed, to the great Comfort and Satisfaction of his Company and the whole Colony.

The Ruins of this Town are still plainly to be traced and distinguished, upon the Land of the late Col. William Randolph, of Tuckahoe, just without the Entrance into Farrar's Island. It lay from River to River, upon a Plain of high Land, with very steep and inaccessible Banks, and the Neck without, being well emplaced, gave it all the Security and Conveniency of an Island. It had three Streets of well-framed Houses, a handsome Church, and the Foundation of another laid, to be built of Brick, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and other publick Conveniences. Upon the Verge of the River Bank, stood five Houses, inhabited by the better Sort of People, who kept continual Sentinel for the Town's Security. About two Miles from the Town, into the Main, he run another Palisade, from River to River, near two Miles in Length, guarded with several Forts, with a large Quantity of Corn-ground emplaced and sufficiently secured. Besides these Precautions, there may still be seen, upon the River Bank within the Island, the Ruins of a great Ditch, now over-grown with large and stately Trees; which, it may be supposed, was defended with a Palisade, to prevent a Surprize on that Side, by crossing the River. And for a still further Security to the Town, he intended, but never quite finished, a Palisade on the South Side of the River, as a Range for their Hogs; and he called it Hope in Faith and Coxendale. It was about two Miles and an half long, and was secured by five of their Manner of Forts, called Charity Fort, Elizabeth Fort, Fort Patience, and Mount Malady, with a Guest House for sick People, upon a high and dry Situation, and in a wholesome Air, in the Place, where Jefferson's Church now stands. On the same Side of the River also, Mr. Whitaker, their Preacher, chose to be seated; and he emplaced a fair Parsonage, with an hundred Acres of Land, calling it Rock-ball.

About Christmas, Sir Thomas Dale, to revenge some Injuries of the Appamattock Indians, assaulted and took their Town, without the Loss of a Man. This Town stood at the Mouth of the River, and was accounted but five Miles, by Land, from Henrico. And Sir Thomas, considering how convenient it would be to the English, resolved to possess and
and eat it, and, at the Instant, called it New-Bermudas.

Sir Thomas Gates, Governor.

He annexed, to the belonging Freedom and Corporation for ever, many Miles of champion and wood-land Ground, in several Hundreds, by the Names of the Upper and Nether Hundreds, Rockdale, (now called Rockdale) Hundred, Shirley Hundred, and Digges's Hundred. At Bermudas, where was the most Corn-ground, he first began to plant; and with a Pale of two Miles, across from River to River, he enclosed and secured eight English Miles in Compass. Upon this Circuit, there were soon built many fair Houses, to near the Number of fifty. Rockdale was also enclosed with a cross Palisade, near four Miles in Length, and there were many Houses, planted along the Pale, within which their Hogs and Cattle had twenty Miles Circuit to graze in securely.

It will not be thought, I believe, foreign to the History of Virginia, occasionally to intersperse some Account of the Fortunes of Sir Walter Raleigh, our Founder, and the first Author, to the English of settling Colonies in America. Just before the Death of Queen Elizabeth, he received a Challenge, upon some Quarrel, from Sir Amias Preston, one of Essex's Followers, and a Man of the Sword; which however was made up, by the Mediation of a certain great Nobleman, before it came to the last Decision. But on this Occasion, Sir Walter, like a prudent and affectionate Father of a Family, had conveyed all his landed Estate, which consisted of about three thousand Pounds a Year, to his Wife and Son. This was fortunately a Bar to his Lands falling absolutely to the Crown, upon his Attainder. They were only forfeited for his own Life; and the King, upon some powerful Intercession, restored them to him again. So that he lived, under his Confinement, with much Elegancy, Neatness, and Affluence. For he was naturally a great Lover of Propriety; and had been, in the Time of his Prosperity, both in his Dress and Equipage, one of the most sumptuous and polite Persons of the Age. And now, being cut off from all the active Parts of Life, he indulged and gave a Loose to his noble Genius, and natural Thirst of Knowledge; and seemed (to use Prince Henry's Allusion) a singing Bird in a Cage; rather a Philosopher, than a Captive; a Student in a Library, than a Prisoner in the Tower. The Restraint of his Body was so far from damping and confining his native Greatness of Mind and Sublimity of Parts, that it only opened a new Field of Glory to him, and rendered him as illustrious, in this still and sedentary Scene of Life, as he had before been, in his most active and prosperous Days. But at last, the Lawyers pretended to
find some Flaw in the Conveyance of his Lands; and an Information was exhibited against him, in the Court of Exchequer. His chief Judge, we are told, was his greatest Enemy; which, I suppose, was Sir Edward Coke, then Lord Chief Justice. For that famous Lawyer, notwithstanding his vast Abilities and Knowledge in the Common Law, will be branded to all Futurity, for bawling and railing Sir Walter Ralegh out of his Life at his Trial. And Wilson, a contemporary Historian, tells us, that it was popularly objected to him, as a Judge; That he made the Law lean too much to his own Opinion, thereby becoming a legal Tyrant, and striking, whom he pleased, with that Weapon, whose Edge he was able to turn any Way. When the Cause came to Trial, it was determined against Sir Walter Ralegh, only for the Want of one single Word in his Answer, setting forth that Conveyance; which was nevertheless an Oversight of the Clerk, and the Word was in the original Instrument. And thus was he most iniquitously deprived of his Lands; and upon Lady Ralegh's passionate Application to the King, she could obtain no other Answer from him, but I mun have the Land, I mun have it for Car. It was accordingly conferred upon that Favourite, just then in his Rise; and Sir Walter wrote him a Letter upon the Occasion, which may be seen in his Life, by Mr. Oldys; and which may be placed, perhaps, among the most beautiful, wise, and pathetic Compositions, that ever has appeared of that Kind. So invariable was this Monarch in his wrong Judgment of Men and Things, as to aggrandize and enrich so insignificant a Tool, and one so infamously wicked, lewd, and insufficient, as Car, with the Spoils of a Person, so truly virtuous, great, and able, as Sir Walter Ralegh. As if Fortune had conspired to expose his Weakness, and render his Injustice the more conspicuous and remarkable, by the Contrast between the Man, he oppressed, and the Man, he advanced. However, as some Retaliation for the Injustice and Wrong, his Majesty afterwards gave Lady Ralegh and her Son eight Thousand Pounds for the Estate.

**CAPTAIN Matthew Somers and his Company, at their Return to England with Sir George's Body, had made very advantageous Relations of Bermudas. But these were little credited at first, and looked upon, as mere Traveller's Tales; till some of the Virginia Company apprehended, that a Settlement there might be very beneficial and helpful to the Plantation in Virginia. But as by their former Letters-patent, they were only entitled to the Islands within an hundred Miles of their Coast, and as Bermudas lay much beyond**
beyond that Distance, they procured a new Charter from his Majesty, bearing Date March 12, 1611-12. This granted them all the Islands in the Ocean Seas, within three hundred Leagues of the Coast, between the one and fortieth and thirtieth Degrees of Northern Latitude. It also gave them a Power, to set up Lotteries; to sue for the Monies subscribed, requiring the Judges, to favour and further the said Suits, so far forth, as Law and Equity would, in any wife, further and permit; together with other ample Privileges and Authorities, as may be more fully seen in the Charter at large, printed in the Appendix. But the Virginia Company sold these Islands to about an hundred and twenty of their own Members, who were erected into a distinct Society and Body Corporate, by the Name of the Somer-Islands Company. Sir Thomas Smith was elected their Treasurer, or Governor, in England; and some time this Year 1612, Mr. Richard More was sent Governor of the Country, with sixty Men, to make a Settlement and Plantation. They found the three Men, before spoken of, lufy and well. They were very comfortably seated, and plentifully stored with divers Sorts of excellent Provisions. But under Colour, that they were fitted out, at the Charge, and in the Service of the Company, these three poor Men were prosecuted, tormented, and threatened by the Governor, in the Company's Name, 'till they were entirely deprived of their great Treasure of Ambergrase. However a great Part was embezzled by Captain Davies and Mr. Edwin Kendal, to whom they committed it, during the Squabble and Contention. So that not above a Third came into the Hands of the Company; for which, we are told, they afterwards compounded with the Finders, and made them a just and reasonable Satisfaction.

In the Beginning of the same Year, two Ships arrived in Virginia, with a Supply of Provisions and fourscore Men. But these Provisions according to Custom, were very scanty and insufficient; and therefore Captain Argall, who commanded one of the Ships, having recreated and refreshed his Company, was sent to Patowmack River, to trade for Corn. For the Indians about James-Town were in a ticklish State, and little to be depended upon; being Friends or Foes, according as they found Advantage and Opportunity. Captain Argall soon entered into a great Acquaintance and Friendship with Japazaws, King of Patowmack, an old Friend to Captain Smith, and to the whole English Nation, ever since the first Discovery of the Country. Hard by Patowmack, Pocahontas lay concealed, thinking herself safe, and unknown to all but true Friends.
of her absconding from Werowocomoco, cannot easily be judged; except it was to withdraw herself from being a Witness to the frequent Butcheries of the English, whose Folly and Rashness, after Smith's Departure, put it out of her Power to save them. Captain Argall, having got Intelligence of this, engaged to give Japazaws a Copper Kettle, to bring her on board his Ship; promising not to hurt her, but to keep her safe, 'till they could conclude a Peace with her Father. This Savage would have done any thing for the Copper Kettle; and therefore, having no Pretence on Account of her own Curiosity, because she had seen and been in many Ships, he made his Wife pretend, how desirous she was to see one, so that he offered to beat her for her Importunity, 'till she wept. But at last he told her, if Pocahontas would go with her, he was content. And thus, taking Advantage of her Good-nature and obliging Temper, they betrayed this innocent Creature aboard, where they were all kindly received and entertained in the Cabbin. The Captain, when he saw his Time, decoy'd Pocahontas into the Gun Room; only to conceal from her, that Japazaws was any way guilty of her Captivity: When he had received his Reward, the Captain sent for her again and told her, she must go with him, and be the Means and Instrument of Peace, between her Country and the English. At this, the old Traitor and his Wife began to howl and cry, as much as Pocahontas; who, by the Captain's fair Promises and Persuasions, pacified herself, by degrees. And so Japazaws and his Wife, with their Kettle and other Baubles, went joyfully ashore, and she to James-Town, where, altho' a frequent Visitor before, and often a kind Support and Preserver of the Colony, she had never been 'till now, since Captain Smith left the Country.

A Messenger was immediately dispatched to her Father; that he must ransom his Daughter Pocahontas, whom he loved so dearly, with the Men, Guns, and Tools of the English, which he had treacherously stolen and surprized. This unwelcome News much troubled Powhatan, because he loved both his Daughter and their Commodities well; and it threw him into such Perplexity, that it was three Months, before he returned any Answer. Then he sent back seven of the English, with each an unserviceable Musket; and sent Word, that when they should deliver his Daughter, he would make full Satisfaction for all Injuries, and give them five hundred Bushels of Corn, and would be their Friend for ever. But the English answered; That his Daughter should be well used; but that they could not believe, the rest of their Arms were either lost, or stolen
from him; and that therefore, they would keep his Daughter, till he had sent them all back. But this Answer displeased him so much, that they heard no more from him, for a long time after.

At last, in the Beginning of the next Year, Sir Thomas Dale took Pocahontas with him, and went in Captain Argall's Ship, with some other Vessels belonging to the Colony, up into his own River, to his chief Habitation at Werowocomoco, with a Party of an hundred and fifty Men, well appointed. Powhatan did not appear; and although the English told them, their Business was to deliver up their Emperor's Daughter, upon Restitution of the rest of their Men and Arms, yet were they received with many scornful Bravades and Threats. They told them, if they came to fight, they were welcome; but advised them, as they loved their Lives, to retire; or else they would treat them, as they had done Captain Ratcliffe. But after some small Skirmishes, and considerable Damage done the Indians, by burning their Houses, and spoiling all, they could find, a Peace was patched up. They immediately sent Messengers to Powhatan; and they told the English, that there Men were run off, for fear they should hang them; but that Powhatan's Men were run after, to bring them back; and that their Swords and Muskets should be brought, the next Day. But the English, perceiving, that this was all Collusion, only to delay the Time, till they could carry off their Goods and Provisions, told them, that they should have a Truce, till the next Day at Noon; but then, if they had not a direct Answer to their Demands, or found them inclinable to fight, they should know, when the English would begin, by the Sound of their Drums and Trumpets. Upon Confidence of this Truce, two of Powhatan's Sons came on board the Ship, to see their Sister; on whose Sight, finding her well, although they had heard the contrary, they greatly rejoiced; and they promised to persuade their Father to redeem her, and for ever be Friends with the English. Hereupon Mr. John Rolfe and Mr. Sparks were sent to Powhatan, to acquaint him with the Business. They were kindly received and entertained, but not admitted into the Presence of the Emperor. They only spoke with Opechancanough, who promised to do his utmost with his Brother, to incline him to Peace and Friendship. But it now being April, and Time to prepare their Ground, and set their Corn, they returned to James-Town, without doing anything more in the Affair.

Long before this, Mr. John Rolfe, a worthy young Gentleman, and of good Behaviour, had been in Love with Pocahontas,
Pocahontas, and she with him. And at this time, he made the thing known to Sir Thomas Dale, through Mr. Ralph Hamer, and wrote him a Letter, entreaty his Advice; and she likewise acquainted her Brother with it. Sir Thomas Dale highly approved of it; and the Report of this Marriage soon coming to the Knowledge of Powhatan, it was found a thing acceptable to him, by his sudden Consent. For within ten Days, he sent Opachico, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his Sons, to see the Manner of the Marriage, and to do in that Behalf, what they were required, for the Confirmation of it, as his Deputies. It was therefore solemnized in the Beginning of April 1613; and ever after, they had friendly Trade and Commerce, as well with Powhatan himself, as with all his Subjects.

The Chickahominies were a stout, daring, and free People. They had no Werowance, or single Ruler, but were governed in a Republican Form, by their Elders. These were their Priests, and some of the wisest of their old Men, as Assistants to them. In Consequence of these Principles of Government, they took all Opportunities of shaking off Powhatan's Yoke, whom they looked upon and hated, as a Tyrant. And therefore, they had taken Advantage of these late Times of Hostility and Danger as well to the Indians, as to the English, to assert their Liberty. But now, seeing Powhatan so closely linked with the English, both in Affinity and Friendship, they were in great Concern and Dread, lest he should bring them again to his Subjection. To prevent which, they sent Ambassadors to Sir Thomas Dale; excusing all former Injuries, and promising ever after to be King James's faithful Subjects: That they would relinquish the Name of Chickahominies, and be called Tassavatees, or Englishmen, and that Sir Thomas Dale should be their Governor, as the King's Deputy. Only they desired to be governed by their own Laws, under their eight Elders as his Substitutes. Sir Thomas Dale, hoping for some Advantage from this, willingly accepted their Offer. At the Day appointed, with Captain Argall and fifty Men, he went to Chickahominy; where he found the People assembled, expecting his Coming. They treated him kindly; and the next Morning, having held a Council, the Peace was concluded on these Conditions:

I. THAT they should for ever be called Englishmen, and be true Subjects to King James and his Deputies:

II. THAT they should neither kill, nor detain any of the English, or of their Cattle, but should bring them home:

III. THAT
III. THAT they should be always ready, to furnish the English with three hundred Men, against the Spaniards, or any other Enemy:

IV. THAT they should not enter any of the English Towns, before sending in Word, that they were new Englishmen:

V. THAT every fighting Man, at gathering their Corn, should bring two Bushels to the Store, as a Tribute; for which he should receive as many Hatchets:

VI. THAT the eight chief Men should see all this performed, or receive the Punishment themselves; and for their Diligence, they should have a red Coat, a Copper Chain, and King James's Picture, and be accounted his Nobleman.

These Articles were joyfully assented to and ratified, by a great Shout and Acclamation; and one of their Elders began an Oration, addressing his Speech, first to the old Men, then to the Young, and then to the Women and Children, to make them understand, how strictly they were to observe these Conditions, and that then the English would defend them from the Fury of Powhatan, or any other Enemy whatsoever. And thus was their Liberty once more secured; which indeed had its usual good Effects, even among these wild and savage Nations. For altho' Chickakominy is far from being famous for good Land, yet we are told, that they had the largest Fields, and most plentiful Crops of Corn, and the greatest Abundance of all other Provisions and Necessaries, of any People then in the Country. Such a happy Influence had Liberty, and such visible Incitement did firm Property give to the Industry of even that lazy and improvident People.

And now the English began to find the Mistake of forbidding and preventing private Property. For whilst they all laboured jointly together, and were fed out of the common Store, happy was he, that could slip from his Labour, or flubber over his Work in any Manner. Neither had they any Concern about the Increase; presuming, however the Crop prospered, that the publick Store must still maintain them. Even the most honest and industrious would scarcely take so much true Pains in a Week, as they would have done for themselves in a Day. The five Years also, prescribed in His Majesty's Instructions under the privy Seal, for trading all together in common Stocks, and bringing the whole Fruit of their Labours into common Store-houses, were now expired. Therefore, to prevent this Inconvenience and bad Consequence, Sir Thomas Dale allotted each
Man three Acres of cleared Ground, in the 'Nature' of Farms. They were to work eleven Months for the Store, and had two Bushels of Corn from thence; and only had one Month allowed them, to make the rest of their Provisions. This was certainly very hard and pinching; but his new and favourite Settlement at Bermudas Hundred had better Conditions. For one Month's Labour, which must neither be in Seed-time nor Harvest, they were exempted from all further Service; and for this Exemption they only paid two Barrels and a half of Corn, as a Yearly Tribute to the Store. However, the Prospect of these Farmers Labour gave the Colony much Content; and they were no longer in Fear of wanting, either for themselves, or to entertain their new Supplies.

Sir Thomas Dale had been very active and industrious in ranging about and viewing the Country, and was vastly delighted with its Pleasantness and Fertility. Being therefore much vexed and concerned, to find the Possession of so noble a Territory set so light by at home, as even sometimes to be debated, whether it should be farther prosecuted, or entirely abandoned, he wrote a Letter to Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer; wherein he assures them all, and prays them to remember it, that if they should give over the Enterprise, and lose the Country, they would, in their great Wisdom, commit an Error of such Prejudice and Damage to England, as had never happened to it, since the Loss of the Kingdom of France. He desires them not to be gullied and deceived, by the clamorous Reports of base People, but to believe Caleb and Joshua. And if the Glory of God, and the Conversion of those poor Infidels, had no Influence on the rich Mammons of the Earth; yet he advises them to follow the Dictates of their own Avarice, and only to consult their proper Interest and Advantage. For he protests on the Faith of an honest Man, that the more he ranged and saw of the Country, the more he admired it; and that having seen the best Parts of Europe, yet he declares, with a solemn Affeervation, that put them all together, he thought, this Country would be equivalent to them, if it were once well cultivated, and seated with good and industrious People.

EARLY in the next Year, Sir Thomas Gates returned to England, and left the Government again to Sir Thomas Dale. Understanding, that there was a Colony of French, in the Northern Part of Virginia, about the Latitude of 45°, he sent Captain Argall thither, to Port Royal and St. Croix, two Towns, lying on each Side of the Bay of Fundy, in Acadia. Finding the French dispersed abroad in the Woods,
Woods, he surprized their Ship and Bark, lately arrived
from France. In them was much good Apparel, with other
Furniture and Provision, which he brought to James-Town;
but the Men escaped, and lived among the Indians of those
Countries. The Pretence for this Depredation on the
French, was founded on their Right of first Discovery;
and therefore the English, in Imitation of the Spaniards,
laid Claim to the whole Continent, altho' they really pos-
tessed, and had seated so small a Part of it. But it is cer-
tain, that we were, at that time, in profound Peace, not
only with France, but the whole World. In his Return,
Captain Argall likewise visited the Dutch Settlement, on
Hudfon's River; and he alleged, that Capt. Hudfon, the
first Discoverer, under whose Sale they claimed that Coun-
try, being an Englishman, and licensed to discover those
Northern Parts, by the King of England, could not alienate
that, which was only a Part of Virginia, from the English
Crown. He therefore demanded the Possession; and the
Dutch Governor, being unable to resist, peaceably submi-
ted both himself and his Colony, to the King of England,
and to the Governor of Virginia under him. Soon after,
a new Governor arrived from Amsterdam, better provided.
Under Colour of their Right of Purchase, and because the
Country lay void and unoccupied, and consequently open
to the first Possessor, he not only refused to pay the Tribute
and Acknowledgement, which had been agreed upon, but
also began to fortify, and put himself into a Posture of De-
fence. And the Claim of the English, being either wholly
waved for the present, or but feintly pursued, they, this
same Year, made a firm Settlement, which soon became
very flourishing and populous. But Complaint being made,
some Years after, to King Charles I. and by him represent-
ed to the States of Holland, they declared, by a publick
Instrument, that they were no ways concerned in it, but
that it was a private Undertaking of the West-India Com-
pany of Amsterdam; and so referred it wholly to his Ma-
jefty's Pleasure.

Mr. Ralph Hamer, who was afterwards one of our
Council, and to whose Relation we are indebted for this
Part of the History of Virginia, having resided some Years
here, ever since the great Supply 1609, and being now a-
bout to return to England, was very desirous to visit Pow-
hatan and his Court, and to be able, when he went home,
to speak something of his own Knowledge. Sir Thomas
Dale also thought it advisable, to have some further Pledge
of Powhatan's Friendship, besides Pocahontas. It was there-
fore resolved, to send this Gentleman, as his Ambassador,
to demand his other Daughter. Wherefore, Mr. Hamer, taking Thomas Savage for his Interpreter, and two Indians for his Guides, went off in the Morning from Bermuda, (Sir Thomas Dale's favourite Seat, and chief Place of Residence) and arrived the next Evening at Matchot. This was a Seat of the King's, where he then was, a few Miles higher up York River than Werowocomoco. Powhatan knew the Boy, Thomas Savage, well, whom Newport had presented to him, in the Year 1607; and he said to him: My Child, you were my Boy, and I gave you Leave, four Years ago, to go and see your Friends; but I have never seen nor heard of you, nor my own Man Namontack since, although many Ships have gone and returned. Then turning to Mr. Hamer, he demanded the Chain of Pearl, which he sent to Sir Thomas Dale, when the Peace was concluded; and which was to be a Token between them, whenever Sir Thomas sent a Messenger to him; otherwise he was to bind him, and send him back, as a Desertor. It was true, there was such an Agreement; and Sir Thomas Dale had ordered his Page to deliver the Chain to Mr. Hamer, but the Page either neglected or forgot it. Mr. Hamer therefore replied, that he knew not of any such Order; and if there was such a Token, it was only intended, when Sir Thomas, upon the sudden, should send an English Messenger, without an Indian Guide. But if his own People should conduct the Messenger, which was the Case at present, that was a sufficient Testimony and Credential. With this Answer Powhatan was satisfied, and conducted them to his House, where a Guard of two hundred Bowmen attended. First he offered Mr. Hamer a Pipe of Tobacco, and then asked after his Brother, Sir Thomas Dale's Health, and how his Daughter, and unknown Son, lived and liked; And being told, that his Brother was well; and that his Daughter was so delighted with her Condition, that she would not, upon any Account, return and live again with him, he laughed heartily, and seemed much pleased to hear it.

After that, he demanded of Mr. Hamer his Business; who telling him, that it was private, he instantly commanded all out of the House, except his two Queens, that always sat by him, and then bade him speak on. Mr. Hamer first presented him with several Toys, sent by Sir Thomas Dale; and then he told him, that his Brother Dale, having heard of the Fame of his youngest Daughter, intended to marry her to some worthy English Gentleman, which would be highly pleasing and agreeable to her Sister, who was very desirous to see her, and to have her near
Book III. The History of VIRGINIA.

Sir Thomas Dale Governor.

her; and that therefore, he desired, as a Testimony of his Love, that he would send her to him. For since they were now become one People, and designed to dwell together in the same Country, he conceived, there could be no firmer Union, nor stronger Assurance of Love and Friendship, than such a natural Band of Intermarriage and Alliance. Powhatan, who often interrupted him, and betrayed many Signs of Uneasiness, the whole Time, he was speaking, immediately returned this Answer, with much Seriousness and Gravity.

"I gladly accept my Brother's Salute of Love and Peace; which, whilst I live, I will punctually and exactly keep. I likewise receive his Presents, as Pledges thereof, with no less Thankfulness. But as to my Daughter, I told her, a few Days since, to a great Werowance, for two Bushels of Roanoke. Mr. Hamer told him, that the Roanoke was but a Trifle to so great a Prince; and by returning it, he might recall her, and gratify his Brother. And he further assured him, besides strengthening the strict Band of Peace and Friendship between them, that he should have three times the Worth of the Roanoke for her, in Beads, Copper, and other Commodities. This extorted the Truth from him; and he ingenuously confessed, that the Reason of his Refusal, was the Love he bore his Daughter. Altho' he had many Children, yet he delighted in none, he said, so much as her; and he could not possibly live without often seeing her; which he could not do, if she lived among the English. For he had determined, upon no Terms, to put himself into their Hands, or come among them. He therefore desired him, to urge him no farther upon the Subject, but to return his Brother this Answer: That he held it not a brotherly Part, to endeavour to bereave him of his two darling Children at once: That, for his Part, he desired no further Assurance of his Friendship, than the Promise, he had given: and, That from him, Sir Thomas already had a Pledge, one of his Daughters, which, as long as she lived, would be sufficient; but if she should happen to die, he promised to give another. And further, says he, tell him, altho' he had no Pledge at all, yet he need not distrust any Injury from me or my People. There hath been enough of Blood and War. Too many have been slain already, on both Sides; and, by my Occasion, there shall never be more. I, who have Power to perform it, have said it. I am now grown old, and would gladly end my Days in Peace and Quietness; and altho' I should have just Cause of Resentment, yet my Country is large enough, and I can go from you. And this Answer, I hope, will satisfy my Brother."
WHILST Mr. Hamer stayed here, by chance their came
an Englishman, who had been taken, three Years before,
at Fort Henry, on the Mouth of Hampton River. He was
grown so like an Indian, both in Complexion and Habit,
that he could be distinguished from them by nothing but his
Language. He begged of Mr. Hamer, to procure his Li-

berty; which, with much Difficulty, he did. And now
being about to return, Powhatan desired him, to put his
Brother Dale in Mind, to send him several Toys and Tools;
which, left he should forget, he made him write them down,
in a Table-Book, that he had. However he got it, it was
a very fair one; and Mr. Hamer desired, he would give it
to him. But he told him, he could not part with it: For
it did him much Good, in shewing to Strangers. After
which, having furnished them well with Provisions, he di-
missted them; giving each a Buckskin, extremely well dres-

sed, and sending two more, to his Son and Daughter.

ALL this while, Sir Thomas Dale, Mr. Whitaker, Min-
ist of Bermuda-Hundred, and Mr. Rolfe, her Husband,
were very careful and assiduous, in instructing Pocahontas
in the Christian Religion; and she, on her Part, expressed
an eager Desire, and shewed great Capacity in learning.
After she had been tutored for some time, she openly re-
nounced the Idolatry of her Country, confessed the Faith of
Christ, and was baptized by the Name of Rebecca. But her
real Name, it seems, was originally Matoax; which the In-
dians carefully concealed from the English, and changed it to
Pocahontas, out of a superstitious Fear, lest they, by the
Knowledge of her true Name, should be enabled to do her
some Hurt. She was the first Christian Indian in these Parts;
and perhaps the sincerest and most worthy, that has ever
been since. And now she had no Manner of Desire, to re-
turn to her Father; neither could she well endure the brutish
Manners, or Society, of her own Nation. Her Affect
ion to her Husband was extremely constant and true; and he,
on the other Hand, underwent great Torment and Pain, out
of his violent Passion, and tender Solicitude for her.

WHILST these things were transacting in Virginia,
Captain Smith's restless and enterprising Genius could not
brook a Life of Indolence and Inactivity at home. He there-
fore undertook a Voyage for some Merchants, to that Part
of Virginia, which had been discovered by Captain Gosnold,
in the Year 1602. Having made an advantageous Voyage
for his Owners, and taken an exact Chart of the Coast,
he then first called the Country New-England. This
Name was afterwards confirmed and established by Prince
Charles, who likewise, at Captain Smith's Desire, gave
Names
Names to several Places and Rivers along the Coast, from Cape Cod as far as the Bay of Fundi. It was resolved, to settle the Country immediately, under the Conduct of Captain Smith; who was graced with the empty Title of Admiral of New-England. But he meeting with many cross Accidents the next Year, and being at last taken by a French Rover, the Project became abortive; and it was the Year 1620, before any Settlement was made there.

This Year also, Sir Walter Ralegh first published his History of the World; which was received with all due Applause and Admiration by the Publick, but gave Umbrage, we are told, to the King. Some Authors have insinuated, that that Royal Pedant was piqued, as an Author, and jealous of him in that Capacity. As if it would ever come into any Man's Head, to put that admirable Work in the Balance with his old-wifhe Garrulities; which are now only to be found in the Collections of the Curious, as a comic and ridiculous Entertainment, and a proper Subiect for Laughter and Contempt. Others say, that he was scandalized at the Freedom, which Sir Walter Ralegh had taken with some dead Princes, and particularly with Henry VIII; thinking it perhaps an unpardonable Insolence, and a Kind of Blasphemy, that any, below a Crowned Head, should dare to cenfure their Actions. Whilst others tell us, that, through the mischievous Insinuations of some Syco- phants about him, he suspected, that it contained an artful Exposure of himself and Ministry. And thus, truly, as Mr. Oldys observes, the General History of the World was turned into a secret History, or oblique Satire, upon his Court; and Scotch Faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old Jew- ish, Babylonian, or Assyrian Shoulders. Altho', as it is re- marked by another Author, he might easily be led to fancy, he saw in the Face of Ninias, the Son of Semiramis, his own Features, as Successor to the Britifh Semiramis; and that his particular Injustice, to the Writer, was well repre- sented and cenfured, in the Story of Ahab's taking away Naboth's Vineyard. But from whatever Cause his Offence arose, I thought, it would not be unexceptable to the Rea- der, to make this short Digression, to the Honour of that immortal Work. For next to the Praife and Approbation of the Wife, it hath been ever esteemed a secondary Honour to an Author, to be carped at, by the foolifh Cavils, and vain Exceptions, of thofe of a contrary Character.

In June, Captain Argall set Sail for England, and gave an Account of the quiet and flourishing State of the Colony; which Report was strengthened by the Testimony of Sir Thomas Gates, who had returned from Virginia, the March before.
before. To back this Success with all Expedition, the Council and Company resolved, that the great Virginia Lottery should be drawn, with all convenient Speed; which was accordingly done, the following Year 1615. The same Year, a Spanish Ship was seen to beat to and fro, off Point Comfort; and at last, she sent a Boat ashore, for a Pilot, Captain Davies, the Governor of the Fort, readily granted one, and sent Mr. John Clarke; who was no sooner on board, but they set Sail, and carried him off to Spain. He was there strongly solicited, to become their Instrument and Pilot, to betray the Colony. But he bravely and honestly resisted all their Temptations; and was, therefore, obliged to undergo a long Captivity. At last, after four Years Imprisonment, he was, with much Suit, returned to England. But the Spanish Ship, by some Accident, left three of her own Men behind; who were immediately seized, and strictly examined. They said, that having lost their Admiral, they were forced into these Parts; and that two of them were Captains, and in chief Authority in the Fleet. But sometime after, one was discovered to be an Englishman; who had been a Pilot in the Spanish Armada, in the grand Expedition against England, in the Year 1588. And not content with this Perfidy and Baseness to his Country, he began here to plot, and persuaded some Malecontents, to join with him, in running away with a small Bark. But they were apprehended, and some of them executed; and he, now lying at Mercy, readily confessed, that there were two or three Spanish Ships at Sea, sent purposely to discover the State of the Colony. But he said, their Commission was not to be opened, till they arrived in the Bay; so that, of anything further he was utterly ignorant. One of the Spaniards died here, and the other was sent to England. But this Renegado was hanged at Sea, by Sir Thomas Dale, in his Voyage homeward.

For Sir Thomas Dale had now been five Years in the Country; and he had been, for some time past, kept here, and supported under a longing Desire to visit his own Affairs and Family, by a just Sense of his Duty to God and his Country, and out of Compassion to the poor Creatures committed to his Charge. But now the Country being in perfect Peace, and having settled all things in good Order, and made Choice of Mr. George Yeardley, to be Deputy-Governor in his Absence, he embarked for England, with Pocahontas and Mr. Rolfe her Husband; and carrying with them several young Indians of both Sexes, they all arrived safe at Plimouth, the 12th of June, 1616. But at the time of his Daughter's Departure, Powhatan had withdrawn himself.
himself to the King of Moy-umps, on Patowmack River; out of Fear, as it was supposed, of Opechancanough. For he was then a Man very gracious and popular, both with the Indians and the English; and as Opitchapan, the second Brother, was lame and decrepit, he was thought to look upon Powhatan, a Person of equal Ambition and Capacity for Government, as the only Obstacle to his aspiring Hopes and Designs. And therefore, Powhatan suspected at this time, that he had entered into a Conspiracy with the English, to betray him into their Hands; a Case, which he had ever dreaded, and which, he had therefore turned the whole Force of his Politicks, to prevent and avoid.

This worthy and honourable Knight, Sir Thomas Dale, who may justly be ranked among the first and best of our Governors, had, by his singular Vigor and Industry, and by his Judgment and Conduct of the Affairs of the Colony, put things into such an easy and prosperous Condition, that, from this Time, an Alteration was made, in the Right of Adventure for Land. For before this, every one, that had adventured his own Person, or had sent, or brought others over, at his own Expense, was entitled to an hundred Acres of Land, personal Adventure, for each; which was the utmost that could be granted in any single Share, by the King's Letters patent, and which are called, in the Company's Journals, and other old Records, Great Shares, or Shares of old Adventure. But now it was thought, all Difficulties were so far overcome, and the Country settled in such a Way of subsisting and flourishing, that, henceforward, fifty Acres only were allowed to those, who came, or brought others over, at his own Expence, was entitled to an hundred Acres of Land, personal Adventure, for each; which was the utmost that could be granted in any single Share, by the King's Letters patent, and which are called, in the Company's Journals, and other old Records, Great Shares, or Shares of old Adventure. But now it was thought, all Difficulties were so far overcome, and the Country settled in such a Way of subsisting and flourishing, that, henceforward, fifty Acres only were allowed to those, who came, or brought others over. This is the ancient, legal, and a most indubitable Method of granting Lands in Virginia, and was intended for a great and useful End, the encouraging People, to come themselves, and to bring or send others over, to inhabit the Country; and that they might, immediately upon their Arrival, have a Place, whereon to set themselves and Families. And I likewise find, in the old Records, that upon populating and saving these hundred, or fifty Acres (the Terms of which I can nowhere find) they were entitled to the like Quantity more, to be held, and seated at their Leisure. But besides this, there were two other Methods of granting Lands. The one was upon Merit: When any Person had conferred a Benefit, or done Service, to the Company or Colony, they would bestow such a Proportion of Land upon him. However, to prevent Excess in this Particular, they were restrained, by his Majesty's Letters patent, not to exceed twenty great Shares, or two thousand Acres, in any of these Grants. The other
was called the Adventure of the Purse; every Person, who paid twelve Pounds ten Shillings into the Company’s Treasure, having thereby a Title to an hundred Acres of Land, any where in Virginia, that had not been before granted to, or possessed by others.

Sir Thomas Dale, among the many Praises, justly due to his Administration, had been particularly careful of the Supplies of Life; and had, accordingly, always caused so much Corn to be planted, that the Colony lived in great Plenty and Abundance. Nay, whereas they had formerly been constrained, to buy Corn of the Indians Yearly, which exposed them to much Scorn and Difficulty, the Cafe was so much altered under his Management, that the Indians sometimes applied to the English, and would sell the very Skins from their Shoulders for Corn. And to some of their petty Kings, Sir Thomas lent four or five hundred Bushels, for Repayment whereof the next Year, he took a Mortgage of their whole Countries. But as the Cultivation of Tobacco began to creep in, and to obstruct their Crops of Corn, he made a Law, that no Tobacco should be set, till such a Proportion of Corn-Ground, for the Master and each Servant, had been first prepared and planted. And this was the first Beginning and Essay, towards making Tobacco here, which hath ever since continued the Staple Commodity of our Country. But after his Departure, both his Law and his Example were utterly laid by and forgot; and the new Governor himself, together with all the People, being tempted with the View of present Gain, applied themselves so eagerly to planting Tobacco, that they neglected the other necessary Article of Life. And besides this Neglect of their Corn, the Supplies of People, sent this Year, came, as usual, so unprovided, that they soon eplied them of the Plenty, left by Sir Thomas Dale, and reduced them to great Straights. Mr. Yeardley therefore, sent to the Chickahominies, for the Tribute Corn. For there being about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, fighting Men of the Nation, and each Man being obliged, by the Treaty, to bring two Bushels of Corn to the Store, such a Quantity would have been a great Relief to their Neccessities. But receiving a slight and affrontive Answer, he drew together an hundred of his best Shot, and went to Chickahominy.

The People there received him with much Scorn and Contempt. They told him, he was only Sir Thomas Dale’s Man; that they had indeed paid his Master, according to Agreement; but as for him, they had no Order, and less Inclination, either to obey, or give him any Corn. And being...
being led by their Captain, Kissanaconem, Governor of Ozinies, they drew themselves up, in martial Rank and Order, as they saw the English do. But after many Remonstrances, and much Bravade and Threatening on both Sides, Mr. Yeardley, at last, commanded his Men to fire upon them. Twelve were slain, and as many taken Prisoners; among whom, were two of their Senators, or Elders. For their Ransom, they had an hundred Bushels; and the Indians, to buy their Peace, readily loaded their three Boats with Corn; one of which, crowding on, to bring the first News to James-Town, was unhappily overset, all her Corn lost, and eleven Men drowned.

Opechancanough, a politic and haughty Prince, was much vexed, that neither his Brother, nor he, could ever bring this obstinate People, firmly to their Obedience. Being, therefore, as attentive to enslave them, as they were watchful and tenacious of their Liberty, he took this Opportunity, and agreed with Mr. Yeardley, to come to no Terms with them, without his Advice and Consent. And as the English passed down the River with their Prisoners, he met them at Ozinies, and pretended to the Indians, that he had, with great Pains and Solicitation, procured their Peace. To requite which Service, they cheerfully proclaimed him King of their Nation, and flocked, from all Parts, with Presents of Beads, Copper, and such other Trifles, as were in Value and Esteem among them. And he was glad, to be content with this precarious Acknowledgment, from a free and resolute People. But this seasonable and vigorous Chastisement of the Chickahominies, and especially the strict League and Friendship, with Opechancanough, and the whole Imperial Family, kept the rest of the Indians in such Awe and Dependance, that the English followed their Labours, with the utmost Quietness and Security. Many also of the Savages daily brought them such Provisions, as they could get; and would be their Guides in hunting, and sometimes hunt for them themselves. And thus, by such an Intercourse and Familiarity, the English and they lived together, the rest of this Gentleman's Government, as if they had been one People. And Captain Smith tells us, that Mr. Yeardley had some trained to their Pieces to kill him Fowl, as had likewise several other Gentlemen in the Country; and that these soon became as dextrous and expert, as any of the English. But the Captain's Authority is rendered very suspicious in this, by the Records of our General Court. For long after, the Governor and Council received some Queries from England, the fourth whereof was: *What was the Cause of the Massacre, and who first taught*
The History of Virginia. Book III.

1616.

George Yeardley, Governor.

the Indians the Use of Fire Arms? Whereupon, in a Court held the 1st of November, 1624, Robert Poole and Edward Grindon, Gentlemen, ancient Planters and Inhabitants of the Country, appear, and declare, upon Oath, their Knowledge of the Matter. Their Depositions entirely clear Mr. Yeardley, and shew him to have been very cautious and careful in that Point; and they throw the whole Blame upon Captain Smith himself, Sir Thomas Dale, and some other inferior Officers and private Persons.

In the mean while, Pocahontas, or the Lady Rebecca, as they now affected to call her, was kindly received in England. She was, by this time, well instructed in Christianity, spoke good and intelligible English, and was become very civil and ceremonious, after the English Fashion. She was likewise delivered of a Son, of which she was extremely fond; and the Treasurer and Company gave Order, for the handsome Maintenance of both her and her Child. Besides which, her Company was courted, and she kindly treated, by many Persons of highest Rank and Quality in the Nation. There hath been indeed a constant Tradition, that the King became jealous, and was highly offended at Mr. Rolfe, for marrying a Princess. That anointed Pedant, it seems, had so high an Idea of the Jus divinum, and indefeasible Right, of Powhatan, that he held it a great Crime and Misdemeanor, for any private Gentleman to mingle with his Imperial Blood. And he might perhaps likewise think, consistently with his own Principles, that the Right to these Dominions would, thereby, be vested in Mr. Rolfe's Posterity. However, it passed off, without any farther bad Consequence, than a little Displeasure and Murmuring.

At the time of Pocahontas's Arrival, Captain Smith was preparing for a Voyage to New-England. He was much concerned, that the Suddenness of his Departure put it out of his Power, to do her that Service, which he desired, and she well deserved at his Hands. However, being well acquainted at Court, and particularly favoured and countenanced by Prince Charles, he drew up, and presented to the Queen, before her Arrival in London, a Representation of her Case and Desery. In this, he expreses a deep Sense of Gratitude to her; and sets forth her great Affection, and many Services, to himself, and the whole English Nation. That by her, their Quarrels had often been appeased, their Wants supplied, and their Dangers averted: That she, under God, had been the chief Instrument, of preserving the Colony, and confirming the Settlement: That being taken Prisoner, she had become the Means of a firm Peace and Alliance, with her Father: That she was now married...
an English Gentleman; who, however, was not of Abil-
ity, to make her fit to attend her Majesty: That she was
the first Christian, that ever was of that Nation; and the
first Virginian, that ever spoke, or became English: That
being well received, and honoured by so great a Queen, be-
yond what her simple Thought could imagine or conceive,
she might be the Means of adding another Kingdom, to his
Majesty's Dominions: But by bad Usage, her present Love
to the English and Christianity, might be turned to Scorn
and Fury; and all the Good she had, or might do, diverted
to the worst of Evil. And therefore, he humbly recom-
mands her to her Majesty, as a proper Object of her Favour
and Regard, on Account of her Birth, Virtue, Simplicity,
and forlorn Condition in a strange Country.

But before Captain Smith's Departure, Pocahontas came
up to London. Being offended by the Smoke of the Town,
she was immediately removed to Brentford; whither Smith
with several of his Friends, went to visit her. After a cold
and modest Salutation, she turned from him in a passionate
Manner, hid her Face, and could not be brought to speak
a Word for two or three Hours. But at last, she began to
talk; and she reminded him of the many Services she had
done him, and of the strict Promise of Friendship, between
him and her Father. You, says she, promised him, that
what was yours, should be his; and that you and he would
be all one. Being a Stranger in our Country, you called Pow-
hatan Father; and I, for the same Reason, will now call you
so. But Captain Smith, knowing the jealous Humour of
the Court, durst not allow of that Title, as she was a
King's Daughter; and therefore, he endeavoured to excuse
himself from it. But she, with a stern and steady Coun-
tenance, said: You were not afraid to come into my Father's
Country, and strike a Fear into every Body, but myself; and
are you here afraid, to let me call you Father? I tell you then,
I will call you Father, and you shall call me Child; and so I
will for ever be of your Kindred and Country. They always
told us, that you were dead; and I knew no otherwise, till
I came to Plimouth. But Powhatan commanded Tomocomo
to seek you out, and know the Truth; because your Countrymen
are much given to Lying.

This Tomocomo, (or Uttamaccomack, as Smith calls him)
had Matachanna, one of Powhatan's Daughters, to Wife;
was one of the chief of his Council, and of their Priests;
and was esteemed a very wise and understanding Fellow a-
mong them. He was therefore sent upon this Voyage, by
Powhatan, to take the Number of the People in England,
and to bring him a full and exact Account, of their Strength
and
and Condition. And accordingly, being arrived at Plimouth, he got a long Stick, intending to cut a Notch, for every one he saw. But he was soon tired with such an endless Work, and threw away his Stick; and being asked by the King, after his Return, how many People there were? it is said, that he replied: Count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves on the Trees, and the Sand upon the Sea Shore; for such is the Number of the People in England. But Sir Thomas Dale told Mr. Purchas, that he believed him to be sent by Opechancanough, their King and Governor in Powhatan's Absence and Retreat; and that he was sent, not so much to number the People, as to take an Account of their Corn and Trees. For Namontack, and such others, as had been sent to England formerly, being ignorant and silly, and having seen little else besides London, had reported much of their Men and Houses, but thought, they had small Store of Corn and Trees. And it was therefore a general Opinion among these Barbarians, that the English came into their Country, to get a Supply of these; which might be strengthened and confirmed, by their sending large Quantities of Cedar, Clapboard, and Wainscot, to England, and by their continual Want and Eagerness after Corn. But Tomocomo, landing in the West, and travelling thence to London, was soon undeceived, and saw great Cause, to admire the English plenty. However, he began to take an Account, until his Arithmetick failed him. Meeting Captain Smith accidentally in London, they soon renewed their old Acquaintance. He told the Captain, that Powhatan had commanded him, to find him out, to shew him the English God, their King, Queen, and Prince; of which he had told them so much. As to God, Captain Smith excused and explained the Matter, the best, he could; and as to the King, he told him, that he had already seen him, and should see the rest, whenever he pleased. But he denied, that he had seen the King, 'till, by Circumstances, he was convinced and satisfied. And then, with a melancholly Countenance, he said: You gave Powhatan a white Dog, which he fed as himself; but your King has given me nothing, and yet I am better, than your white Dog. Such an arch Sense had this Barbarian, of the stingy Treatment, with which he had been received at Court.

However, Pocahontas was eagerly sought, and kindly entertained every where. Many Courtiers, and others of his Acquaintance, daily flocked to Captain Smith, to be introduced to her. They generally confessed, that the Hand of God did visibly appear, in her Conversion; and that they had seen many English Ladies, worse favoured, of less ex-
Hook III. The History of Virginia.

At Proportion, and genteel Carriage, than she was. She was likewise carried to Court, by the Lady Delawarr, attended by the Lord, her Husband, and divers other Persons of Fashion and Distinction. The whole Court were charmed and surprised, at the Decency and Grace of her Deportment; and the King himself, and Queen, were pleased, honourably to receive and esteem her. The Lady Delawarr, and those other Persons of Quality, also waited on her, to the Masks, Balls, Plays, and other publick Entertainments; with which she was wonderfully pleased and delighted. And she would, doubtless, have well deserved, and fully returned, all this Respect and Kindness, had she lived to arrive in Virginia.

The Lord Rich was one of the Company in England—a great and powerful, but a most designing, interested, and factious Member. Not content with that lawful and regular Advantage, which might be justly expected, in a due Course of Time, from the Enterprise, but aiming at a sudden and extraordinary Profit, altho' it should be, by the Spoil of the Publick, and Oppression of the private Planters, and being likewise egged on and assisted, by some corrupt and avaritious Persons, he threw himself at the Head of a Faction in the Company, and drew over to his Party, as many Creatures and Dependents, as he possibly could. By their Means and Support, he hoped and endeavoured, to bear such a Sway, both in the Virginia and Somers-Islands Company, that the Management of all things at home, and the Placing all Governors abroad, should be entirely in his Power and Disposal. And altho' he met with a Check in his Designs, from many great and worthy Members, and a vast Majority of the whole Companies, yet he did, at this time, carry a very important Point. Captain Samuel Argall, a Friend and Relation of Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer, was one of Lord Rich's fastest Friends and Favourites. His Lordship therefore, having concerted Matters with him, and entered into a Partnership, procured him to be elected Deputy-Governor of Virginia. And altho' Martial Law was then the Common Law of the Country, yet the better to arm and strengthen him, with the Exercise of such a despotic Authority, and that no Man here might dare to open his Mouth against him, he obtained for him the Place of Admiral of the Country and Seas adjoining.

With these Views and Powers, was Captain Argall fitted out, and sent to Virginia, in the Beginning of 1617. And the Treasurer and Council took Care, for the proper Accommodation of Pocahontas and her Husband, on board the
the Admiral Ship. Mr. Rolfe was also made Secretary and Recorder-General of Virginia, which Place was now first instituted. But it pleased God, at Gravesend, to take Rechontas to his Mercy, in about the two and twentieth Year of her Age. Her unexpected Death caused not more Sorrow and Concern in the Spectators, than her religious End gave them Joy and Surprise. For she died, agreeable to her Life, a most sincere and pious Christian. Her little Son, Thomas Rolfe, was left at Plimouth with Sir Lewis Steukley, who defired the Care and Education of him. This Gentleman was then Vice-Admiral of the County of Devon; but soon after, having seised Sir Walter Ralegh, and been guilty of a notable Piece of Treachery towards him, he drew upon himself the publick Scorn and Detestation. For however hard or unjust Kings and Statesmen may be to those Persons of their Age, who are of the most eminent Parts and Virtues, the Publick is generally more candid in its Judgments, and apt to resent every Hardship or ill Usage to such Men. Sir Lewis Steukley therefore fell unpitied, when he was afterwards detected in corrupt Practices; for which he was obliged to purchase his Life at the Expense of his whole Fortune, and at last died, a poor, despised, and distracted Beggar. And as these Misfortunes happened soon after this Time, it is not to be supposed, that young Mr. Rolfe long enjoyed the Advantage of his Favour and kind Intentions. However, he was carried up to London, and there educated by his Uncle Mr. Henry Rolfe, and afterwards became a Person of Fortune and Distinction in this Country. He left behind him an only Daughter, who was married to Col. Robert Bolling; by whom the left an only Son, the late Major John Bolling, who was Father to the present Col. John Bolling, and several Daughters, married to Col. Richard Randolph, Col. John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. So that this Remnant of the Imperial Family of Virginia, which long ran in a single Person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous Progeny.

But Governor Argall, with his Vice-Admiral, Captain Ralph Hamer, pursued their Voyage to Virginia, where they arrived in May. He found all the publick Works and Buildings in James-Town fallen to Decay; not above five or six private Houses fit to be inhabited; the Market-place, Streets, and all other spare Places, planted with Tobacco; and the Colony dispersed all about, as every Man could find the properest Place, and best Conveniency, for Planting. But soon after his Arrival, he wrote to England, that the Colony was in great Peace and Plenty, and the People busily
busily employed, in preparing for their Crops of Corn and Tobacco. With him returned Tomocomo, who, in our old Records, is called by a third Name, Tomakin. Captain Argall sent him immediately to Opechancanough, who came to James-Town, and received a Present, with great Joy and Thankfulness. Tomocomo railed violently against England, and the English; and particularly, against his best Friend, Sir Thomas Dale. But all his Reports were so clearly disproved before Opechancanough and his Grandees, that much to the Satisfaction of the Grandees, he was rejected and disgraced. But Powhatan, all this while, leaving the Care and Charge of the Government chiefly to Opechancanough, went about from Place to Place, taking his Pleasure, and visiting the different Parts of his Dominions. However, he still continued in good Friendship with the English. He greatly lamented the Death of his Daughter; but rejoiced, that her Child was living. He also, as well as Opechancanough, expressed much Desire to see him; but determined, that he ought not to come over, before he was stronger. And, this Year, one Mr. Lambert made a great Discovery, in the Trade of Planting. For the Method of curing Tobacco then was in Heaps. But this Gentleman found out, that it cured better upon Lines; and therefore the Governor wrote to the Company, to send over Line for that Purpose.

CAPTAIN Argall was a Man of Sense and Industry; and therefore, to secure a Plenty of Provisions, he sent out, the next Year, a Frigate and a small Bark to trade, which brought near six hundred Bushels of Corn, to the great Relief of the Colony. For the Company’s Servants, that worked for the Store, were reduced to fifty four, Men, Women, and Children. But from the Farmers, who were at Captain Argall’s Arrival, eighty one, and from the Indians, as Tribute, they received annually above twelve hundred Bushels. But this Year, there was a great Drought, with a dreadful Storm, that poured down Hailstones, eight or nine Inches round, which did much Damage to both Corn and Tobacco. However, what Tobacco could be saved, was made up, the best at three Shillings a Pound, and the rest at eighteen Pence. The Governor also published several Edicts: That all Goods should be sold at twenty five per Cent, and Tobacco allowed for at three Shillings a Pound, and not under nor over, on the Penalty of three Years Slavery to the Colony: That there should be no private Trade or Familiarity with the Savages: That no Indian should be taught to shoot with Guns, on Pain of Death to Teacher and Learner: That no Person...
should hunt Deer or Hogs, without the Governor's Leave.

That all Hogs, found a second Time in James-Town, should be forfeited to the Colony; and those at Bermuda, ringle:

That no Man should shoot, except in his own necessary

Defence against an Enemy, till a new Supply of Ammunition came in, on Pain of a Year's Slavery: That none

should go on board the Ship, then at James-Town, without

the Governor's Leave; and that no Masters of Ships should

suffer their Sailors to go ashore, or talk with the People at

Kicquotan: That every Person should go to Church, Sun-

days and Holidays, or lie Neck and Heels that Night, and

be a Slave to the Colony the following Week; for the se-

cond Offence he should be a Slave for a Month; and for

the third, a Year and a Day.

The Lord Delawarr, who had withdrawn from the

Government on Account of his Health, and whose Com-
mittion, as Captain-General, was supreme, and superceded

all others, being ardently wished for by the Colony, was

now sent by the Council and Company, in a large Ship,

with a Supply of two hundred People. But meeting with

contrary Winds and much bad Weather, many fell sick,

and thirty died. In this Number was the Right Honoura-

ble the Lord Governor himself; a Person of a most noble

generous Disposition, who had warmly embarked, and

expended much Money, in this Business, for his Country's

Good. Cambden tells us, that he had been feasted at the

Western-Islands, and that his Death was not without Suspi-
cion of Poison. And I think I have somewhere seen, that

he died about the Mouth of Delawarr Bay, which thence

took it's Name from him. But being not able, now to re-
collect the Authority, I shall leave it, as I found it, and

not venture positively to affirm it. After His Death, they

were forced on the Coast of New-England; where they

got a Recruit of Wood and Water, and took such an A-
bundance of Fish and Fowl, as plentifully served them to

Virginia. They likewise here met a small Frenchman, rich

in Bever and other Furs, who feasted them with so great

a Variety of Fish, Fowl, and Fruits, that they were all

amazed; little suspecting, that wild Desert could afford

such a wonderful Plenty of delicate and wholesome Food.

This Ship bringing News, that Multitudes were preparing

in England to be sent, Captain Argall called a Council,

and wrote to the Treasurer and Council in England the

State of the Colony; and what Misery must necessarily en-
sue, if they sent not Provisions, as well as People. And

he likewise represented their Want of skilful Husbandmen,

with Shares, Harms, and other Implements for Ploughing

for
For their Land was exceeding good, and they had now about forty Bulls and Oxen, which were wholly idle and useless, for want of skilful Men to bring them to Labour. However, I find, in our old Records, that some Ploughs, by this time, were set to work.

One Richard Killingbeck, this Summer, attempting a secret Trade with the Indians, was, together with his whole Company, slain by a Party of the Chickahominies; who fearing the Consequences, robbed the Matchacomoco House of their Town, and fled. This was their Temple and religious Treasury; held, to the highest Degree, sacred and inviolable by the Indians. And the Sunday after, they slew two Boys and three young Children, within a Mile of James-Town, while their Parents were at Church. The Governor therefore sent to Opechancanough, who had the Title of their King, and the Power too, as far as Necessity constrained, or it suited with their Humour or Interest. But he excused the Nation from the Guilt, and laid the whole Blame upon some fugitive Robbers; of whose Town he sent him a Basket of Earth, as Possession given; and promised, to send their Heads also for Satisfaction, as soon as they could possibly catch them. But this he never performed; and considering the Perfidy of his Nature, and the exterminating Hatred, he always bore to the English, it is much to be questioned, whether he was not privy to, or perhaps the chief Author and Contriver of the whole Matter. However, by these Acts of Hostility and Barbarity, the whole Nation was rendered obnoxious to the English Power and Revengement, and his Regal Authority firmly rivetted and established among them. Altho' the Governor, being satisfied with this Pretence and Excuse, never farther prosecuted, or revenged, this perfidious Murder and Breach of the Peace.

Captain Argall, all this Time, was not negligent or forgetful of the grand End of his coming to Virginia, but pleased on his unrighteous Gains, by all imaginable Methods of Extortion and Oppression. For besides a Multitude of private Wrongs to particular Persons, he converted in a manner wholly to his own Use and Possession, whatsoever remained, at that time, belonging to the Publick, being the Fruits and Relicts of eighty thousand Pounds Expence. So that he was loudly charged, with many Offences in Matter of State and Government, with Depredation and Waste of the publick Estate and Revenues of the Company, and with great Oppression of the Colony in general, as well as several private Men in particular. And the Cries of his Outrages and Rapine at last became so loud and numerous, and
and the Company in England was so enraged at the Reports and Informations, they received, that they could scarce be restrained from flying to the King, for the Reforms of so many and so great Mischiefs. But Sir Thomas Smith, whether in Favour to Captain Argall, his Kinman, or out of his real Judgement, alledged, that imploring his Majesty's Aid might prove prejudicial to the Company's Power, and of dangerous Consequence to their Liberties; and might also give Room to much publick Scandal and Reflection. And therefore he proposed a milder and less clamorous Way of Proceeding.

To this End, he himself, Alderman Johnson, the Deputy-Treafurer, Sir Lionel Cranfield, and others of the Council, wrote Captain Argall a Letter, dated the 23d of August, 1618; charging him, in very sharp and severe Terms, with many Crimes and Misdemeanors: That he was exceedingly chargeable to the Company, and converted the Fruits of their Expence to his own private Use: That he was grown so proud and insolent, as to scorn the Title of Deputy-Governor, declaring, that he would be no Man's Deputy: That he wronged the Magazine, by his Negligence and Connivency: That he had appropriated the Indian Trade to himself; using the Company's Frigat and other Vessels, together with their Men, to trade for his own Benefit, and prohibiting the Trade of Skins and Furs to all others: That he took the old Planters, who ought to be free, as well as the Company's Tenants and Servants, and set them upon his own Employments: That he expended the publick Store-Corn, to feed his own Men: That he had, for some private End and Purpose of his own, informed the Company, that Opechancanough and the Natives intended to give their Country to Mr. Rolfe's Child, and to reserve it from all others, 'till he came of Age: That he neither looked into, nor regarded, their Instructions; but had, under Pretence of their Commission, disposed of all the Company's Cattle, against their express Orders and Directions, and had converted the Profits thereof to his own Use: That he had, under Colour of his Right, as Admiral, seized and detained some Hides, unlawfully taken or purchased, for which the Company had compounded, with the Lord High Admiral and the Spanish Ambassador, at the great Expence of four hundred Pounds: And in short, that all his Actions and Proceedings seemed to be, as if the Colony was wholly intended for his private Gain and Advantage, and as if he was so great, and they so mean and insensible of Reason, as to let things of this publick and notorious Nature, pass off without a strict and exact Account;
upbraiding him also, with these ungrateful Returns to their Favour and Friendship, in procuring him the Government.

At the same time, they wrote a Letter to my Lord Delawarr, whose Death was yet unknown in England, containing the like Heads of Complaint and Accusation against Captain Argall; and informing him, that by the strange Insolence of his last Letter, and by the Informations of sundry Witnesses, lately come from Virginia, there was more Discontent raised in the Adventurers, and more Danger feared to the Colony, than had ever happened, by any other thing, since the first Beginning of the Enterprise. So that the Adventurers could hardly be restrained from going to the King, altho' far off on a Progress, and procuring his Majesty's Command, to fetch him home as a Malefactor. But to avoid farther Scandal to their Management and Administration, they beseech his Lordship, to send him forthwith to England, to make his personal Appearance, and to give his Answers to such things, as should be laid to his Charge. And forasmuch as it was conceived, that there would be many things, for which he must make Satisfaction to the Company, they desired his Lordship, to seize upon his Tobacco, Skins, Furs, and other Goods, to be sent to them as a Deposit, till all Matters should be satisfied and adjusted; and that he would likewise return the Cattle, and other publick Goods, which he had embezzled, to their proper Places and Owners. And at the same time, there was an Order of Court passed in England, to sequestrate all Captain Argall's Effects, which should be sent home, to make Restitution to the Company for his Rapines and Exactions.

These Letters, coming, by Lord Delawarr's Death, to Captain Argall's Hands, were so far from diverting or repressing his Exorbitances, that they seemed, only to put him upon his Guard, and to render him the more eager and studious to make the best Use of his Time. For my Lady Delawarr complained, that he wrongfully took some of her Goods from her late Husband's Servants, without rendering any Account of them. And indeed he had, in general, assumed to himself a Power, of ordering and disposing of his Lordship's Estate, setting his Tenants and Servants to his own Work, and thereby ruining and depopulating a very large and hopeful Plantation, begun by his Lordship. But one Captain Edward Brewster, alleging Lord Delawarr's Order, for their being under his Management and Direction, endeavoured to withdraw them from the Governor's Work, and to employ them, for the Maintenance of themselves, and for the Benefit of his Lordship's Heirs.
Heirs and Fellow-Adventurers. But one of them refused to obey him, which drew from him some threatening Expressions against the Fellow. This he immediately ran with to the Governor; who being drunk with Power, and impatient of Opposition, (a Distemper, very incident to our American Viceroy's) and being also vexed perhaps, to find any one dare to withstand his arbitrary Schemes of Gain, he cauèd Captain Brewster to be seised, tried by a Court Martial, and condemned to Death.

The Legality of this Proceeding was founded on an Article of the Martial Laws of the Low Countries, introduced among those Articles, sent over by Sir Thomas Smith. This decreed, "That no Man should offer any Violence, or contemptuously refuse or disobey his Commander, or do any Act, or speak any Words, which might tend to breed Disorder or Mutiny, in the Town or Field, or disobey any principal Officer's Directions, upon Pain of Death." But altho' it was evident from his Majesty's Charter, that the Governor had Power to execute Martial Law only in Times of Mutiny and Rebellion, in like Manner as Lords Lieutenants in England had, and that in all other Cases, as well civil as criminal, their Proceedings were to be as agreeable, as conveniently might be, to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy of the Realm of England; and altho' it was as evident, that there was at that time no Pretence of Rebellion or Mutiny, but the Colony enjoyed an universal Peace and Tranquility; yet was this innocent Gentleman's Condemnation most unmercifully driven on, and his Life subjected to the Pleasure of a furious and enraged Enemy. And this, not in an Affair of publick Concern, but in a Dispute of private Right; and when it did not appear, that he had uttered any thing against the Governor, but only some threatening Language against a Servant, that disobeyed his lawful Commands. And the whole was carried on and transacted, under Colour and Pretence of a Law, which could have no legal Force or Validity in the British Dominions. Altho' it must be confessed, that Martial Law was then the reigning Law of Virginia, to the great Discouragement of the Colony, and to the manifest Infringement of the Rights and Liberties of the People, as British Subjects. And this Course, at times introduced and used from the first, as being in a State of War and Danger, was firmly riveted and confirmed by those bloody Articles, sent in by Sir Thomas Smith, which were unfortunately, at their first coming, applied to a good Purpose and Effect by Sir Thomas Dale, in quelling the disorderly and mutinous Humours of the People.
And thus, by this Example and Authority, and by easy Acquiescence and Ignorance in the People of their native Rights and Privileges, it was made the standing Rule of Proceeding, and became the Common Law and Custom of the Country.

But some of the Court, reflecting on the extreme Severity of these Martial Laws, and being also moved perhaps by the particular Hardship and Unrighteousness of the present Case, prevailed on the rest, to go in a Body, and intercede for Captain Brewster's Life. And being also joined by such of the Clergy, as were at Hand, they did, with much Intreaty, and after many Repulses and Allegations of Captain Argall, at last prevail to save his Life. But it was upon this express Condition, that he should take a solemn Oath, neither directly nor indirectly, in England or elsewhere, to utter any contemptuous Words, or do any thing else, that should turn to the Dis honour or Disparagement of Captain Argall; and that he should never return more to Virginia, by any direct or indirect Means. All which was this poor Gentleman, a Person of some Figure and Consideration, obliged to submit to, to respite and put off an immediate Execution. But after his Return to England, being deeply sensible of this oppressive and injurious Treatment, as also to clear his Reputation, and to wipe off the Stain of being a condemned Man, he appealed from the Sentence of the Court Martial in Virginia, to the Treasurer and Company in England. And the Prosecution of this Appeal did greatly contribute, to shew and expose the extreme Rapaciousness and tyrannical Administration of Captain Argall.

A Ship, called the Treasurer, was also this Year, sent from England by the Lord Rich, who was now become Earl of Warwick, a Person of great Note afterwards in the Civil Wars, and Commander of the Fleet against the King. He had aspired to the Title of Earl of Clare; but that being then esteemed the same with Clarence, and a Royal Title, it was judged too high an Honour for a Family in a newer and upstart, and that of Warwick conferred upon him. This Ship was here new victualled, and manned with the stoutest and ablest Recruits, that could be picked out of the whole Colony. And then, under Colour of an old Commission of Hostility from the Duke of Savoy, against the Spaniards, which they had by some Means procured, she was sent to rove on the Spanish Dominions in the West-Indies; where she committed much Ravage, and gained some Booty. But they had the Conscience even to defraud the Mariners, who afterwards made Complaint to the Com*
Company, that they had cheated them of their Share of the Negoes taken; all which were placed on the Earl of Warwick's Lands in Bermudas, and there kept and detained to his Lordship's Use. And this Proceeding was esteemed not only a manifest Act of Piracy, but also a thing of great Danger to the Colony, considering our weak Condition at that time, and the great Strength of the Spaniards in the West-Indies. Mr. Beverley also gives a particular Account of an Expedition, made this Year by Captain Argall in Person, to dislodge the French at St. Croix and Port-Royal in Acadia. But as I cannot find the least Mention of it, in any contemporary Writer, or in any of the old Records, that I have perused and examined, I am apt to think, he is mistaken in the Time, and confounds this with the Expedition, he made under Sir Thomas Dale, in the Year 1614.

But the Company in England, receiving Advice of Lord Delawarr's Death, and finding, that Sir Thomas Smith's Project had thereby failed of Success, came to a Resolution of sending over a new Governor, with Power to examine all Complaints and Accusations against Captain Argall upon the Spot. And therefore Captain Yeardley, who was upon this Occasion knighted, was chosen Governor and Captain-General, and sent upon this Business. But Captain Argall, in the mean while, was fully apprised, by the Earl of Warwick and others, his Associates in England, of every thing, that had passed in their Courts concerning himself. Wherefore, to prevent the Seize of his Goods, he consigned all his Effects, under other Men's Names, and into the Hands of great and powerful Persons. And as to those Goods which were sent home, before he knew of the Order to sequestrate them, the Earl of Warwick, by his Intriguing and Interest, got them all into his own Hands, under Pretence of taking out the Share, which belonged to him by his Right of Partnership, and upon express Promise, to return the rest into the Company's Hands. But this Promise he could never be brought to perform; so that the Company were deprived of the Means to right themselves, and defrauded of that just Restitution, which they had great Reason to expect and demand.

This Year 1618 is likewise memorable, for the Death of two Persons of principal Figure in the Virginian History. The first of these was Powhatan, Emperor of the Indians, a Prince of excellent Sense and Parts, and a great Master of all the Savage Arts of Government and Policy. He was penetrating, crafty, insidious, and cruel; and as hard to be deceived by others, as to be avoided in his own Strategems and Snares. But as to the great and moral Arts of Policy,
Policy, such as Truth, Faith, Uprightness, and Magnanimity, they seem to have been but little heeded or regarded by him. He was succeeded in his Dominions, according to the regular Order of Succession, by his second Brother, Opitchapan; who is sometimes called Itopatin, and Octan. And now upon his Accession to the supreme Power, he again changed his Name to Safawpen, as Opechancanough did his to Mangopeeomen. Upon what Reason of Custom, or Dignity, or Humour, these Changes were made in their Names, I cannot say; but to avoid Confusion, I shall take no Notice of such nominal Differences, but shall always speak of the same Person by the same Name. Opitchapan, being an easy, despicable, and unactive Prince, was soon obscured by the superior Parts and Ambition of his younger Brother, Opechancanough; whose Figure and Activity first drew the Attention, and at last, by degrees, engrossed the whole Power of the Government; although for some time, he was content with, and seemed chiefly to affect, the Title of King of Chickahominy. However they both renewed and confirmed the League with the English; under the Protection of which, every Man peaceably followed his Building and Planting, without any remarkable Accidents or Interruption.

The other Person was Sir Walter Raleigh, the Father and first Mover of these American Colonies; to whom we owe our Name, as we do our Settlement also to the Prosecution of his Design. In October this Year, he ended a Life of much Glory and Adversity, on the Scaffold, to the everlasting Infamy and Reproach of King James. For he was a Person of very great Worth, and of a vast and most extensive Genius; being equally fitted, to shine in every Part of Life, or Branch of Art, to which he applied himself. And he was accordingly alike famed, as a Seaman, a Soldier, a Statesman, and a Scholar. He was therefore universally pitied and lamented, and even interceded for by several Princes; by the Queen, Prince Henry, the King of Denmark, and King of France, whose Agent in England, even at the last, endeavoured to contrive his Escape. But King James, perversely bent on the Wrong, could, by no means, be prevailed upon, to spare the greatest and wisest Head in his Dominions; but shamefully made him a Sacrifice to his darling Dotage, the Spanish Match, a Measure weak in itself, but prosecuted and carried on, with still greater Weakness and Indiscretion. But his Death hath been so often deplored and condemned, that I shall not add to the general Complaint any farther, than by making some brief Extracts out of a Letter, preferred by Mr. Rushworth.
in his Collections, to shew the shameful Cruelty and Injustice of the Act.

This Letter is written, by a great Minister of State in England, to Mr. Cottington, afterwards Lord Cottington, the British Resident at the Court of Spain. In it he complains, as by Order from the King, of the Insincerity and Chicanry of the Spanish Court in that Affair, and sets forth the upright and sincere Intentions of his Majesty. And he says, that he is particularly commanded by his Majesty, to advertife him of the Execution of Sir Walter Ralegh, who was lately put to Death, chiefly for their Satisfaction, and concerning whom he promised speedily to send a Declaration: That, to please them, his Majesty of late had, in many things, strained upon the Affections of his People; and most especially, in this last of Sir Walter Ralegh, who died with great Courage and Constancy, and had raised much Remorse and Compassion in the People, who all attributed his Death, to the Spanish Machinations, and his Majesty’s Desire to do them a Pleasure: And further, he orders him, strongly to insist upon and represent, how able a Man Sir Walter Ralegh was to have served his Majesty, if he had been pleased to have employed him: And that yet, to give them Content, he had not spared him, altho’ he might, by saving his Life, have given infinite Satisfaction to his People, and have had at Command, upon all Occasions, as useful a Man, as served any Prince in Christendom.

Thus fell one of the last-surviving, and the brightest of all the Commanders, bred under Queen Elizabeth, and by her fleshed in Spanish Blood and Spoil. And what is the most reproachful Part of it, he fell a Victim to his own great Merit and Abilities, the Memory and Danger of which, to the Spanish Nation, had been revived, by his late Expedition to Guiana; as also, out of the old Grudge, for his many eminent Services, under his former Royal and illustrious Mistress, Queen Elizabeth, and to place him beyond a Possibility of ever rendering the like Services, to King James or his Son. As the King’s whole Conduct towards him was a strange Medley of Injustice and Inconstancy, so was it smartly observed by his Son, Carew Ralegh; That his poor Father was first condemned, for being a Friend to the Spaniards, and afterwards lost his Life, by the same Sentence, for being their Enemy. He died, as he had lived, with great Lustre and Honour; with the Charity, Serenity, and Renunciation of a Christian, joined to the Magnanimity and intrepid Courage of an old Roman.
Book III. The History of Virginia.

In the Beginning of the Year 1619, Sir George Yeardley was dispatched and sent Governor, with divers Commissions and Instructions for proceeding against Captain Argall in Virginia, where the Facts were committed, and where the Proofs, on both Sides, might readily be had. The Earl of Warwick and his Faction had violently opposed this, but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to betake himself to other Measures. Mr. Rolfe's Commission was either now expired; or else, as I rather believe, he had given Offence to the Company, and was turned out of his Place of Secretary. And this, I find some Reason to suspect, proceeded from his too great Submission and Subserviency to Captain Argall's male Practices. But however that was, the Earl of Warwick obtained that Place from Sir Thomas Smith, for Mr. John Pory, who now went over with the Governor. For the Nomination to that Office was a Compliment, made by the Company to their Treasurer; till afterwards the Earl of Southampton, in the Time of his Treasurership, returned it back to the Company, and referred it wholly to their Choice. By the Means of this Pory, as it was vehemently suspected, the Earl of Warwick got the Ship so long stopped and retarded on the Coast of England, that he dispatched a small Bark, before from Plimouth, to fetch away Captain Argall, with all his Goods and Booty. This Bark arriving the Beginning of April, Captain Argall took immediate Order for his Affairs, and within four or five Days, embarked in her for England. He left Captain Nathaniel Powel Deputy-Governor; a worthy Gentleman, who had come in at the first with Captain Smith, and ever since continued, an honest and useful Inhabitant. But his Government was of very short Duration. For in ten or twelve Days after Captain Argall's Departure, Sir George Yeardley arrived; and was received with the greater Joy and Welcome, as he brought with him several Charters from the Company, of Grants and Liberties to the Colony. For the honest Part and Majority of the Company, being alarmed at these late Proceedings, resolved to be more attentive to the Affair, and to prevent all such Exorbitancies for the future. One of these Charters only have I seen, containing Directions to the Governor and Council of State, to lay off Lands for several publick Ufes; and likewise confirming Titles, and ascertaining the Methods of obtaining Lands in Virginia, and for preventing fraudulent and surreptitious Grants; two of which, of a very extraordinary and inconvenient Nature, had been obtained by Captain Martin and Captain Argall. But Sir George Yeardley, having thus narrowly milled the Quarry, applied himself to the
the Affairs of Government. And first he added the following Gentlemen to the Council; Captain Francis West, Captain Nathaniel Powel, Mr. John Pory, Mr. John Rolfe, Mr. William Wickham, and Mr. Samuel Maceck. For although Captain Powel had been appointed Deputy-Governor, yet was he not of the Council. For, till this time, the Governors, in case of their Absence, always affirmed to themselves the Power of naming their Deputies. Soon after Sir George published his Intention, of holding a General Assembly in a short time; which, I suppose, was one of the chief Privileges and Powers, granted and sent over with him. And I likewise find, by an Instrument of Writing to one Richard Kingsmill, that he had a Power to grant, and accordingly did grant, to all the ancient Planters, who had been here before Sir Thomas Dale’s Departure, a full Release and Discharge from all further Service to the Colony, excepting only such Services, as they should willingly undertake, or were bound in Duty to perform by the Laws of all Nations; together with a Confirmation of all their Estates real and personal, in as full and ample Manner, as the Subjects of England held and enjoyed them. And this Precaution was undoubtedly occasioned by Captain Argall’s Rapines, and many personal Impositions on the ancient Planters and Freemen of the Colony.

The Earl of Warwick was highly incensed at these late Proceedings against Captain Argall; and finding Sir Thomas Smith not stanch, and fit for his Purpose, he pursued, with great Vehemence, the Removal of him and Alderman Johnfon, the Deputy, from the Government of the Company. Those two Gentlemen had also given much Offence, to the greater and better Part of the Adventurers; and lay under a strong Suspicion, as well of Negligence in their Office, as of Collusion and unfair Dealing. Sir Thomas Smith too himself, being far advanced in Years, of tender Health, and very rich, was willing to surrender a Place, of so great Trouble and Fatigue, and so little fair Profit. And therefore, being already Governor of the East-India Company, and lately appointed a Commissioner of his Majesty’s Navy, he declared, at a Quarter Court, held the 28th of April, that he was unable to give that Attendance, which he desired, and which the Affairs of the Company demanded; and for that reason, requested the Favour of them, to be discharged from his Office. And altho’ he was afterwards named by some to be a Candidate, yet he was fixed in his Resolution, and absolutely refused to stand in Election. In his Room, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Wolstenholme, and Alderman Johnfon, were proposed; and the Choice fell on
Sir Edwin Sandys, he having fifty nine Voices, Sir John Wolffenhome twenty three, and Alderman Johnson eighteen. Sir Edwin was a Gentleman of Kent, and a Member of Parliament; a Person of excellent Understanding and Judgment; of great Industry, Vigor, and Resolution; and indefatigable in his Application to the Business of the Company and Colony. He had, before this, on Account of his Industry and Knowledge of their Affairs, been often joined, by the Courts, with Sir Thomas Smith, in the Management of several weighty things, relating to the Colony. So that scarce any thing, whilst he was in Town, passed without him. But he afterwards complained, that what was done, during his Abode in Town, was commonly undone, when he was absent in the Country. Mr. John Farrar, an eminent Merchant of London, with a like Majority, was chosen Deputy-Treasurer; a worthy Second to Sir Edwin Sandys, and every way fit for the Post, conferred upon him.

But not to cast off an old Servant with Disregard, who had, in the Time of greatest Trouble and Difficulty, continued above twelve Years in the principal Office of the Company, at the Motion of Sir Edwin Sandys, twenty great Shares, or two thousand Acres of Land, were bestowed, as a Gratuity, upon Sir Thomas Smith. But there was not the least Notice taken, or Reward given, to Alderman Johnson. And these Alterations in the Government of the Company gave not only much Satisfaction in England, but were also received with great Joy in Virginia, where the old Officers had been long and bitterly exclaimed against, by the general Voice of the Colony. But the Earl of Warwick was so far from gaining by the Change, that he had now a Person of much greater Honour and Integrity, and a Gentleman of principal Figure and Interest in the Nation, to oppose his Schemes and Designs. For altho' Sir Edwin Sandys was much wronged in the Execution of his Office, and even fought to be deterred by Threats of Blood, yet they could no way turn him, from a vigorous Prosecution and Enquiry into the late Disorders in Virginia. At the Expiration of Sir Thomas Smith's Government, after fourscore thousand Pounds Expense and twelve Years Labour, the Colony consisted of about five hundred Persons, Men, Women, and Children. And they had about three hundred Head of Cattle, some Goats, and infinite Numbers of Hogs, both wild and tame. But all the Company's Lands and Plantations were utterly ruined and depopulated by Captain Argall, there being only three Tenants left thereon, and six Men of what he called his Guard. And notwithstanding Sir Thomas Smith's Boast, that he had left
left four thousand Pounds; for the new Treasurer to proceed upon, yet it was found, upon Examination, that the Company was above that Sum in Debt. However Sir Edwin Sandys, and all the founder and more publick-spirited Part of the Company, applied themselves, with a laudable Dilligence and Industry, to reform the Abuses, and by all the Methods, they could devise, to set forward and advance the Plantation.

Sir George Yeardley, upon his Arrival in Virginia, finding a great Scarcity of Corn, made it his first Care to supply that Defect. And therefore he wrote to the Treasurer and Company in England, to excuse him, if he made not such Returns in Tobacco, this Year, as might be expected. For he was determined, by the Blessing of God, to raise such a plentiful Crop of Corn, that the Colony should not, in haste, be in any further Danger of Want. And about the latter End of June, he called the first General Assembly, that was ever held in Virginia. Counties were not yet laid off, but they elected their Representatives by Townships. So that the Burroughs of James-Town, Henrico, Bermuda Hundred, and the rest, each sent their Members to the Assembly. And hence it is, that our Lower House of Assembly was first called the House of Burgesses, a Name proper to the Representatives of Burroughs or Towns; and it hath, by Custom, ever since retained that Appellation, altho’ the Burgesses, or Members for Towns and Corporations, are very few and inconsiderable at present, in Comparison of the Representatives for Counties. Mr. Beverley says, they fate in the same House with the Governor and Council, after the Manner of the Scotch Parliament; and we are told by Smith, that they debated all Matters, thought expedient for the Good of the Colony. The Acts of this General Assembly were remitted to England, and presented to the Company, to be read in their Court, the 20th of March following. For the Company then had the regal Power of confirming, or disanulling our Acts of Assembly. I can no where find, among the Records now extant, any Account of the Particulars, that passed. Only Sir Edwin Sandys, upon Perusal of them, assures the Company, that they were very well and judiciously formed; but they were very intricate, and difficult to be reduced into distinct and proper Heads.

However we may be certain of this happy Effect, that by the Introduction of the British Form of Government, by Way of Parliament or Assembly, the People were again restored to their Birthright, the Enjoyment of British Liberty; and that most grievous and oppressive Custom of
by Martial Law was thereby, if not at once, yet by Degrees, entirely banished and abolished. It is true indeed, that before, both by the Royal Charters, and by all other Law and Reason, the English, transplanted hither, had a Right to all the Liberties and Privileges of English Subjects. And certainly no Person, in his Sensae, would have left the Liberty of England, to come hither (in order to improve the Commerce, and increase the Riches of the Nation), to a State of Slavery; when without that, it was natural to suppose, that they must undergo much Hardship and Labour. Yet by the Necessity of the Times, by the Ignorance of the People, and by the Oppression and Tyranny of Governors, they had, thus far, been deprived of that their native Right. But with the English Form of Government, the English Liberty again revived and flourished; and together with the Nation, they now transplanted and diffused into America their most happy Constitution. From this Time therefore, we may most properly date the Original of our present Constitution, by Governor, Council, and Burgesses; which altho’ defective perhaps in some material Points, yet comes so near to the excellent Model of the English Government, that it must be the hearty Prayer and Desire of all true Lovers of their Country, that it may long flourish among us and improve. For this happy Change, we are chiefly indebted to the Change of the Officers and Governors of the Company in England, and to the Activity and Attention of Sir Edwin Sandys, and many other worthy Members of the Company, to the Affairs of the Colony.

This Summer, they laid off four new Corporations; which encreased the Number of their Burroughs, that had Right to send Members to the Assembly, to eleven in all. And Japazaws, the King of Patowmack, came to James-Town, and invited the English into his River to trade; for a more plentiful Year of Corn had not been known, in a long time. But Captain Ward, being sent thither, was treacherously dealt with by the Natives; and the thing coming to open Hostility, he took from them eight hundred Bushels by Force, and so returned to James-Town. One Captain Stallings, this Year, had the Misfortune, first to have his Ship cast away, and not long after to be slain, in a private Quarrel, by William Eppes. And the whole Colony laboured under so great a Mortality, that no less than three hundred of the Inhabitants died within the Year. But in Mitigation of this, they had the most plentiful Crop of Grain, that had ever yet been raised, since the first Plantation of the Country. And indeed the Company received such an Account of it, as will not easily gain Credit; which
I therefore leave entirely to the Reader's good Pleasure to believe or disbelieve, as he thinks fit; neither should I have related it, had I not found it authentically recorded, in the Company's Journals. For by Letters from Virginia, they were informed, that they had had two Harvests of Wheat, the first being shaken by the Wind, and producing a second; and their Ground was so extraordinary fat and good, that they planted Indian Corn upon the Stubble, and had an excellent Crop of that. But it must be remembered, that rare-ripe Corn was the Corn of those Times, and that they usually had two Crops of it in a Year.

Whilst things were in this State in Virginia, Sir Edwin Sandys was, by no means, idle or negligent of his Charge in England. For turning the whole Bent of his Thoughts, towards the Improvement and Furtherance of this noble Enterprize, he got a Committee appointed, consisting of Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Edward Harwood, and divers other Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens, as well for compiling and reducing the standing Rules and Orders, for the Government of their own Company, into one entire Body, as more especially for constituting Laws, and settling a Form of Government for Virginia, appointing Magistrates and Officers, and declaring their several Functions and Duties. And this was one of the chief Powers and Injunctions of his Majesty's Letters patent and Instructions to the Company. As to the former Part, concerning the Government of themselves, it was easily brought to a tolerable Head. But the latter being a vast Design, of very great Weight and Difficulty, and comprehending no less than a Project for rearing, constituting, and forming a complete Commonwealth, in all its Parts, it never could, notwithstanding Sir Edwin Sandys's great Pains and Diligence, be brought to any satisfactory Conclusion. So that Virginia was left to the best Means of forming its Government; that is to say, to work after the English Plan, with the Assistance of Time and Experience, and the united Sense and Endeavours of its Representatives and Officers of State.

The King had formerly issued his Letters to the several Bishops of the Kingdom, for collecting Money, to erect and build a College in Virginia, for the training up and educating Infidel Children in the true Knowledge of God. And accordingly, there had been already paid near fifteen hundred Pounds towards it, and more was expected to come in. For besides other Particulars, Sir Edwin Sandys, upon some Conference with the Bishop of Litchfield, found, that he had never heard of any Collection in his Diocese; but he promised, as soon as he should have a Warrant, to fur-
Book. III. The History of VIRGINIA. 163

the thing most worthy of their Consideration, both for the Glory of God, and their own Honour. And he told them, that it was an Affair of that Weight and Dignity, that they must expect to render an Account of their Proceedings to the State; and that Negligence therein could never escape publick Notice and Censure, especially of those, who had generously contributed towards it. He therefore had Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir John Wolstenholme, Mr. Deputy Farrar, Dr. Anthony, and Dr. Gulstone, appointed a Committee, to meet, as he should order and direct, and to consult thereupon. And he likewise moved and obtained, that ten thousand Acres of Land should be laid off for the University at Henrico, a Place formerly resolved on for that Purpofe. This was intended, as well for the College for the Education of Indians, as also to lay the Foundation of a Seminary of Learning for the English. In Consequence of these Resolves, Sir Edwin procured fifty Men to be sent this Summer, and fifty more the Beginning of the next Year, to be seated on these College Lands, as Tenants at Halves. They were to have half the Profit of their Labour to themselves, and the other half was to go, towards forwarding the Building, and the Maintenance of the Tutors and Scholars. And as a Man’s Labour was then computed at ten Pounds Sterling a Year, it was intended, hereby to establish an annual Revenue of five hundred Pounds, for this good and pious Work. Mr. George Thorpe also, a Kinsman of Sir Thomas Dale’s, being a Gentleman of his Majesty’s Privy Chamber, and one of the Council in England for Virginia, accepted of the Place, and was sent over the next Spring, as the Company’s Deputy and Superintendant for the College. And for his Entertainment and Support, they granted three hundred Acres of Land, to be for ever annexed and belonging to that Place, with ten Tenants thereon.

In a great and general Quarter Court of the Company, held in November this Year, Sir Edwin Sandys told them, that his Duty and Inclination running equally for the Advancement of this good Action, he had many things to lay before them. And accordingly, he reminded them, that the Maintenance of the Publick, in all States, was of no les Importance, even for the Benefit of private Men; than the Root and Body of a Tree are to the particular Branches. And he recalled to their Remembrance, how by the admirable Care and Diligence of two worthy Knights, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, the publick Estate and Revenue of the Company had been set forward, in a Way to great Perfection: That the former, Sir Thomas Gates, had
the Honour to all Posterity, to be the first named, in his Majesty's Patent and Grant of Virginia, and was also the first, that by his Wisdom, Industry, and Valour, accompanied with exceeding Pains and Patience, in the Midst of many Difficulties, had laid the Foundation of the present prosperous State of the Colony: And the latter, Sir Thomas Dale, building upon those Foundations, with great and constant Severity, had reclaimed, almost miraculously, those idle and dissolute Persons, and reduced them to Labour and an honest Fashion of Life: That proceeding with great Zeal for the good of the Company, he had laid off publick Lands, to yield them a Standing Revenue; placed Servants thereon, as also upon other publick Works, for the Company's Use; established an annual Rent of Corn from the Farmers, and of Tribute from the Barbarians; together with a great Stock of Cattle, Goats, and other Animals: That this had since been the Occasion of drawing so many private Plantations, to seat in Virginia; upon Hope and Promise of Plenty of Corn and Cattle, to be lent them by the Publick, for their Ease and Benefit, at their first Arrival: But that since their Times, all this publick Provision had been utterly laid waste and destroyed: And that besides, for about an hundred Persons, which appeared to have been sent, at the Company's Charge, within the two or three last Years, Sir George Yeardley wrote Word, that, at his Arrival, only three could be found, remaining to the Publick: That as to the Means and Causes of these Dilapidations, he doubted not, but that hereafter, in due time, they would be made fully manifest; but that he forbore, at present to touch upon them, lest he should, by Glance of Speech, give Offence to any Person present (for Captain Argall, the known Author thereof, was then in Court) But as to the Remedies of these Mischiefs, he related to them, what Methods had been already taken. For whereas, not much above three Years before, there had been remitted from Virginia twelve several Commodities, sold openly in Court, to the great Honour of the Action, and Encouragement of the Adventurers; yet since that time, there had been little returned, worth speaking of, except Tobacco and Saffafra; to which the People there applied themselves so entirely, that they would have been reduced to the Necessity of starving, the last Year, had not the Magazine supplied them with Corn and Cattle from England: That this had been the Occasion of stopping and discouraging many Hundreds of People, who were providing to remove themselves thither: That frequent Letters had therefore been sent, from the Council there to the Governor in Virginia, to restrain that immoderate planting of Tobacco.
and to cause the People to apply themselves to other and better Commodities: And that he had also, by the Advice
and Consent of the Council, and according to an Order now
to be proposed, caused to be drawn a new Covenant, to be
inserted in all future Grants of Land, that the Patentees
should not apply themselves, wholly, or chiefly, to To-
bacco, but to other Commodities, therein specified; an
Example whereof they would now see, in a Patent, lying
before them for their Approbation.

But altho' they had been, by no means, negligent in
these Affairs, yet he said, that his principal Care and Study
had been employed, to set up again and restore the publick
Stock and Revenue, to as great, or a greater Degree of
Perfection, than they had heretofore been at. And to that
End, he recounted, how three thousand Acres of Land had
been laid off, for the Governor; twelve thousand for the
Company; and ten thousand, for the University at Henrico.
And that seventy two Persons had already been placed on the
Company's Land, fifty three on the Governor's, and fifty
on the College's; an hundred and seventy five in all. But
not content with this, he told them, that he had still some
farther Propositions to make to them.

And first, he proposed to them, that these Tenants for
the publick might, the next Spring, be encreased to the
Number of three hundred; an hundred for the Company's
Land, an hundred for the College, and an hundred for the
Governor, who should be obliged, at the Expiration of his
Office, to leave the same Number to his Successor; which
would thereby raise a standing Revenue of a thousand Pounds
a Year, and ease the Company of all further Expence for
his Provision and Entertainment. And whereas Care had
been, and still should be taken, during his Office, to send
over to these Lands, divers skilful and discreet Persons, he
proposed, in the second Place, that an hundred Boys and
Girls, of about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, might be
sent to be their Servants and Apprentices; in the Charge
whereof, he hoped, that the honourable City of London
would partake with the Company, as they had formerly
done. And because he understood, that the People in Vir-
ginia, tho' seated there in their Persons for some few Years,
yet were not settled in their Minds, nor intended to make
it their Place of Rest and Continuance, but proposed, after
having got some Wealth, to return again to England, which
tended to the utter Overthrow and Dissolution of the Plan-
tation; he therefore advis'd, and made it his third Propo-
sition, that there should be sent over one hundred Maids,
young and uncorrupt, to make Wives for the Inhabitants:
that Wives, Children, and Families, might render them less moveable, and fix and settle them, together with their Posterity, in that Soil: And that such of these Maids, as were married to the publick Farmers, should be transported at the Company’s Expence; but if any were married to others, that then those, who took them to Wife, should repay the Company their Charges of Transportation. And in Consequence of this Proposition, ninety Maids were accordingly sent the following Spring. As to the Manner of transporting these Persons, to make up five hundred in all for the Publick, he proposed in the fourth Place, that they should not hire Shipping, as heretofore, since each Ship, at its Return, in bare Freight and Wages, emptied the publick Calld of eight hundred, and sometimes a thousand Pounds; but that they should, as he had already done this present Year, take the Advantage of the Ships trading to Newfoundland, and so transport them, at six Pounds a Person, without any after Reckonings. Fifthly, he proposed, the sending twenty Heifers, for every hundred Tenants, three-score in the whole; which, with their Breed, might soon raise them a tolerable Stock; and which he had Hopes of having transported, taking the Opportunity of Shipping in the Western Parts, at ten Pounds a Head, to be delivered in Virginia.

Lastly, as to the Charges, he observed to them, that there never could be a more proper Time, for such large Transportations, than the present; Corn being so exceedingly cheap and plentiful at home, and there being, by their Advices from Virginia, so great Promises of an excellent Crop there. And he also shewed, how much the Company was bound, to give Thanks to Almighty God, for all his Blessings, who continually raised Means, to support and carry on this great Work; and he particularly mentioned one unknown Gentleman alone, who promised five hundred Pounds, on Demand, for the Conversion and Education of three-score Indian Children; and that he had likewise, upon his Letters, received Assurance from sundry Parts, and some of them very remote, that if they proceeded with the Undertaking, they should not want for Money. But not to rely upon such precarious Funds and Hopes, he related to them, particularly, the several Ways and Means, by which the Money would arise. And he estimated the whole Charge, at four thousand Pounds, to be done sparingly; and bountifully, at five thousand. He also promised, not to leave the Company one Penny in Debt, for any Act or Thing, to be performed within his Year; and that he would moreover discharge three thousand Pounds of former Debts,
The history of Virginia.

When, according to the stock, left at the time of his coming to his place, and these things done, he hoped, the publick would again be fully restored, a foundation laid for a future great state, the adventurers and planters well comforted and encouraged, and all matter of scandal and reproach to them and the enterprise removed. And so he concluded, by recommending these points to their most serious consideration, and the whole enterprise to the blessing of Almighty God. These propositions, which had been before made in two several courts, and were now repeated at the particular desire of some noble lords present, were received with that applause, they well deserved; and they passed, upon the question, with unanimous approbation, although Sir John Wolstenholme, in a former court, had made some vain exceptions against them. And Sir Edwin Sandys, with an extreme care and diligence, saw them all afterwards put effectually into execution.

But besides these reputable people, to be transported at the company's charge, the treasurer and council received a letter from his majesty, commanding them, forthwith to send away to Virginia an hundred dissolute persons, which Sir Edward Zouch, the knight marshal, would deliver to them. In obedience to his majesty's command, it was resolved, to send them over with all conveniency, to be servants, which Mr. treasurer understood, would be very acceptable to the colony. But as it was November, and shipping, at that season, not easily procured, it was thought they could not be sent off before January at soonest. But to satisfy his majesty, the company agreed to be at the expense of their maintenance, in the mean while. The treasurer was therefore desired, to deliver this their answer to his majesty, by secretary calvert. But he was told, that the king's command was urgent, and admitted no delay; and that fifty, at least, must with all speed be shipped off. And notwithstanding his just representations, how great inconvenience and expense would thence accrue to the company; that they could not well go in less than four ships, lest, being so many together, they should mutiny, and run away with the vessel; that those four ships, to be got thus suddenly, without taking advantage of the vessels trading to America, would not stand the company in less than four thousand pounds; and that, notwithstanding all, ships were not to be procured so speedily, at that time of the year. Yet nothing, he could allege, giving satisfaction, the company were obliged to appoint a committee of the deputy and other select merchants, to employ all their endeavours, for compassing shipping, with all possible speed.
The History of VIRGINIA. Book III.

And by good Fortune, for the additional Premium of an hundred Pounds, they procured a large Ship, to carry them off; but which nevertheless could not fail before February.

Those, who are acquainted with History, and know, with how high and magisterial a Hand, this King sometimes carried it, even with his Parliaments, will not be surprized, to find him thus unmerciful insult a private Company, and load them, against all Law, with the Maintenance and extraordinary Expence of transporting such Persons, as he thought proper to banish; and that perhaps, without any colourable Pretext, or sufficient Warrant of Law at that time. And I cannot but remark, how early that Custom arose, of transporting loose and dissolute Persons to Virginia, as a Place of Punishment and Disgrace; which although originally design'd for the Advancement and Increas of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great Prejudice and Hinderance to its Growth. For it hath laid one of the finest Countries in British America, under the unjust Scandal of being a mere Hell upon Earth, another Siberia, and only fit for the Reception of Malefactors and the vilest of the People. So that few People, at least few large Bodies of People, have been induced, willingly to transport themselves to such a Place; and our younger Sisters, the Northern Colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one Cause, that they have outstripped us so much, in the Number of their Inhabitants, and in the Goodness and Frequency of their Cities and Towns.

His Majesty had, by his Letters patent, bearing Date the 23d of May 1609, granted the Company a "Freedom from all Custom and Subsidy, for twenty one Years, excepting only five per Cent upon all such Goods and Merchandises, as should be imported into England, or any other of his Majesty's Dominions, according to the ancient Trade of Merchants." Notwithstanding this, which was intended for the Eas and Encouragement of the Infant Colony, the Farmers of the Customs, upon a general Rate made of Tobacco, both Spanish and Virginia, at ten Shillings the Pound, demanded six Pence a Pound, equally upon all; altho' Spanish Tobacco was ually sold at eighteen Shillings a Pound, and sometimes more, and Virginia would seldom bear above three or four Shillings. Mr. Jacob also, Farmer of the Impost upon Tobacco, did most oppressively impose another six Pence a Pound, contrary to the clear and indubitable Tenor of his Majesty's Grant. And the Company, in June this Year, importing twenty thousand Weight, the whole Crop of the former Year.
Year, had delivered it all into the Custom-house, as they were required, that the Tobacco might be weighed, and the Custom answered. But Mr. Jacob, of his own Authority, stopped and seized the Tobacco, till that Impost of six Pence a Pound should be discharged. And this also will soon be perceived by those, who are any thing versed in the History of those Times, to be entirely consonant to the Behaviour of the Customers then; whose Infolence and arbitrary Proceedings, supported by the Royal Authority, and even encreased and carried to a greater Height in the next Reign, was one of the chief and most visible Causes of the general Discontent of the Nation, and of the unhappy Civil War, which ensued.

The Company, being thus wronged and abused, applied themselves to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, and obtained their Letter to Mr. Jacob, to deliver the Tobacco, upon their entering into Bond to pay him, whatsoever should appear to be his Due, upon Certificate from his Majesty's learned Council, within a Month. But Jacob rejecting this, and all other Conditions offered by the Company, and likewise exacting twelve Pence a Pound at Plymouth, upon the Somer-Islands Tobacco, it was resolved to try the Strength of their Charter, and to enter an Action against him for the Damage, which was already computed at two thousand five hundred Pounds Sterling. But afterwards, considering, that their Commodity was very perishable, and that their Suit could not be determined that Michaelmas Term, they altered their Method of Proceeding, and by the Advice of a great Lord of the Privy Council to Sir Edwin Sandys, they brought the Matter before the Council Board; where, upon the Attorney-General's delivering his Opinion clearly, that the Company, by their Letters patent, were free from all Impostion, and after some Delay and Chicanry of Mr. Jacob, it was ordered, upon a full Hearing of the Allegations on both Sides, that he should deliver the Tobacco to the Company, paying all lawful Duties appertaining thereto. And thus, at length, they regained their Goods out of the Hands of this Harpy; but were obliged to sell silently by the great Loss and Damage, occasioned partly, by impairing it's Worth through Drying and other Corruption, and partly by the Fall of the Price, upon the Sale of English Tobacco, made since its Importation. To which was added the daily Expectation of more, both from Virginia and the Somer-Islands, which rendered the Market so mean and dead, that they were sadly puzzled and perplexed, how to dispose of it. And at last, after many Schemes and Efforts to raise the Price, they were obliged
obliged to sell it very low, and were considerable Losers by it.

It was one peculiar Mark and Property of this Family of our Kings, that they were always craving, and for ever poor and in Want, notwithstanding the frequent Contributions of the People, to some of them especially; the Reasons of which, it lies not within my Province at present, to open and explain. And accordingly King James, notwithstanding his natural Antipathy to Tobacco, began now to taste the Sweets of the Revenue, arising from it; and was therefore very ill satisfied, with this Determination of the Privy Council. For in the very Beginning of the next Year, within a Month after, under Colour, that some Spanish Tobacco had sold at twenty Shillings a Pound, he demanded of the Company twelve Pence a Pound, Custom and Impoft, for theirs. But it was unanimously agreed, to stand resolutely upon the Privilege of their Charter, which they could not give up or betray, without the greatest Breach of their Trust and Duty. And therefore, as Virginia Tobacco had never been actually sold for more, than five Shillings a Pound, but generally much lower, they submitted to pay three Pence a Pound Custom, which was full five per Cent. on their highest Price. But however, to avoid all Controvert with the King, as his Majesty had given Order for prohibiting, by Proclamation, the planting English Tobacco for five Years ensuing, they agreed, in Return to that his Majesty's Favour, during the said Term of five Years, if the Proclamation took Effect, and continued so long, to add nine Pence a Pound more, and thereby to make it up twelve Pence; which was the Full of his Majesty's Demand, tho' not in the same Form. But it was conceived, unless this Offer, and the true Meaning thereof, should be entered, as an Act, in the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury's Books, it would be very difficult, at the Expiration of the five Years, to withdraw the Payment, but continuing so long, it might be demanded for ever, as due from the Company to the King. They therefore appointed a Committee, to repair to the Clerk of the Council, and to take Care, that this Bargain be exactly recorded, and also to procure a Copy of the said Record, to be entered in the Company's Journals. But as to the Farm of the Impoft on Tobacco, the Refuval whereof the King, at the same time, offered them, they held it inconvenient at present to be undertaken; but not entirely to reject his Majesty's Offer, they permitted some of their Society, to join for a Part, in the Company's Name, but in Reality, for their own proper Use and Behoof.
The Trade of Virginia had been thus far restrained, and kept in the Adventurers Hands, except a few Interlopers, that straggled in by Chance; and the Method of carrying on this Trade was thus. Every Adventurer, that pleased, subscribed, what he thought proper, to a Roll; which Money, together with a certain Sum perhaps, contributed out of the publick Cash of the Company, made their Capital or Stock. With this they bought Goods, and sent them to the Cape-Merchant in Virginia, who had, long before this, lost his original Office of being Keeper of the publick Storehouses, and was become the Company's chief Factor. The Cape-Merchant, having sold these Goods to the Inhabitants, for Tobacco or other Commodities, remitted the Effects to England. This Society for Trade, called the Magazine, was a distinct Body from the publick Company; but always under its Controle, as it received its Being and Authority from the Company, and as the Joint-Stock of the Company was always the greatest and principal Adventurer in it. Alderman Johnson had ever been at the Head of this Magazine, under the Title of Director; and since the Removal of himself and Sir Thomas Smith from their Offices, it had been the Subject of much Faction and Discord. For they had made many Difficulties, in submitting to the Orders of the Company, concerning the Place of their Meetings; had neglected to bring their Accounts to an Audit, tho' very clear and fairly kept; and had delayed and kept off the making any Dividend; which things had caused much Disturbance and Discontent. To remove therefore such a Block of Offence, it was now agreed to dissolve this Magazine, and to leave the Trade free and open to all; only with this Proviso, that the Goods of the Magazine, then upon Hand in Virginia, should be first sold off, before any of the same Kinds should be vended. But the Diligence, Vigor, and Fidelity of Sir Edwin Sandys, and of others of the Company, had now raised the Reputation of the Action very high. And accordingly there had been presented, by an unknown Person, the former Year, a Communion Cup, with a Cover and Case, a Trencher Plate for the Bread, a Carpet of Crimson Velvet, and a Damask Table-Cloth, for the Use of the College; and another had given a fair Sett of Plate, with other rich Ornaments, to Mrs. Mary Robinson's Church, who had, the Year before, bequeathed two hundred Pounds, towards the Building of it. And now, in the Beginning of this Year, another unknown Person sent five hundred Pounds, directed; To Sir Edwin Sandys, the faithful Treasurer of Virginia. This was for the Maintenance of a convenient Num-
Sir George Yeardley, Governor,

ber of young Indians, from seven or under, to twelve Years of Age, to be instructed in Reading and the Principles of the Christian Religion; and then to be trained and brought up in some lawful Trade, with all Gentleness and Humanity, till they attained the Age of twenty one; and after that, to have and enjoy the like Liberties and Privileges, with the native English in Virginia. And he likewise sent fifty Pounds, to be given into the Hands of two religious and worthy Persons, who should, every Quarter, examine and certify, to the Treasurer in England, the due Execution of this Design, together with the Names of the Children, and of their Tutors and Overseers. This Charity, the Company thought not proper, to entrust to private Hands, but committed the Management of it to Smith's Hundred chiefly. This lay in the Parts above Hampton, up into Warwick, and was so called, in Honour to Sir Thomas Smith. But after this, Sir Thomas, with the Earl of Warwick, and the rest of that Faction, sold out their Shares in this, and other private Plantations, and only reserved their Part in the Company's publick Stock, in order to be present, and to have a Vote at their Courts. Wherefore this was afterwards changed to the Name of Southampton Hundred; either in Honour to the Earl of Southampton, their next Treasurer, or rather, as that Nobleman became the chief Adventurer in the Plantation. And further, for the better procuring and retaining the Indian Children, the Company ordered a Treaty and Agreement to be made with Opechancanough, and authorized Sir George Yeardley, to make him such Presents, out of the Magazine, as would be most grateful to him, and best promote the Design. Mr. Nicholas Farrar, the Elder, (Father, as I take it, to the present and succeeding Deputy-Treasurer of the Company) also bequeathed three hundred Pounds, for converting Infidel Children in Virginia. He ordered this to be paid into the Hands of Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr. John Farrar, at such time, as it should appear by Certificate, that ten Indian Children were placed in the College; and then, by them to be disposed of, according to his true Intent and Meaning. And in the mean time, he obliged his Executors to pay eight per Cent. for the Money, to be given to three several honest Men in Virginia, of good Life and Fame, and such as Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. John Farrar should approve of, each to bring up one of the said Children, in the Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion.

There was, at this time, a great Scarcity of Clergy in Virginia; there being but five Ministers and eleven Bur-roughs, each of which, being some very distant from each other.
other, was erected into a distinct Parish. The Company
indeed had before, in their Charter by Sir George Yeardley,
taken Care of a handsome Provision for the Clergy. For
they had ordered an hundred Acres of Land, in each of the
Burroughs, to be laid off for a Glebe; and that there
should, for their further Maintenance, be raised a standing
and certain Revenue, out of the Profits of each Parish, so
as to make every Living at least two hundred Pounds Sterling a Year. And this Stipend I find, two Years after, settled in the following Manner: That the Minifter should receive Yearly fifteen hundred Weight of Tobacco, and sixteen Barrels of Corn, which was then estimated at two hundred Pounds Sterling: That this should be raised by ten Pounds of Tobacco and a Bushel of Corn a Head, for every labouring Man or Boy, above sixteen Years of Age; provided, it did not exceed fifteen hundred Weight of Tobacco and sixteen Barrels of Corn: But if any Plantation was not able, to make up that Quantity, by ten Pounds of Tobacco and a Bushel of Corn a Head, that, in such Case, the Minifter should be contented with less, according to the Number of Tithables. And now, for a farther Encouragement, that pious, learned, and painful Minifters might be invited to go over, the Company ordered six Tenants to be placed on each of those Glebes, at the publick Expence; and they applied to the Bishop of London, for his Help and Assistance in procuring proper Minifters, which his Lordship readily promised, and undoubtedly performed. For he had ever been a great Favourer and Promoter of the Plantation, and had himself alone collected and paid in a thousand Pounds towards the College; which he would not permit the Company to diminish, by a Present to his Register, who had been very active and useful in the Collection. And for this, and other his Deserts towards them, he was made free of the Company, and chosen one of his Majesty’s Council for Virginia.

As the Country was very defenceless and unfortified, and as the Interests and Improvements of the Inhabitants were now much encreased, and become considerable, they began to grow uneasy in that Particular; and they wrote to the Treasurer and Company in England, to procure them skilful Engineers, to raise Fortifications; promising, themselves to bear the Charge of it. Wherefore, to give them present Satisfaction, and as regular Fortifications, to endure Assault and Battery, were not so needful, as the choosing and improving some Places of natural Strength and Advantage, Sir Thomas Gates was entreated by the Company, as well in regard of his military Skill, as of his Knowledge of the
1620.

Sir George Yeardley, Governor.

the Country, to write them his private Letters of Advice and Direction. And he was also desired, together with Sir Nathaniel Rich, to confer with General Cecil about it, another eminent and military Member of their Society, and youngest Son to the famous Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who likewise promised, if other Methods failed, to write them such particular Directions and Instructions, that they might easily themselves proceed. To them was afterwards added Sir Horatio Vere, who was esteemed the Person of the greatest military Skill and Reputation of any in that unwarlike Age. He was therefore, this Summer, sent Commander of the single Regiment, which King James, in his great Wisdom, thought fit to furnish out, for the Relief and Support of his distressed Son in Law, the Palatine of the Rhine. For altho' General Cecil had been first designed for that Service, yet he was afterwards laid aside, and this Gentleman appointed in his Room.

The Governor and Council, in Virginia, had settled and allowed certain Fees to the Secretary, which were, this Year, sent to England for Confirmation. But the Treasurer and Company were become, from the late Exactions, very jealous and cautious in that Point; and did moreover judge those Fees to be very oppressive and intolerable. And therefore, for the Ease of the Colony, they declared, that the Secretary should receive no Fees at all; but in Recompence of all Services, they allotted five hundred Acres of Land, for him and his Successors, with twenty Tenants thereon. This was laid off on the Eastern Shore, and the Grant was afterwards enlarged. But whereas Captain Argall, in the time of his Suspension from the Place of Admiral, had deputed Abraham Peirsey, the Cape-Merchant, to be his Vice-Admiral, the Company declared that Deputation, to be utterly void and unlawful, and committed the Execution of that Office, to the Governor and Council of State, and to such under them, as they should authorize and appoint.

There had been many scandalous Reports spread (as was intimated in a private Letter to Mr. Bland, a very considerable Merchant of the Company) of the Barrenness and Infertility of the Soil in Virginia. And it also had been one especial Piece of Captain Argall's Policy, in order to dishearten and disgrace the Company, to vilify the Country, both by himself and his Engines, and to represent it as less fertile, than the most barren arable Lands in England. And altho' these Aversions were sufficiently contradicted by his own former Letters and Reports, yet, for a fuller Answer to them, a Commission was sent to Virginia, and a Return made
made upon Oath, of the Strength and Goodness of the Soil. But as Malice is more industrious than Truth, these unjust scandals prevailed but too much, and discouraged many Adventurers from making their Transportations. To obviate therefore all such ill Consequences, it was resolved upon the Motion, and committed to the Care, of Sir Edwin Sandys and Dr. Winstone, to prepare and publish a small Book, containing a Refutation of all such slanderous Reports; and to adjoin, at the End, an alphabetical Index of the Adventurers Names. This last had a double Use. For, in the first Place, it did great Honour to the Enterprize, by shewing, that many of the chief Persons in the Nation, for Wisdom, Fortune, and Dignity, were deeply concerned in, and great Encouragers of it. And next, as this Index was drawn from Sir Thomas Smith's Books, which were very carelessly kept and incorrect, it gave the Alarm to all such, as had paid in their Monies to him, and found themselves omitted in this List. And it accordingly made them bring in his Receipts, or Bills of Adventure; whereby many Sums of Money appeared to have been received by him, which could otherwise never have been made out by his Books, or proved by any other Method.
The Time of Sir Edwin Sandys's Office being expired, there was held a great and general Quarter Court of Election, at Mr. Deputy Farrar's House, in St. Sithe's Lane, on the 17th of May, consisting of three Earls, one Viscount, four Lords, thirty Knights, several Doctors and Esquires, and largely above an hundred other Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens. To this splendid Meeting, Sir Edwin Sandys made a long and very handsome Speech, laying before them the State of their Affairs, at the time of his Accession to the Office of Treasurer, and then. In this he was naturally led to set forth, as well the Negligence and bad Government at home, as particularly the vast Loss and Damage which the Company had sustained, in the time of their Deputy Governor, Captain Argall. And he informed them, that there had, within his Year, been sent out eight Ships at the Company's Expence, and four others by private Adventurers; and that these Ships had transported twelve hundred and sixty one Persons, whereof six hundred and fifty were for the publick Use, and the other six hundred and eleven for private Plantations. He also gave them an Account of the several Gifts, which had been made, this Year, for pious Uses; and of the many Patents, that had passed to various private Adventurers and their Associates, who had under-
undertaken, to transport to Virginia, great Multitudes of People, with much Cattle. And he recounted to them the several Methods, which had been taken, to draw the People off from their greedy and immoderate Pursuit of Tobacco, and to turn them to other more useful and necessary Commodities: That for this Purpose, an hundred and fifty Persons had been sent, to set up three Iron Works: That Directions had been given for making Cordage, as well of Hemp and Flax, as more especially of Silk-grafs, which grew there naturally in great Abundance, and was found, upon Experience, to make the best Cordage and Line in the World; and that therefore each Family had been ordered and obliged, to set an hundred Plants of it, and the Governor himself five thousand: That, besides, it had been recommended to them, to make Pitch and Tar, together with Pot and Soap-Ashes, and to provide Timber of all Sorts, for Shipping, and other Uses; to which End, sufficient Men and Materials had been sent over, for erecting many Sawing-Mills: That the Country abounding in Mulberry Trees of the best Sort, whereon some Silkworms had been found naturally, producing excellent Silk, they had therefore pressed upon them the Culture and Improvement of that Manufacture; and that his Majesty, now the second time, after the Miscarriage of the former, had bestowed upon the Company Plenty of Silkworm Seed, of the best Sort, out of his own Store: That moreover, as the Country yielded naturally a wonderful Variety of excellent Grapes, there had been sent divers skilful Vignerons, together with Store of Vine Slips, of the best European Kinds: And lastly, that the Salt-Works, which had been suffered to run to Decay, were again restored and set up; and that there were now Hopes of such Plenty, as not only to serve the Colony for the present, but also shortly to supply the great Fishery on those American Coasts.

He then exhibited to the Court the Book of his Accounts, examined and approved by five of the seven publick Auditors of the Company, the other two being absent. And he further declared, that for any Business, done within his Year, he had not left the Company, to his Knowledge, one Penny in Debt, except perhaps the Remain of some Charges, which had not been delivered in, or were not yet become due; and that he had also left in Stock twelve hundred Pounds more, than had been left to him the former Year. And next, he proceeded to inform the Company of the Deputy's Accounts, who himself presented them, exactly kept, after the Manner of Merchants, in three Books, subscribed and approved, as well by the Company's Committees, as
The HISTORY of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

all the Auditors. And then Sir Edwin Sandys went on, and told the Court, that he could not but greatly commend Mr. Deputy-Treasurer's Fidelity, Care, and Industry; who, to the Neglect of his own private Affairs, had bestowed his whole Time, together with the great Help and Assistance of his Brothers, on the Business of his Office, which he had discharged, with wonderful Exactness, and an incredible Diligence and Labour. And lastly, he concluded, with his respective Thanks to the several Orders of the Company: First, to the Company in general, for their good Opinion and Affection, in chusing him their Treasurer; Then, particularly to the Lords, for their frequent Presence, to the great Grace and Honour of the Court, and Furtherance of the Enterprise: Next, to the Officers, for their Fidelity and Diligence, in joining with him to support the great Burthen of the Company's Business; And lastly to the Court, for their Goodness and Patience, in bearing with his involuntary Errors and other Infirmities. After which, delivering up his Office, together with the Seals, he desired them to proceed to their Election, according to the Message, lately received from his Majesty; and thereupon withdrew himself out of Court.

For at the Beginning of this Court, before they had entered upon any Business, a Gentleman from the King presented himself to the Board, and signified, that it was his Majesty's Pleasure, out of his especial Care and Affection for the Colony, that the Company should elect one of the four, which he should name to them, and no other, to be their Treasurer. These were Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Roe, Mr. Alderman Johnson, and Mr. Maurice Abbot. Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Johnson had before been in their chief Offices, and the Company conceived themselves to have little Reason, to be satisfied with their Conduct and Proceedings. But in Virginia more especially, where the Effects of their Management had been more sensibly felt, they were notoriously infamous, and utterly detested and cursed by the whole Colony. So that this may be looked upon as an additional Instance of the unhappy Turn of that Monarch, in his Choice of publick Officers. Sir Thomas Roe was indeed, an eminent Person, a Man of Letters, and a very great Traveller, and is well known to the Learned, by the Intimacy and Dearness, that was between him and Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's; who was himself afterwards one of the Company, and of his Majesty's Council for Virginia. But Sir Thomas Roe is most noted, for his Embassy from King James to the Court of the great Mogul, and for his Journal of that Embassy, a most judicious and exquisite
exquisite Book Travels. But since his Return from the Great Mogul’s Court, he had been concerned in the Customs, and was likewise well known, to have had a long and intimate Friendship with Sir Thomas Smith; both which, being suspicious Circumstances to the Virginia Company, would but little contribute towards recommending him to their Choice. As to Mr. Abbot, little is known of him; only that he was a Merchant, and may seem, from some obscure Circumstances, to have been of Kin to his Grace, Dr. George Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

But the greatest Obstacle to the Election of either of these Gentlemen, was, that the Company had, almost unanimously, cast their Eye upon the Earl of Southampton for their future Treasurer, a Nobleman of eminent Quality, Grandson to the Lord Chancellor Wriothesly, (one of King Henry VIII’s Executors, and of the Regents during the Minority of Edward VI.) and Father to the great and virtuous Earl and Duke of Southampton, in the Reigns of Charles the First and Second. He is also famed in History, for his Friendship to the unfortunate Earl of Essex, by whose Rashness and Impetuosity, he was betrayed into some unwarrantable Actions; and was therefore, at the same time with that Nobleman, condemned to Death, but pardoned by Queen Elizabeth, and kept in Prison, during her Life. He was, in Truth, an early, constant, and great Encourager of this Settlement of Virginia, as well as of all other noble Works and Enterprises; and is particularly memorable, for his generous Patronage, and single Munificence, to Shakespeare, the Glory and Prodigy of the English Stage. For he is said to have given him, at one Time, a thousand Pounds, to enable him to go through with a Purchase, which he understood, he had an Inclination to make. But altho’ he had been a furious Friend of Essex’s, to all whom King James declared a particular Regard and Obligation, as that Lord was thought to have acted for his Interests, and altho’ he was admitted of the Privy Council, yet was he but little affected or liked at Court. For his Friendship to the former Earl of Essex was continued down to his Son; whose hard Usage, in some Measure from the Court, in the Cafe of his Wife, could not but have been much disapproved and disgusted by him. And besides, about this Time, the Encroachments of the Prerogative, and the avowed Principles of arbitrary Power, began to raise a Spirit of Liberty in the Nation; and the Earl of Southampton, together with the Earls of Essex and Oxford, were soon distinguished, as the undoubted Heads of the patriot Party in the House of Lords; whilst Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Nathaniel
1620.

Sir George Yardley
Governor.

The History of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

The History of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

By the same Rich, Mr. Selden, and others of the Virginia Company, as well as divers Members not of that Company, appeared with equal Vigor and Resolution, in the House of Commons.

But however the Affections of the Company might stand, they were much troubled and perplexed, by this Message from the King. For should they proceed according to that Nomination, they would certainly admit a very great and evident Breach, in their Privilege of free Election. And should they reject it, they might incur the Suspicion of Defect in Point of Duty and Obedience; an Imputation, ever hateful and easy of Access to the jealous Minds of weak and pusillanimous Princes, and which many of their own disaffected Members would be too ready to improve, to the Disadvantage of the Company. Having therefore consulted the Letters patent, it was at length agreed to adjourn the Election to the next Quarter Court; and after much and earnest Refusal, they prevailed on Sir Edwin Sandys, to continue in his Office, till that time. In the mean while, as it evidently appeared, that the King had been much abuse and misinformed, concerning the Management of their Affairs, they appointed the Earl of Southampton, the Viscount Doncaster, Lord Cavendish, Lord Sheffield, Sir John Davers, Sir Nicholas Tufton, Sir Lawrence Hyde, with others, Gentlemen and Merchants, to deliver in, to his Majesty, a full and true Account, as well of the former, as of the last Year's Administration of their Affairs; and to beseech his Majesty, not to take from them the Privilege of their Charters, but to leave it to their own Choice, to have a free Election. To which Request, his Majesty readily condescended; and farther signified, that it would be highly pleasing and agreeable to him, if they made Choice of such a Person, as might, at all times, and on all Occasions, have free Access to his Royal Presence. And he likewise declared, that the Messenger, in excluding them from the Liberty of choosing any other, but one of the four nominated, had mistaken his Intention; which was indeed, to recommend those Gentlemen to their Choice, but not so, as to bar the Company from the Election of any other.

This Answer being received by the Company with great Thankfulness, Mr. Herbert observed to them, that their Business had, of late, suffered much, as well in Reputation as otherways, by Reason of some unhappy Discontents among them: That they ought, therefore, seriously to think, of applying a present and effectual Remedy to this Evil: That the late Treasurer was a Gentleman of such acknowledged Sufficiency, and of so great Integrity and Industry,
that of his Rank, there could not certainly be any found to
surpass him: That therefore, there seemed to him no Hope
left, except some of those honourable Personages, then
present, would vouchsafe to accept of the Place of Treas-
rurer; who, by the Addition of Nobility, and by the Lus-
tre and Influence of their high Station, might effect that,
which, they had found by Experience, could not be ef-
fected, by mere Dint of Ability and Industry. Hereupon,
the whole Court, befeeching his Lordship to redeem this
noble Enterprize from imminent Danger and Destru-
cion, did, with universal Joy and Applause, nominate the Earl
of Southampton; and to testify their Thankfulness and Re-
spect, they elected him Treasurer, without the Ballot, by
a general Acclamation and Erection of Hands. And his
Lordship, after a short Pause, declared his Acceptance; and
exhorted them all, to put on the same Mind, with which
he accepted that Place, and laying aside all private Feuds
and Animosities, to labour cheerfully and unanimously, for
the Promotion of the publick Good, and the Advancement
of the Colony. But as his Lordship’s Attendance in Par-
liament, and other weighty Affairs, might not always per-
mit him, to be so constant at their Courts, as might other-
wise be wished, they voluntarily, and without his Motion,
depended with him, in that Particular. And they also re-
elected Mr. John Farrar, to the Place of Deputy-Treasu-
rer; whose Experience, and known Integrity and Diligence,
might well supply the occasional Absence of their Treasurer.
Sir Edwin Sandys likewise, who was in a close and intimate,
Friendship with the Earl of Southampton, was afterwards
authorised, at his Lordship’s Desires, to set his Hand, upon
Occasion, to Receipts of Money, for the Company’s Use;
and did otherwise, by his private Diligence and Activity,
give him great Ease and Assistance, in the Execution of the
Office.

CAPTAIN Brewster’s Appeal from the Sentence of the
Court-Martial, in Virginia, had, all this while, hung in
Suspence; and it had even been declared, by a Meeting of
the Council at the Earl of Warwick’s House, the former
Year, that Trial by Martial Law was the noblest kind of
Trial, being judged by Soldiers and Men of Honour. But
now, proper Certificates and attested Copies of the Proceed-
ings being returned from Virginia, the Cause came to a final
Hearing and Determination, in an extraordinary Court,
held for that Purpose, and composed of several Lords and
others of eminent Quality and Distinction. But here there
seems to have reigned a quite different Spirit from that,
which appeared at the Earl of Warwick’s. For they were
Sir George Yeardley, Governor.

The History of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

1620.

no way inclined, to give up the many Rights and Advantages of Juries and the Laws of England, for the extraordinary Privilege of being summarily tried by Martial Law, and dying honourably by the Verdict of Gentlemen of the Sword. And therefore, being shocked at the Cruelty and Terror of the Proceedings against Captain Brewster, they declared them to be unjust and unlawful, and not warrantable, either in Matter of Form, by the Laws of England, or by any Power or Authority, derived from his Majesty's Charters: That Captain Brewster had committed nothing, any way worthy of the severe Penalty of Death; That the Manner of Trial by Martial Law, in time of Peace, and when there was no Mutiny or Rebellion, was utterly unlawful and of no Validity: And consequently, that Captain Brewster was to be held a legal Man, and not lawfully condemned. And all this then passed and was ratified by the universal Assent of the Court; altho' Sir Thomas Wroth, who had married the Earl of Warwick's Sister, did, in a subsequent Court, declare his Disent, on some false and frivolous Pretences. Captain Brewster had also, upon his Request, a Copy of this Act of Court granted him, exemplified under the legal Seal of the Company; of which he sent a Duplicate to Virginia.

In May this Year, there was held another General Assembly, which has, through Mistake, and the Indolence and Negligence of our Historians, in searching such ancient Records, as are still extant in the Country, been commonly reputed the first General Assembly of Virginia. But that Privilege was granted sooner, immediately upon the Disgust taken, by the worthier Part of the Company, at Sir Thomas Smith's ill Government, and the insufferable Tyranny and Iniquity of Captain Argall's Proceedings. And upon Sir George Yeardley's Representation of the Want of more Counsellors, the Company appointed the following Gentlemen to be of the Council; Mr. George Thorpe, Deputy for the College; Mr. Thomas Newes, who had also been sent over Deputy for the Company's Lands, with the Allowance of twelve hundred Acres, and forty Tenants; Mr. Tracy; Mr. Pountis; Mr. Middleton, Mr. Bluet; and Mr. Harwood, the Chief of Martin's Hundred. And we are likewise told by Mr. Beverley, that a Dutch Ship, putting in this Year, sold twenty Negroes to the Colony, which were the first of that Generation, that were ever brought to Virginia.

Tobacco, a stinking, nauseous, and unpalatable Weed, is certainly an odd Commodity, to make the Staple and Riches of a Country. It is neither of Necessity nor Ornament.
ment to human Life; but the Use of it depends upon Humour and Custom, and may be looked upon as one of the most singular and extraordinary Pieces of Luxury, that the Wantonness of Man hath yet invented or given into. It is not therefore to be wondered, that the Colony's Eagernefs and Application, almost solely, to Tobacco, was much diffaught and opposed by the Company; especially in those early Times, before it had yet obtained such a general Reception and Dominion in the World. To which may be added, that the King himself, to whom the Age in general, and the Company in particular, did, on many Occasions, pay great Deference, had a Sort of natural Antipathy to it, and was perpetually haranguing, railing, and even writing against it. For that Solomon of England thought it not below his Royal Wisdom and Dignity, to write a Treatife, entitled; *A Counter-Blast to Tobacco*. The Company therefore entered into and admitted various Projects, for rafing other things of more immediate Neeceffity and Benefit to Mankind; such as the several Commodities, mentioned and recommended by Sir Edwin Sandys, in his late Speech, at the delivering up of his Office, with many others. For this Purpofe, they procured plenty of Silkworm Seed out of France, Italy, and Spain; and fent over a Perfon, who had been brought up, many Years, in tending the King’s Silkworms at Oatlands, and was thereby become very skilful, in breeding the Worms, and winding the Silk, and undertook to instruct others therein. And they also laid out for, and had Hopes of procuring, many more such skilful Artists from France. And as the Inhabitants were very eager, to have the Servants and Apprentices fent over by the Company, they made an Order, for the greater Encouragement of thefe Commodities, that fuch Planters, as had excelled, in building fit Rooms for Silkworms, and in planting Mulberry Trees and Vines, fhould have the firft Choice of fuch Apprentices and Servants; and that the Company would be paid for them, not a Whit in Smoke and Tobacco, but in Corn, Silkgrefs, Silk, and other fuch ufeful Commodities. At Sir Edwin Sandys’s Motion, there was like­wise translated, by fome of the Company, a French Treatife (recommended, as excellent in that Kind) concerning the Management of Mulberry Trees and Silk; which was printed at the Company’s Expence, and fent over in fufficient Numbers, and distributed among the People. And they also appointed a felect Committee of Merchants, to rate all thofe several Commodities at fuch a juft Price, that the Company and Merchants might be no Losers thereby, and yet that the Planter might have good Encouragement to rafe them.
BESIDES these, they entered into Projects and Contracts, for raising various other Commodities, and Sir Edwin Sandys in particular, who was ever studious and indefatigable in the Company's Business, presented a long and judicious Writing, containing many useful Instructions and Projects, for the Peace and better Government of the Company at home, and for the Advancement of the Colony abroad; all which, in its several Parts and Branches, was entrusted to proper Committees, to ripen and bring into Execution. Sir William Monson also, a Person of great Eminence and Note (being Admiral in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. and Author of the Naval Tracts) together with his Associates, offered to the Company, if they would, for seven Years, grant them the sole Benefit and Importation from Virginia, of two such new Commodities, as had not yet been discovered or planted by any other, to pay them an hundred Pounds per Annum, to plant twenty five Men, every Year during the said Term, and then to resign the Whole up into the Company's Hands. A Patent was therefore accordingly granted, with proper Restrictions; but what these Commodities were, or what was the Success or Consequence of this Undertaking, I do not find.

THIS Year 1620, Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, who had a great Ascendant at Court, and governed the King as he pleased, prevailed with him, to fit out a Squadron, of six Ships of War and twelve stout Merchantmen, in order to humble the Algerines, who then infested the Spanish Coasts and Trade, but were not any way particularly troublesome to our Nation. And thus was this weak and timorous Prince, who could not be drawn to make any Steps, towards the Vindication of his own Honour, or to support the Rights of his Family, or the Interests of his Subjects, strangely engaged in a warlike Expedition, in Defence of a treacherous and delusive Ally. This Squadron was put under the Command of Sir Robert Mansel, as Admiral; together with whom, Sir Richard Hawkins, Vice-Admiral, Sir Thomas Button, Rear-Admiral, Sir Henry Palmer, Arthur Manwaring, and Thomas Love, Esqrs. Captains of the other Men of War, and Samuel Argall, Esq, who commanded one of the stoutest Privateers, were appointed a Council of War. But this Enterprise was very weakly managed; and to use Sir William Monson's Remark, altho' it was designed to find out and destroy the Pirates of Algiers, yet the Fleet did not spend twenty Days at Sea, the whole time, they continued in the Mediterranean; but retired into Harbour, where the Pirates might find them, but
not they the Pirates. So that, this ill-conducted Action afforded sufficient Subject of Scorn and Laughter to all Nations; especially considering the great Reputation, the English had justly gained, in their former Expeditions at Sea. But Camden tells us, that, in Revenge for this Injury and Assault, the Algerines took, by the 9th of October following, thirty five Sail of English and Scotch Ships.

About this time, there arose a warm Dispute between the two Colonies, concerning the Virginia Company's Right to fish at Cape Cod, within the Limits of the Northern Colony; and upon Reference to the Letters-patent, it was found clearly, that their Pretenisons were justly grounded. But Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with others principally concerned in the Northern Grant, endeavouring privately to obtain a new Patent, whereby the Southern Colony should be utterly excluded from fishing upon that Coast, without their Leave and Licence first obtained. This gave a just Alarm to the Virginia Company. For besides six thousand Pounds, which they had already expended upon that Fishery, it was at present of main Consequence to them, as well for the Support and Sustenance of the Plantation, as for defraying the vast Charge of Shipping and Transportation of People, by Returns made from thence in Fish. They therefore applied to his Majesty, and got this Patent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges stopped and sequestr'd, in the Lord Chancellor's Hands. And finding, how precarious their Privileges were, upon his Majesty's sole Grant, and how liable to be perpetually violated and impeded, it was resolved, upon the Motion of Mr. Smith, a sensible, worthy, and useful Member of the Company, to obtain a new Grant, with all such further Immunities, and larger Privileges, as were fitting and requisite, and to have it strengthened and confirmed in the Parliament, which was to meet soon after; and upon the Earl of Southampton's Application to his Majesty, he readily gave his Consent to it. But notwithstanding the Earl of Southampton's Interest and Endeavours, and Sir Edwin Sandys's great Pains and Industry therein, it was never brought to any final Issue or Conclusion.

But the Remedy, proposed by Mr. Herbert, for curing the Factions and Discords of the Company, by setting a Nobleman of eminent Distinction and Authority at the Head of their Affairs, was far from having the intended Effect. For their Animosities and Diffensions grew higher, towards the latter End of this Year, and never ended, but with the Dissolution of the Company. As therefore they were the chief Occasion and Pretence of that Dissolution, it will not be improper here, to give a fuller and more distinct Account of them.
Besides the Affairs of the Magazine, which, notwithstanding its Dissolution, still afforded Matter of Contention, there were two other principal Subjects of Dispute and Confusion in the Company; the settling Sir Thomas Smith's Accounts, and the Prosecution of Captain Argall, for his many Outrages and exorbitant Proceedings in Virginia. Sir Thomas Smith had been Treasurer, from the first Constitution of the Company in the Year 1606, till April 28, 1619; and in that time, there had passed through his Hands about eighty thousand Pounds. He had, in those Days, a very great Interest and Sway in the Company; and to put the best Construction upon the Matter, he never expected to be called to a strict and rigorous Account, and his Servants had been very careless and remiss, in keeping his Books. But several of the Company suspected, that he had embezzled and converted much of the publick Money, to his own private Use; and were therefore very eager to bring him to an Account. Sir Thomas, on his side, was very fair in his Professions, and pressed, with much Warmth, the full Settlement and finishing the Affair; offering to pay, not only what should appear due from himself, but whatever Wrong or Damage should have happened to the Company, from his Under-Officers or Servants. But then his Receipts were so very faulty and deficient, and his Disbursements so void of all Warrant and proper Vouchers, that the Company's Auditors, although they took much Pains, could bring nothing to a Head; and the whole only served, to administer fresh Fuel to Animosities and Quarrels, without any Prospect of coming to a satisfactory Conclusion.

As to Captain Argall, although he was under Prosecution from the Company, yet by his Craft and Management, by the Power and Influence of his Friends, by his shifting and turning, and by going on the Expedition against the Algerines, he so shuffled and perplexed the Company, that he at last escaped, without any Punishment or Restitution at all. And although Sir Thomas Smith, overpowered with the Justice and Necessity of the thing, had first commenced the Prosecution against him, yet being now Fellow-Sufferers, and equally aggrieved at the present upright and vigorous Administration of the Company's Affairs, they joined Forces, and did every thing in their Power, to disgrace, and vilify, and retard the Success of the Enterprise. The principal Persons of their Faction were, the Earl of Warwick; Sir Nathaniel Rich, the Earl's Brother; Sir Thomas Wrotth, who was nearly allied to them by Marriage; Sir John Wolstenholme, a wealthy Merchant and a Farmer of the Customs; with Alderman Johnfon, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Evington.
Book IV. The History of Virginia.

three factious Citizens, and others of less Note, to the Number of twenty-six in the whole, when their Faction was strongest; a very inconsiderable Party, had they not gained the Ear and Support of a weak King, who had a wonderful Instinct and Propensity to the wrong Side of every Question, and with much Formality of Wisdom and Learning, for ever mistook the true Interest of himself and his Subjects. On the other Side appeared the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Devonshire, the Viceroy Doncaster, Lord Cavendish, Lord Sheffield, Lord Paget, Sir Edward Sackville, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Davers, Sir Samuel Sandys, with a long Roll of others, and in short, the whole Body of Adventurers in general, which consisted of near fifty Noblemen, some hundreds of Knights, and many hundreds of Gentlemen, eminent Merchants, and Citizens, to the full Amount of a thousand Persons in all. But none acted in the Support of Truth and Justice, with greater Spirit and Vigor, than the Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, and Sir Edward Sackville. The former was a young Nobleman of much Generosity, Spirit, and Eloquence; and he succeeded Sir Thomas Smith, in the Place of Governor to the Somers-Islands Company. The latter, who afterwards became Earl of Dorset, was the Person of the greatest Fame in that Age, for a facetious Vivacity, sparkling Wit, and undaunted Courage, joined to a sound and comprehensive Understanding, and an excellent Turn for Business. He was one of the first, that raised the Reputation of the Dorset Family, for Wit and Exactness of Taste and Discrimination; but is best known to common Readers, for his Duel with Lord Bruce, which is related in my Lord Clarendon and the Guardian, Books deservedly popular and in the Hands of every Body. And as he appeared thus early in the Cause of the Colony (for such is it owned to be by our Assemblies of those times) so did he continue, to the last, a constant Friend and Favorer of Virginia.

As Sir George Yeardly had expressed his Desire to leave the Government, at the Expiration of his Commission, which would be in the November following, the Earl of Southampton recommended to the Company the Consideration of a proper Person, to succeed him. His Lordship proposed to their Choice Sir Francis Wyatt, a young Gentleman, thought every way sufficient and equal to the Place, and highly esteemed, as he said, on Account of his Birth, Education, Integrity of Life, and fair Fortune. However, he earnestly pressed on the Company the Nomination of such other Person or Persons, as they should think proper, to stand
The History of Virginia. Book IV.

1621.

Sir George Yeardley, Governor.

stand in Election with him. But no other being so much as named, Sir Francis Wyat was chosen Governor, to take his Place at the Expiration of Sir George Yeardley's Commission, and not before. And to do him the greater Grace and Honour, as well as the better to enable and encourage him in the Execution of his Office, they elected him one of his Majesty's Council in England for Virginia. They also allowed him two hundred Pounds, for all necessary Provisions for his Voyage, with the free Transport of himself and Attendants, provided they did not exceed the Number of twenty Persons.

Dr. Lawrence Bohun, who had left Virginia in the Year 1611, with the Lord Delawarr, had now obtained a large Grant of Land, for the Transportation of three hundred Persons. He was also appointed the Company's Physician-General to the Colony, with the Allowance of five hundred Acres of Land and twenty Tenants; under Covenant, to maintain and make them good, from time to time, and at his Decease, or other Removal, to leave the like Number of Men and Stock of Cattle, as was allowed by the Company, and by them annexed to the Place. He accordingly set sail, in the Beginning of February, with eighty Passengers, in a Ship of an hundred and sixty Tons and eight Iron Guns and a Falcon, commanded by Captain Anthony Chester. But about the Middle of March, they were attacked, near Nevis in the West-Indies, by two Spanish Men of War, of three hundred Tons and sixteen or twenty Brafs Cannon apiece. The Fight was sharp and desperate; but the English bestowed their Shot, and managed the Engagement with such Dexterity and Bravery, that the Spaniards were glad to stand aloof, and after following them a Day or two, without any other remarkable Annoyance, at last fell after them, and left them. There was made a very great Slaughter of the Spaniards, so that their Scupples ran with Blood; and the Captain of the Admiral-Ship, who acted the Part of a brave Commander, was slain. On the English Side, ten were killed; among whom was Dr. Bohun, whose Death was greatly lamented. He had studied long among the learned Physicians of the Low-Countries, and behaved himself in this Battle, like a worthy and valiant Gentleman. In his Room, Mr. John Page was elected, by the Company, Physician-General to the Colony. He was recommended by Dr. Gulstane, an eminent Member of their Society, as a Master of Arts, well practiced in Chirurgery and Phisic, and expert in Chymical Proceedings and other ingenious Parts of his Profession; whose Service, he therefore conceived, would be of great Use to the Colony. He was accordingly sent,
fent, upon the same Foot, as Dr. Bobun; and was allowed
his own, his Wife's, and two Servants Passages. Dr. Gul-
jone was likewise desired, to buy a Chest of Physic of twenty
Pounds Value, and ten Pounds of Books, proper for the Pro-
feffion, which should always belong to the Place.

Captain William Newce offered, to transport and set-
tle a thousand Persons in Virginia, by Midsummer, 1625;
and desired to be appointed their General, and to have a
Patent, with that Proportion of Land, and such other Pri-
vileges, as were usually granted on the like Occasion. A
Patent was readily granted, in the largest and most ample
Manner. But as to the Title and Command of General,
they refused to grant it him; because it was a Power, pro-
perly belonging to the Governor only. Besides, it gave
such an Independency, as was destructive of all Order and
good Government; and had therefore been loudly cried out
against, in Captain Martin's extravagant Patent, and in a
Grant, surreptitiously and illegally obtained by Captain Ar-
gall, and therefore expressly stopped, by the Company's Or-
ders to the Governor in Virginia. But Captain Newce far-
ther requested, in order to enable him the better to go
through the Charge of so great an Undertaking, to be ap-
pointed Marshal of Virginia; for which Post he was emi-
nently qualified, having ever been exercised in military Af-
fairs and Arms, and of noted Experience and Skill in Martial
Discipline; as appeared by his many Services in Ireland, and
by the Testimony of divers honourable Persons, upon their
own Knowledge. He was therefore constituted Marshal of
Virginia; to take into his Charge, as well the Fortifica-
tions, Arms, and Forces of the Colony, as to cause the
People, to be duly trained up in Military Discipline, and to
the Use and Exercise of Arms. And they annexed fifteen
hundred Acres of Land and fifty Tenants to the Place, to
be transported and furnished by himself, at eight Pounds
Charge to the Company a Man. And the King also, being
highly pleased at the Nomination of this Gentleman, con-
ferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him; calling him
his Knight-Marshal of Virginia, and expressing great Hopes
from the Management of a Person of his acknowledged
Capacity and Skill. However, he did not long survive his
Arrival in Virginia; but died, two Days after the reading
his Patent and Commission.

There was, at this time, above a thousand Pounds,
due in Virginia to the Company, for Rents and Duties;
and they were likewise greatly scandalised and offended, to
find their frequent and pressing Orders, for raising good and
staple Commodities, entirely slighted and neglected. It was
therefore
therefore thought necessary, to appoint a particular Officer, by the Name of Treasurer; who should have the Charge, not only of their Rents and Duties, but should also take into his more especial Regard and Care, to see all Orders and Directions sent from England, duly and faithfully executed, from time to time; or otherwise to render a sufficient Reason to the contrary. To this Office Mr. George Sandys, the noted Poet and Traveller was unanimously elected, as a Person every way fit, on Account of his Ability and Integrity. And they likewise allotted fifteen hundred Acres of Land, perpetually to belong to the said Place of Treasurer, with fifty Tenants thereon; and allowed Mr. Sandys an hundred and fifty Pounds, to furnish himself for the Voyage, with the free Passage of his Family, not exceeding the Number of ten Persons. And it was thought proper, that two such eminent Officers as Marshal and Treasurer, to which Places such worthy Gentlemen had been preferred, should be admitted of his Majesty’s Council in England, and appointed of the Council of State in Virginia.

Soon after, Mr. Richard Norwood, a Man famous, in those Days, as a Mathematician, who had laid off the Trioes and Lands, and made an exact Plot of the Islands of Bermudas, was recommended to the Company for Surveyor of Virginia, and was accordingly elected to the Place. But I know not, how the Change came to be made, yet I find, very soon after, Mr. William Claiborne appointed and sent Surveyor. The Company allowed him thirty Pounds a Year and a convenient House, for his publick Service in laying off their Lands; with twenty Pounds paid in Hand, to furnish himself with Instruments and Books, which he was obliged to leave to his Successors. They likewise allowed him the Transport of three Persons, and gave him two hundred Acres of Land in Fee-simple; and in case he was employed in any private Survey, he was to receive six Shillings a Day, and to be found in Diet and Lodging.

Mr. Pory’s Commission of Secretary was to determine, at the same Time, as Sir George Yeardley’s. He had given the Company little Satisfaction in that Office, but had been plainly detected, although a sworn Officer, of betraying the Proceedings, and secretly conveying the Proofs, against Captain Argall, to the Earl of Warwick. And as he was besides known, to be a professed Tool and Instrument to that Faction, the Company was at no Loss or Hesitation, about renewing his Commission. But four Gentlemen being strongly recommended to them, as fully qualified for that Place, in Point of Learning, Honesty, and Experience, they
they made Choice of Mr. Christopher Davison, and admitted him a free Brother of the Company, and one of the Council of State in Virginia. And as the Company's Ships were often delayed in the Country, through Negligence and Mismanagement, it was resolved, to appoint an Officer, by the Title of Vice-Admiral, who should take into his Charge the Care and Dispatch of them. Mr. John Pownis therefore, one of the Council, who had deserved well of both the Company and Colony, was, this Summer, appointed to that Place provisionally, and afterwards confirmed by the Quarter Court in November, with the Allowance of three hundred Acres of Land and twelve Tenants.

The late large Transportations of People, the furnishing and fitting out the new Governor and these other Officers, with the vast Charge of providing them with Tenants and Servants, and other needful and well-designed Expences, did so entirely exhaust the publick Treasury of the Company, that it never afterwards recovered itself to any tolerable Degree of Affluence or Wealth. And besides, the Lotteries were now at an End, which were the only Means of raising a Fund again, and which alone had brought twenty nine thousand Pounds Sterling into the Company's Stock. Wherefore Mr. Smith observed to them, that the Lotteries, which had thus far supplied the real and substantial Food by which Virginia had been nourished, did now no longer subsist. To the End therefore, that she might still be preserved, by divulging Fame and good Report, he proposed, in the Name of himself and many others of the Society, to have a fair and perspicuous History compiled of the Country, from the first Discovery to that Time; wherein the Memory and Deserts of many of her worthy Undertakers, as Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir George Somers, the Lord Delawarr, Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, (for both those Knights, after their Return from Virginia, had gone to the East-Indies, and there died) together with divers others then living, might be commended to eternal Thankfulness. He regretted their present Inability, in having no other Coin, wherewith to recompence the great Pains and Merit of the well-deserving. But he affirmed, that the best planted Parts of America, under the Spanish Government, at the like Age, afforded not better Matter of Relation, than Virginia then did. And he said, that the Effect, which such a general History, deduced to the Life, would have, throughout the Kingdom, on the popular Opinion of the common Subject, might be gathered, from the Success of the little Pamphlets or Declarations, lately published. And
he further urged the immediate Performance thereof, because a few Years would consume the Lives of many, whose Memories retained much, and might also devour those Letters and Intelligences, which yet remained in loose and neglected Papers.

This Speech was received by the whole Court, with very great Applause, as spoken freely, and to an excellent Purpose; and it was resolved, to have it considered, and put in Practice, in due Time. Mr. Smith was also exceedingly commended, as well for this, as for always preferring Motions of especial Consequence. And it was from this Motion, I suppose, that Captain Smith was requested, in the Company's Name, to write his History of Virginia; as he himself tells us, p. 168. However, the Captain's Deserts seem not, about this Time, to have been fully understood or regarded. For I find him, soon after, preferring a Petition to the Company, setting forth: That he had not only adventured Money, but had also twice built James-Town, and four other Plantations; and had discovered the Country, and relieved the Colony, three Years together, with such Provisions, as he got from the Savages, with great Peril and Hazard of his Life; and therefore he desired, in Consideration thereof, that the Company would be pleased to reward him, either out of their Treasury at home, or their Profits in Virginia. And certainly, considering his many great and extraordinary Services, he was highly worthy their Regard. But the Court referred him to the Committee, appointed for rewarding Men upon Merit; and from whatever Cause it happened, I find nothing farther done in the Matter. So that he, with a Fate very usual to publick Spirits, had Reason to complain, that every Shilling, which he had gained by these Enterprises, had cost him a Pound; and that what he had got, in some successful Campaigns at War, had been cheerfully spent on Virginia and New-England, for the publick Good. Yet he begrudges it not, but should think himself happy, to see their Prosperity and Advancement.

At the Court of Election, the Earl of Southampton was again chosen Treasurer for the ensuing Year, with an unanimous Voice. His Lordship was then absent, having been long detained that Day in Parliament. But at his coming to Court, he was pleased to accept the Place, in a very noble Manner; and he had the hearty Thanks of the whole Court returned him, for his honourable Care and Pains, to uphold and advance the Plantation, ever since his Entrance into that Place of Government. And at his Lordship's Request, Mr. John Farrar, of whose Fidelity and Sufficiency
Thence they already had so much Experience, was most willingly continued in his Office of Deputy.

The Earl of Warwick was highly offended at Sir George Yeardley, for intercepting a Packet of Letters, and discovering the Correspondence between Secretary Pory and himself. He therefore loudly declared his Displeasure; and took all possible Methods to daunt and discourage him, from proceeding vigorously in Argall's Prosecution. To this End, he caused it to be rumoured over all Virginia, even to Opechancanough, and had it confirmed by Letters from England, that he himself was coming over shortly, in Person, to be their Governor, with Captain Argall for his Pilot; and that then he would call Sir George Yeardley severely into Question, for his own Government, and would take a sharp and full Revenge. These Reports much weakened the Strength and Authority of the Government; and they likewise so affected Sir George Yeardley, a Man of a meek and gentle Nature, and threw him into such a Dejection of Spirit, that he fell into a long and languishing Sickness, to the general Hurt and Neglect of the publick Business, as well as Captain Argall's Affair in particular.

The Company also, this Year, entertained some Projects for producing useful Commodities; and as three of the Master Workmen of their Iron Works were dead, they sent over Mr. John Berkeley, and Maurice, his Son, who were commended, as very skilful in that Way, with twenty other experienced Workmen. They likewise ordered a Bill to be prepared for the Parliament, for sending over the Poor, which were now become very numerous and burthen-some to the several Parishes, to be set to work, and usefully employed, in Virginia. Sir George Yeardley complained, that the Council of State lived very distant and dispersed; and having no Allowance for their Attendance, could scarce be got together. Whereupon the Company ordered, that the Council should meet, four times a Year, and should hold Quarter Sessions, a whole Week together; to assist the Governor, from time to time, as well in Matter of Council and of State, as in all Causes of Importance, and for Redress of general and particular Grievances. And that their Number might make their Meetings the more easy, besides the seven, last Year appointed, and the new Officers of State, now going over, they also added, in the Room of Dr. Bohun and two others, that were dead, Mr. Pot, the Rev. Mr. Robert Pawlet, Captain Roger Smith, and Mr. Leece. This last Gentleman was going over, to view the Country, and to pitch upon a proper Place of Settlement, for the famous and munificent William Earl of Pembroke; who had
Sir George Yeardley, the Governor.

undertaken, with his Associates, to plant thirty thousand Acres of Land, and consequently to transport six hundred Persons.

The latter End of July, or Beginning of August, Sir Francis Wyatt set out for his Government, with the Treasurer, Secretary, Physician-General, and Surveyor, in Company with nine Sail of Ships; all which arrived safe in Virginia, about October, without the Los of one single Passenger. With him was sent a Body of Instructions to the Governor, for the time being, and the Council of State in Virginia; consisting of forty seven Articles, and signed by the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Davers, and others of the Council. In these, it was first recommended to them, to take into their especial Regard the Service of Almighty God, and the Observance of his divine Laws; and that the People should be trained up, in true Religion and Virtue. And since their Endeavours, for the Establishment of the Honour and Rights of the Church and Ministry, had not yet taken due Effect, they were required, to employ their utmost Care, to advance all things appertaining to the Order and Administration of Divine Service, according to the Form and Discipline of the Church of England; carefully to avoid all factious and needless Novelties, which only tended to the Disturbance of Peace and Unity; and to cause, that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or Places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former Orders in that Behalf. They were, in the next Place, commanded, to keep the People in due Obedience to the King; to provide, that Justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the Forms and Constitution of England; to prevent all Corruption, tending to the Perversion or Delay of Justice; to protect the Natives, from Injury and Oppression; and to cultivate Peace and Friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the Honour of the Nation and Safety of the People. They were likewise required, to make the People apply themselves to an industrious Way of Life; and to suppress all Gaming, Drunkenness, and Excess in Apparel. To this End it was ordained, that no Person except the Council, or the Heads of Hundreds and Plantations, with their Wives and Children, should wear Gold on their Cloaths, or any Apparel of Silk, except such as had been raised by their own Industry. But the Governor and Council answered to this, that they knew of no Excess in Apparel, except in the Price of it; and had it not come from them, they should have thought it a Flout upon the Colony, for their Poverty and Nakedness.
THEY were also enjoined, to use great Care, that no just Cause of Offence be given to any other Prince, State, or People; to permit no Captain, or other Person, under Pretence of Trade, to sail to the West-Indies, to rob and spoil; not to give Harbour or Refuge, on the Coasts or in the Country, to any Pirates or Banditti, but severely to prosecute and punish them; and to take better Care, for proper and effectual Fortifications. They further pressed upon them, in a particular Manner, the using all probable Means of bringing over the Natives, to a Love of Civility, and to the Knowledge of God, and his true Religion. To which Purpose, they observed to them, that the Example, given by the English in their own Persons and Families, would be of singular and chief Moment: That it would be proper, to draw the best disposed among the Indians, to converse and labour with our People, for a convenient Reward; that thereby, being reconciled to a civil Way of Life, and brought to a Sense of God and Religion, they might afterwards become Instruments in the general Conversion of their Countrymen, so much desired: That each Town, Borough, and Hundred, ought to procure, by just Means, a certain Number of their Children, to be brought up in the first Elements of Literature: That the most orderly of these should be fitted for the College; in building of which, they purposed to proceed, as soon as any Profit arose from the Estate, appropriated to that Use; and they earnestly required their utmost Help and Furtherance, in that pious and important Work; not doubting the particular Blessing of God upon the Colony, and being assured of the Love of all good Men, upon that Account.

THEY next proceeded to give Instructions, for the Reception and Accommodation of the new Governor, and of the other Officers and People, then sent. And they pressed upon them the raising several useful Commodities; as well Corn, Wine, Silk, and others heretofore frequently mentioned, as also the making Oil of Walnuts, employing their Apothecaries in Distillation, and searching the Country for Minerals, Dyes, Gums, Drugs, and the like. And they ordered them, particularly, by the King’s Advice and Desire, to draw the People off of their excessive planting of Tobacco. To that End they were commanded to permit them, to make only an hundred Pounds of Tobacco a Head; and to take all possible Care, to improve that Proportion in Goodness, as much as might be, which would bring their Commodity into Request, and cause a more certain Benefit to the Planter. They likewise added many other Advices and Instructions, for the Adminis-
In Case of the Death, Removal, or Suspension of the Governor, the Council, or major Part of them, then resident in Virginia, were ordered, immediately to assemble themselves, within fourteen Days, or sooner, and out of their own Body, to elect a Person, to supply the Place, for the Time. But if the Voices should happen to be equal, then Election was to be made of the Lieutenant-Governor; and in his Absence, or necessary Cause of declining it, the Marshal should succeed; next, the Treasurer; and then one of the two Deputies, for the College and Company's Lands; till the Government should be settled in one of those chief Officers. And the Governor was authorized, to determine and punish, at his Discretion, any sudden and emergent Business, and all Neglect or Contempt of Authority, in any Kind or Person whatsoever; except only the Council in their own Persons, who were, in such Cases, to be summoned to appear, at the next Quarter Session of the Council, and there to abide their Censure. But if the Governor thought, it concerned the Peace and Welfare of the Colony, to proceed more speedily with such Offenders, that then it should be lawful for him, to summon an extraordinary Council, at which six of the Council, at least, should be present with the Governor; and by Majority of Voices, any Counsellor might be committed, or obliged to give Bail for his Appearance.

Sir Francis Wyat also brought over with him an Ordinance or Charter, from the Treasurer, Council, and Company in England, for settling the Constitution and Government of Virginia, in the Governor, the Council of State, as his Assistants, and the General Assembly. This Assembly was to consist of the Governor, Council of State, and two Burgesses, chosen by every Town, Hundred, or particular Plantation. All Matters were to be decided, determined, and ordered in it, by the Majority of Voices, then present; referring to the Governor a Negative upon the Whole. And they were empowered, to treat, consult, and conclude, as well concerning all emergent Occasions, relating to the publick Weal of the said Colony, and every Part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact such general Laws and Orders, as should, from time to time, appear necessary: Provided nevertheless, that no Law, or Ordinance, made in the said General Assembly, should be of Force or Validity, unless the same should be solemnly confirmed and ratified, in a General Quarter Court of the Company in England, and returned under their Seal: As
also, when this Form of Government should be once well
framed and settled, that no Orders, of the Court in England,
should bind the Colony, before they were ratified and con-
formed, in like Manner, by the General Assembly in Virgi-
nia. But in all other things, they were commanded, to
follow the Policy, Form of Government, Laws, Customs,
Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used
in England.

The Company’s Treasury was so reduced, that it could
not now suffice for several things of the utmost Nece-
sity and Advantage. Wherefore to supply this Deficiency, they en-
tered into a Method of preparing Rolls, and offering them
to the voluntary Subscription of the Adventurers. What-
ever was sent to Virginia upon these Rolls, was there sold,
by the Cape-Merchant or some other Factor, at such a mo-
derate Price, as should indemnify the Subscribers for their
Money advanced, and for all Charges incident thereupon.
At this time, four Rolls were prepared and brought into
Court, for the Company’s Subscription. The first was for
Apparel, and other necessary Provisions and Utensils, for
the Colony. The second, for sending an hundred more
Maids, to make Wives; and sixty were accordingly sent,
young, handsome, and well recommended to the Company,
for their virtuous Education and Demeanor. With them
was sent over the several Recommendations and Testimo-
nials of their Behaviour, that the Purchasers might thence
be enabled to judge, how to chuse. The Price of these
Wives was stated at an hundred and twenty Pounds of To-
Bacco, and afterwards advanced to an hundred and fifty, and
proportionably more, if any of them should happen to die;
so that the Adventurers might be refunded their original
Charge. And it was also ordered, that this Debt for Wives
should have the Precedency of all others, and be first re-
coverable. And it was strictly enjoined, that they should
be well used, and not married to Servants, but to such Free-
men and Tenants, as could handsomely support them; that;
by their good Fortune, Multitudes of others might be al-
lured to come over, on the Prospect of advantageous Mat-
ches. And the Company likewise declared their Intention,
that, for the Encouragement of settled Families, and secu-
ring a Posterity, they would prefer and make Consignments
to married Men, before single Persons; and that as many
Boys should be sent, as there were Maids, to be Prentices
to those, who married them. They also granted the Ad-
venturers, who subscribed to this Roll, a ratable Proportion
of Land, according to the Number of the Maids sent, to be
laid off together and formed into a Town, by the Name of
Governor.

The third Roll was for a Glass Furnace, to make Beads, which was the current Coin in the Indian Trade; and one Captain Norton, with some Italian Workmen, was sent over for that Purpose. The fourth was for letting out a trading Voyage with the Indians, for Skins and Furs. For, the Company was informed from several Hands, that the French and Dutch carried on a very profitable Trade of that Sort, in Delawarr and Hudfon's Rivers, which were within the Limits of their Grant, and then esteemed Parts of Virginia. They therefore resolved, to vindicate their Right, and not to permit Foreigners to run away with so lucrative a Branch of their Trade. One Captain Jones was accordingly sent upon the Voyage; but by the Wickedness of him and his Mariners, the Adventure was lost, and the whole Project overthrown. To these Rolls, the Earl of Southampton and Sir Edwin Sandys, each subscribed two hundred Pounds; and such was the Zeal and Resolution of the Adventurers to advance the Colony, that they were soon compleated, and put into Execution. At the same time, the Company, in their Letters to the Governor and Council, recommends to them the Prevention of Fraud and Deceit in Tobacco; and that some Provision should be made, for burning all base and rotten Trash, and none suffered to go home, but what was very good; whereby, they said, there would certainly be more advanced in the Price, than lost in the Quantity.

But Tobacco was, at this time, a very sinking Commodity. For altho' the Planters magisterially forced it on the Company and others, at the current Price of three Shillings a Pound, yet it would not turn out at home, after Shrinkage and Waste, and the Discharge of the Duty and Freight, (which last alone was three Pence, and sometimes four Pence, a Pound) at above two Shillings for the best, and the inferior Sort at scarce eighteen Pence a Pound. And besides, the Trade was strangely hampered and perplexed, by the weak and unsteady Counsels of the puny Monarch, then on the Throne. For altho', in the Beginning of the former Year, the Company had yielded to his unreasonable Demand of twelve Pence a Pound, yet soon after, in the same Summer, he issued a Proclamation, prohibiting a general Importation of Tobacco, and restraining the Quantity from Virginia and the Somer-Islands, to fifty five thousand Weight. At the same time, taking Advantage of an Offer of Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Johnson, in the Name of the Company, but without their Knowledge or Authority, and so utterly disclaiming by them, he granted a Monopoly of Tobacco; the sole Importation whereof was granted
granted by Letters patent, first to Sir Thomas Roe and his Associates (at whose Desire and Instigation the Proclamation, above mentioned was issued) and the Year after, to Mr. Jacob and certain other Patentees. They proceeded most injuriously against both Companies, not only stinting them to too scant a Proportion, but also restraining them from selling their Tobacco, without their Seal and Allowance first had; for which, under the Pretence and Title of Garbling, they were obliged to pay four Pence a Pound. This Garbling was an ancient Custom of the City of London; and an Officer was appointed, who had Power to enter into any Shop or Warehouse, to view and search Drugs and Spices, and to garble the same; that is, to make them clean from all Garbles or Trash. And it was now put into Execution, and arbitrarily applied to Tobacco (a new Commodity in England, and therefore not legally subject to Garbling, without an express Law) in order the more effectually to oppress the Companies and Plantations, and to squeeze the greater Gain out of them.

Thus injured and distress'd, the Company presented their Petition and Representation to his Majesty, to which they received a gracious Answer, with large Professions of his Love to the Colonies, and that it never was his Intention to grant any thing to their Prejudice; but without any Redress of their Grievance. It was therefore at last resolved, to present a Petition to the House of Commons, and therein to complain of these Oppressions, which tended to the utter Destruction and Overthrow of the Colonies; and as that House had called into Question, and intended to suppress, other Monopolies (a great and crying Grievance of those Times) they doubted not, to receive from them a full and ample Redress. They likewise, at the Motion of Sir Edwin Sandys, presented Mr. Edward Bennett, a Citizen of London, with the Freedom of their Company; because he had written a Treatise, setting forth, in a clear and lively Manner, the great Inconvenience and Damage to the Nation, by the Importation of Spanish Tobacco; and because he had frequently attended the Committees of the House of Commons, who were well inclined, to afford their utmost Assistance, for the Prohibition of foreign Tobacco. This Mr. Bennett immediately became the most deeply engaged, and was far the largest and most considerable Adventurer of any, then known, in the Affair of Virginia; whose Foundations, in that early time, have continued down to the present. For his Nephew, Richard Bennett, Esq; was the first Governor of Virginia, by the Election of the Colony, in the time of Cromwell's Usurpation; and the Rem
main of the Family, now seated in Maryland, is still the richest and most wealthy, in all Kinds of Fortune and Estate, of any in this Part of America. However, since the Somera-Islands could not well subsist without the Profits of their Tobacco, and as the Territory of Virginia was large, their Soil good, and great Hopes conceived, that many other valuable Commodities would soon be produced and returned from thence, it was agreed, that the whole 55,000 Weight should be imported from those Islands; and the Virginia Company procured Storehouses, and appointed Factors, at Middleburg and Flushing, and compounded with the States of those Cities, for a half Penny a Pound Custom, for the Import, and the same Rate for the Export, of their Tobacco. So that no Virginia Tobacco was imported into England, this Year, but all was carried and disposed of in Holland.

The News of this State of their Affairs coming to Virginia, the Colony was greatly alarmed, and drew up an humble Petition to the King, setting forth: That his Majesty, out of his Religious Design to spread the Gospel of Christ, and princely Ambition to enlarge his Dominions, had given Encouragement to such, as would go to Virginia, and granted them many goodly Privileges and Liberties, under the great Seal of England, than which they thought no earthly Assurance more firm and inviolable: That in Confidence hereof, they, his Majesty's Subjects, had ventured their Lives and Fortunes thither; and in the Prosecution of the Enterprise, had undergone such incredible Difficulties and Sufferings, as would be shocking, in the Relation, to his Majesty's sacred Ears: That they had now, by the Divine Assistance, in some Measure, overcome those Difficulties, and brought themselves to an Ability of subsisting, without any other Help from England, than the usual Course of Commerce; but that they had, of late, been brought into Danger, of returning into their former, or even worse Circumstances, by the sinister Practices of some Members of the Company at home; who, pretending his Majesty's Profit, but really aiming at their own exorbitant Gain, had obtained a Proclamation, to prohibit the Importation of Tobacco into England: That other things, of greater real Value, required more time, than their pressing Neccessities would allow, and more Help, to bring them to Perfection, than they had, till of late, been furnished withal; and that, therefore, Tobacco was the only Commodity, they had yet been able to raise, in order to supply themselves and Families with Apparel, and other needful Supplements of Life: That, if it should be thus suppressed and proh
Book IV. The History of Virginia.

Sir George Yeardley Governor.

In 1621, they must all, of Necessity, perish, for Want of Clothing, and such Necessaries as both their Nature and Education required: That his Majesty would, thereby, not only lose so many good and loyal Subjects, as had adventured their Lives and Substance to Virginia, for the Promotion of those great Ends, the Glory of God, and his Majesty's Service, but must likewise be deprived of the Hope and Prospect of acquiring a Territory, as large, and capable of becoming as opulent, as any of those Kingdoms he at present possessed: Since therefore they were assured, that his Majesty tendered the Lives and Welfare of his Subjects, above Thousands of Gold and Silver, and since his Royal Word was engaged, and even ratified under the great Seal of England, they besought him, out of his princely Compassion, either to revoke that Proclamation, and to restore them to their ancient Liberty, or else to send for them home, and not suffer the Heathen to triumph over them.

This Petition was transmitted to the Treasurer and Company, and was seconded by a Letter from Sir George Yeardley and the Council, to the Company, desiring, that it might be presented to his Majesty, in as humble and effectual a Manner as possible; because, as they conceived, the very Life of the Colony depended upon the Success of it. But before it came to hand, the King was become sensible of the Damage, that hence accrued to himself, by the Diminution of his Customs. The Deputy therefore, and some others of the Company, were sent for, in October this Year, and received an angry Rebuke from the Lords of the Privy Council; importing, that Complaint had been made to that Board, that the Company had set up a Trade in Holland, and carried all their Commodities thither; and requiring an Answer, whether they would bring all their Commodities into England, or continue their Trade in the Low-Countries. To the former Part of this, the Answer was ready and obvious; that they had indeed carried their Tobacco to Middleburg, not out of Choice, but being constrained thereto by his Majesty's Proclamation, and an Order of their own Board. And as to the latter Part, concerning bringing all their Commodities into England, as it was a new and unexpected Proposition, and a Point of great Weight and future Consequence, they took some Time to consider of it, and then returned a long and very respectful Answer:

That it was a Liberty and Privilege, generally taken and enjoyed, by all his Majesty's Subjects, to carry their Commodities to the best Markets: That many Commodities were now set on Foot, and expected soon to be returned from Virginia, which, altho' in some Demand in other Countries,
Countries, yet would not be vendible in England, nor pay the Expence of Freight and Custom: That neither the Muscovy Company, nor any other ancient Corporation, was under such a Restraint, to whose greatest Privileges and Immunities, they were entitled, by the express Words of his Majesty's Charter: That the Company had granted several Patents, with the same Privileges as they themselves enjoyed, to divers Persons of noble and worthy Families, who had thereupon expended great Sums of Money, and some their whole Estates in the Plantation; and that it was not in their Power, nor would it be consonant to Law or Equity, now to revoke or restrain them: That they conceived themselves to have no Right or Authority, to dispose of the Goods of the private Planters in Virginia, who are declared, by his Majesty's Charter, to be as free, as any other his Subjects, and who had merited, by their long and hard Services, all Manner of Immunity and Encouragement: That they could not forbid or restrain them, from trading and bartering their Commodities freely, with such Ships as carried Passengers, most of which proceeded on trading Voyages, and returned not directly to England: That a Trade had lately begun between Ireland and Virginia, for Cattle and other Necessaries, for which Contracts were made in Tobacco; and that this Trade would hereby be nipped in the Bud, to the exceeding great Prejudice, and the Hazard of the utter Ruin of the Colony: And lastly, That it was not in the Power of the few Members of the Company, then in Town in the Time of Vacation, to conclude any thing positive, in an Affair of that vast Importance; wherein above a thousand Adventurers in England, and near four thousand Inhabitants of Virginia, were deeply interested and concerned. After which, they concluded, with affuring their Lordships, that they affected no foreign Trade, but in Cases of mere Necessity, and for the better Support and Advancement of the Colony; that they should always endeavour at such a mutual Commerce between England and Virginia, as should be consistent with the Honour and Benefit of both; and that, next to God's Glory, they chiefly aimed at the Good of their Country, his Majesty's Honour, and the Advancement of his Profit and Revenue; for which Ends, they had, out of their own private Estates, besides their Labour and Time, expended above an hundred thousand Pounds, without any Return, not only of Profit, but even of the least Part of the Principal itself, to any one of the Adventurers, that they knew of.

This Answer gave no Satisfaction to their Lordships; but they were referred to Mr. Jacob, their old Antagonist.
and Oppressor; and were likewise ordered to give in their peremptory Answer, whether they would import, not all their Commodities, but all their Tobacco only, into England. With Mr. Jacob, they could come to no satisfactory Accommodation; and as to importing all their Tobacco into England, they besought their Lordships, to be left at Liberty, either to import, or not import it into England, as they should find it most beneficial to the Colony. But if they must be obliged to import all or none, they declared, it was their Choice, to import none into England, the ensuing Year. But their Lordships termed this an undutiful Answer, and commanded them, at their Peril, to bring all their Tobacco into England. And the Deputy and Committee, appointed to attend their Lordships, offering some Reasons, they were told, that they were not to dispute at that Board, but to obey; and so were dismissed, with high Marks of their Displeasure and Indignation.

These Proceedings, being reported to the Company, caused great Grief and Dejection among them. For the Importation of Spanish, and all other Tobaccoes, was then free; and altho' the House of Commons, in their last Session, had entered into some Consideration about it, yet I cannot find, that any thing material was done in the Matter. And as to the King, out of his doating Fondness for the Spanish Match, and his eager Desire, to give all possible Pleasure and Advantage to his good Friend and Brother, the King of Spain, he was even active and diligent, to protect and advance the Importation of Spanish Tobacco. However, the Deputy exhorted the Company not to be discouraged at these Disasters. For he hoped, that God would still exert himself in the Protection of Virginia, who had turned for the best, divers former Projects, which threatened the Ruin and Destruction of the Colony. And he desired, that having put their Hands to the Plough, they would not now look back, or be weary of well-doing. For the Action was universally confessed, to be most Christian, honourable, and glorious, and of extreme Consequence to the Commonwealth and Realm of England; and altho' they might seem to have cast their Bread upon the Waters, yet after many Days, he doubted not, but they should find it again, to their great Comfort and Advantage. And he farther told them, that altho' their exhausted Treasure had been able to do little that Year, for sending People to Virginia, yet it had pleased God to stir up so many worthy Minds, for the Advancement of the Colony, that no less than twenty Ships were already gone, or ready to go, in which would be transported above a thousand Persons. But
by Captain Smith's Account, there were twenty one Sail of Ships sent this Year, with thirteen hundred Men, Women, and Children; which might likewise be true, as it was only October, and the Year not concluded, when Mr. Deputy Farrar made this Report to the Company.

Mr. Copeland, Chaplain to the Royal-James, an East India Ship just returned to England, by his Example and Persuasions, prevailed on the Ship's Company to contribute seventy Pounds, towards building a Church or a Free-school in Virginia; and an unknown Person gave thirty Pounds more, to make the Benefaction an hundred; to which twenty five Pounds were afterwards added, by another unknown Person. It was therefore determined to build a School at Charles-City (which was judged the most commodious Place, and most convenient to all Parts of the Colony) by the Name of the East-India School; and the Company allotted, for the Maintenance of the Master and Usher, a thousand Acres of Land, with five Servants and an Overseer. This School was to be collegiate, and to have Dependence upon the College at Henrico; into which, as soon as the College was sufficiently endowed, and capable to receive them, the Scholars were to be admitted and advanced, according to their Deserts and Proficiency in Learning. Mr. Copeland was also presented with the Freedom of the Company, and with three hundred Acres of Land in Virginia. And Carpenters were accordingly sent over for this Purpose, early the next Year.

On the 18th of November, Sir Francis Wyat entered upon his Government; but instead of his hundred Tenants, he received only forty six from Sir George Yeardley, who refused to make the Number good, as he was under no such Contract with the Company, when he came Governor, and as he had even offered to surrender them all back again, into the Company's Hands. Sir Francis sent Mr. Thorpe immediately, to Opitchapan and Opechancanough, to confirm all former Leagues, between the English and them. They both expressed great Satisfaction at the Arrival of this new Governor, and were content that the English should inhabit the Country; and Mr. Thorpe thought, that he perceived more Motions of Religion in Opechancanough, than could easily be imagined, in so great Ignorance and Blindness. He acknowledged his own Religion, not to be the right Way; and desired to be instructed in the Christian Faith. He confessed, that God loved the English better than them; and he thought, the Cause of God's Anger against them was their Custom of conjuring their Children, and making them black Boys. He had also some Knowledge
ledge of the Heavens; had observed the North Star, and the Course of the Constellation about it; and called the Great Bear, Manguahaian, which, in their Language, signified the same. He gave Mr. Thorpe Hopes of their entertaining some English Families among them, and their sending some of theirs to cohabit with the English; and confirmed a former Promise, of sending a Guide with the English to some Mines beyond the Falls. But all these fair Professions and Promises, seem to have been only Dissimulation and Policy. For that savage Prince certainly never had any real Friendship or Love for the English; but watched all proper Opportunities and Pretences, to do them Mischief, or even utterly destroy them. It was likewise ordered, upon the Accession of this new Governor, that the Colony should only tend a thousand Plants, for every Head, with nine Leaves on each Plant; which, by their Computation, would amount to about an hundred Weight, according to the Company's express Instructions, in Consequence of his Majesty's Desire and Advice. Mr. Gookin too, who was under Contract with the Company for Cattle, arrived with them out of Ireland, on the 22d of November; and he brought with him fifty Men of his own, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all Kinds of Provision, and seated himself at Newport's-News. The Inhabitants also made a Contribution of fifteen hundred Pounds, to build a Guest-house, for the Reception and Entertainment of New-Comers; which was accordingly undertaken, and in a Way of being well executed, by Lieutenant Jabez Whitaker, to his own great Commendation, and to the general Satisfaction of the People here, and the Company in London.

Before I finish this Year, it will not be improper, briefly to remark, what then passed in the Parliament of England. There were two Sessions of Parliament this Year. The first began in January, and passed off peaceably. They granted the King Money, to support the Palatine of the Rhine, against the House of Austria; and were content to suppress some Monopolies, without touching on their Author, the Marquiss of Buckingham, altho' he was generally known, and even plainly accused of it, by Sir Henry Yelverton, the late Attorney-General. However I do not find, that the Monopoly of Tobacco came under their Restraint. Only the eminent Lawyers of the House of Commons declared the Patent for Garbling utterly illegal, and a great Grievance in the Erection, but much more so, if it should be brought into Execution. And this Session had also another good Effect: For at their very first Meeting,
ing, the Restraint on Tobacco was taken off, and Liberty given, at least by Connivance, freely to import it into England; which indeed, I suppose, was the Reason, that neither the Company’s Petition was delivered, nor any thing else done in the House of Commons, with Relation to that unlawful, unjust, and oppressive Monopoly.

The second Session began the 20th of November, and was hot and angry. The Dispute between the King and the House of Commons, concerning the Extent of the Royal Prerogative, and the Rights, Franchises, and Privileges of Parliament; rose so high, that the King first adjourned, and then dissolved them, in a Passion. However before that could be done, the Commons entered upon their Journals a Protestantation, asserting their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges. But the King, eleven Days after the Adjournment, called for the Clerk of the House of Commons; and demanding the Journals, he declared, in full Council, and in the Presence of all the Judges then in Town, that it was invalid, annulled, void, and of no Effect; and did moreover, with his own Hand, take the said Protestantation out of the Journal-Book of the House of Commons. And not content with these Marks of his Displeasure, he proceeded farther against some of the warmest of the House of Commons; whom he stiled, fiery, popular, and ill-tempered Spirits. Sir Edwin Sandys was imprisoned during the Session, which caused a great Tumult in the House. And—altho’ the King, upon the House’s sending a Message to Sir Edwin, to know the Reason of his Confinement, declared, in a Letter to the Speaker, that it was not for any Misdemeanor in Parliament, yet I suspect, his Imprisonment was designed, to prevent him from acting with Vigor, in the Case of the Monopoly, and other illegal Oppressions on Tobacco; and this the more especially, as I can no where find, that any Reason or Pretence was given for his Commitment. However, the King’s Opinion, concerning his Power over the Members, was plainly expressed in that Letter. For he orders the Speaker to tell the House, in his Name, that he conceived himself to have both Right and Ability, to punish any Man’s Misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting, as after; which Power he meant not hereafter to spare, on Occasion should be administered, by the insolent Behaviour of any of their Members. And agreeably to this Declaration, Sir Edward Coke, the great Lawyer, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. John Selden, another Prodigy of Law, and all Kinds of Knowledge, Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallet, were imprisoned, after the Recess, professedly for their Behaviour in
in Parliament. And Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Perrot, were sent into Ireland, under Pretence of enquiring into sundry Matters relating to his Majesty’s Service in that Kingdom, but, in Reality, by Way of Banishment. The Earls of Oxford and Southampton were likewise sent to the Tower, soon after the Dissolution, on some far-fetched Pretences. But the true Reason was easily and publicly perceived, and that their real Crime was, having spoke too freely in Parliament concerning the King’s Conduct.

I have made this Relation, not so much as it is a remarkable Æra in the English History, which gave Rise to two professed Parties, the one for the King’s Prerogative, and the other for the Rights of Parliament and the Liberty of the Subject; nor as it was also the first open Breach, between the King and the People, which, by subsequent Provocations and Heart-burnings, at last broke out, into a most unhappy and virulent Civil War. But I have mentioned these Things chiefly, as they relate to my Subject, and will contribute to let the Reader more fully into the Springs and Motives of some future Transactions. For it will be readily perceived, that many of the most eminent and active Opposers, in Parliament, of the King’s arbitrary Views, were also principal and leading Members of the Virginia Company; and it is well known, with what an Eye of Jealousy and Displeasure, that Prince ever looked upon such, as dared to stand up for the Liberty of their Country, or were so far infected with the mortal Taint of a publick (or as he thought it) a republican Spirit, as to oppose his Claim to an unlimited and despotic Power. It will not therefore be surprising, to find him hereafter, notwithstanding his many affected and anile Professions of Love and Affection to the Colonies, not only much disgusted at the Company, and little inclined to do them any Favour, but even, in their Dissolution, making a Stretch of that Prerogative, which many of them had the Boldness to question and withstand.

But the Colony being now much enlarged and increased, it was found very troublesome to bring all Causes to James-Town. Inferior Courts were therefore, in the Beginning of the Year 1622, appointed in convenient Places, to relieve the Governor and Council from this vast Burthen of Business, and to render Justice the more cheap and accessible. This was the Original and Foundation of our County Courts; altho’ the Country was not yet laid off in Counties, but still continued in Townships and particular Plantations, as they called those Settlements, which were not
not considerable enough, to have the Title and Privilege of Burroughs.

But this Year is rendered most memorable in our Annals, by a cruel and bloody Massacre, concerted by Opechancanough and the Indians, and executed on the English Colony, on the 22d of March, upon the following Occasion and Manner. There was a noted Indian, called Nemattanow, who was wont, out of Bravery and Parade, to dress himself up, in a strange antic and barbaric Fashion; with Feathers; which therefore obtained him; among the English, the Name of Jack of the Feather. This Indian was highly renowned among his Countrymen, for Courage and Policy; and was universally esteemed by them the greatest War-Captain of those Times. He had been in many Skirmishes and Engagements with the English, and bravely exposed his Person; yet by his Activity, Conduct, and good Fortune, he had always escaped without a Wound. This, aided by his Craft and Ambition, easily wrought, in the Minds of those ignorant and superstitious Barbarians, a fond Conceit, that he was invulnerable and immortal. This Captain came to the House of one Morgan, who had many such Commodities, as suited the rude Taste of the Indians. Being smitten with the Desire of some of those Baubles, he persuaded Morgan to go with him to Pamunkey, upon the Promise and Assurance of a certain and advantageous Traffic. But, upon the Way, he murdered the poor credulous Englishman; and within two or three Days, returned again to his House. There were only two sturdy Lads there, the late Morgan’s Servants; who seeing him wear their Master’s Cap, asked for their Master, and Jack frankly told them he was dead. Being confirmed in their Suspicion, they seised him, and endeavoured to carry him before Mr. Thorpe, who then lived at Berkeley. But Jack so provoked them, by his Resistance and In insolence, that at last they shot him down, and put him into a Boat, in order to carry him before the Governor, who was then within seven or eight Miles of the Place. On the Way, our fainting Immortal felt the Pangs of Death very strong upon him, and earnestly entreated the Boys to grant him two things; first, never to make it known that he was slain by a Bullet; and secondly, to bury him among the English, that the certain Knowledge, and Monument of his Mortality, might be still concealed, and kept from the Sight of his Countrymen. Such was the Vanity of this poor Barbarian, and so strong his Desire of false Glory in the Opinion of others, against the Experience and plain Conviction of his own Sense.
Opechancanough was a haughty, politic, and bloody Man, ever intent on the Destruction of the English, and ready to catch at every Pretence, for effecting his Purpose. He had been discovered, the Year before, tampering with a King on the Eastern Shore, to furnish him with a Poison, either real or supposed, in order to poison the English Colony. He had also been accused to the Governor, of a Design, to draw together a very great Force, under Colour of celebrating some funeral, Rites to Powhatan, but really with Intent to cut off all the English. But Sir George Yeardley, by this Information, was rendered very watchful of his Motions; so that he was either disappointed in his Scheme, or else, as Sir George thought, had never really formed any such Design. As to this Warrior, he was so far from being in his Favour, that he had sent Word to Sir George Yeardley, some time before, that he should be content, if his Throat were cut. Yet he being a popular Man, and much lamented by the Indians, Opechancanough pretended, the better to inflame and exasperate them, to be much grieved at his Death, and was very loud, at first, in his Threats of Revenge. But the Reason and Justice of the thing being evinced, and receiving also some stern and resolute Answers from the English, he cunningly dissimulated his Intent for the present, and treated a Messenger, sent to him about the Middle of March, with extreme Civility and Kindness; assuring him, that he held the Peace so firm, that the Sky should fall sooner, than it should be violated on his Part. And such was the Treachery and Dissimulation of the rest of the Indians, that, but two Days before, they kindly conducted the English through the Woods, and sent home one that lived among them, to learn their Language. Nay, on the very Morning of that fatal Day, as also the Evening before, they came, as at other Times, unarmed into the Houses of the English, with Deer, Turkeys, Fish, Fruits, and other things to sell; and in some Places, sat down to Breakfast with them. Yet so general was the Combination, and their Plot so well laid, to cut off the whole Colony, in one Day, and at the same Instant, that they had all Warning, one from another, through all their Habitations, though far distant from each other, and every Party and Nation had their Stations appointed, and Parts assigned, at the Plantations of the English, some being directed to one Place, and some to another.

The English, on the other hand, were by this Behaviour, as well as on other Accounts, lulled into a fatal Security. They thought the Peace sure and inviolable, not so much because of their solemn Promises and Engage-
ments, as because it was highly useful and necessary to the
Indians themselves. For those poor, weak, and naked Bar
barians were, every way, advantaged by the English. By
the Peace, they were safely sheltered and defended from all
other Enemies; they were supplied with several necessary
Tools and Utensils, and other Commodities of Pleasure and
Entertainment; they were something acquainted with, and
got a Taste of Civil Life; and were besides no ways in a
Condition, to withstand an English War, because of the
Superiority of their Arms, the Advantage of their Disci
pline and native Courage, and their greater Skill in all milita
ry Arts and Stratagems. The English had likewise ever
treated them with the utmost Humanity and Kindness, out
of the Hope and Desire, of thereby alluring and bringing
them over, to the Knowledge of God and his true Religion.
For nothing was more earnestly recommended from En
gland, or more heartily desired and endeavoured by many
good and pious Persons of the Colony, than their Conver-
sion; which, agreeably to the Spirit of the Gospel, and of
the Protestant Religion, and greatly to the Honour of our
Nation, was always pursued, by the Ways of Gentleness
and Persuasion, and never by those unchristian Arguments
of Fire and Sword. On all these Accounts, the English
were so confident and secure, that there could seldom be met
with, in their Houses, a Sword or a Firelock, and most of
their Plantations were seated in a scattered and straggling
Manner, as a convenient Situation, or a choice Vein of rich
Land, invited them; and indeed it was generally thought,
the further from Neighbours the better. All Indians were
kindly received into their Houses, fed at their Tables, and
even lodged in their Bedchambers; so that they seemed,
entirely to have coalesced, and to live together, as one Peo
ple. And the English were so far infatuated, by an Opini
on of their Simplicity, and of their Inclination, and even
Interest, to maintain the Peace, that they lent them their
Boats, as they passed backwards and forwards, to concert
their Measures, and to consult upon the execrable Design
of murdering and utterly extirpating the whole Nation.

The Hour appointed being come, and the Indians, by
Reason of their Familiarity, knowing exactly, in what
Places and Quarters every Englishman was to be found,
rose upon them at once, sparing neither Sex nor Age, Man,
Woman, nor Child; and they were so quick and sudden in
their Execution, that few perceived the Weapon or Blow
that brought them to their End. Some entered their
Houses, under Colour of Trade; others drew them abroad,
upon specious Pretences; whilst the rest fell suddenly on

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The HISTORY of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

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1622.

St Francis Wyatt Governor.
those, that were at their several Works and Labours. And thus, in one Hour, and almost at the same Instant, fell three hundred and forty seven, Men, Women, and Children; most of them, by their own Tools and Weapons, and all, by the Hands of a pernicious, naked, and dastardly People, who durst not stand the presenting of a Staff, in Manner of a Firelock, nor an uncharged Piece, in the Hands of a Woman. Neither were they content with their Lives only; but they fell again upon their dead Bodies, de-facing, dragging, and mangling them into many Pieces, and carrying some Parts away, with a base and brutish Triumph.

In this Havock, six of the Council were slain. For those Blood-hounds, with equal Spight and Barbarity, murdered all before them, without any Remorse or Pity, and without having any Regard to Dignity, or even to those Persons who were best known to them, or from whom they had daily received many Benefits. Among these was that pious, worthy, and religious Gentleman, Mr. George Thorpe, Deputy to the College Lands, and both in Command and Desert, one of the Principal in Virginia. He had been of the King's Bed-Chamber, and was a Person of considerable Figure in England. Yet so truly and earnestly did he affect their Conversion, that he left all at home, and came over chief Manager to the College, a Foundation designed for their Education and Conversion. And here he severely punished, whosoever, under him, did them the least Displeasure. He thought nothing too dear or precious for them, nor ever denied them any thing. Insomuch that, being frightened at the English Mastives, he caused some of them to be killed in their Prefence, to the great Grief of their Owners, and would fain have had all the rest gelt, to make them mild and peaceable. He also built the King a handsome House, after the English Fashian; in which he took such Pleasure, especially in the Lock and Key, that he would lock and unlock his Door, an hundred times a Day, and was so taken with the Device, that he thought nothing in the Word comparable to it. And thus infinuating himself into that Barbarian's Favour, he would often confer with him about Religion; and that treacherous Infidel would seem much pleased with his Discourse and Company, and very desirous to requite all his Courtesies and Kindnesses. Yet did this ungrateful and viperous Brood, not only murder this good Gentleman, but with such Spight and Scorn abuse his dead Corps, as is unfit to be heard, or related. At the very Minute of the Execution, his Man, perceiving some Treachery, warned him to look to himself;
The History of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

1622.

Sir Francis Wyatt Governor.

and withal ran off, and so saved his own Life. But his Matter, out of his good Meaning, was so void of Suspicion, and full of Confidence, that they had slain him before he could, or would believe, they intended any Harm. Captain Nathaniel Powel, another of the Council, who had some time been Governor of the Country, was also killed. He was one of the first Planters, a brave Soldier, had deserved well in all Ways, was universally valued and esteemed by all Parties and Factions, and none in the Country better known among the Indians. Yet they slew both him and his Family; and afterwards haggled their Bodies, and cut off his Head, to express their utmost Height of Scorn and Cruelty.

This Slaughter was a deep and grievous Wound to the yet weak and Infant Colony; but it would have been much more general, and almost universal, if God had not put it into the Heart of a converted Indian, to make a Discovery. This Convert, whose Name was Chanco, lived with one Richard Pace, who treated him, as his own Son. The Night before the Massacre, another Indian, his Brother, lay with him; and telling him the King's Command, and that the Execution would be performed the next Day, he urged him to rise and kill Pace, as he intended to do by Perry, his Friend. As soon as his Brother was gone, the Christian Indian rose, and went and revealed the whole Matter to Pace; who immediately gave Notice thereof to Captain William Powel, and having secured his own House, rowed off before Day to James-Town, and informed the Governor of it. By this Means, their Design was prevented at James-Town, and all such Plantations, as could possibly get Intelligence in time. For where-ever they saw the English upon their Guard, or a single Musket presented, they ran off, and abandoned their Attempt.

Such also, at other Places, as had sufficient Warning to make Resistance, saved their Lives. Nathaniel Cause, one of Captain Smith's old Soldiers, being cruelly wounded, did, with an Axe, cleave down one of their Sculls; and tho' they were all about him, yet they fled away, and he escaped. At another Place, two Men only, having Notice of their Design, defended a House against sixty or more, that assaulted it. At Warraqueake, one Mr. Baldwin, when his Wife was so wounded, that she lay for dead, yet by often discharging his Piece, drove them off, and saved both her and his House, together with himself and divers others. At Mr. Harrison's, about half a Mile from Baldwin's, was Mr. Thomas Hamer, with six Men, and eighteen or nineteen Women and Children. To him the Indians
dians came, with many Presents and fair Professions. They pretended, they wanted Captain Ralph Hamer, to go to their King, then hunting in the Woods. Mr. Hamer sent immediately for his Brother, who was at a new House, he was then building. But he not coming according to their Wish, they set Fire to a Tobacco Houfe, and came and told them in the Dwelling Houfe of it. The Men ran towards it; and the Indians following, first shot them full of Arrows, and afterwards beat out their Brains. Mr. Hamer, having finished a Letter he was writing, ran out to see what was the Matter. But he soon received an Arrow in his Back, which obliged him to retire into the Houfe, and barricade the Doors. Hereupon the Indians set Fire to the Houfe; but Harifon's Boy, just at that Instant, finding his Master's Gun loaded, shot at Random. At the bare Report, the Indians all fled; and thereby left the Way open to Mr. Hamer and twenty two more, to get to Baldwin's Houfe. Captain Ralph Hamer, all this while, was wholly ignorant of what was passing; but coming to his Brother, who had sent for him, he met the Indians, chasing some of the English. Whereupon he retired to his new House, and with only Spades, Axes, and Brickbats, defended himself and his Company, till the Savages departed. Soon after, the Master of a Ship, lying near, and perceiving the Confufion, sent him fix Musketeers; with whom he recovered their Merchant's Store-houfe, and armed ten more; and so, with thirty other unarmed Workmen, he found out his Brother and the rest, at Baldwin's. But in the Midst of this miserable Slaughter and Uproar, a little House and small Family, not far from Martin's Hundred, at which Place alone seventy three were slain, not only escaped, but never heard any thing of it, till two Days after.

At this time also, Captain Raleigh Crofsbaw was in Patowmack River, trading in a small Bark, commanded by Captain Spilman. There an Indian stole aboard, and told them of the Massacre; and that Opechancanough had been practifing with his King and Country, to betray them, which they refused to do; but that the Indians of Wighocomoco had undertaken it. Hereupon Captain Spilman went thither, But they, seeing his Men so vigilant and well armed, suspefted themselves to be discovered; and therefore, the better to colour their Guilt, and delude him, they gave him such Satisfaction in his Trade, that his Vessel was soon near loaded. After this, Captain Crofsbaw went up to Patowmack. He had been long acquainted with that King; who now very earnestly entreated him, to stay with him, and so be his Friend, his Director, and Captain, against several
neighbouring Nations, his mortal Enemies. Crojhow very readily embraced his Offer; as well to promote some private Views of his own in Trade, as to keep him firm to the English Interest, and make him an useful Opponent and Instrument against Opechancanough. Therefore, relying on the Faith of this Barbarian, he ventured, with one Man only, to stay behind at Patowmack.

In the Beginning of this Year, before the Contrivance and Perpetration of this bloody Conspiracy in Virginia, the unknown Gentleman in England, who had given five hundred and fifty Pounds, towards the Conversion and Education of Indian Children, having waited two Years, and received no satisfactory Account of the effectual Prosecution of his Design, wrote a Letter to the Company. Herein he complains, that what was done in that Affair, did by no Means answer his Expectation or Intent. And he requires, of the whole Body of the Company, towards which he expresses much Respect, and an entire Confidence in their Uprightness and Integrity, that, as he had entrusted the Disposal of that Money, a great and painfully gotten Part of his Estate, to their Care and Management, so they would see the same, speedily and faithfully applied, to the Use intended. And he further proposed to them, the procuring some of the male Children of the Indians, to be brought over into England (where they might be immediately under the Company's Eye and Inspefion) there to be educated and taught, and to wear a Habit, as the Children of Christ-Church Hospital do. In that Case, he desires, that the five hundred and fifty Pounds might be converted to that Use; and he faithfully promises, to add four hundred and fifty Pounds more, to make the former Sum a thousand, as soon as eight or ten Indian Children should be placed in London, either in Christ's-Hospital, or in the Virginia School or Hospital, as it might be called; which, he doubted not, would be Yearly augmented, by the Legacies and Gifts of good Men. But if they liked not this Proposition, then it was his humble Suit and Motion, that the former Gift, of five hundred and fifty Pounds, should be immediately applied, and wholly bestowed, upon a Free-School in Southampton Hundred, or such other Place, as he or his Friends should approve: That in this School, properly endowed with such Privileges, as they, in their Wisdom, should think fit, both English and Indians should be promiscuously taught and brought up together; and that great Care should be taken, to send over such a Master, as should bring a sound Testimonial, of his Sufficiency in Learning, and Sincerity of Life. And so praying, that the Lord would give them wise
Book IV. The History of VIRGINIA.

1622.

Sir Francis
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wife understanding Hearts, that his Work herein might not be negligently performed, he concludes, and subscribes himself Duft and Ashes; a Name which he had ever, from the first, allumed and made Use of, in this Affair.

This important Letter being read in Court, Sir Edwin Sandys gave the Company a particular Account of that whole Business: That the Money had been brought, in the Time of his being Treasurer: That, upon mature Deliberation, it was resolved by the Company, to divide it between Smith's, since called Southampton Hundred, and Martin's Hundred, each to undertake for a certain Number of Infidel Children: That Martin's Hundred, being then in a very weak and confused Condition, was afterwards, at the Entreaty of the Adventurers, eas'd from that Burthen and Charge, and the Whole laid on Southampton Hundred: That that Society, considering the Weight and Difficulty, as well as the Hazard of succeeding, were also very unwilling to meddle with it, and offered an hundred Pounds, to be added to the former five hundred and fifty, if they might be excused from it; but being earnestly pressed, they did at last yield to accept and undertake it: That after much and careful Consultation, it was agreed by that Society, to employ the said Money, together with a far greater Sum out of the Society's Purse, to furnish out Captain Bluet, with eighty able and sufficient Workmen, for setting up an Iron-Work in Virginia; whereof the Profits accruing, were intended and ordered, in a ratable Proportion, to be faithfully employed, in educating thirty Indian Children, according to the Directions and Intent of the Donor: That Letters were likewise sent to Sir George Yeardley, then Governor of Virginia, and Captain also of Southampton Plantation; not only giving him large Advice and Direction therein, but also commending the Excellency and Piety of the Design, and adjuring him to employ his utmost Care and Induirty in it, as a Work, whereon the Eyes of God and Men were fixed: That in Answer hereto, Sir George informed them, how difficult it was to obtain any of the Children, with the Consent and good Liking of their Parents; as well on Account of their Tendernefs and Fondnefs of them, as out of their Fear of hard Ufage from the English: That he therefore recommended a Treaty with Opechancanough; which was accordingly ordered, and Sir George promised, to ufe his utmost Endeavours therein; That this Backwardnefs and Jealousy of the Indians was not the only Hindrance to that pious Work; for Captain Bluet dying soon after his Arrival, it occasioned another great Stop: That, however, Care had since been taken, to restore that...
Iron-Work, by a fresh Supply; so that he hoped, the Gentleman would soon receive good Satisfaction, concerning the Disposal and Effect of his Charity, as he was sure they would, at all times, be both ready and willing to give a faithful Account of the Employment of the said Money.

Sir Edwin Sandys further said, that as he could not but highly commend the Gentleman, for this his worthy and most Christian Action, so he had observed great Inconvenience to arise from his Modesty, by shunning Ostentation and vain Glory, and concealing his Name. For they were thereby deprived of that mutual Help and Advice, which they might otherwise have, by Conference with him. Neither could he receive such clear Satisfaction, or fully know, with what Integrity and Care, the Affair had been managed; the Success whereof must be submitted to the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, as it had been already commended to his Blessing. But as to the two Methods, now proposed in his Letter, he doubted greatly for his Part, whether either of them would attain the desired Effect. For, to send for them to England, would be far from answering the End, if he might judge from the Experience of those, brought over by Sir Thomas Dale. And to build a Free-School for them in Virginia, he feared, considering in their present Dotage on Tobacco, that no proper Workmen could be had, but at excessive Rates, it would rather tend to exhaust this sacred Treasure in some small Edifice, than to accomplish such a Foundation, as might satisfy Mens Expectations and Desires. He therefore again wished, that a Meeting might be had, between the Gentleman, or his Friends, and the Society of Southampton Hundred. That so, all things being fully debated, and judiciously weighed, some Course might be entered upon and pursued, for advancing and bringing to Effect so pious and excellent a Work; for which he prayed the Blessing of Almighty God to be upon the Author: And all the Company answered, and said Amen.

But this charitable Gentleman, however studious he was to conceal himself, was afterwards (if any Credit may be given to Captain Martin's Report) found to be Mr. Gabriel Barber, the chief Manager and Book-keeper of their Lotteries, and a very worthy, honest, and useful Member of the Company. He was himself then present, and heard this Account, with which he seems to have been satisfied. For he made no farther Demand or Stir in the Matter; but continued afterwards, in the time of their subsequent Quarrels and Diffentions, a very hearty and strenuous Friend to the Company. Mr. George Ruggles also, Fellow of Clare-Hall, in Cambridge, and a Brother of the Company, did,
Book IV. The History of Virginia.

the latter End of this Year, notwithstanding the News of the Massacre, bequeathed an hundred Pounds, for the Education of Indians. He is represented as a Gentleman, who was esteemed, in that University, second to none in Knowledge and Learning, of very great Wisdom and Understanding, of singular Honesty and Integrity of Life, and very sincere and zealous in Religion. And he had, for the three last Years of his Life, almost wholly exercised and employed his Time and Abilities, in the Service of the Colony. For, besides the Counsels and Assurances of himself and his Brethren, in their several Places, he wrote divers Treatises, for the Benefit of the Plantation; particularly one concerning the Government of Virginia, which is often mentioned, in the Company’s Records, with Commendation, especially by Sir Edwin Sandys.

But there succeeding, immediately upon this violent and injurious Assault, a continual and exterminating War between the English and the Indians, all the Difficulties of their Conversion were greatly increased; and I do not find, what farther was done, with Relation to these Benefactions. The College People also received a great and deadly Slaughter in the Massacre; which, together with the Death of Mr. Thorpe, their grand Principle of Life and Action, caused them to abandon the College Lands, and to retire lower down the River, to such Places as were more defensible against the sudden Assaults and Inroads of the Indians, because of the greater Numbers of People, and the nearer Situation, and more ready Assistance, of other Plantations. Thus did that brutish and unhappy People tear up, as it were, with their own Hands, the Foundations, which had been laid, for their Conversion to Christianity and Civility of Life. For altho’ the Company, in London, did afterwards frequently enter upon serious Consultation, about restoring again and setting forward this charitable Work, yet by reason of their own Troubles, and of the Factions and Discords among themselves, nothing therein was ever brought to Effect. So that, from this time, there was no publick Attempt, nor any School or Institution, purposely designed for the Education and Conversion, before the Benefaction of the late Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; which shall be fully related, in its proper Time and Place.

But whilst the Colony in Virginia lay under the Pressure and Calamity of this bloody Massacre, the Company in England were greatly rejoiced and encouraged, by the favourable Account of things, which they received, about that time, from the Governor and Council. For they were informed, by their Letters, that all the Ships were safely arrived, without
without the Loss of one Person, by Sea or Land; that Mr. John Berkeley had put the Iron Works in so good a Forwardness, that he doubted not to begin to make Iron, by Whitsuntide; that the Cotton Trees prospered exceeding well; that the Frenchmen declared the Mulberry Trees of Virginia to be of the very best Kind; and daily, by their Example, encouraged the People to plant them in Abundance, so that they were in high Expectation, of shortly succeeding in, and bringing to Perfection, that rich Commodity of Silk; that the French Vignerons had conceived great Hopes, of speedily making Plenty of good Wine, whereof they had already made an Experiment, and sent home a Tastie by that Ship; and in short, that they now had a fairer Prospect, and more certain Hope, than ever yet, of soon becoming a rich and flourishing Country. For which joyful News, and happy Success, the Company voted and resolved, that a Sermon should be preached, to testify and express their Thankfulness to God, for his Blessing on their Labours and Undertaking. And Mr. Copeland, a Brother of the Society, who, by his hearty Zeal for the Enterprise, was well acquainted with the Success of their Affairs, for the last Year, was requested to undertake the Performance of this holy Exercise; which he accordingly did, at Bow Church, the 17th Day of April.

MR. Copeland was also himself, soon after, publickly entertained by the Company, to go over in Person to Virginia, and to apply himself to the Ministry there. And in Consideration of his good Services and worthy Endeavours, which had redounded much to the Honour and Benefit of the Colony, as also in Respect of his known Sufficiency and Worth, they constituted him one of the Council of State, and appointed him Rector of the College for the Conversation of Indians, to receive, as a Salary, the tenth Part of the Profits arising from their Lands and the Labours of their Tenants; and also to have the Pastoral Charge of the College Tenants about him, which were to be erected into a Patronage, according to the Company's general Order in that Behalf. But this Design, together with all their sanguine Hopes and Ideas of an immediately rich and prosperous Country, was dashed to Pieces and cut off, by the Massacre. The Iron-Work on Falling Creek, in particular, was entirely ruined and demolished, and Mr. John Berkeley slain, with all his Workmen and People, except one Boy only and a Girl, who found Means to hide themselves, and escape. Their Preparations likewise, for other Commodities and Manufactures, were quite destroyed and deserted the People, all this Summer, being in such a State of Ter-
or and Flight, that they did not even make Corn for their Support and Subsistence.

To this sad Posture of Affairs in the Colony, was added the continual Increase of the Company’s Diffensions and Animosities at home, which became daily more furious and irreconcilable. Captain Argall and that Faction, omitted no imaginable Methods of Vexation and Trouble; and the more to disparage and perplex the Company’s Proceedings, they were perpetually raising new Authors and fresh Subjects of Complaint, as well to the Publick, as most especially to the King, and to the great Lords and powerful Persons of his Court. It hath been already said, that Captain John Martin came over, one of the Council of State, in the first Adventure; and there hath been frequent Occasion since, to mention his weak Conduct and Behaviour here. This Gentleman was well born, and nearly related to Sir Julius Caesar, then Master of the Rolls. In the Time of Sir Thomas Smith’s Treasurership, he had surreptitiously obtained a Grant, to be Master of the Ordinance in Virginia; as also a most extravagant and illegal Patent for Land, at the Place, which he himself named Martin’s Brandon. For, by the express Words of his Majesty’s Charter, the Company was restrained to their four great and general Quarter Courts, one to be held each Term, for transacting any Business of great Importance, and particularly for granting Lands in Virginia. But both these Grants, to Captain Martin, had been passed in a private Court, called purposely for that Jobb, and could never after receive the Assent and Confirmation of a Quarter Court. For the Company, being apprised of the Matter, strongly opposed their Execution, and endeavoured to keep them from taking Effect. Captain Argall in particular, when Governor of Virginia, had sent home grievous Complaints, against the Exorbitancies of Martin’s Patent and Behaviour; and both Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Johnson, at that time Treasurer and Deputy of the Company, had been willing and assisting, to stop and prevent these Grants from being further confirmed, and receiving the legal Sanction of a Quarter Court. But now, the Company’s withholding Captain Martin from the Fruition of those Privileges and Immunities, which appeared to have been granted under their Seal, being, at first Sight, a specious Pretence of Clamour and Complaint, which might be turned to disgrace and vilify the Justice and Honour of their Proceedings, these very Gentlemen instigated and assisted him, to get a Certificate under the Hands of several noble Lords, and others, and to have it delivered in to the Company, by one Captain Haswell. The Pur-
port of this Writing was: That whereas John Martin Esq, having been a long and faithful Servant to the Colony of Virginia, desired a Testimonial of his Carriage and Demeanor in all things, according to their Knowledge and the Truth, they did thereby certify: That, by the general Consent of his Majesty's Council in England, for Virginia, the said Captain John Martin was, in the Face of the publick and open Court, elected, chosen, and sworn, one of his Majesty's first Council of Virginia: That afterwards, in the said honourable and open Court, he was with the free and full Consent thereof, appointed, chosen, and sworn, Master of the Ordinance in the said Colony: That, besides his first Adventure, which was very laudable and good, he had, ever since, constantly and very worthily endured all the Miseries and Calamities of fore-past Times, with the Loss of his Blood, the Death of his only Son (the sole Hope and Comfort of his Age) together with Sickness, Famine, and many other inexpessibly hard and miserable Sufferings: That he had also providently and very carefully endeavoured all the Good and Benefit to the Plantation, that was in his Power; in all things, upholding and labouring to maintain, with equal Justice and Clemency, all his Majesty's Laws, Prerogatives, and Rights, whatsoever: That for these honest and worthy Services, They, the Company and Council for his Majesty, resident in England, had formerly granted him sundry Privileges, by Charter under their Great Seal, for settling a private Plantation upon his own Allotment of Land in Virginia; wherein he had since proceeded with much Charge and Expence, and for which they neither saw nor knew any Reason, why he should not be permitted to enjoy the same, according to the true Intent and Meaning of his said Grant.

This Certificate was signed by the Earls of Pembroke, Warwick, Leicester, and Montgomery, by Lord Sheffield, Sir Robert Manfel, Sir Thomas Smith, Alderman Johnson, Captain Argall, and a few others, to the Number of twelve in all. Being presented to the Company, they conceived themselves much wronged and affronted, that a few Members of their Body should, in this Paper, assume to themselves the Name and Authority of the whole Company; filling themselves, We, the Company and Council for his Majesty, here resident in England. And they found themselves under a Necessity of doing something, to avoid the foul Aspersion, contained therein, as if they now went about to disavow their own Act and Deed; as also to prevent the evil Consequences, that might follow, and the ill Constructions, that might be made thereon, Being therefore
fore fully apprized, that some of the Lords, and others, had been misled and betrayed into it, by the false Representations and malicious Practices of the rest, they drew up an Answer, and ordered their Secretary to make divers Copies thereof, which they entreated Sir John Davers and Mr. Tomlins, to deliver, as well to such Lords as had signed the Certificate, as also to his Majesty's Masters of Request. For, by representing Captain Martin, as labouring to maintain the King's Laws, Prerogatives, and Rights (a Stile exactly suited to the Taste and Views of the Court) it was easy to perceive, which Way it was chiefly intended and address'd. But as to the other Subscribers, the Secretary was commanded, to deliver each of them a Copy himself.

In this Answer they set forth: That the Company are limited and directed, by his Majesty's Charters, to their Quarter Courts only, for passing of all Matters of greatest Weight, and particularly for disposing of Lands in Virginia: That, contrary to this fundamental Law, notoriously known to all the Company, and frequently published and declared to the Planters, as an Ordinance from his Majesty to be inviolably observed, Captain Martin's two Grants were presented to an inferior private Court, ready engrossed, the Company not being before acquainted with the Matter: That by this Court, called extraordinarily, and as it seems, for this Business only, the said Patents were unlawfully and unduly passed, notwithstanding the Disent and Opposition of divers then present; and that they never could afterwards have the Confirmation of a Quarter Court: That the said Patent for Land contained sundry transcendent Liberties and exorbitant Privileges, apparently repugnant to Justice and the good Government of the Colony, and which the Company, by his Majesty's Charters, had no Power to grant: That therein was given an Exemption of all the People within the Limits of his Patent, from the Command and Government of the Governor and Council, and from all other Charges and Services of the Colony whatsoever, except in Case of War only; as likewise a Grant of an unlimited Fishing, of the fifth Part of all rich Mines, with many other general and indefinite Liberties: That, under Colour of these extraordinary Privileges, many great Inconveniences had arisen, to both the Company and Colony: That Captain Martin refused to submit himself to the Laws and Orders of Government there: That his Plantation was made a Receptacle and Harbour for all disolute Persons, who fly thither from ordinary Justice: That all these, and many other Mischiefs, had been often complained of by the Colony, in their particular and general
The History of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor.

1622.

The Assembly; as also by the Governors there, and most especially by Captain Argall, notwithstanding his Subscription to this Certificate: That, upon his Letter to the Company, an Order was made, in a great and General Quarter Court, held in May 1618, and a Committee appointed, to examine and reform the said Patent: That Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Johnson then presided, as Treasurer and Deputy to the Company; so that it seemed strange to them, to find their Hands also to that Certificate, contradicting the Act of that Great Court, wherein themselves were the principal Managers and Directors: That the said Inconveniences had moreover been lately testified, by several Persons, before the Company, in open Court: But that the Company had nevertheless frequently offered, and was always ready to grant Captain Martin (whose Merits they should be glad to hear of, and to cherish) upon the Surrender of his former, a new Patent, with as large and ample Privileges, as any other had, or could enjoy.

Notwithstanding the Truth, Justice, and Reasonableness of this Answer, Captain Martin preferred a Petition to the King, containing many scandalous Suggestions, as well against the whole Body of the Company, as against some special Members in particular. And he obtained an Order from his Majesty, to have his Cause heard and determined, at Sir Thomas Smith's House, before such Referees, as he himself named; among which were those, who chiefly instigated and set him on. In Answer to this, the Company made two Addresses; one to the Referees, in like Manner as they had done in the Case of the Certificate; and the other to the King, as well to clear the Company and such particular Persons, as stood accused and defamed in Martin's Petition, as also to inform his Majesty, that some of those, unto whom the Reference was procured, were violently suspected, to be Captain Martin's chief Abettors and Supporters in this Affair. They therefore desired, that the Matter might be referred, together with those Lords in Martin's Reference, to certain other Lords of the Privy Council, whom they named. But upon Lord Cavendish's presenting this, his Majesty said, that he was much surprized at this new Custom, lately sprung up, that Petitioners should chuse their own Referees. To which his Lordship answered; that, in that Point, Captain Martin had been their Example, who in his Petition, which his Lordship then produced and shewed his Majesty, had named his own Referees, which his Majesty had approved and appointed accordingly.

But
took IV. The HISTORY of VIRGINIA. 225

But not content to give the Company this Trouble and Disturbance, Captain Martin, together with one Captain Robert Hafwell, presented another Petition to his Majesty, setting forth: That in the Time of Sir Thomas Dale's Government, there was a large Quantity of Woodland, Marsh, and other Ground, being in Circumference by Estimation about fourscore Miles, for which Sir Thomas Dale compounded with Powhatan, the Indian King, and bounded the same by Trees, and other Marks of perpetual Knowledge and Remembrance, with a solemn Procession of many of his Majesty's Subjects, then and there living, commanding Notice to be taken thereof, to be, and always so called and entitled, the King's Forest: That within the said Forest, there was of Deer and wild Hogs a very great Number; which being preferred, with Care and Judgment, from the Spoil and Havock, which continually was, and would be made, both of them and their Brood, the Colony might therein have a constant Stock and Support, and Shipping might, at all times, be plentifully victualled and supplied: And that there were besides, within those Limits, many other profitable Commodities, already known. They therefore humbly besought his most sacred Majesty, to take the said Forest into his own Royal Hands, and to appoint some honourable Person, to be Commander thereof, authorizing him, to give Order for converting the Plantations thereon to his Majesty's best Use and Behoof, and for appointing a Justice of Oyer, and Rangers, with such other Officers, as should be thought most proper and convenient for the said Forest and Plantation.

To such a Height of Falshood, Fraud, and Imposture, did the Passions of these unhappy Men carry them, as thus to give the King at once, as far as it was in their Power, all the Lands and Possessions of a very great and principal Part of the Colony; who had, by their Labours and Sufferings, struck out new Branches of Trade and Profit to the King and Nation, and well deserved all Manner of Indulgence, and the utmost Security and Stability in their Properties. But King James was not of a Temper, to forego any Views of Profit and Advantage. He therefore referred the Examination of the Matter to Sir Christopher Perkins, one of the Masters of Requests; who summoning the Company, received for Answer:

That they held not their Lands from King Powhatan, nor acknowledged any King of Virginia, but King James: That it was true, for a perpetual Memorial and permanent Honour to his Majesty and his Royal Issue, they had named their chief Towns, and other most remarkable Places, after the
The History of Virginia. Book

1622.

Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor.

the King and his Children: That they however supposed this did no way alter the Property of Inheritance in those Places, which his Majesty, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, had granted to the said Company, for and throughout all Virginia: That as to the King's Forest, it was a Name happily known to Captain Martin and his Associates, but never before heard of by the Company: That within the Circuit, which they had been pleased to appropriate for the Forest, were placed James-City, their chief Town, and Place of Residence for the Governor and Council, and divers other principal Seats and Plantations: That as for the Deer, it was true, the whole Country did generally abound in them; but the Swine were no other but the Breed of such as had been transported thither by the Company: That Captain Martin was a Person, who had ruined his own Estate, (if ever he had any) as also the Estates of others, who had put him in Trust: That he made his Territory in Virginia a Receptacle of Vagabonds and Bankrupts; and was famous for nothing, but all Kinds of base Conditions and Actions, as had been published in Print, above ten Years before: That he had been therefore displaced from the Council, by Lord Delawarr, as a most unworthy Person, who had presumed, of his own Authority, no ways derived from his Majesty, to pass unjust Sentence of Death upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects, and to see the same put into cruel Executions: That it was, therefore a Matter of great Surprize to them, to find such a Man dare to offer himself to his Majesty, as an Agent, either for Matter of good Husbandry, or good Government: That as to Captain Hafwell, he was neither Adventurer in the Company, nor Planter in the Colony, but a mere Stranger to both; nor otherwise known to them, than as an Interpreter to a Polonian Lord, of his own creating: That however, if the King was pleased, to have a Royal Domain laid off for him in Virginia, nothing could be more joyful and agreeable to the said Council and Company, nor wherein they would more willingly employ their Endeavours.

At the same time, Mr. Pierce, who had been Cape-Merchant in Virginia, understanding, that Captain Martin denied, that he ever protected any within his Territories, averred, that he had delivered several Warrants, to be served upon Persons, that lived loosely within Captain Martin's Plantation, and that the Provost Marshal made Return, that the said Captain Martin refisted the Officer, and drew Arms upon him, and would not suffer him to execute the said Warrants. Others also affirmed, that it was
was generally reported in Virginia, that Captain Martin's Plantation was a Place of Refuge for all Debtors; and that, if he had been of Power, there would have been no living in Virginia. To which Mr. Jefferson added; that, to his Knowledge, Captain Martin, being summoned, had refused to obey the General Assemblies. All which, they all declared themselves to be ready and willing, whenever required, to confirm and justify upon Oath. Wherefore, in a Case of this clear Evidence and Truth, Captain Martin was not able to carry his Point against the Company. He was afterwards induced to deliver up his illegal Patent in open Court, to be cancelled; and Orders were given for drawing a new one, with as large and ample Privileges, as the Earl of Southampton, or any other Adventurer had. But when this was drawn, Captain Martin complained, that he was therein abridged of a great Quantity of Land, granted in is his former Patent. For, in that, ten Shares were given him, in Reward of his Services; and he pretended, that each of those Shares ought to be five hundred Acres of Land; and he therefore claimed five thousand Acres. For this, he defired that Spot of Land, as he called it, at Martin's Brandon, where he had formerly seated, containing about six thousand Acres, with all Marshes and sunken Grounds thrown in, as an Overplus. But the Court, having never heard of any Shares of five hundred Acres, and finding it expressly directed by their Charters, that no Share should exceed an hundred Acres, absolutely refused to grant his Demand. However, to give him Satisfaction, if possible, they gave him to a certain Day, to produce any Instance or Evidence, that there had ever been Shares of five hundred Acres; and promised, to shew him all lawful Favour. But he afterwards perversely demanded the Re-delivery of his old Patent; and the Court, being quite wearied out with his Obstinance and Impertinence, gave him for their last and resolute Answer; That, if he would accept such a Patent, as they could lawfully grant, he might have it; but as for his old Patent, they could not deliver it to him again, being void, not so much by his Refignation, as by the Extravagance and Illegality of the Grant itself. Whereupon he went away, and never spared, upon all Occasions, to load many very worthy and deserving Members of the Company, with all possible Scandal and Reproach. But at last he accepted the new Patent, and pretended to be fully reconciled to the Company; and came to Virginia, with a Recommendation from the Privy Council, and by their Means and Interposition, even from the Company themselves; which Favour he accordingly requited,
But besides Captain Martin, some others were raised up and suborned, to give in Complaints to the King, against the Company. One Adam Dixon, in his Petition, pretended to have been hired, for the Service of the Company and Colony, as Master-Calker of their Ships and Vessels in Virginia, at thirty six Shillings a Month, and that having served them many Years, he only had received three Pounds thirteen Shillings; so that there was now due to him an hundred and fifty Pounds, or thereabouts: That Captain Argall also, in the time of his Government, had given him and one John Berry a Piece of uncleared Ground, on which they had expended an hundred Pounds in a House; but that, contrary to all Justice and Equity, they had been turned out of their said House and Ground, the former Year, by Sir George Yeardley, to their great Discomfort and utter Undoing. To this the Company answered: That the Matters of the said Petition were to them utterly unknown, that there was not, in their Books, the least Mention of any such Officer or Contract; neither had they any Inducements, to believe it to be true. That if any such thing had passed, it must have been in Sir Thomas Smith's Time, to whom they referred him, for Answer and Satisfaction. That as to the Outrage and Wrong, pretended to have been done by Sir George Yeardley, the Petitioner had never yet complained thereof to them; but they would take a Course for speedy Justice therein, by commending the Matter to the Care and Examination of the Governor and Council in Virginia. And the Affair was accordingly examined and tried in our General Court, the 21st of January, 1623-4. It then appeared, by the Oath of Thomas Gates and the said Adam Dixon, that they, together with John Berry and Thomas Dingley, were hired by Sir Thomas Smith, upon Wages, for a certain Term; that their Wages were not only never paid, but they themselves were detained, many Years longer, in very hard Servitude; and that at last, to free themselves, they were obliged to give Captain Argall an Acquittance, under their Hands, for their Wages; without which, he threatened, they should never be set free. And they further swore, that Captain Argall kept them a Year after, in his own proper Service, without any Allowance of either Wages or Cloaths. But I cannot find, in our Records, that they prosecuted or made any Complaint here, against Sir George Yeardley, about their House and Land.
Book IV. The History of Virginia.

One William Kemp also presented a Complaint to his Majesty, of the Grievances of certain Inhabitants of Kiequoian in Virginia; that William Julian, John Buso, and some others, ancient Planters and deserving Inhabitants of the best mechanical Trades, had been turned out of their lawful Possessions, by Sir George Yeardley, with many Circumstances of Oppression and Cruelty. To which the Company answered: That the Parties, pretended to be wronged, had never made any Complaint to them: That Kemp had been in England above a Year, and had never laid the Matter before the Council and Company, where Justice might have been done: That he did not even pretend to have Authority from the Parties grieved, to exhibit this Complaint to his Majesty: That they therefore saw no Cause, to believe his Allegations to be true; but suspected him, rather to be set on by the Malice of others, than moved by his own Zeal for Right and Justice: That however, according to their Custom in Causes of the like Nature, they would, by the first Opportunity, transmit this Complaint to the Governor and Council in Virginia; that, if there appeared any Truth in any Part thereof, they might proceed, as well to the due Redress of the said Grievances, as to the condign Punishment of the Authors and Delinquents. And this Complaint appears, from our Records, to have had this Foundation in Truth and Matter of Fact; that some Persons had set down, at Kiequoian, upon the publick Land of the Company, and were obliged, by the Governor and Council, to go off. But they however had, either by this time, or afterwards, (I cannot exactly say which) Satisfaction made them for their Clearing and Improvements.

Captain Matthew Somers, who had returned to England with his Uncle's Body, in the Year 1610, had, long before this, been a Prisoner in the King's Bench. From thence he often pelted and tizzed the Company, with an extravagant Demand for his Uncle's Adventure; and altho' something considerable in Adventure appeared, by their Books, to be due to Sir George Somers, yet they refused to pass it over to him, because he had an elder Brother in the Country, who was Heir at Law to Sir George, and he could not make sufficient Proof, that either his Uncle had bequeathed it by Will, or that his Brother had made over all his Right and Interest therein to him. In this time therefore of presenting Petitions to the King, Captain Somers also preferred his; informing his Majesty: That Sir George Somers was forced, by Stresses of Weather, to save himself and Company, on the Islands of Bermudas, where he lost his
The HISTORY of VIRGINIA. Book IV.

Mr. Francis Wyatt Governor.

Ship, and soon after, his Life: That he, the Petitioner, being his immediate Heir, and then present, built a small Bark, to convey his Company to England; and left three Men, to continue the Possession of those Islands, in his Majesty's Name: That the Virginia Company, hearing of this Discovery, challenged those Islands, as their Right, although they were above an hundred Leagues without the Limits of their Grant; and they sent a Governor, with Men, to take the Possession from his Majesty: That finding, the Petitioner’s Men had, by their Industry, found a Cake of Ambergrease of an hundred and sixty Pounds Weight, the said Governor took it violently from them, for the Use of the Company, who sold it for twelve thousand Pounds, and likewise threatened Violence to the poor Men, to make them confess more: That the said Company, shortly after, sold the said Islands to a particular Company, for two thousand Pounds; and the poor Petitioner could never yet obtain any thing, either for his Adventure or other wise, although he had long and often solicited it, to his great Charge and utter Undoing: That these and no other Comforts, could they, the ancient Adventurers, receive from the Company; and therefore he humbly besought his Majesty, to take into Consideration his own Royal Rights therein, and to give Order for the Relief of him, the poor Petitioner.

To this false and exaggerated Account of that Affair, the Somer-Islands Company gave in, for Answer, much the same in Substance and Purport, as I have before related concerning it. And as for Captain Somers, they deny him to have any just Pretence, to style himself, either an ancient Adventurer, or Planter. For he made a very short Abode there; and contrary to his Duty and Trust, returned suddenly to England, where he had ever since continued, without performing the least Service to either Plantation. They confess, that a Block of Ambergrease of very great Value was found, of which they got about a third Part; but were not able to deliver in an exact Account of its Worth, because Sir Thomas Smith, at that time Governor and Treasurer of their Company, had hitherto refused to give any Account of their Treasury. And they further say, that they conceived the Right to that Ambergrease to be in the Virginia Company, at whose Charge, and in whose Service, those three Men had been set out and employed; but that they had nevertheless, since compounded with the Finders, so that none of them had any just Cause of Complaint, and built of all Captain Somers, who could have no Title or Pretence of Interest therein.
As Captain Argall had been long and actively employed in Virginia, and was consequently well acquainted with most Persons and Passages there, he was strongly suspected to be at the bottom of these Complaints and Petitions against the Company. They therefore, on their part, resolved to pursue their Prosecution against him with greater Vigor; and they appointed a select Committee, to warn him peremptorily to exhibit his Accounts, and to make a full and substantial Answer to such things, as the Company should charge him with. But he, being a Man of good Sense and Capacity, and of great Industry and Resolution, still foiled and perplexed their Proceedings, and gave them much Trouble and Annoyance, without their being able to bring him to any Account or Punishment, for all his unrighteous Gains and Extortions in Virginia.

Captain Samuel Each was sent, this Summer, in a large Ship of three or four hundred Tons, to build a Blockhouse or Fort, on those Blanks which lie out in James River, near Blunt Point. This was designed, to command the Passage up the River; and it was judged, by divers of the Inhabitants, to be that, which ought first to be attempted, and would be most easily effected. Captain Each also, who was esteemed a very honest and skilful Man, having viewed the Place, when in Virginia, thought the thing very feasible. But this Undertaking, like many others, ended with great Charge to the Company, and without any real Effect or Advantage. However, in this Ship went over the Lady Wyatt, and Mr. Barret, a Master-Shipwright, (whom Captain Smith calls Captain Barwick) with twenty-five Men, to build Ships and Boats, together with many House-carpenters for the East-India School, and other Uses. All these Persons, for publick Services, were sent in the common Method, used ever since the Company’s Fund was exhausted, by the voluntary Subscription of the Adventurers to a Roll. And I likewise find, that one Mr. Howe, who styles himself a Chronicler, made a Demand upon the Company, about this time, for twelve Pounds of Tobacco; which, he said, had been promised him annually, in Consideration of his Pains and Willingness to serve the Company, and to relate, in his Book, the several Passages concerning Virginia. They granted him his Pension for that Year, which he most thankfully accepted. But he either never performed the Service, or is at least a Writer of that Obscurity and Insignificance, that I neither know, nor can find anything of him.

Before the Election of Officers came on this Year, the Company, in a previous Court, expressed their great
Satisfaction in the Earl of Southampton's Administration, and they made it their humble Desire and Entreaty to his Lordship, which was entered upon their Records, that he would vouchsafe to hold the Place of Treasurer, for one Year more. But the Earl of Southampton was very obnoxious to the Court, on Account of his Principles of Liberty, and his bold and resolute Opposition to an excessive Prerogative. The King therefore endeavoured once more, to put him out of the Government of the Company. For, at the Time of Election, Alderman Hamerley and Mr. Bell delivered a Message, in his Majesty's Name, signifying:

That although it was not his Design or Desire, to infringe their Freedom of Election, yet it would be highly pleasing to his Majesty, if they would make Choice, for Treasurer and Deputy, of any of those Gentlemen, whose Names were written in a Paper, then presented to the Court. In this, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir William Ruffell, Mr. Clitheroe, Mr. Maurice Abbot, and Mr. Handford, were proposed to their Choice for Treasurer; and for Deputy, Mr. Leat, Mr. Robert Offley, Mr. Stiles, Mr. Abdy, and Mr. Bateman. The Company expressed great Joy and Satisfaction, for this Testimony of his Majesty's Notice and good Wishes to the Colony, and of his gracious Intention, not to infringe their Privilege of free Election. But because, by their Rules and Orders, three only at a time could stand for either of those Places, they first put it to the Vote, which two, of the five recommended by the King for Treasurer, should be put in Election, with one, whom the Company should name. Mr. Clitheroe and Mr. Handford were chosen to stand in Election, and the Company named the Earl of Southampton; who was, upon the Ballot, chosen by a vast Majority, he having an hundred and seventeen Balls, Mr. Clitheroe thirteen, and Mr. Handford seven. In like Manner, they chose Mr. Leat and Mr. Bateman, to stand for the Place of Deputy Treasurer, to whom the Company added Mr. Nicholas Farrar, who was also elected, by having an hundred and three Balls, Mr. Bateman ten, and Mr. Leat eight.

The Earl of Southampton was then absent; and indeed seems purposely to have abstained from their Courts at such times, to shew, that these things were carried, not by any Art or Ambition of his own, but merely by the free Choice, and unbiased Affection of the Company. But Mr. Nicholas Farrar, being present, took his Place, as Deputy Treasurer, and returned Thanks to the Company, for this honourable Testimony of their Love and Esteem, wherein he should, all his Life, exceedingly glory and rejoice. And he farther declared his Sense of the Weight and Difficulty of the Office,
office, and of his own Inability. But not to trouble them
with any self-denying Intreaties, he promised, to the utmost
of his Power, to perform the Charge they had laid upon
him; and besought the Honourable the Lords, and the other
worthy Gentlemen and Officers, with their Counsels to di­
rect, and the whole Court, with their Presence to affift him,
in the Execution of his Office. And, in particular, he de­
ferred them, to request his Brother, Mr. John Farrar (in
Confidence of whose Assistance and Direction, he well knew,
they had chosen him) to continue the same Care and Pains,
he had formerly done. Whereupon Mr. John Farrar pro­
mised, not to slack any thing of his former Zeal and Dil­
gence, in the Business; and the Company, in thankful Ac­
knowledgement and Approbation of his great and faithful
Services, in the Place of Deputy-Treasurer, for the three
last Years, bestowed upon him twenty Shares of Land, old
Adventure. And they further ordered, that together with
the Gift, it should be entered on their Records, that the
Court conceived his Services and Merits to be so great, that
had not their Liberality been bounded, within the Compa­
s of twenty great Shares, they would, for him, have exceed­
ed it with a much larger Proportion. And the same Quan­
tity had also been bestowed upon Sir Edwin Sandys, in his
Absence, the former Year, with a like honourable Testi­
mony and Acknowledgment of his Services and Deserts.

The Company also requested the Lords Cavendish, Pag­
er, and Houghton, to present their most humble Thanks
to his Majesty, for his Remembrance and good Wishes to
their Affairs; and to inform him, with what Reverence
and Respect, his Message was received; but that the Elec­
tion had fallen upon the Earl of Southampton, with an al­
most unanimous Consent, the Company having found, that
the Plantation had prospered, each of the three last Years,
more than in ten before; and that more had been done
with ten thousand Pounds, than formerly with fourscore
thousand. And they further conceived, that as their Staple
Commodities were then in establishing and perfecting, and
as the Government of the Country was to be settled and
confirmed, equal Sufficiency, in their Governors and Di­
rectors, would not so much advance the Plantation, as the
Variableness of Instruc­tions and Methods, in the Change
of Officers, proceeding from different Conceptions and Ways
of thinking, would prejudice and retard the Business. But
his Majesty was not well pleased to find, that out of so large
a Number, as were recommended by him, not one had
been chosen; and he said, he conceived Merchants to be
fittest, for the Management of such Undertakings, because

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of their Experience and Skill in Staple Commodities. In
Confirmation of which, he instanced Sir Thomas Smith's
Government, in whose time many Staple Commodities had
been set up, which were now laid down, and only Tobacco
raised or attempted. To which Lord Cavendish replied,
that in this, as well as many other Particulars, relating to
the Company and their Proceedings, his Majesty had been
very grossly misinformed; that the following Tobacco only,
and neglecting all other Staple Commodities, had been the
Fruits of Sir Thomas Smith's, and Alderman Johnson's Go-
vernment; but that since, they had laboured, with all In-
dustry, Care, and Diligence, to erect Iron-Works, plant
Vineyards, make Silk, and raise other such valuable Com-
modities, of some whereof, they hoped, shortly to give his
Majesty a Proof; and he said, that since Sir Thomas Smith's
Time, the Colony had grown to almost as many thousands
of People, as he left hundreds, besides a very great Increase
of their Cattle. And his Lordship further assured his Ma-
jefty, that some of the Persons recommended, being in
Court, did then, and most of them have otherwise since,
publicly acknowledged and declared, that they would ne-
ever have accepted those Places; professing themselves, that
Want of Experience, and a Multitude of other Business, so
very unfit and unequal to the Charge, that they should cer-
tainly have brought back the Business more, in one Year,
than it had gone forward and prospered, in the last three.

Soon after this, the News of the Massacre in Virginia
arrived. This Event, so unexpected, and so contrary to
all their Hopes and Prospects, was received, by the Com-
pany, with inexpressible Grief; which was not a little ag-
gravated, that so many had fallen, by the Hands of Men so
temptible, and after such plain Warnings, as Opechana-
cough's Attempt to poison the whole Colony, and es-
pecially the Death of Nemattanow had given. And they were
therefore very loud in their Complaints against the Con-
duct of the Governor and Colony; never considering, how easy
and natural it would be, to retort upon them (as the Go-
vernor and Council actually did) their own constant and
pressing Instructions, to win the Indians over by Courtes-
y and Kindness, to give them familiar Entertainment in their
Houses, and if it were possible, to draw them to live to-
gether and cohabit with the English. However, all good and
sensible Men thought not the worse of the Enterprise, for
these Disasters; but many publick-spirited Adventurers un-
dertook several new Plantations, and divers Ships were dis-
patched away, with such Supplies and Assistance, as were
thought sufficient. The King also was so far sensible of the
Loss
Losses of so many of his Subjects, and of the miserable State of the Colony, that he made them a Gift of Arms out of the Tower; such indeed, as were unserviceable in Europe against equal Enemies, yet might, with a little Trimming and Repair, be made very useful against the Indians. And for immediate Dispatch, his Majesty lent twenty Barrels of Powder, upon the Security of the Company’s Seal, afterwards to repay it. He likewise promised, to levy four hundred young Men, out of the several Shires, to be sent to Virginia, in Supply of those, that had perished in the Mazzacre; but he never could be brought, tho’ often solicited by the Company, to make that Promise good. The Lord St. John of Basing, also gave sixty Coats of Mail, for the Defence of the Colony; and the City of London, with many private Persons, were much concerned at, and very forward to contribute towards the Repair of this Loss.

Captain Smith, with Mr. Stockham and Mr. Whiaker, two Clergymen of Note in the Colony, had ever been of Opinion, that the Ways of Gentleness and Kindness would never be sufficient to bring the Indians over; and had therefore recommended, that Mars and Minerva should go Hand in Hand, as well in their Conversion, as in all other Transactions and Intercourse with them. But they were too sanguinary in their Notions of the Matter. For Mr. Stockham plainly declares, that, until the Throats of their Priests and Elders were cut, there could be no Hopes of their Conversion; and Captain Smith frequently mentions, and infinuates to Imitation, the detestable Example of the Spaniards, in their Conquest of the West-Indies. They were indeed something excusable, if their Patience being worn out by a long Experience of the Perfidiousness, Baseness, and almost invincible Brutality of that People, they at last gave too much Way to the Dictates of Anger and Violence. Captain Smith, in particular, thought, that there had long since been given just Occasion, to prosecute them with War, and entirely to conquer and subdue them; and he now looked upon the Mazzacre, as rather an Advantage than Detriment, as it would open the Eyes of the English, and set them upon their Guard, and would give them just Grounds for a War, even to their utter Extirpation, and thereby contribute to the future Security and speedy Advancement of the Colony. And this indeed seems to have been the general Opinion of the Times. For the Company themselves, in a Letter this Year to the Governor and Council, declare, that they saw such a Disposition in Mens Minds, as made them think, that this Addition of Price had endeared the Purchase, and that the Blood of these People would be the Seed of the Plan-
Plantation. And, for their own Parts, they thought it a Sin against their dead Brethren, who had lost their Lives in it, to abandon or give over the Enterprize, till they had fully settled and got Possession of the Country.

CAPTAIN Smith likewise, upon this Occasion, offered his Service to the Company. He proposed, that they should transport him, with an hundred Soldiers and thirty Sailors, and all proper Provisions and Ammunition; and should give him a Bark of an hundred Tons, with Means and Materials, to build six or seven Shallops, to transport his Men from Place to Place, as Occasion required; and then he undertook, to form a flying Camp, and to range about and torment the Indians, till he either obliged them to quit the Country, or brought them into such Fear and Subjection, that every Man should follow his Business in Peace and Security. And as to the Support and Subsistence of this Party, he thought, if his Majesty were truly informed of the Necessity and Benefit of the thing, he would give the Customs of Virginia for a time. For, without some such Method, it was much to be doubted, whether there would come, in a few Years, either Custom, or any thing else, from thence to England. And he doubted not, but that the Planters would, according to their several Abilities, contribute towards so useful and necessary a Design. But he insisted, that the Governors should not be permitted, by Virtue of their Authority, to take his Men away, or any thing else, to employ them, as they thought proper. And he farther promised, to make the best Use of his Experience, as well within the Limits of Virginia, as New-England, to bring them both into one Map, with all the Countries, that lay between them. As to the Reward of his own Pains and Danger, he asked not any thing, but what he could raise, from the proper Labour of the Savages themselves.

This Proposal was well approved by most, that heard it; but such were their Divisions and Confusion at that time, that he could obtain no other Answer, but that the Expence would be too great, and their Stock was exhausted; and they thought, the Planters should do something of that Nature themselves, if they could find sufficient Means to effect it. However, he was given to understand, as he tells us, that if he would undertake the thing upon his own private Account, he might have the Company’s Leave; provided, they might have half the Pillage. But he rejected this Intimation with Scorn; thinking, that all the Pillage of those poor and naked Barbarians, except a little Corn, to he had at some times of the Year, would not, in twenty Years, amount to twenty Pounds. But I suspect, that all this
this only passed in Conversation, or was at most privately talked at their Courts, without being ever brought regularly before the Company. For I have the Company's Records of that time, now in my Possession, in which there is not the least Mention of any such Proposition, although things of a trivial and much more minute Nature are most exactly entered. Neither does it seem consistent with the Character of the Company and its Leaders, who gave a fair Course and Debate to all Propositions offered, and were rather profuse in their Expenditures for the Good of the Colony, than lying upon the Catch for little Advantages and mean Gains. However, the Captain's open Nature, and Simplicity of Honesty, might be blinded by crafty and designing Men, and easily made believe, that that came from the Company, which had really never come under their Cognisance, or been laid before them.

In the mean time, the Colony in Virginia, being much frightened at this lamentable and unexpected Disaster, resolved to abandon all the petty Plantations, and to draw the People together, to make good five or six of the best and most defensible Places. Nay, so great was the Terror and Alarm, that many Persons were urgent, to abandon James River, and to retire to the Eastern Shore, where they might easily fortify and defend themselves against the Indians. And for quieting those, who were many, the Governor was obliged to hold some Councils, under Colour of considering their Proposal, but yet with a full Resolution, never to take so unadvised and destructive a Step. However, many Plantations were quit by Authority; and all the People were drawn together to Shirley Hundred, Flower-de-Hundred, James-Town, with Pappleby and the Plantations right opposite, Kicquoton, and Southampton Hundred; to which were added, by the Obstinacy and Resolution of their Owners, Mr. Samuel Jordan's Plantation, now called Jordan's Point, and Newport's-News. For Want of Boats and other Conveniencies, it was impossible, on such a sudden, to secure and bring off all their Cattle and other Goods, which were, for the most Part, after their Departure, burnt, ruined, and destroyed by the Indians. But Mr. Gookin, at Newport's-News, refused to obey the Order of Government, and draw off his People; and having got together thirty five of all Sorts, he secured his Plantation, and defended himself and Company against all their Assaults and Incursions. The like was also done by Mr. Samuel Jordan; and by Mrs. Proctor, a proper, civil, and modest Gentlewoman, who, with an heroic Spirit, defended her Estate for a Month, till she, with all with her, were obliged, by the
236  

The History of Virginia. Book IV.

English Officers, to go with them, and to leave their Substant to the Havock and Spoil of the Enemy. Mr. Edward Hill also, at Elizabeth-City, altho' much mischief was done to his Cattle, yet did himself alone defend his House, whilst all his Men were sick and unable to give him any Assistance.

Captain Thomas Newce, Deputy and Superintendent of the Company's Lands, foreseeing the Difficulties and Famine, that must necessarily ensue, caus'd as much Corn as possible, to be planted at Elizabeth-City, where he commanded; whilst others destroy'd even that, which had been before planted, fearing, it might be of Service to the Indians, and trust'd wholly to Relief by Trade or from England, which had ever been one of the principal Causes of their Miseries. For, Supplies from England were very precarious, and liable to many Accidents and Disappointments, and had been, formerly at least, very scantily afforded: And the Trade for Corn, with the Natives, was us'dly carried on by Men of Substance, to their own Gain and Advantage, and as it was complained, especially by the Company's Enemies, to the great Oppression of the poor and suffering Inhabitants. But Captain Newce called all his next adjoining Neighbours to his House, and omitted nothing, to relieve their Wants and Necessities. He likewise, with all Speed, entrench'd himself; mounted three Pieces of Ordnance; sunk a Well of fresh Water; and soon put himself into a Posture of Defence, above the Fear of any Danger or Assault from the Enemy. In all these Works, he acted the Part of a Sawyer, a Carpenter, or a Labourer; till he brought upon himself many Sicknese, and at last a Dropsey, to the very great Grief of his Family, and of all under his Government. The latter End of June, Sir George Yeardley, in his Way to Accomack, stay'd three or four Days with Captain Newce, being accompanied by the Council, and many other gay Gentlemen. The Captain, being oppress'd with so large a Company, complain'd, to one of the chief among them, of the Want of Provifions. Whereupon he gave the Word to the rest, and they entered the Fields of Corn near the Fort, which were the best guarded and preserved from the Ravage of the Enemy, and altho' the Ears were scarce half grown, they devoured and made a miserable Waste among it. But it must be observ'd, that this Particular relies wholly on the Authority of Captain Smith, who was himself absent; and whose Relations of these times were chiefly taken from Persons of the opponent Faction. They are therefore always to be somewhat suspected; and especially in this Story, as it clusses...
clashes so much with Sir George Yeardley's general Character, and the universal Love and Esteem, which he obtained from the Colony. However Capain Newce was certainly a Man of great Goodness and Merit. As long as he had any thing, his Company shared it equally with him; and when all was spent, being obliged to live on Crabs and Oysters, they fell into a very weak and feeble Condition. Yet Captain Newce distributed among them, as he saw Occasion, a little Milk and Rice, which he still had left; and behaved himself, in all things, with such a fatherly Tenderness and Care, that he obtained the Reputation of being the Commander, throughout the whole Country, that took the most continual Pains for the Publick, and did the least Good for himself, of all others. On the 9th of September, his Men were attacked at their Labours, by the Indians, which was the first Assault, they had made since the Massacre, and four were slain. The Captain, although extremely sick, sallied forth to engage them; but they, hiding themselves in the Corn and other lurking Places, escaped his Vengeance. Soon after, this worthy Gentleman died; and the Company, in Consideration of his, as well as her own Merit, granted his widow a Moiety of the Labours of the Tenants, due to his Place, till another Person should be appointed to succeed him. And afterwards, in a Letter to the Governor and Council, they ordered her the whole Profits of their Labour for the following Year, with no small Commendation of her Virtue and Desert.

CAPTAIN Raleigh Chrofshaw was, all this while, at Patowmack, with one Man. He had not been long there, before Opechancanough sent two Baskets of Beads to Japazawus, the King, to kill them; assuring him of the Slaughter he had made, and that before the End of two Moons, there should not be an Englishman left in all their Countries. Japazawus disclosed this to Captain Chrofshaw, who expressed great Scorn and Contempt for Opechancanough, whose Treachery and Cowardise he had seen sufficiently tried by Captain Smith, when he took him Prisoner, at the Head of seven hundred Men. After two Days Deliberation, Japazawus made Answer, that the English were his Friends, and Opitchapan, the Indian Emperor, his Brother; and that therefore, there should be no Blood shed between them, by his Means. He also returned the Present of Beads, advising the Pamunkeys to come no more into his Country, lest the English, though against his Will, should do them a Mischief. But the English Colony concluded Chrofshaw undoubtedly dead, till Captain Hamer came to Patowmack.
Sir Francis Wyat, Governor.

23S HisTORY of VIRGINIA. Book VI.

1622. towmack, in June, to trade for Corn; where he found him safe, and was kindly entertained by both him and the King. By the King's Direction and Assistance, he assaulted and took a Town, where was some Corn; and at his Departure, he left Captain Chrojhaw four Men more. Chrojhaw receiving continual Alarms, retired with these to a Place of Advantage, where, with the Assistance of the Patowmacks, he soon fortified himself, sufficiently against all such assailants. Soon after, he was visited by Captain Newce; from whom understanding the miserable State of the Colony, he offered, if they would send him a bold Shallop, with Provision to trade, and proper Arms and Men, to provide them Corn sufficient, after the getting in their Corn; but as yet, it being but the latter End of June, he told him, there was little or none in all the Country.

Newce communicating this to the Governor and others, Captain Isac Maddison was sent, with thirty odd Men, in a Ship and small Bark. His Commission from the Governor, expressly charges and requires him, to assist and defend their Friends and Confederates, the Patowmacks, against the common Enemy; to protect them and their Corn, to his utmost Power; and in his Carriage, as well towards them as the Enemy, to discharge, faithfully and circumspectly, the great Trust reposed in him, as he would answer the same, at his Peril. But just at that time, Captain Chrojhaw had received a Letter from Mrs. Boyce, a Woman of Figure, who was Prisoner, with nineteen more, at Pamunkey. Having some Prospect of recovering their Liberty, he went to James-Town, with two Chiefs of the Patowmacks, to solicit the Governor, and to enter into Measures for their Release. But before this, Opechancanough had returned an insolent Answer to the Governor's Message, concerning restoring the English Captives, and had treated the King's Picture with great Dishonour and Contumely. The English also dissembled their Intents, and pretending Peace and Friendship, invited the Indians back, to plant their Corn at their usual Habitations; which being now grown up, so as to make the Loss irreparable by a new Crop, the Governor was preparing, with five hundred Men, to make a sharp and vigorous War upon them, especially upon Opechancanough and his bloody Adherents; and hoped, by destroying their Corn, and other Means, to drive them quite out of the Country. As to the lawful Emperor, Optichapan, who by this time indeed was only an Emperor in Name, he seems very greatly to have disapproved of the Massacre. For I find him, early the next Year, sending Chance, Pace's Christian Convert, who discovered the Indian Conspira,
to assure Sir Francis Wyatt, that if he would send ten or twelve Men, he would give up the rest of the English Prisoners, that were in his Possession; and would also deliver his Brother Opechancanough, the Author of the Massacre, into the Hands of the English, either alive or dead. Captain Tucker was accordingly sent upon this Service, but without the desired Success. However Opitchapan sent back Mrs. Boyce, naked and unapparelled, in Manner and Fashion, like one of their Indian Queens.

For these Reasons, the Governor was unwilling, at that Juncture, to hear of any Treaty with Opechancanough; and Captain Chrosbaw's Journey to James-Town was in vain; but his Absence from Patowmack had a very unhappy Consequence, on another Account. For, Maddison was a Man of a jealous and timorous Nature; and not liking to live among the Savages, as Chrosbaw did, he built himself a strong House, within Chrosbaw's Fort, and there soon rose great Coldness and Reserve between him and the Patowmacks. There was also then at Patowmack an exile King, who was inwardly exasperated at Japazaws, because he would not assist him in the Recovery of his Kingdom. This subtle and malicious Barbarian did therefore, in Revenge, forge a Plot, as if Japazaws and the Patowmacks were in Treaty with Opechancanough, how to cut off and destroy the English there. And to give his Lye the greater Credit and Air of Probability, he wrested and applied several Circumstances, that had lately happened, to this Design. Maddison, naturally fearful and suspicious, was alarmed at this, and made his Men stand punctually to their Arms. Some time after, under Pretence of Business, he sent for the King to his strong House; where having locked him, his Son, and four others up, and set a Guard of five Englishmen upon the House, he fell on the Town, with the rest of his Company, and slew thirty or forty, Men, Women, and Children. The poor King, being surprised at such an unexpected Assault, called out, and begged him to cease from so undeserved a Cruelty. But he gave not over the Execution, till he had slain, or put to Flight, all in the Town. Then he returned, and taxed the King of Treachery; who denied it bitterly, and told him, it was some Contrivance of those, who wished his Destruction, for being a Friend to the English. After that, Maddison led him, his Son, and two others to his Ship, promising to set them at Liberty, as soon as his Men were all safely shipped; and the King, very readily and effectually, ordered his Subjects, not to shoot at, or annoy the English, whilst they were going on board. But notwithstanding this,
Maddison, contrary to all good Faith, carried them Prisoners to James-Town; where they lay, till the October following, when they were carried home by Captain Hamer, who took a Quantity of Corn for their Ransom. However, this pernicious Dealing did not pass off, entirely without Notice or Animadversion. For, Mr. John Pountis, as a Case properly belonging to his Office of Vice-Admiral, afterwards lodged a Complaint against some Persons, who going out to trade with the Indians, under Pretence of Friendship, and in the Governor's Name, had seized their Persons, and sometimes taken their Lives, and sometimes their Goods, for nothing, or at their own Rates, contrary to all Laws human and divine, and to the Dishonour of God's Name, of the King, and the whole English Nation. Altho' this was conceived in general Terms, so as to reach all other Persons, guilty of the same Crime, yet we are told, in the Act of Court itself, that it was chiefly levelled against Maddison and Hamer. And some Examinations against them were accordingly taken; but by reason of Hamer's Sickness, and Maddison's Absence, who soon after returned to England, the Suit dropped, and never proceeded to full Trial.

This rash and unadvised Action of Maddison (not to call it by any worse Name) was of very ill Consequence to the Colony. For they were thereby cut off from all Hopes and Pretensions, to trade for Corn on that River; which was then their only Refuge and Dependence, as the Indians, in all the other Parts of the Country, were in an open and declared War with them, and as they themselves had not attempted any thing of a Crop, left the Corn, when grown up, should give Means and Opportunity for Assails and Ambuscades. Captain Chrofnav's Design was also quite defeated; who intended to make Japazawus a proper Instrument and Ally against Opechancanough. For he had at his Command above two hundred fighting Men, in the Town of Patowmack; and was, besides, a Person of great Interest and Authority, throughout the whole River, being a Kind of petty Emperor there, and unwilling to own Subjection to the other Emperors, whom he always affected to treat, rather as Brethren than Superiors. It was therefore probably thought, that Chrofnav would have succeeded in his Scheme, and might easily have made him rise against a Power, which he was before jealous of, and always looked upon, as usurped and oppressive.

However Captain Henry Spilman, who had been preserved by the Means of Pocahontas, and had lived several Years at Patowmack, relying on his Interest and Acquain-
Book IV. The History of Virginia.

tance with them, ventured to go thither, in a Bark, with twenty six Men, to trade for Corn. But himself, with twenty one more, were surprized and slain by the Pasco- tions, the greatest People in those Parts. They immediately boarded the Vessel in their Canoes, and entered so fast, that the five Men, left to guard her, were in the utmost Amazement, till a Sailor gave Fire to a Piece of Ordinance at Random; the bare Report whereof so frightened the poor Savages, that they leaped overboard, and forgetting their Canoes, swam ashore. Soon after, they heard a great Noise among them, and saw a Man's Head thrown down the Bank; whereupon they weighed Anchor, and return'd. And thus died this unfortunate Gentleman, who was of a good Family in England. He had, three Years before, been tried, and found guilty, of depreciating and under-running the Governor's Authority, by telling Opechancough, that a Great Man (meaning the Earl of Warwick) would soon come, and take his Place. For which Crime, they thought it a Mercy to spare his Life; but they however degraded him from his Captainship, and condemned him, to be a Servant to the Colony for seven Years, in Quality of Interpreter; for which Office he was peculiarly fitted, by having long lived, and been very conversant, among the Indians.

Edward Waters, one of the three, that flaid in the Islands of Bermudas, and found the great Block of Ambergrease, dwelling in Virginia, at the time of the Massacre, was himself, together with his Wife, taken and kept Prisoners by the Nanfamonds. But this Fall, some English, near Newport's News, were surprized in a great Storm, that altho' the Men saved their Lives, the Boat was lost; which was cast, by the Wind and Waves, upon the Shore of Nanfamond. The Indians, finding it, were so busied, with Songs, and Dances, and Invocations, according to their Manner of Triumph, that Waters and his Wife found Means, to get secretly into one of their Canoes, and crossed the River, nine or ten Miles over, to Kicquoian; where they were received with no less Joy and Wonder by the English, than their Escape gave Anger and Vexation to the Indians.

Shortly after, Sir George Yeardley and Capt. Powel, each with a Company of Gentlemen Volunteers, went to seek the Enemy. But all being fled, except three, which Captain Powel met by Chance and flew, they burnt their Houses, destroyed every thing they could find, and so returned. Three hundred Soldiers, the best they could shule, were, not long after, raised and embarked in convenient
242

The History of Virginia. Book IV.

1622.

Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor.

Venient Vessels, under the Conduct of Sir George Yeardley, with all things necessary for the Expedition. They went first to Nanfamond; where the Indians set Fire to their own Houses, spoiled all they could, and then fled away, with what they could carry off. So that the English had no Opportunity to make any Slaughter of them. But their Corn being newly gathered, they seized all they could find; burnt the Houses, which the Inhabitants had in their Hurry left unburnt; and so departed. From thence they went to Pamunkey, the chief Seat of Opechancanough. He did not appear himself; but the Indians there seemed exceedingly astonished, and promised to bring them all the English, yet living, and to restore their Arms, and whatever else they had; pretending, much to desire Peace, and to give them any Satisfaction in their Power. But this was only a Device, to procrastinate the Time, till they could convey away their Corn from all other Places, except where the English were quartered. At length, the English, perceiving their Design, seized on the Corn in their Power, burnt their Houses, and pursued them into the Woods. But they fled before them, and easily escaped, not without Contempt and Insult. For some lurked about in Ambush, and discharged some Shot out of English Pieces, which hurt and wounded several disorderly Stragglers. After this, Sir George returned, with a thousand Bushels of Corn, and each of the Soldiers had three Bushels a piece. Captain Smith tells us, that they were however obliged to pay ten Shillings a Bushel, before they received it, for Freight and other Charges of the Expedition. But the Governor and Council's Letters to the Company, an Authority not to be contested, expressly say, that Sir George Yeardley freely employed his own Shipping, Shallops, Mariners, and Servants, without any Recompence or Freight at all. But this is not the only Instance, in which that Gentleman's Actions are misrepresented in Smith's History. For, he immediately preceeding and coming after Captain Argall's Government, and having a Commission to examine and punish his Offences, became a peculiar Mark of Hatred and Calumny to that Faction. The same Letters inform us, that three thousand Bushels of Corn more were taken from the Enemy, by Force or Trade, and brought in, by different Parties of Men. By these, and other such small Inroads and Depredations, the Indians were reduced to great Want and Necessity that Winter, and endured no small Misery and Famine. So that many of the English, in Confidence of their Weakness, and Inability to hurt them, returned to their former Habitations. For, besides plundering and ruin-
ing their Com., and other Ways of distressing and destroying them, the Governor and Council, in the aforesaid Letter, assure the Company, that more Indians were slain that Autumn and Winter, than had ever fallen by the Hands of the English, put them all together, from the first Beginning and Settlement of the Colony.

The Earl of Warwick, not satisfied with the Spoils of Virginia, had also, by his Interest and Intrigues, procured his Follower and Dependent, Captain Nathaniel Butler, to be sent Governor of Bermudas for three Years; where he exercised the same bare-faced Oppression and Extortion, that Captain Argall had done here. But from the petty Offence of plundering the Colony, he proceeded to a higher Crime and Misdemeanor, and committed some Pillage upon a Spanish Wreck. This incensed Gondomar, and the Lords of the Privy Council sent a sharp Order to the Company, to make an immediate and strict Enquiry into the Matter. The Time of his Government being therefore now expired, a Commission was given to Mr. Bernard, who was going over to succeed him, to enquire into the Affair of the Spanish Wreck, as well as the Truth of many other Complaints and Allegations sent over against him to England. But, as had been done in Captain Argall’s Case, a Bark was dispatched from Barnstaple, in which he escaped, just before the Arrival of the new Governor, and came to Virginia. He left those Islands in a most miserable Plight, being reduced to Beggary and Ruin, by his Rapiers and Extortions; and coming hither in the Extremity of Winter, he found the Colony labouring under the Destresses and unhappy Consequences of the Massacre. Sir Francis Wyat received and entertained him, with great Hospitality and Good-manners; but his Behaviour here was infamously lewd and riotous. Among other things, he demanded to be admitted of the Council, and grievously resented his being refused, altho’ he could shew no Colour of Right or Title to it. After about three Months Stay, and having gone up as high as Chickahominy, where, like a common Robber or free Booter, he fell upon, and made Spoil of Lady Dale’s Cattle, he set Sail, and returned for England.

But before this, in the Beginning of the Summer, there had been set afoot a most unhappy Affair for the Company; which gave it, as it were, a settling Blow, and not without some Face of Reason, was the Occasion of greater Clamours and Animosities than ever. It hath been frequently related, how the King took all Opportunities of grinding the Company and infant Colony, by laying oppresive
prefive and illegal Impositions on Tobacco. This he did,
partly out of his natural Abhorrence and Aversion to that
Weed, but chiefly out of a Desire of Gain. For, with a
Conjunction not unusual to be found in Mens Characters,
Profusion and a voracious Appetite after Money, had met
together in that Prince's Nature. In all these Exactions,
Sir Lionel Cranfield had been his principal Instrument.
He had been at first a Merchant of London, and then an
Officer in the Cuftoms, from whence he was introduced to
Court, as a Projector; which, in the Language of those
Times, signified a Person, who could furnish Expedients
to the Ministers, to raise Money, in the Vacancy, and
without the Assistance, of Parliament. He was a very
wise and dextrous Officer; and in this Execrable Function,
had been so useful and successful, that, together with the
Advantage of having married one of Buckingham's Relations
(an extraordinary Merit then, and an infallible Road to the
highest Preferments) he had risen, before this time, to
the Dignity of Earl of Middlesex, and Lord High Treas-
urer of England. He was himself an ancient Adventurer
in the Affair of Virginia; and well knew, how uneasy
they were, under the Preffure of the Monopolies, Garb-
ling, and other illegal Patents. He therefore resolved to
try, whether he could not make the Company consent to
their own Oppreffion, and squeeze out of them a greater
Profit and Revenue to his Majesty, by making a particular
Contract with themselves.

To this End, he first broached the Matter privately to
Sir Edwin Sandys; offering a Grant to the two Companies
of Virginia and the Somer-Islands, for the sole Importation
of Tobacco into the Realms of England and Ireland, re-
serving to his Majesty a certain valuable Rent. This he
did, with large Professions of his Love and Affection to the
Colony of Virginia, whereof he was an ancient Counfellor;
and declared, that, besides the personal Duty of his Place,
as Lord High Treasurer, his principal Motive herein was
the Profit and Advancement of the Colonies. Sir Edwin
professed his Ignorance in Affairs of that Nature; but after
some Thought, he consulted with Sir Arthur Ingram, an-
other Member of the Virginia Company, then present,
but a fast Creature and Retainer to the Lord Treasurer. At
length, considering, that Tobacco was a deceiveable Weed,
and the Use of it wholly founded on a Humour, which
might soon vanish into Smoke, and come to nothing, he
told his Lordship, that to settle any great Rent in Money,
upon such an uncertain Commodity, might soon bankrupt
the Companies, and utterly ruin the Plantations. Where-
fore, he conceived it much the safer Way for the Companies, to yield his Majesty a certain Proportion, in Specie, out of the Tobacco itself; whereof, he thought, they might be induced to give a fourth Part, provided they might be discharged from all other Burthen upon it. But his Lordship, falling into a Calculation, told him, that without the Grant of a Third, there could not be that Revenue raised to his Majesty, as was expected; and for the old Custom, of six Pence a Pound upon Roll, and four Pence upon Leaf Tobacco, it was already granted to his Majesty's Farmers, and could not be reversed.

After this, Sir Edwin Sandys, by his Lordship's Command, communicated this Proposal to the Lords Southampton and Cavendish, and the two Deputies; who having imparted it to their Councils, brought it before the Companies. Such a Contract, if it could be concluded on any reasonable Terms, was certainly of very great and visible Advantage to the Companies and Colonies. For it would enable them, by having the whole Commodity in their own Hands, to exclude all foreign Tobacco, and to raise, or at least keep up, the Price of their own; and would as well ease them from the Extortions and Injults of other monopolizing Patents, as secure them from any farther Imposts. For the Court, as the Colonies advanced in Strength, was still loading them with new Imposts, and kept them always staggering, and scarce able to go forward, under the Burthen of Taxes and Imposts. And this was then done, solely by the King's Authority, without granting Parliaments their undoubted Right, of giving Money, and laying new Duties on the Subject. And what was a notorious, and (if the sacred Character of Kings and Ministers would allow the Expression) an impudent Breach of Faith, it was done against the plainest and most express Words and Tenor of former Grants; which was, beyond Doubt, the present Case of the Virginia Company, as hath been before observed and recited.

However, the Companies, sitting down peaceably under these Oppressions, readily embraced this Overture, and appointed each a Committee, to treat with the Lord Treasurer about it. But in the Progress of the Business, his Lordship was still squeezing in new Hardships upon them; and particularly surprized and shocked them with a Proposal, that for each of the two Years, then next ensuing, the Companies should be obliged, to bring in sixty thousand Weight of Spanish Tobacco, or otherwise permit forty thousand Weight to be imported by some other. This Proposition seemed very grievous to the Committees, and...
crofled one of their chief Purpofes. They therefore replied: That no fuch Obligation was laid on the former Paten- 

s for the fole Importation of Tobacco: That the Example of 

obliging Men to bring in any foreign Commodity, whereof 

there was sufficient of in the Growth of the King's own Do- 

minions, would fcam very strange and unaccountable; and 

fuch a thing, as they thought, had not been heard of, in 

any Part of the World: That to prohibit the planting To- 

bacco in England, and yet to command the importing fo 

large a Quantity from a foreign Country (especiafly when it 

was confecrated a great Drain of the Cash of the Nation) 

would be very grievous to the English Subject; and was fo 

odious a thing, that they were ashamed to be concerned in 

it: That the Quantity of fixty thousand Weight of Spanifh 

Tobacco was very excefsive, and more than had been im- 

ported in divers Years, when there was no Reftraint at all: 

That fo large a Proportion (the whole Import of Tobacco 

into England, upon an Average for the laft seven Years, be- 

ing only an hundred forty two thoufand and eighty five 
Pounds Weight a Year) muft utterly abafe the Price of the 

Plantation Tobacco, as manifeftly appeared from that Year's 

Experience; fo that the Colonies would part with a third 
of their Tobacco to the King, without any Retribution in 

the Price of the reft, as was at firft propofed: And that, in 

excluding all Spanifh Tobacco, there could be no Room 

for Fraud or Error; whereas, under the Colour of fo large 
an Importation, it would be impoffible to prevent the run- 

ning and ftealing in a much greater Quantity.

THESE Objections were certainly very fharp and home, 

and did not a little expose the partial and moft unpatriot 

Meafures of the Court. But it was the Misfortune of that 

Time, that the Company dealt much in Reafon, and the 

Courtiers in Command. They were therefore peremptorily 
told, that this was a Point of fuch Importance, that it could be 

not be dispended with, without difolving the whole Con- 

tract. For we muft remember, that the Spanifh Match 

was ftill on Foot; and therefore his Majefty would sacri- 
fice fo large an Intereft of his own Subjects to that Nation, 
to gratify and oblige his good Friend and Ally, the King of 

Spain; who had been now, for many Years, babbling and 

abusing him, to the open Scorn and Mockery of all Europe. 

Besides which, it is not to be fuppofed, that Gondomar, who, 

about this time, bore a very great Sway in the Affairs of 

England, would let slip fuch an Opportunity, of acquiring 

fo great a Profit to his Country. And indeed we are told 

by Mr. Oldys, that the Obftruction of thefe Plantations, was 
a main Branch of the Aims and Endeavours of that Spanifh 

Buffoon;
Book. IV. The History of Virginia.

Buffoon; and that he opposed all Voyages to the West-Indies, and particularly crossed these Undertakings of Virginia and Bermuda, left from them there should afterwards arise another England in America, of equal Dread and Annoyance to New-Spain, as that in Europe was to the Old. But the Company, having had some Gleams of Hope, and dreading nothing so much as falling into their former Calamities and Oppressions, did at last, after much Dispute and Contestation, consent to this Article; and the whole Contract was concluded and agreed upon, chiefly on these Conditions. For I shall in this, as I have done in other Cases, take the Liberty, for Brevity's Sake, only to give the main Substance of Matters, and to leave out such Points, as are immaterial, and of little or no Consequence to be known.

I. That the sole Importation of Tobacco, into the Realms of England and Ireland, should be granted to the Virginia and Somer-Islands Companies, by Patent under the Great Seal of England; which Grant should be drawn and construed, in the most beneficial Manner for the Companies Behoof, and the Advancement of the Colonies; his Majesty's Profit, hereafter recited, only reserved.

II. That his Majesty should, by Proclamation, prohibit all others from importing, as also from planting Tobacco in England and Ireland, during the said Contract, under grievous Penalties; and that what was already planted, should, by Virtue of the former Proclamation, be confiscated.

III. That his Majesty, and the Lord High Treasurer, should take all proper Methods, for preventing and confiscating all Tobacco, unduly imported; and should endeavour, in all Points, to keep up effectually to the true Intent and Meaning of this Contract; and particularly, that his Majesty should grant no Licences to Retailers of Tobacco, that the Market might still remain free and open, as it had hitherto done.

IV. That in Consideration hereof, as also for that the Companies should be discharged from all other Payments on Tobacco (excepting only the ancient Custom, in the Book of Rates, of six Pence a Pound on Roll Tobacco, and four Pence upon Leaf) the said Companies should pay to his Majesty the clear Proceed of a full third Part of all Tobacco, Yearly imported and landed by them in the said two Realms; Provided nevertheless, that they should not be obliged to import more Tobacco of the Growth of the two Colonies, than they themselves thought proper.
5. That the Lord High Treasurer should cause the Custom to be reduced to a Medium for seven Years past, ending at Michaelmas, 1621; wherein should be specified, how much was Roll Tobacco, and how much Leaf, because of the different Custom; and that the whole should be reduced to a certain Sum of Money, whereof one Third to be paid by the King, for his Part, and two Thirds by the Companies, and the Customers to make no farther Demand on any Tobacco, either imported or exported.

6. That his Majesty should be discharged from Payment of Freight, and all other previous Charges; but that immediately upon the Arrival of the said Tobacco (at which time his Majesty's Interest therein would commence) he should bear the third Part of all Charges, for landing, housing, keeping, and transporting by Land, Sea, or fresh Water, into divers Parts; as also his third Part of all Law-suits, of the Salaries of all Officers, Agents, Factors, and Servants; and in general, of all Matters and Business whatsoever, incident to the said Tobacco, or Contract.

7. That all the Tobacco imported, should be consigned into such Hands, as should be appointed by the said Companies; who should, in their General Courts, have the sole Nomination of all Officers, Agents, Factors, Ministers, and Servants, and the entire Management of the said Tobacco: Yielding to his Majesty, a true and perfect Account thereof, and paying the clear Profits, which should become due to his Majesty for his Third, and come into their Hands: In which Account the Third of all Charges should be allowed and defalcated, as aforesaid.

8. That the Companies should be obliged to import, not above sixty thousand, nor under forty thousand Weight of Spanish Tobacco, for each of the first two Years of this Contract, and no longer: Upon Condition nevertheless, that the King and State of Spain did not purposely (upon Knowledge of their being obliged to import so large a Quantity) raise the Custom, or impose new Burthens and Charges upon their Tobacco; and on Condition likewise, that the Price of Tobacco, at which it was then sold in Spain, be not purposely enhanced, and that the Markets be, in all Respects, as free and open, as formerly they have been: Provided also, if any of the said Quantity of Spanish Tobacco do, in any wise, miscarry by Casualties at Sea, that in that Case, the said Companies should not be bound, to restore and make good the Proportion so lost, by any new Provision and Importation.

9. That this Contract should commence at Michaelmas, 1622, and continue for the Space of seven Years, then next ensuing.
THIS Contract was certainly very well and cautiously worded, by Sir Edwin Sandys, who drew it, and was indeed their constant Draughtman upon all such Occasions. But it was at last esteemed a very hard and pinching Bargain upon the Trade; and as a certain noble Person expressed it, was not to be looked upon as a pleasant Dish, well fauced and seasoned, but as a bitter Potion, which must of Necessity, be swallowed down, for avoiding greater Evils. The Earl of Southampton therefore, earnestly desired the Company, duly to consider each Article, and not to spare to give their best Counfel and Advice, in so weighty a Business, which so nearly concerned themselves and the Colonies, it being not only free, but demanded, as a Duty from every Man, to speak his Mind boldly, as his own Reason should suggest. But after a long Pause, it appearing, that nothing more could be said, than had formerly been delivered, his Lordship, at the Company’s Request, put it to the Question, and it was ratified and confirmed, by an almost unanimous Consent, one Hand only being held up against it. After which, it was, by the Lord Cavendish, their Governor, proposed to, and confirmed by the Somer-Islands Company, with the like Unanimity. For the Adventurers in that Plantation, being about an hundred and twenty six in Number, were all likewise Members of the Virginia Company.

But before the Bargain was thoroughly concluded and ratified by the Lord High Treasurer, he pressed in upon them an Obligation to import the forty thousand Weight of Spanish Tobacco, in the best Varinas, with a Promise (which however he did not keep) not to trouble them any farther, if that was granted. The Company therefore yielded to it; on Condition, that such a Quantity of but Varinas could be procured. For there had been some Years, when the whole Importation of that Kind of Tobacco into Spain did not amount to forty thousand Weight. But if Varinas could not be had, they undertook (to give his Majesty and the Lord Treasurer Satisfaction) to import the rest of their Quantity, in the best and most costly Sorts of Spanish Tobacco. It will doubtless be very surprising to every thinking Reader, to find a King thus load and oppress his Subjects, with the Importation of a foreign Commodity, of no Use or Necessity, but of mere Luxury and Wantonness, and that too, in the dearest and most grievous Manner; especially when that Commodity might be supplied by our own Colonies, and must, in Spain, be paid for in hard Cash, as the Case then was. But to account for so unconscionable a Proceeding, it must still be observed, that herein were answered the two grand Ends, which at that time lay nearest,
to that Prince's Heart; since by taking off their dearest Tobaccoes, he did the more oblige the Spanish King and Nation, and threw more Money into their Pockets, out of his Subjects Purse (which was, in Truth, so much clear Loss to the English Nation) and did also, at the same time, advance his own Profit and Revenue. For as the King was, by the Contract, to have the clear Proceed of one Third of all Tobacco imported, it was more to his Gain and Advantage, to have the best Spanish Tobaccoes, which would then fall for eighteen or twenty Shillings a Pound, and sometimes more, than the Plantation Tobacco, which would scarcely fetch two and six Pence a Pound.

The Affair of the Contract, being thus settled and concluded, the next thing that fell under their Consideration, was appointing proper Officers, with their Salaries; and the resolving on a steady Course, for the Management of the Business. For this Purpose, a Committee was appointed out of both the Companies, consisting of the Earl of Southampton, the Lords Cavendish, Paget, and Houghton, Sir John Brooke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Davers, Messrs. Nicholas and John Farrars, the Deputies of the two Companies, Mr. Samuel Wrote, and others, Gentlemen and Merchants, to the Number of twenty one in all. After a whole Day's Consultation and Debate, they at last agreed upon all Matters; and the Lords Southampton and Cavendish, Treasurer and Governor of the Companies, reported the Result of their Deliberations, to their respective Courts. But first, the Earl of Southampton, with much Candor and Earnestness, entreated the Virginia Company, to deliver their Opinions freely, either for, or against, what he should then propound; which (he said) himself, the Council, and Committee, had consulted upon, not with Intent to conclude or determine any thing, nor to prejudice the Courts in their Judgment, but only the better to prepare the Business for their Consideration; looking upon themselves, as his Lordship expressed it, only as Servants to the Court.

After which Declaration, he proceeded and told them, that, as it was proposed, and in some Measure concluded, in the preparative Court, they judged it necessary, that there should be one principal Officer, by the Name of Director, on whose Sufficiency, Care, and Integrity, the whole Success of the Business did chiefly depend; and that they conceived the said Director would well deserve, for his Salary of that Year, five hundred Pounds. Next to him, was a Deputy: For without such an Assistant, it would be impossible for the Director, to undergo all the Burthen of Business, that would lie upon him. And to this Office they conceived requisite
requisite an extraordinary Deal of Pains and Industry, and no small Sufficiency. The Third Officer was a Treasurer, to keep the Cash. But altho' the Offices of Deputy and Treasurer were distinct in themselves, and would require two Persons, yet the better to husband the Expenses for that Year, they thought it best (according to the Resolution of the Preparative Court) to join them both in one Person, for the present. And to this Officer, they allotted a Sallary of four hundred Pounds, for the current Year. Next they conceived it necessary, to have a Committee of, at least, eight able and judicious Persons, chosen out of the two Companies, for selling and disposing of their Tobaccoes, and for assisting the Director, with their Counsels, and Help, in the several Parts of his Office; which would be very many and exceedingly weighty and important. And to these, they appointed a Salary of fifty Pounds, a Man. And besides these principal Officers, he told them, there would be necessary, two Cashiers, the one to be constantly resident in the Treasury, the other to receive and gather in the Monies; a Bookkeeper; two Clerks; a Solicitor; a Husband, to whom the Custody of the Warehouses should be committed; and a Beadle; with a House, for the Meetings of the Officers; and Warehouses, for the Reception of the Tobacco. And the whole Amount of all these Salaries and Expenses, was computed at two thousand Pounds a Year, which must be raised upon the Tobacco. But as the Spanish vastly exceeded the Plantation Tobacco in Price, it was agreed, that it should bear a double Proportion in the Rate of the Charges.

His Lordship farther told them, that they conceived it necessary, that there should be five hundred Pounds more set apart, for such contingent Expenses, as should occasionally arise; which Money, if it were not, by the Consent and Order of the Courts, expended for the Advantage and Improvement of the Price of Tobacco, was to be again repaid, to each Adventurer proportionably. And altho' this Sum, of twenty five hundred Pounds a Year, might to many seem very great and extraordinary; yet, he said, considering, that five hundred Pounds was not to be expended, except for the evident Advantage of the Commodity; and that, of the two thousand Pounds remaining, his Majesty was to bear one third Part, and the Spanish Tobacco a Proportion double to the rest. he conceived, it would be found no great Burthen upon the Plantations (whose Benefit was the grand Point in View) but, such, as it was hoped, would be manifoldly repaid, by the Advancement of the Price. And as to the Officers Salaries, he declared it to be his Opinion, that they were far below the Pains, Care, and Charge, that they must, of Necessity, be at.
The Earl of Southampton having thus finished his report, there followed, for some time, a general Silence among the Adventurers. Whereupon his Lordship entreated them, freely to speak their Minds concerning all these things, and to declare, what and how they would have them done. And he repeated it again, that they esteemed themselves only as their Ministers or Servants, to prepare Business for the Court, in whom alone, was Power and Authority to determine and conclude Matters. He therefore earnestly entreated them, without Respect to himself, or any others, from whom those Propositions came, to declare their Opinions freely, especially concerning the Salaries, which, he perceived, was the grand Rock of Offence.

Hereupon, Mr. Robert Smith, the Under-Chamberlain, said; that he thought, many able Gentlemen might be found, who, for Conscience Sake, would do the Business for far less Salaries. To which Sir Edward Sackville replied; that for his Part, he thought Men bound in Conscience, to give those whom they employed, some reasonable Satisfaction for their Labour and Pains; and that he had found by Experience, that some Men, who had, for Conscience Sake, served the Company, had also, for Conscience Sake, undone it. But the Earl of Southampton, to soften the Quickness of Sir Edward Sackville’s Reply, and to encourage a Freedom of Debate, declared, that Mr. Robert Smith was a very worthy and honest Man; and he thanked him, for speaking his Mind freely, desiring all others to do the same. After which, there ensued a short Debate; and it was often observed, in the Progress of the Affair, that this was properly a Point of Merchandize, and not of settling Colonies; and that it was not just or reasonable, to expect, that Men, fit to be trusted with, and capable to perform, so important a Business, should expend their whole Time and Labour, for the Advancement of other Men’s Estates, without any Reward or Retribution at all. Mr. Barker also now said; that, having been, many Years, a Member of that Court, he had never heard of such great Salaries, as four and five hundred Pounds a Year; but that he had however heard of five hundred, and a thousand Pounds, deficient in the Accounts of some Officers, who did their Business for nothing. Soon after, the Earl of Southampton was called upon, to put the several Propositions to the Vote. But his Lordship said, he would once more read them over to them; which having done, and no Man making any Objection, after a good Pause, he put the several things, concerning the Officers and Salaries, above related, distinctly to the Question, and they were all approved and confirmed.
They then proceeded to the Election of their Officers.

Sir Edwin Sandys had been nominated, in a former Court, to the Place of Director; but he earnestly refused it, as being unexperienced in Matter of Trade and Merchandize, in which that Officer ought to have an exact Knowledge; and as he could not constantly reside in Town, having a great Family in the Country. Besides which, he said, he began, as he now grew old, to wax weak; and therefore purposed, rather to withdraw from all Business of the World, than to engage himself farther in it. But the Court, especially the Earl of Southampton and the other Lords, being not satisfied with this Excuse, earnestly pressed him, not to refuse a Place, wherein he might do such singular Service to the Colonies; the whole Welfare of which did, almost entirely depend, upon the wise and upright Management of this Contract. No other Person therefore being so much as named against him, and himself rather not opposing, than consenting to accept the Place, he was, upon the Ballot, chosen Director, by having sixty five Balls for, and only five against him. Mr. John Farrar had also, at the same Court, been named to the joint Place of Deputy and Treasurer; but he likewise refused, alleging, that the Company had laid such a Burthen of Business upon him, for now almost four Years together, that he had been obliged to neglect his own private Affairs, which required his immediate and diligent Inspection. All which the Court acknowledged to be true; yet declared, they held him so fit a Man for that Place, that they would not propose any other to stand in Election with him; and so he was chosen, by having sixty eight Balls for, and only two against him. They then made Choice of their Committee, and inferior Officers; and also added a Committee extraordinary, to be chosen, out of the Council, without Salaries. They were not obliged to a constant Attendance; but were only to give their Advice and Assistance to the Director and other acting Committee, in Cases of a high and extraordinary Nature. And this Committee consisted of the Lords Paget and Maynard, Sir Edward Sackvil, Sir John Brooke, Sir John Davers, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Thomas Gibbs, Mr. Samuel Wrote, Mr. John Smith, and Mr. Robert St.
HAVE, in the former Book, been the more full and exact, in relating the Affair of the Officers and Salaries, as it afterwards became the Subject of much Wrangling and Contention.

There was one Mr. Samuel Wrote, a Gentleman of Fortune and Diftinction in the Company, who had ever till now, behaved himself with great Moderation, Judgment, and Industry, and had therefore been elected of his Majesty's Council for Virginia. This Gentleman did suddenly, in a subsequent Court, held on the 4th of December this Year, break forth into much Violence, Indecency, and Opprobriousnes of Language; and endeavoured, to call into question and cancel, in an inferior and ordinary Court, what had been settled and determined, by the Authority of a Great and General Quarter Court. He said, that this Affair, which was of especial Consequence to the Company, had been proposed and passed, without that due Preparation, which the Laws and Orders of the Company required in the like Cases; that the lawful and regular Course had not been taken for preparing Matters, but they had been haphazard shuffled over; that the Business of the Salaries, in particular, was not duly committed, but
carried fouly, and disorderly, and with much Art, surreptici-
ously, and to private Ends; and that divers of the Company
did, both then and since, as well publicly as privately, in
his Hearing, complain much against those Proceedings, but
that they durst not speak their Minds freely, because they
were overawed. He called the Laws of the Company Sir
Edwin Sandys's Laws, because that Gentleman had been
very active and industrious, in contriving and framing many
of them; and being reprimanded by Lord Cavendish, for
an Insinuation so unjust and opprobrious to the Company,
and for so unsuitable a Return to Sir Edwin Sandys for doing
publick Service, his Lordship added, that he had done more
Harm by that Day's Work, than Captain Martin, Captain
Argall, or Captain Bailie; the last of which was Captain
Somers's Solicitor, and had given their Courts much Trou­
ble and Abuse. To this Mr. Wrote replied; that, in term­
ing their Laws Sir Edwin Sandys's Laws, he called them
no otherwise, than a great Lord did; and since his Lord­
ship was so displeased with him, he declared, he would ne­
ver more trouble that Court, where his Lordship prefided,
but would, at their next Meeting, deliver up his Share in
the Somer-Islands Company.

He farther objected, that the Committee, in which
these things paffed, was very disorderly, some Men talking
privately by the Fire Side; which he imputed to Mr. Depu­
ty's Fault and Negligence, who ought to have moderated
and kept Order in their Meetings. And he said, that nei­
ther the Council, nor the Committee, had any Authority
to treat of the Matter of Salaries; and that there were
things reported to the Court, as the Judgment of the Com­
mittee, concerning Points, referred to them by the Com­
pany, which nevertheless were not the Committee's Afts
and Doing. And laffly, he charged and challenged the
Deputy, with wrong entering the Proceedings of a Court,
the 7th of October before. And to this Violence of Accu­
fation, and Acerbity of Speech, he joined an equally rude
and insolent Behaviour. All which was the more inexcu­
sable in him, as he was himself one of the Committee,
who prepared and brought this Matter before the Court,
and had, when present, concurred with them in their Pro­
cedings, but through Absence and Negligence in attend­
ing that Committee, had now spoke most of those bitter
and reproachful things, merely upon Hearfay and Conjec­
ture.

So many, and such various Accusations and Abuses,
which affected divers of the greatest Lords and principal
Members of the Company, did naturally produce a long
and various Debate; in which Mr. Wrote's Arguments and Allegations were fully answered and disproved, by the Company; particularly by the Deputy, Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr. John Farrar. Many also expressed much Grief and Concern, for this unhappy Alteration; as well out of their private Regard to Mr. Wrote, who had thus far been much beloved and esteemed, as out of Fear, lest it should give a Handle to the Malicious, and be the Occasion of much Reproach and Scandal to the Company. But Mr. Wrote, with great Violence and Obstinance, still persisted to have several Propositions, which he made, relating to the Contract, put to the Vote; and being refused, he declared, that since he could not have things put to the Question, and for divers other just Causes of Offence, he appealed to the Quarter Court. Neither could he be silenced or repressed, till the Deputy, at the Court's Request, put it twice to the Vote, and it was, by a general Consent (Mr. Wrote himself, and one other only dissenting) a second time ordered and resolved; That since the Points, now moved, had passed the Judgment of a Great and General Quarter Court, they should no more be called into question or disputed, before the next Quarter Court, at which time, if any Person had any thing to oppose against them, they might come prepared, and do it.

The whole Court, and particularly the Lord Cavendish, were much scandalized at this turbulent and offensive Behaviour of Mr. Wrote; which was suspected to proceed, not so much from any evil Mind in himself, as from the malicious Infusions of some others, in order to cause Variance and Distractoion in the Company. For Alderman Johnson, and others of the Faction, were now present; who had of late been generally observed, never to appear at their Courts, but against some Storm and Confusion. Lord Cavendish therefore, without naming the Person, immediately wrote a full and particular Account of it to the Earl of Southampton, who was then in the Country. Whereupon the Earl, being willing to suppress, in the Beginning, an Affair of such dangerous Consequence, hasted up to Town, and called a Meeting of his Majesty's Council for Virginia, on the 11th of the same Month of December. But Mr. Wrote protested against their Power and Jurisdiction, as he had appealed to the Quarter Court; to which, he declared, he would only submit himself. He then renewed his Accusation against the Deputy, for wrong entering a Court, the 7th of October last past, and thereby bringing the Company three thousand Pounds in Debt. And he did, from his first coming into the Room, behave himself in a most violent...
violent and contemptuous Manner, towards the Earl of Southampton, Lord Cavendish, and the whole Council.

Mr. Deputy said, that the Accusation against himself was of a very high Nature, and deeply concerned the Company. For the Entries of their Courts being the Company's Records, to charge them with Falsity, was to call into Question all the Records and Proceedings of the Company. He therefore declared the Manner of entering their Courts: First, the Secretary drew them up, and brought them to him, which Draught he, according to the Company's Order, perused and corrected; that then it was read in the next Court, distinctly, Article by Article, and after a sufficient Pause and Examination, either confirmed, or amended; after which, it was admitted to Record. And he said, that the very Court, now spoken of by Mr. Wrote, had accordingly gone through this Course; and that no Exceptions had been taken to it, not even by Mr. Wrote, who was then present, and ought to have objected, if there had been any thing wrong. For he would otherwise himself become privy and consenting to the Falsification, which he now laid to his Charge. But he averred, that there was nothing in it, to his Knowledge, wrong entered or amiss; but the whole was truly and faithfully set down, by the Secretary and himself, according to the Meaning of the Court, as they conceived; which he would, by the Persons, that were present at it, sufficiently prove. And as to bringing the Company three thousand Pounds in Debt, there was, and could be, no Manner of Colour or Pretence for any such thing. He therefore solemnly protested his Innocency; and as, if he should be found guilty of this grievous Charge, he would deserve the greatest of Punishments, so he humbly intreated, for his own Justification, that the Matter might be strictly looked into and examined.

The Earl of Southampton also told Mr. Wrote, that he seemed to take himself to be so great a Man, that they were all, as Pigmies, in his Sight; but as he did not know him to be any Prince of the Blood, so he desired, he would carry himself with more Calmness and Decency. And as to his affrontive Behaviour to Lord Cavendish, the Earl said; that altho' they were all there equal, as Councilors of the Virginia Company, yet there was a very great Difference between the Persons of divers of them; and particularly between him and the Lord Cavendish, to whom he owed a more respectful Language and Behaviour. And some time after, pressing him upon his Rashness and Indiscretion, and on his Failure in his Duty, as a Virginia Councilor, Mr. Wrote went out abruptly and departed; saying, that
that he came not thither, to hear ill Words. Whereupon the Earl appealed to the Judgment of the Council, that present, what just Occasion of Offence had been given to Mr. Wrote, that he should go off in that rude and unres-
pectful Manner. They therefore ordered and agreed, that a Collection should be made of those Matters, which should be objected against Mr. Wrote at the next Quarter Court, to which he had appealed. And in the mean while, in Regard to the great Contempt, he had that Day shewed, they sus-
pended him from the Council, till he should clear himself of the Matters laid to his Charge, and should come to a better Temper and Deportment.

BEFORE the next Meeting of the Company, Sir John Brooke, accompanied with Mr. John Parrar, went to the Lord Cavendish, and told him; that he found Mr. Wrote sorry, for what he had done; and had the Earl of Southamton been in Town, he would have gone to his Lord-
ship, and given him Satisfaction. He therefore desired Lord Cavendish, on Mr. Wrote's Behalf, that the Court, which was the next Day to sit, might be put off. For if the Proceedings of the former Court, of the 4th of De-
seember, should be openly read, Mr. Wrote would be put upon his Defence and Justification; which would tend to widen the Breach, and to render the thing irreconcileable, which there were now Hopes of having compromised and settled upon amicable Terms. And the Lord Cavendish, out of this Hope, and in Compliance with Sir John Brooke's Request, did accordingly cause the Court to be put off and deferred. But Mr. Wrote was so far from answering Sir John Brooke's Expectation, that at the next Meeting of the Company, which was not before the 29th of January, he made this very thing a Subject of Complaint; as if that long Intermission of Courts had been purposely contrived to his Prejudice. But being fully answered and silenced on this Head, by the joint Testimony of Lord Cavendish and Sir John Brooke, he insisted, that the Salary Men, as being interested Persons, and the Deputy, whom he most unjustly called his Accuser (for both he and his Brother were still fast Friends to Mr. Wrote, and endeavoured to palliate and make up the Affair) should not be present when his Business was discussed. He also excepted, in the gross, against the Entry of that Court; saying, he spoke not those Words, neither in Manner nor Form, as they were there set down. Whereupon a long Debate ensued; Whether it was agreeable to the Custom of Courts, and would not be productive of great Inconvenience and Dis-
order, and raise much Question and infinite Trouble to the
the Company by the Precedent and Example, if they should suffer that, which had been entered by sworn Officers, to be recommitted, and called afresh in question, whenever it should please any Man, to make Exceptions against it. But for Mr. Wrote's Satisfaction, and to take away all Pretence of Cavil and Complaint, an extraordinary Court was appointed, to examine by Parts, and to rectify the said Court of the 4th of December; to which they only, who were that Day present, were warned or admitted, as being the only proper Witnesses and competent Judges of the Matter.

At that Court, Mr. Wrote still behaved, in the same unaccountable and distempered Manner. He said, he suffered for the Service of his Majefty, and for doing his Duty. He repeated his Appeal to the Quarter Court; and thanked the Gentlemen, then present, for prejudging him to that Court. He also declared, if the Quarter Court righted him not, he would appeal to the King, the Fountain of Justice and Mercy; often repeating the same Words, with great Passion and Vehemence. Mr. John Farrar having said, that something was untrue, he ran to him, and whispered in his Ear, that he durst not have said Untrue to him in another Place. For which rude Swaggering, he was justly and sharply reproved, by the Earl of Southampton. He alleged that Mr. Withers, an eminent Lawyer of the Company, had somewhere said, that the Earl of Southampton, as a Privy Counsellor, might commit him; and protested, that under that Fear, he durst not speak freely. He likewise, in a very rude and affrontive Manner, charged the Earl of Southampton with saying; that he blundered out his Indiscretion; and for giving him the Lye in the third Person, his Lordship having said; That whoever should say, that Men were in any thing overawed, and durst not speak their Minds, it was put into his Mouth by the Father of Lies; for a fouler Lye himself never told. The Earl owned, that he had spoke those Words; and he said, he would justify and maintain them; and if Mr. Wrote applied them to himself, he could not help it. But as to committing him, he desired him to be under no such Fear. For whatever Honours and Respects were due to him, he laid them all aside, when he came to that Place, and only appeared there, as their Treasurer. But he declared, that had Mr. Wrote behaved himself towards him so, in any other Place but that, he would not have endured it so patiently; and he therefore willed him, to be more mannerly and discreet. As to the Court of the 4th of December, which they then met to examine and rectify, it was found
to be rightly entered, in the main Points and most material Passages; and it was accordingly, after a few slight Additions and Alterations, so voted and determined, by an almost unanimous Voice, one Person only dissenting. And to put the Matter still further out of Dispute, the Earl of Southampton summoned another Court, consisting of the same Persons, to meet three Days after, and to see, that the said Court was rightly entered, according to those Reformations and Amendments.

Soon after, Mr. Wrote presented a Project, for the better and more thrifty Management of the Contract; wherein he proposed, to have the whole Business performed for twelve hundred Pounds a Year, and thereby to save thirteen hundred Pounds annually to his Majesty and the Companies. And to give the thing the fairer Course and Hearing, the Earl of Southampton summoned another Court extraordinary, to meet and examine his Proposal. They went through the Whole, Article by Article; and after a full Deliberation and Debate, which lasted a whole Day, till late at Night, each Point was disapproved and rejected, generally unanimously, and never with above three or four dissentient from the rest of the Company.

The 5th of February being the Quarter Court Day, to which Mr. Wrote had appealed, and his Affair having made a great Noise, and been the Subject of much Scandal and Defamation to the Company, there was a very numerous and splendid Meeting, consisting of six Lords, thirty Knights, Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, and a vast Concours of others, Doctors, Esquires, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens. And the Lord Cavendish also, to the same Time and Place, summoned a Court of the Somer-Islands Company, as they were equally concerned and engaged in the Business of the Contract. But Mr. Wrote, having appeared in Court, soon withdrew; declaring to Sir Samuel Sandys (who met, and asked him, whither he was going) that he was ill at Ease, and could not stay. However Mr. Brooke, and other Gentlemen, learned in the Law, delivered their Opinions clearly; that notwithstanding his Departure, and his pretended Appeal to his Majesty, as there was no Evidence, that he had really made such Appeal, or that his Majesty had accepted it, they were no way debarred from proceeding against him, in a due and legal Manner. Whereupon Sir Edwin Sandys observed, that Mr. Wrote was not accused, or prosecuted, to that Court, but was himself theProsecutor and Accuser. If therefore his Accusation was well and justly grounded, why did he forsake it then, when that Day and that Court were come, to which
which he himself had appealed; and when the Persons, by
him accused, stood there, in the Face of the Court, ready
to submit themselves to the Trial, by him called for and
demanded? But, he said, Truth and Innocency are bold
and settled, whereas Calumny and Falshood are fugitive,
fearful. Wherefore, as it was apparent, that the King's
Ears had beenpossessed, and all Parts of the Town and
Country filled, with useleff Clamours, by Mr. Wrote and
his Friends; and whereas his Wrongs to the Council, Com-
mittee, and whole Company, were so great, so groundlefs,
and so pernicious, he concluded, that unless some Course
was taken, to punish and repress him, he could not see,
but that the whole Government of the Company, must ut-
terly dissolve, and fall into the most extreme Confufion and
Contempt.

HEREUPON, at Sir John Davers's Motion, it was firft
unanimoufly voted and agreed, that all Mr. Wrote's Ex-
ceptions, Charges, and Imputations, at the late Courts,
were utterly falfe and slanderous. And then proceeding to
his Sentence, after a long Debate, in which fome proposed
severe, and others more gentle Methods, it was at laft con-
cluded and resolved; that he fhould be displaced, and for
ever excluded from being of his Majefty's Council for Vir-
ginia; and that he fhould not be entirely difenfranchifed
from the Company, but fhould only be fufpended and ex-
cluded from their Courts, for one whole Year absolutely,
in which his Submiffion fhould not be accepted, altho' he
fhould offer it. But if, at the Expiration of that Year,
fhould make his Submiffion to the next Quarter Court,
that then it fhould be left to the Pleafure of that Court,
whether they would re-admit him or not. But without a
full Submiffion, and due Acknowledgment of his Fault, it
was ordered, that he fhould never be received at all. And
it was further resolved, upon Sir John Davers's Motion,
that, if Mr. Wrote still perffisted in his wilful Courfes and
unjuft Aspersions, or fhould any way wrong or moleft the
Company, then, for his Conviction and Disgrace, and for
the Company's Juftification, his Sentence, together with
an authentic Copy of his whole Proceedings, fhould be put
into Print.

IT was the Company's great Unhappinefs, that whatever
Contefts or Diifenfions happened among them, the thing
was always carried to his Majefty in the worft Light; who
was but too ready and willing, to receive Impressions to
their Prejudice. And fo it happened in this Case of Mr.
Wrote. For Sir Henry Mildmay, profefling himself, to be
neither of the Faction, nor the Factious, and that he came
not
not to stir up Storms, but to allay them, informed the Company, that upon some late Discourse with the King, his Majesty took Notice of these Differences, which were a great Hindrance to the main Business, and to things of especial Consequence to the Colony; to which he also attributed the great Discouragement of divers Adventurers, and their Willingness to give up their Shares. And his Majesty further signified his Will, that the Liberty of the Company, in every kind, should be preferred and kept entire; and particularly, that no Man should be abridged of the Liberty to speak his Mind freely, as he did it with due Respect and Decorum. But this, he said, he spoke, not as from the King, but as his private Advice and Admonition. And afterwards at this Quarter Court, when Mr. Wrote's Business came on, he informed the Company, that what he had before intimated to them, as from himself, he had now Warrant from his Majesty to tell them; who, by Way of Advice and Council, but no way to command, wished, that they would leave verbal Differences, and go on with the Business of the Plantation.

Upon Occasion of this Information of Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Edwin Sandys observed, that of all Mr. Wrote's Calumnies and Accusations, none was more unjust, nor more apparently false and groundless, than that, wherein he charged the Earl of Southampton (though not by Name; yet by necessary Inference) of overawing the Company, and depriving them of the Liberty of Speech. And the Earl told Sir Henry Mildmay, if it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that they should not meddle with any evil Words, or seditious Behaviour, they would all obey and desist from the present Business. But Sir Henry declaring, that he had no such Command, but only Warrant, to speak by Way of Advice, what he had now delivered, the Court proceeded to the Censure of Mr. Wrote. And the Earl of Southampton farther said, that this thing seemed very strange and unaccountable to him, but he must attribute it wholly to Misinformation; and he wondered, that any Man should be found, so shameless and void of all Truth and Conscience, as thus to abuse the Ears, and misinform the Mind of a King. Whereupon he appealed to the Court, to bear Witness in that Point; and they all, with an universal Consent and unanimous Voice, declared, that it was a false and unjust Imputation; and that they were not overawed, but enjoyed such Freedom and Liberty of Speech, as was in no other Company permitted. And this Declaration they often afterwards repeated, with the same Unanimity; the opponent Faction themselves, altho' they insinuated and
kept up the Lye at a distance, not being so abandoned to all sense of shame, as to say any such thing, in the face of the Court, where there were so many witnesses to disprove and confound them. Divers of the company also farther said, that if men should use half the liberty of speech in some companies of the city, or demean themselves with so much rudeness and disorder, as several members did in that court, it would not be suffered or endured, but they would be either punished in the purses, or sent to the counters. And in truth, the grand fault of the earl of southampton and this court was, not a tyrannical government, or imperious restraint of the freedom of speech and debate, but rather, out of a principle of candour and fairness, the giving too much way to impertinence and licentiousness of tongue; which had it been properly restrained, and duly punished, it would, in all probability, have preserved the being and privileges of the company, and prevented that dissolution, which followed.

From the very beginning of this commotion, sir edwin sandys desired mr. wrote, not to be disturbed at his office and salary. for as he had excepted them with much reluctance, and in sole obedience to the company's request, as they all knew and could testify, so he would resign both the one and the other, with a much better will, than he had ever received them. and he accordingly often made and declared his resignation, and very seriously protested, that he would never again accept the place; and that, in resentment of the late courses taken to defame the officers and salaries, he would not, for any reward whatsoever, any longer put up with, and endure such affronts and abuses. he therefore desired the company, to make choice of some other to the place of director, that the business, for the want of that officer, might not stand still, or receive any prejudice.

But as mr. wrote had thus moved afresh the affair of the officers and salaries, sir henry mildmay confessed, that, altho' he was not directly of mr. wrote's opinion, and the salaries had formerly passed with his vote, yet upon second thoughts, he had since changed that opinion, and now conceived, that such large salaries was the ready way to ruin and overthrow the whole business; which, in his judgment, might have been better husbanded. and he particularly insisted, that as the salaries were to be raised upon the tobacco, it would be a great burden and oppression on the poor planter; which had also been a popular and constant theme of declamation with mr. wrote. in this opinion, sir henry mildmay was seconded by sir thomas wyat.
Sir Francis What Governor.

The History of VIRGINIA. Book V.
Wroth, Mr. Edward Johnson, and some others. This Point therefore of the Officers and Salaries was again called wholly into Question and reconsidered, at a Court, held for that Purpose, on the 12th of February. At that time, the Opposers of the Salaries desired, for various Reasons and Allegations, that the Consideration might be referred to a farther Day. But Mr. Deputy said, it seemed wonderful to him, that Men, who had raised such Storms and Clamours about the Salaries, not only to the Disparagement of the Company's Proceedings, but also much to the Hindrance of the Plantation, and to the Disgrace and Defamation of some very worthy Persons, for accepting those Places, should now, after all this Scandal raised, and Mischief done, be yet unprepared with plain and evident Reasons, to overthrow them. And he said, he marvelled the more at this, as he then saw, before his Eyes, some Persons, who declared, at the Council of the 11th of December, when the Consideration of the Salaries was referred to that present Day, that they would, against this Time, arm and fortify themselves, to cut the Throat of the Salaries. Wherefore he earnestly besought them, not to interpose any farther Delays, but now at length produce those Reasons, for which they had so much traduced and defamed both the Salaries and the Officers. For they had certainly had sufficient Time, to consider and ripen the Matter; and nothing would be Reason in any future Day, which was not then so. Hereupon there arose a very long Debate; till the Company, being little satisfied with the Reasons given, and much wearied with the many Diversions, made from the main Question, especially by Alderman Johnson, called upon the Earl of Southampton to put it to the Vote; and it was again voted and agreed, with an unanimous Voice (the Gentlemen in the Opposition either retiring, or else finding, how inconsiderable their Number was, giving no Vote at all) that the Officers and Salaries should stand, as they had been formerly ordered and appointed.

This was indeed a very great Concurrence and Unanimity of the Company, in the only Affair, for which the opponent Faction ever seemed to have had the least Colour or Shadow of Reason. But altho' the Sum of five and twenty hundred Pounds a Year, for the Management of this Business, may, at a sight View, be thought very great and extraordinary, yet if it be considered, that those Officers (as it was then calculated and agreed) would have an hundred thousand Pounds per Annum, running through their Hands, it will not be found so exorbitant and excessive. For it only amounts to two and a half per Cent. whereof five hundred Pounds.
Pounds a Year, or the half per Cent. was not to be expended, except it could be evidently applied for raising the Price of Tobacco. And the two great Salaries, arising to nine hundred Pounds a Year, against which their Exceptions chiefly lay, did not amount quite to one per Cent. whereas the whole Stress and Burthen of the Business would lie upon those two Officers, and its Success entirely depend upon their Industry, Care, and Dexterity, in the Management of it.

At this Court, the Lord Cavendish also moved, that since Sir Edwin Sandys would, by no Means, hold the Place of Director any longer, they would propose some other Person for that Office. Whereupon some named Sir Nathaniel Rich; but he excused himself, as uncapable of discharging such an Office, and would not therefore undertake it, for ten thousand Pounds a Year. But he declared, if he thought himself fit for the Business, he would willingly do it for nothing. Then Sir Thomas Wrotz, and Mr. Edward Johnson, an eminent Lawyer, and very worthy Member of the Society, were proposed; but they both refused, as no way skilled in such Business, or able to execute the Place. Afterwards it was put to the Question; Whether the Company would accept of Sir Edwin Sandys's Resignation, and it was, by a general Erection of Hands, denied. He therefore very pressingly intreated, not to leave the Place, upon any Discouragement whatsoever; the Company professing, that, without his Assistance, they much doubted of the good Management and Success of so difficult a Business. Even some of the most violent in the Opposition did, at other times, express great Satisfaction in the Choice of Sir Edwin Sandys; and declared, that he, or no Body, was able to go through with so thorny and troublesome an Employment: Whilst others seemed disinclined and backward, to be any way engaged in it, except it was under his Management and Direction. And thus the Office of Director was, a second Time, forced upon Sir Edwin Sandys, with a very general and honourable Testimony of the Company; and he accordingly, with the Committee, entered into Consultation, about a proper Course and Regulation of the Business; which, being brought before the Company, was generally approved and confirmed.

But the Gentlemen in the Opposition, finding all Attempts with the Company vain, took another and more effectual Way to destroy the Contract. For, twelve Days after the Thing had been thus examined afresh, and again settled and determined, the Earl of Southampton and Lord Cavendish, the Treasurer and Governor of the two Companies, with the two Farrars, the Deputies, Sir John Dav...
vers, Sir Edwin Sandys, and some others, were called before the Lord Treasurer; where appeared, on the other Part, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Alderman Johnson, Mr. Wrote, Mr. Bing, and others of that Faction, who were seconded and assisted by Sir John Wolstenholme and the Customers. There passed much Dispute and Contradiction between the two Parties, which the Lord Treasurer heard with great Patience, and without the least Interruption to either Side. And it was here confidently averred, especially by Mr. Wrote and Mr. Bing, that the Companies, in carrying the Contract, had been overawed by the Earl of Southampton; and threatened, unless the Contract proceeded, the Colonies would be taken from them. At length, one of the Customers proposed to the Lord Treasurer, that since the Contract had been the Subject of so much Contention and Discord, it might be immediately dissolved; and that the Companies should be obliged, to bring all their Tobacco into England, and pay the old twelve Pence a Pound, Custom and Impost; which, he said, would be more satisfactory to the Planters, and more beneficial to the King. And he then proceeded to calculate and shew, that a Revenue, of twenty thousand Pounds a Year upon Tobacco, would be thence raised for his Majesty; which was the utmost, that had been aimed at or expected. The Lord Treasurer also reminded the Companies of the great Grace and Favour, his Majesty had shewed them, by granting them Lotteries, and other Means, for the Advancement of the Colonies. And this, by the bye, was always insisted on, as a vast and infinite Obligation, which the Companies could never return; and it was therefore for ever urged as an Argument, for their granting his Majesty, whatever he demanded. And his Lordship concluded, that it was a very unfit and ungrateful thing, whether there was a Contract or no Contract, not to bring all their Tobacco into England to pay Duty, that his Majesty’s Revenue might be thereby advanced.

These Expressions of the Lord Treasurer were received with great Applause and Approbation, by the Warwickian Faction; who declared, that it had ever been their Desire, that all the Tobacco should be brought into England. And Mr. Wrote farther said, that the Colony in Virginia had sent a Petition, to be exhibited to his Majesty, to that Purpose, which was however never presented to the King, but had been concealed and suppressed by the Deputy. By this he meant the Petition already recited (p. 200) which was sent, when no Tobacco from Virginia was imported into England; but coming after the Prohibition was taken off, it was there-
fore never presented. The Earl of Southampton therefore replied, that the Colony meant nothing less by that Petition, than what he now pretended. For the Scope of it was, to obtain Liberty to bring Tobacco into England, at a time, when they were utterly debarred from importing any. At last they were dismissed; and the Lord High Treasurer told them, they might still proceed with the Business of the Contract, notwithstanding these Diffentions and Oppositions.

But soon after, they were again summoned, to meet before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 4th of March; Sir Edwin Sandys (the Earl of Southampton being then out of Town) and the two Barrars, with such, as they should bring with them, for the Virginia Company, and for the other Side, Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Johnson, with such Advocates and Assistants, as they should choose; for the Somers-Islands Company, the Lord Cavendish, and such, as he should bring with him, and of the opposite Party, the Earl of Warwick, or Sir Nathaniel Rich, with such others, as they thought proper. On that Day, they appeared accordingly, being attended by the Lord St. John, Lord Paget, Sir Edward Sackville, Sir John Brooke, Sir John Davers, Sir Robert Killigrew, and divers other eminent Members of the Company; and they were told by the Lord High Treasurer, that this Meeting had been appointed to examine sundry Complaints, that had been exhibited against the Contract, by some particular Members of their Companies. Whereupon the Lord Cavendish made Protestation, that, as the Contract had often been, most fairly and regularly, voted and concluded, in several Quarter Courts, neither himself, nor the rest of the Company, which then attended, came to give any Satisfaction to those Members, which now opposed it. For they were not only, as the lesser Part, involved in the general Agreement of the Majority, but had, most of them, actually given their Votes and Consent to the Contract; and it would be to the Prejudice and Destruction of all good Government, to be perpetually tampering and treating with them about it. But he said, if their Lordships, upon any slender Surmises or Informations, had conceived any Doubts about the Matter, himself, and the rest, were both ready and willing, to give their Lordships an Account of their whole Proceedings, and such an Account, as they trusted and were assured, would, in every Particular, give all reasonable Satisfaction.

Hereupon, the Lords of the Council requiring some of the Complainants to make known their Grievances, Mr. Bing stepped forth, and made a long and very bitter Inveotive against the Contract, and the Manner of passing it. In this,
this, he used great Sharpness and Freedom of Speech against the Earl of Southampton; and endeavored, by ridiculous and mimic Gestures, to mock, and turn him into Contempt. But Mr. Bing was not now in the Virginia Court; where he and his Party had long indulged themselves, in a most immoderate Licentiousness of Speech, and Indecency of Behaviour. And therefore, altho' the Earl of Southampton was no ways gracious at Court, nor consequentially to the Lords of the Privy Council, his Majesty's immediate Creatures, yet they sharply checked and rebuked him. But the Lord Cavendish appealed to their Lordships for Justice against him, for having so wronged and abused the Earl of Southampton, a Peer of the Realm, and a Member of that Board, as well now in their Lordships Presence, as at other Times and Places, as he was ready, abundantly to prove. Wherefore Mr. Bing was afterwards committed to the Marshalsea, by an Order of the Privy Council; from whence he was not to be released, until he had made due Submission to the Earl of Southampton, and given him all fitting Satisfaction.

But as to the main Subject of Complaint in Mr. Bing's Speech, the Lord Treasurer proposed to the Companies Three Points, to be considered: First, whether the Companies had been overawed? Secondly, whether the Contract was for the good of the Colonies? And Lastly, if it was not for the Good of the Colonies, how it might be made so? The debating and clearing up these Points took the whole Day, both Forenoon and Afternoon. At length, after a long Hearing and Deliberation, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr. Nicholas Farrar, Deputy of the Virginia Company, were called in, and told by the Lord President of the Council; that they had given a good Account, both of the Reasons, which induced them to conclude the Contract, and of their fair and upright Proceeding in passing it. And he promised, that a Report should be made to his Majesty, by that Board, accordingly; and he doubted not, but that the Contract would be confirmed to them, or else some other Bargain granted, as much to their Content and Advantage. The Lord Treasurer likewise gave them a most honourable Testimony, of their upright Proceedings, and wise Administration of the Affairs of the Colonies, for the four last Years; in which, he said, they had thriven wonderfully, and prospered beyond Belief. And his Lordship further added, that in the former Years, when Alderman Johnson was Deputy, and the Business was in other Hands, it was carried fouly and disorderly; so that, if the Persons, then in the Government of the Companies,
And thus did this Affair go off, in all Appearance, great-
ly to the Honour of the Companies, and to the utter Dis-
grace and Confusion of the oppofite Faction. But whilst
the Companies weie engaged in debating the Matter before
the Council, the Earl of Warwick and Mr. Wrote were with
the King; and what Effect their Calumnies and Infinuati-
ons might have on the Mind of that weak Prince, may be
easily judged by the Event. For the Virginia Company,
being encouraged by the Third Point, propofed by the Lord
Treasurer, to be confidered, viz. If the Contract was not
for the Good of the Colonies, how it might be made fo?
reconfidered the Whole, in each Article and Particular, and
propofed fuch Alleviations in the hardeft Parts, as they con-
ceived reasonable, or thought there were any Hopes of ob-
taining. And to this End, the Gentlemen in the Opfition
were expressly invited and defired, to join with them; that,
laying afide all Study of Party and Contradiotion, they might
unanimoufly, and with the Calmnefs of Reafon, examine
and find out, what was moft neceffary and beneficial for the
Colonies. But the Principal of thofe Gentlemen not vouch-
safing their Presence, they proceeded, and drew up a
and particular Reprefentation of the whole Matter to the
Lords of the Privy Council; that they might affift their
Suit, and be Interceflors to his Majefty for them. But
Whilft these things were in Agitation, the whole Contract
was fuddenly declared by his Majefty, to be void and of none
Effect. But I cannot difcover the exact Day, when this
was done; nor what were the Reafons or Pretences for it.
And this was the End of the Companies Contract with
his Majefty, for the fole Importation of Tobacco; an Af-
fair, which raised vast Heats and Animofities, and gave a
Handle, especially on Account of the two great Salaries,
to much Clamour and Reproach. And by this Means, the
Warwickian Faction were strengthened by the Acceflion of
Mr. Wrote, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Bingle, and other Perfons of Con-
ideration and Figure; and it was now encreafed to twenty
fix in the whole, whereas it had before been even lefs nu-
merous and potent. As to the Contract itself, it was ac-
knowledged, by thofe, who were moft vigorous in upholding
it, not to be absolutely and in itself advantageous, but
only comparatively good, with Reafon to their former
State of Slavery and Oppreffion under the Customers and
Farmers of his Majefty's Revenues, and as it would shield
them from their farther illegal and arbitrary Impofitions.
And the Breach of it was, at this time, the more apre-
hended,
hended, as it was likely, that a sole Importation would be granted to some other Persons, who made Offer of so exceeding and large a Revenue to his Majesty, as could not possibly be raised, but with the extreme Oppression of the Colonies, and greatly to the Prejudice, if not to the utter Destruction, of their growing Trade and Staple of Tobacco.

But the Faction, that opposed the Companies, did not only, by the Diffolution of the Contract, endanger the Trade, and render it again subject to the Rapacioufness and Extortions of the Farmers and Customers, but their Contentiousness and Malice had another unhappy Consequence. It hath been already related, that, in October 1621, the Lords of the Privy Council commanded all the Tobacco and other Commodities, to be brought from Virginia into England; but upon Reasons given, and a Representation made by the Company, the Matter rested, and had been no farther insinuated. But now, chiefly at the Instigation, and by the Offers and Motions of the opponent Faction, their Lordships renewed that Order, in very strong and peremptory Terms. For, on the 4th of March, when the Companies were before the Council, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr. Deputy Farrar, of the Virginia Company, were very sharply reprimanded and threatened, because some Ships had lately gone from the Colonies to Holland; and they were ordered, to signify and declare to their Companies, that it was the Pleasure and express Command of that Board, that all the Tobacco and other Commodities of the Plantations, should be brought directly to England.

When this Affair came before the Company, Sir Edwin Sandys said, that he should always be the Son of Obedience, and yield a ready Submission to the Commands of the higher Powers; as he well knew, it was the Intent and Inclination of the Company to do. Yet, in Cases of evident Impoffibility or publick Detriment, he thought it the Part of well-ordered Duty, to make a just and true Representation of the Matter, and modestly propose their Reasons against it. He therefore observed, that the Commodities of Virginia had three several Sorts of Owners: First, the Company; secondly, particular Hundreds and Plantations, belonging to private Adventurers in England, as Southampton Hundred, Martin's Hundred, and the like; and thirdly, Planters inhabiting and residing in Virginia, whose Part he conceived to be far the largest and most considerable. As to the first, the Company's Commodities, they certainly had them in their own Power, and could always import them into England. But over the two latter Sorts, he conceived the
the Company to have no Power, by Law, to command or control them. For the Inhabitants of Virginia were, by his Majesty's original Charters and Grants, declared to be as free, as the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, which inhabited the Realm of England; or any other of his Dominions. And besides, the particular Societies, and divers of the private Brothers in England, and of the Inhabitants in Virginia, had Ships of their own; and it was not in the Power of the Company, to prevent or restrain them, from carry­ing their Goods to the best and most promising Markets.

He farther observed, that Virginia had, or would probably soon have, many Commodities, as Salt, Fish, Pipe-Staves, Caviary, and the like, which in other Countries might be vendible at an indifferent Price, but not in England. Considering therefore, that within a few Years, when the Term granted in their Letters-patent was expir­ed, the King was to have Custom of all Merchandize in Virginia itself, if these Goods should pay a second Custom in England, and afterwards a third Custom in foreign Parts, where they were vended, there could be no Doubt, but that these three Customs, together with the Freight of such cheap and bulky Kinds of Merchandize, and the other con­tingent Charges, would so feed upon the Commodity, as to have little or nothing, for the Sustenance and Profit of the Adventurer and Planter.

However, he said, as the Virginians had been driven, by the Rigor of former Contractors with the Crown, to seek foreign Markets for their Commodities, so he doubted not, but by gentle Usage and good Treatment, they would be easily induced to return back to England, their best and most natural Market. But as for what had been alleged by a very honourable Person, that the Spanish Colonies brought all their Merchandizes into Spain, and to no other Place, he said, there was a very evident and important Difference be­tween the Case of the Spanish Colonies, and the English. For the State of Spain suffered no other Commodities of the same Kind, to be brought into that Kingdom, which was an exceeding great Encouragement and Benefit to their Amer­ican Plantations; whereas in England, the Commodity, which could be easily and abundantly supplied from our own Colonies, was not only permitted, but even strictly enjoined, and sternly commanded, to be imported from a foreign Country. But if his Majesty would afford them the same Privilege and Favour, that the King of Spain did to his Co­lonies, and would prohibit the Importation of all Commodity from foreign Parts, that could be furnished by our own Plantations, there would doubtless be all ready and joyful Obedience
Obedience yielded to this Command, of bringing all their Commodities into England. But without such a Qualification and Privilege, he declared it to be his Opinion, that this was a Proposition extremely oppressive and hurtful to the Colonies, and must soon bring them to utter Ruin and Destruction.

This clear and pathetic Account of the Case, was received with the general Applause and Approbation of the Company; and Mr. Rider added, that there seemed to him to be another material Difference, between the Spanish and English Plantations. For the Spanish Colonies were founded by the Kings of Spain, out of their own Treasury and Revenues, and they maintained the Garrisons there, together with a large Navy, for their Use and Defence; whereas the English Plantations had been at first settled, and since supported, at the Charge of private Adventurers; unless it might be excepted, that his Majesty, out of his great Grace and Favour, had granted them some Lotteries and Collections, the Produce of which had nevertheless been expended, merely for the publickly Service. To which it might have been justly added, that those vast Obligations of Lotteries and Collections were very cheap to his Majesty, he never having contributed one Farthing himself in them, altho' he was a very great, and in a manner, the only Gainer yet, by these Settlements. At length, in order to lose no Time, Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Christopher Brooke were desired, to take both the Reasons, which had been formerly presented to their Lordships by the Company, together with such new ones, as had been now alleged, and to draw up a brief Answer to this Order of the Privy Council. And whereas the Matter was already so well prepared and digested to their Hands, it was thought, they might easily do it, during the sitting of the Court. Whereupon they withdrew, and soon returned with an Answer, containing much the same in Purport with that, presented to their Lordships about a Year and a half before, by Mr. John Farrar, then Deputy-Treasurer of the Virginia Company. This Draught, being deliberately read in the Court, was ratified and approved by the Company; and Lord Cavendish, Lord Paget, and Sir Edward Sackville were entreated, to deliver it to the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Company's Name.

But this Stiffness and Resolution of the Company did, by no means, turn their Lordships from their Purpoe. For I find, by another Order of the Privy Council, dated the 28th of April this Year, that they still strenuously insistet on, and strictly enjoined them, to import all their Com-
Commodities into England. But as some Alleviation and Encouragement, the King, in the same Order of Council, declares; that, instead of the twelve Pence, formerly answered to his Majesty, he would, for the future, be content with nine Pence a Pound on Tobacco (the Customers having abated three Pence a Pound Custom) and that all Tobacco, then lately imported into England, should be delivered to the Proprietors, on paying that nine Pence only. And for the Information of the People in Virginia, that they might know, how to comport themselves herein, this Order was transmitted hither; and is still extant among the Records of our Council. At the same time, the Lords of the Privy Council wrote a Letter to the Governor and Council here; informing them, of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, towards the Colony; and commanding them, not to be discouraged by any loose Advertisements, proceeding from Faction, Malice, or private Ends. But they strictly charged and required them, in his Majesty's Name, to live together, in that Concord, Unity, and joint Care of the common Good of the Plantation, as became the Undertakers of such an Action, the Subjects of such a King, and the Professors of such a Religion. They told them also, that they were informed by some, who had lately been Eye-witnesses, that their Fortifications, Houses of Habitation, and Provision of Victual, were not cared for in such sort, as they ought to be; which was highly displeasing to his Majesty. And therefore they required them, to be more careful hereafter, as well for themselves, as for the publick Weal and Subsistence of the Colony.

But the Contract being dissolved, and the Benefit of sole Importation taken from the Company, the Warwickian Faction themselves were soon alarmed, at the Apprehension of a general and unlimited Importation of Tobacco. Wherefore Sir Nathaniel Rich proposed to the Company, their entering into a new Treaty with his Majesty, for the sole Importation, and for farming the forty thousand Weight of Spanish Tobacco; which he gave them to understand, from some Speech, he had lately had with the Lord Treasurer, there were great Hopes of obtaining. But his Proposition was slighted and rejected, as a Scheme, which had lately been rendered abortive, by himself and his Faction; and as it would be necessarily productive of those Salaries and Expences, which they had so loudly exclaimed against. But soon after, the same Gentleman informed the Company, that there was like to be a free Importation of all Sorts of foreign Tobacco, without Stint or Limitation; and that there was a Proclamation shortly to come forth,
Sir Francis
What, Go
evernor.

The History of Virginia. Book V.

1613.

Sir Thomas Smith's Accounts remained still unsettled, and Sir Edward Sackvil was among the freest in his Censures and Complaints of this Matter. About this time, Sir Thomas Smith, casually meeting him, complained and expressed much Concern, that he should publicly, and in divers Places, say, that Sir Thomas was indebted to the Company. Sir Edward Sackvil was a young Nobleman of a frank and generous Nature. He spoke freely, whatever he thought, and was not at all of a Turn to deny, what he had once said. He therefore confessed it to be true, and gave his Reasons for it. Whereupon Sir Thomas Smith solemnly protested his Clearness and Integrity, and as a Proof of it, asked Sir Edward Sackvil; If he was so much in the Company's Debt, why they did not, especially in this their Time of Want and Necessity, sue and recover it? For he was undoubted solvent, and able to make them full Satisfaction. But, he said, it was so far from this, that he had been now, for the Space of three Years, in vain importuning and soliciting an Audit of his Accounts, and had, for that End, delivered in all his Books to the Company. This was also confirmed by Sir Humphrey Handford, then Sheriff of London, and one Mr. Abdy, a rich Merchant; who told Sir Edward Sackvil further that they had formerly, by the Company's Appointment, examined Sir Thomas Smith's Accounts, and found the Ballance five hundred and odd Pounds in his Favour, which they had accordingly witnessed under their Hands, and delivered in to the Court. As to this Affertion of these two Gentlemen, I find, at a Court held May 12, 1619, on the Motion of Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Maurice Abbot, Mr. Humphrey Handford, and Mr. Anthony Abdy were admitted to be present at the auditing the Account, to see, that Sir Thomas Smith received no Wrong. But it was also ordered, that three of the old Auditors, viz. Sir Edwin Sandys, then
Treasurer, Sir John Davers, and Mr. John Wroth should be of the Quorum, and that nothing should be concluded, without the Consent of two of them at the least. And soon after, at a Quarter Court, Mr. Abbot and those two Gentlemen, together with Mr. Thomas Keightly for the Company, were admitted extraordinarily into the Number of legal Auditors. But that the Accounts had ever been fully audited and passed by them, is plainly false, by the whole Course and Tenor of the Company’s Records. And if these Gentlemen, who were only Auditors ex parte, on Sir Thomas Smith’s Behalf, did give in any Paper to the Court, relating to the full Settlement and Ballance of those Accounts, it could never surely, either in Law or Reason, be received as authentic and definitive. But Sir Edward Sackvil being unacquainted with the Proceedings of those Times, Sir Thomas Smith befought him, that his Accounts might be passed; and that he might be no farther molested upon that Head, but permitted to go in Peace to his Grave, being already far stricken in Years, and sufficiently afflicted with the many Infirmities, incident to old Age. But he declared, that none of those Pains and Afflictions were comparable to the Grief and Anguish of Mind, which he received from these injurious Attacks on his Good-name and Reputation; especially as they proceeded from Persons, from whom he had hoped, by his many Years Services, a far different Usage and Return.

Sir Edward Sackvil’s generous Nature was affected with this Discourse; and he very earnestly and warmly moved the Company, to appoint some Persons, to put an immediate and effectual End to this Business. For, as Sir Thomas Smith had thus fairly put himself upon his Trial, he thought, that to delay it, would hardly be just, and to deny it quite, would be an evident and downright Injustice. Whereupon Sir Edwin Sandys said, that the Office of Auditors, as he conceived, was not to make, but to examine and settle an Account; that the Accounts, exhibited by Sir Thomas Smith, had been found by the Auditors, after great Labour and Pains spent upon them, to be so disorderly, intricate, and defective, that they scarce merited the Name of Accounts; that he spoke not this, to lay any Aspersion on Sir Thomas Smith, further than of Neglect (for it was well known, that he neither made, nor kept those Accounts himself) but to clear the Auditors and the Company, from all Imputation and Blame. For they had often declared their Exceptions and the Difficulties of those Accounts, as well to Sir Thomas Smith, as to the Company; and he then had a Writing, which contained many weighty
Exceptions against them. However, altho’ they seemed to
him to be altogether bottomless and unexaminable, yet he
promised, that the Auditors should proceed in them, with
data possible Expedition.

**ALDERMAN Johnson and Mr. Esmington** were now
likewise found, to be clearly indebted eight hundred Pounds
to the Company, besides the old Magazine Accounts,
which they kept so dark and intricate, that the Auditors
had not yet been able, fully to explicate and unravel them.
And **Sir Samuel Argall** (for, about this time, he received
the Honour of Knighthood) was still under Prosecution
from the Company, for his Rapines and extortionate Ad-
ministration in *Virginia*. So that it was evident, that these
Gentlemen could never be safe or secure, as long as the
Company continued in Being; and it is greatly to be fu-
ppected, that they, by the Part they acted in the late Com-
motions, aimed not so much at the Dissolution of the Con-
tract, as the Dissolution of the Company. But now the
Contract being annulled, and the Disturbances somewhat
allayed, they resolved to keep the Company still in Em-
ployment, and not permit them to enjoy any long Leisur-
or Tranquility. For soon after the Dissolution of the Con-
tract, *Alderman Johnson* presented, in a private and con-
cealed Manner, a Writing to his Majesty, entitled; *The
humble Petition of sundry Adventurers and Planters in the
Virginia and Somer-Islands Plantations*. The Substance of
this was:

**That** among the many memorable Works of his Ma-
jefty’s gracious Reign, the Plantations of *Virginia* and the
*Somer-Islands* were not the least considerable: That these
were the first American Colonies, attempted and brought to
Effect, by the English Nation: That the Beginning of the
Enterprise was attended with so great an Ex pense, without
any present Hope of Retribution, as was sufficient, at the
first View and Computation, to have discouraged the most
forward and resolute Adventurers: That however, by the
Divine Assistance and his Majesty’s gracious Encourage-
ment, together with that mild and discreet Government,
at first settled and appointed by his Majesty, all Sorts of
Men were, in such kind and friendly Manner, invited and
induced to engage themselves in it, that notwithstanding
those many Difficulties, that great Action, which must
otherwise have perished in the Birth, not only took Life
and Being, but also proceeded, for many Years, in a most
hopeful and comfortable Course: That there was then
Unity and Love among themselves at home, and Peace and
Quiet with the Savages abroad; by which means, sundry
of those Infidels, and some of eminent Rank, were converted to the Christian Religion, and many Staple Commodities began to be raised and imported into England: That such were the Blessings, in those Times, upon their just and peaceable Proceedings; whereas it had come to pass, they knew not how, that notwithstanding his Majesty's Subjects had been, in great Multitudes, transported to the Plantations, yet the aforesaid Commodities, and the other Fruits of the Enterprise, had not appeared of late, as in former Times; their Unity at home was turned into civil Discord and Dissention; and their Peace abroad, into Mafter and Hostility between the Natives and the Colony; and that many of the ancient Adventurers and Planters conceived themselves to be many ways injured, abused, and oppressed:

THAT fearing, upon these Accounts, without the Help of a supreme Hand, the utter Ruin and Destruction of those great and noble Undertakings, and not holding it fit, to trouble his Majesty's sacred Ears with all particular Complaints and Allegations, they humbly besought him, to nominate and appoint some worthy Persons, by Commission under the great Seal of England, who by Oath, or otherwise, by all lawful Ways and Means, should enquire and examine; What was the true State of the Colonies, at the Time, when Sir Thomas Smith left the Government of the Companies; what Monies had since been collected for the Plantations; by whom received, and how the same had been procured and expended; and what, after so vast an Expence, was the present State and Condition of the Colonies: That the said Commissioners should also enquire into all Grievances and Abuses; what Wrongs had been done to any of the Adventurers or Planters, together with the Grounds and Causes thereof; and should propose, how the same might in time to come, be reformed and prevented; and how the Business of the Colonies might be better managed and carried on. So that, all Contentions being reconciled, the Authors thereof condignly punished, Peace and Unity restored, and the Government of Affairs better established, those noble Works might go on and prosper with a Blessing from Heaven, to his Majesty's great Honour and Profit, and to the religious and publick Ends, for which they were at first undertaken.

ABOUT the same time, Captain Nathaniel Butler, a Creature of the Earl of Warwick's, who had been sent to pillage Bermudas, and had fled thence to Virginia, as hath been already mentioned, was introduced to the King, and obliged, as it was pretended, to give his Majesty an Account
The History of Virginia. Book V.

1623.

Sir Francis Wyatt Governor.

count of the State of the Colony in Virginia. This he presented, under the umbered and affected Title of, The unmasked Face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the Winter 1622. This contained the following Particulars and Allegations.

1. That he found the English Plantations generally seated upon mere Marshes, full of infectious Bogs and muddy Creeks and Lakes; and thereby subject to all those Inconveniences and Diseases, which are commonly found in the most unhealthy Parts of England, whereof every Country, and Climate hath some.

2. That he found the Shores and Sides of those Parts of the main River, where the Plantations were settled, everywhere so shallow, that no Boat could approach them. So that, besides the Difficulty, Danger, and Spoil of Goods in landing, the poor People were forced to a continual Wetting and Wading, and that in the Midst of Winter, when the Ships commonly arrived; and that they thereby got such violent Surfeits of Cold upon Cold, as never left them, till they were brought to their Graves.

3. That the People, sent over, arriving, for the most part, very unseasonably in Winter, found neither Guest-house, Inn, nor any such Place, to shelter themselves from the Weather; no, not so much as a Stroke given, towards any such charitable and necessary Work. So that many, for want hereof, were not only seen dying under Hedges, and in the Woods, but being dead, lay some of them many Days, unregarded and unburied.

4. That the Colony, that Winter, was in great Distress for Provisions, so that English Meal was sold for thirty, and their own native Corn, called Maize, for ten and fifteen Shillings a Bushel. But that, however heavy this might lay upon the poor People, there were Reasons to suspect, it was not unaffected by the chief Men. For they only having the Means, in these Extremities, to trade with the Natives, did hereby engross all into their Hands, and fell it out at their own Prices. To which he added, that he himself had heard from the Mouth of a prime one among them, that he would never wish their own Corn cheaper, than eight Shillings a Bushel.

5. That their Houses were generally the worst, that he had ever seen; the meanest Cottages in England being every way equal, if not superior, to the best Houses in Virginia. And that besides, they were seated, so improvidently, and scattering one from another, as partly by their Distance, but especially by the Interposition of Creeks and
and Swamps, they offered all Advantages to the savage Enemy, and were utterly deprived of the Means of sudden Recollection, upon any emergent Occasion.

6. That he found not the least Piece of Fortification. That three Pieces of Ordinance only were mounted at James-City, and one at Flower-de-hundred, but not one of them serviceable. So that it was certain, that a small Bark of an hundred Tons might take it's Time, to pass up the River, and coming to an Anchor before James-Town, might beat all their Houses about their Ears, and so forcing them to retreat into the Woods, land under the Favour of their Ordinance, and rifle the Town at Pleasure.

7. That expecting, according to their printed Accounts, to find sundry Commodities in great Forwardness, he found not any one of them so much as in any Towardness of Being. For the Iron-works were utterly wafted, and the People dead; the Glass Furnaces at a Stand, and in small Hopes of proceeding; and as for the rest, they were had in general Derision, even among themselves; and the Pamphlets concerning them, being sent thither by hundreds, were laughed to Scorn, and every base Fellow gave them the Lye in divers Particulars. So that Tobacco was their only Business, and for ought he could observe, every Man madded upon that, and little thought of, or looked after, any thing else.

8. That he found the ancient Plantations of Henrico and Charles-City quite deferted, and abandoned to the Spoil of the Indians; who not only burnt the Housës (said to be once the best in the Country) but fell upon their Stocks of all Kinds, and killed and destroyed them, to the great Grief, as well as utter Ruin of the old Inhabitants; who struck not to affirm, that these were not only the best and most healthy Parts of the Country, but might also, by their natural Strength of Situation, have been the most easily preserved of all others.

9. That whereas, according to his Majesty's gracious Letters-patent, his People in Virginia were to be governed, as near as possibly could be, according to the excellent Laws and Customs of England, he found, not only ignorant and forced Errors in divers Particulars, but also wilful and designed Deviations from Law. Insomuch that some Persons, who urged due Conformity to his Majesty's gracious Intentions, were termed, in Contempt, Men of the Law, and were even excluded from those Rights, which they were elected and sworn unto in England.

10. That there having been, as it was thought, ten thousand Souls transported to Virginia, there were not, at
that present, through the aforesaid Abuses and Neglects, above two thousand of them to be found, and many of those also, in a most sickly and desperate State. So that it might be undoubtedly expected, unless the Confusions and private Ends of some of the Company in England, and the bad Execution of their Agents in Virginia, were speedily redressed, by a divine and supreme Hand, instead of a Plantation, it would shortly get the Name of a Slaughter-house, and so justly become odious to themselves, and contemptible to all the World.

The End and Design of these Representations, together with their Falsity and Unjustness in the main, will be easily seen from the foregoing Narration. But however slyly and covertly they were presented to the King, the Knowledge of them could not be long kept from the Company. For the Lord Cavendish and Sir Edward Sackville were soon advertised, by their Friends at Court, of Alderman Johnfon's Petition; and they had an extraordinary Court of the Company immediately warned, in order to enter upon some present Course, to prevent it's making any finifter Impressions upon his Majesty's Breast. This Court sent some of their Body to desire Alderman Johnson, either to bring, or send them, a Copy of the Petition, he had lately presented to his Majesty. But he said, he had neither himself a Copy, nor knew of any Person that kept a Copy of it. However he assured them, that the Petition was no ways against the Company. This was likewise affirmed by some, then present in Court, who had been at the Delivery of the Petition. They also professed themselves to be as studious of the Good of the Plantation and of the Company, as any other whatsoever; and therefore desired the Company, not to intermeddle or engage themselves in the Matter, before they had seen the Petition. But this was satisfying the Court, they were desired to declare, what was the Subject of their Complaint, and against what Persons. For Lord Cavendish said, if they did not find themselves aggrieved with the Company, they ought not to have complained to his Majesty at all, 'till they had first made known their Grievances to the Court, and seen, what Remedy would have been by them applied. At length, Sir Edward Sackville said, that although Alderman Johnson and his Accomplices would give them no Light into the Affair, yet himself, and some others in Court, could fully and certainly inform the Company, what was the Substance of that Petition. Whereupon he gave them a short and exact Account of it's Purport and Aim, and declared
Book V. The History of Virginia.

declared it to be true, upon his own certain Knowledge; which was likewise confirmed by the Lord Cavendish. The Court was in no Doubt of Heitation about the Matter, but clearly judged it, to be directly against the Company; and accordingly resolved, to justify their Conduct. But as to the Issue of the Alderman's Petition, they readily joined in it, and ordered a Petition to be presented in the Company's Name, to befeech his Majesty, that the Examination of these things might be referred to the Lords of the Privy Council; that to their Innocency, or their Guiltiness, might be either cleared, or punished. And in the mean time, to prevent all Prepossession against them, they ordered a Declaration of the present State of Virginia, comparatively with its former State under Sir Thomas Smith, which had, by the Earl of Southampton's Order, been drawn up by a Committee of the Council, about the Christmas before, to be now read in the Court, and being, with some small Alterations, confirmed, to be delivered to his Majesty, as the Company's Act. This Declaration set forth:

That in December, 1618, being the twelfth Year from the first Settlement of the Colony, after fourear thousand Pounds Expense, and upwards, of the publick Stock, besides other Sums of private Planters and Adventurers, there were remaining in Virginia about six hundred Persons, Men, Women, and Children, and of Cattle about three hundred at the most; and that the Company was then left in Debt near five thousand Pounds: But that then (Christmas 1622) through the Divine Blessing, notwithstanding the late Mortalities in all those Parts of America, and notwithstanding the Massacre, and the great Mortality, consequent thereon, by the People's being driven from their Habitations and Provisions, there were still remaining (as was computed) above five and twenty hundred Persons, sent over at the Expence only of thirty thousand Pounds of the publick Stock, besides the Charges of particular Societies and Planters; that the Cattle were also increased to above a thousand Head, besides Goats, and infinite Numbers of Swine; and that the old Debt, left on the Company by Sir Thomas Smith, was wholly discharged:

That at the said Time, December, 1618, the only Commodities of Value, returned from Virginia, were Tobacco and Sassafras; whereas, during the four last Years, great Sums had been expended, and infinite Care and Diligence bestowed, by the Officers and Company, for setting forward various Commodities and Manufactures; as Iron-Works, Wine, Silk, Sawing-Mills, Salt-Pans, and other things of the like Nature: And that they had been particularly
The History of Virginia. Book V.

1623.

Sir Francis Wyatt Governor.

early careful, according to his Majesty's Advice and Directions, to restrain the Colony from their too eager Pursuit of Tobacco, as did abundantly appear, from their frequent Letters, Instrucions, and Charters to that Effect, with sundry printed Books and Pamphlets, made purposely and published for their Use and Direction:

THAT as to the Government, it had been, within the four last Years, reformed according to his Majesty's original Directions, in the Letters-patent; and the People were no longer discontented and mutinous, but now lived in great Peace and Tranquility: And to the End, that Persons of Worth might be allured to the Places of Power and Profit, and all Occasion of Rapine and Extortion removed, they had raised a competent annual Provision and Revenue, for the Governor, and all other Officers and Magistrates, and particularly for the Clergy, according to the Degree and Quality of each Place:

THAT these their Cares were, by no Means, lost or ineffectual: but as they had settled the Colony in perfect Quiet and Content, so they had raised at home so great a Fame of Virginia, that Men now, not only out of Necessity, as at first, but many Persons of good Quality and Fortune had, out of Choice, removed themselves thither, and were daily providing to remove:

THAT there had been granted, in the last four Years, forty four Patents for Land, for each of which the Paten­tees had undertaken to transport one hundred Men at the least; whereas, in the former twelve Years, there had not been granted above fix:

THAT, in the said Time, there had been employed forty two Ships, most of great Burthen (whereof seventeen Sail were, about Christmas last, in James River at once) whereas, in four Years before, there were not above twelve employed:

THAT, in the said four last Years, there had come ten times the Number of Adventurers, as had done in twice the time before: So that, whereas before the legal Number of twenty could scarce be got together, to make a Quarter Court, it seldom now conlilded of less than two hundred, and sometimes of many more:

THAT they could not omit the extraordinary Blessing of God, in exciting the Hearts of many zealous and devout Persons, to extend their Aid towards this glorious Work, who had contributed, within the four last Years, to the Value of fifteen hundred Pounds, for pious and religious Uses; a Fruit, whereof the preceding Years were altogether barren;
That however it could not be denied, but that the Encrease and Prosperity of the Colony had lately received a fatal Blow and Interruption, by the Indian Maffacre; and their Peace and Unity at home had been much broken and disturbed, by divers troublesome Oppofitions. But the one, they hoped, would soon be sharply punifhed and revenged; and the other must, with Patience be borne, and overcome with Conftancy.

And laftly, they concluded with befeeching his Majefty (as being the first Founder, and gracious Supporter of this great Enterprife, which would continue to all Pofterity a conftant Monument of his glorious Name) to grant them the four hundred young Men, long fince promifed to be levied on the feveral Counties, in order to be fent to Virginia, to root out the barbarous Enemy, and to supply the Colony, in Parts yet defective and unfettled; and they doubted not, in a short time to be able, to yield him fo good and fo real an Account of the Fruit of their Cares and Labours, as might, in some Sort, be anfwerable to their Duty, and to his Majefty's princely Expecfation.

Besides this Declaration, the Lord Cavendish produced another Writing, containing a Vindication of the late Conduct of the Virginia and Somer-Ifands Companies. His Lordfhip had drawn this up himfelf, for the Satisfaction of fome very noble Persons, who had, from finifter Informations, conceived a hard Opinion of the Companies Proceedings; and as, he faid, thofe Noblemen, upon reading that Difcourfe, were fully fatisfied of the Juftice and Fairnefs of their Actions, fo he hoped, it might work the like Effect upon his Majefty's Mind. Whereupon that Writing was deliberatly read, and every Article and Branch thereof, being duly weighed and confidered, was fervally put to the Queftion, and it was ordered to be delivered to his Majefty, as the Company's Act and Anfwer; there being not above three Voices againft any Part thereof, and moft of them being confirmed and approved, by an unanimous Confent. This long Difcourfe contained three different Heads: Firft, Answers to the feveral Objections againft the Company's Proceedings: Secondly, the true Caufes of the late Difagreement and Difturbances: And thirdly, it propos'd Remedies, for preventing the like Inconveniences and Factions for the future.

I am fenfible, that the long Detail of Declarations and Answers, is a moft tedious and unpleafant Part of History to the common Reader; and I have observed, that fuch Pieces, even in the Hands of our beft Writers, and however neceffary to clear up Points of History, have neverthe-
The History of Virginia. Book V.

1623.

Sir Francis Wyatt Governor.

I have been much disdained by several Persons. But as the publick Papers contain the most authentic Reason and Account of things, and as they are the surest and most indubitable Materials, for an Historian to proceed upon, I shall not be turned from my Course, by the accidental Dislike of some Readers. For the Dissolution of the Company now draws on, and I intend to give a full View of the Motives and Proceedings in that Affair; which can be from nothing drawn so well, as from the publick Acts and Writings of both Parties, and their outward Pretences at least, and different Allegations. However, I esteem it my Part and Duty, to save the Reader from all unnecessary Forms and Repetitions; and to give him the Substante of those original Acts and Records, in the shortest Manner I possibly can, without injuring or obscurcng their main Sense and material Points. As for this Discourse therefore, now presented by Lord Cavendish, and adopted by the Company, it is

forth: That it was manifest, his Majesty's Ears had been abused by divers Misinformations, to which they held it their Duty to give a true and justifiable Answer.

It was objected, that some few of the Company led and overpowered the rest; and that, in the particular Business of the Contract, these Persons, aiming at their own private Advantage, especially in the Point of Salaries, had therefore persuaded and misled the Court.

To this it was answered; that it was true, some particular Persons, with great Labour and Pains, and without any Hope or Prospect of Reward, had employed much of their Time and Endeavours, in studying, what might tend to the Good and Benefit of the Colonies; and this only with the View, to propose and communicate to the Courts their faithful and impartial Advice; which was the Duty, and in the Power, of every Member of those Societies, to do. But that this honest Diligence, and these clear and disinterested Views, should be interpreted an enslaving or misleading the Courts, was, in their Opinion, a most unjust Censure, and a hard Requital to those Persons, who, for the public Good, had bestowed so much of their Time, and neglected many Opportunities of private Gain.

And as to the Supposition, that these Men, in Respect of the Salaries, had misguided the Courts in the Case of the Contract, they made his Majesty a clear and faithful Narrative of their Proceedings in that Business; much the same in Effect as I have already related it. And they declared, that the Gentlemen, elected to the two great Salaries, against which the opponent Faction chiefly exclaimed, did, at sundry times, both in publick and private, use all possi-
ble Endeavour and Industry, to keep themselves from being
chosen: But that the Company's Experience of their Faith-
fulness and Ability, had caused them to be elected, and in a
manner forced to those Employments, against their Wills:
And that they had since, in several Courts, as much as in
them lay, surrendered their Offices; but their Resignation
would never be received or admitted by the Company.

2. It was objected, that the Courts were overawed, espe-
cially in the Business of the Contract.

To which it was replied, that it was a strange Boldness
in any, especially in any of the Company, who knew their
Proceedings therein, to affirm a thing so manifestly false
and groundless; which the Company were so perfectly con-
vinced of, that this was one of the principal Causes, why
Mr. Wrote, who first broached that Slander, was cen
d and suspended. And they told his Majesty, that this Point
had been put to the Vote, often and in different Courts,
when different Persons were present, and it had always been
unanimously adjudged a false and scandalous Imputation.

3. It was alleged, that these Persons, when they could
not carry Matters by Plurality of Voices, spun out the
Courts 'til eleven o'Clock at Night; by which Means,
who would have opposed their Schemes, being over-
weared with so long sitting, departed.

They owned, that the Day, here meant, the Courts
sat 'till about ten o'Clock. But they gave his Majesty the
Reasons of it: That many long Courts were to be read and
examined; that Mr. Wrote's Affair took up much Time;
and that they were afterwards obliged, to enter upon several
Points relating to the Contract, which must be then deter-
mined, or else deferred for above three Months, 'till the
next Quarter Court; and that this would have been much
to the Prejudice of that Business, as they daily expected the
Arrival of a great Quantity of Tobacco. But as to what
was chiefly intimated by this Objection, they declared it to
be utterly false. For altho' some perhaps departed before
the Rising of the Court, yet not one of the opponent Party
went away; and at the very last, when the Question was
put, there were, besides divers Noblemen and Knights, a-
bout an hundred Persons in the Court.

4. It was alleged, that whilst the Contract was in Agi-
tation, the Courts were purposely put off, for seven Weeks
together; that some Planters who were shortly to go away,
might not have Opportunity to complain against it.

This Objection they averred to be manifestly false and
impossible. For the Contract, which could only be ratified
in a Quarter Court, was concluded upon at their last Mid-
summer
summer Quarter Court, when all the old Planters, being about thirty in number, were, or might have been in the Court; for none went away till about eight weeks after. Neither could it then be discovered, that any of them were discontented with it; but on the contrary, some argued very earnestly for it. And besides, it was untrue, that the Courts were at all put off so long. For altho' by the Orders of the Companies, there might be a cessation of their Meetings, in the long summer Vacation, when the Noblemen and Gentlemen of principal figure and consequence were in the Country, unless there should occur some extraordinary and pressing occasion, yet the Courts met more frequently that summer, than had been usual at such times, by reason of sending out several ships, and with them the Companies orders and directions to the Colonies.

5. It was confidently affirmed, that the Virginia Planters had petitioned his Majesty, to bring all their Tobacco into England; and that this Petition was, by the Officers of the Company, suppressed.

In confirmation of this, they referred to the original Petition itself, then in the hands of the Lord High Treasurer; and they said, that no man, that had ever seen that Petition, and had not a mind wilfully to put wrongs upon the Company, could ever screw such a sense out of it. They likewise gave his Majesty an account of the occasion of the Petition, and the reason why it was not presented; the same, that has been already given, in the foregoing parts of this history.

6. It was objected, that no business could be done in their Courts, by reason of Faction and wrangling.

To this they answered, that it was an odd thing, for men to complain of that, wherein themselves were principally faulty. Yet they denied this to be true, in so general and extensive a sense; altho' it must be confessed, that some discontented persons, who had lately joined together to oppose the contract, had long waited for all occasions, to raise troubles and contentions in the Companies; whose faces, for several years past, had never been seen in the Courts, except when they came to raise a tempest and disturbance. However, they assured his Majesty, that this Faction, when they had mustered all their forces, and sent for their whole strength out of the country, amounted to but twenty six persons; whereas the Virginia Company in particular, consisted of about a thousand Adventurers, and oftentimes two hundred, or more, were assembled at once. So that this objection of faction and wrangling must necessarily return back and reflect on themselves; as in all
well-governed societies, the major part was ever understood to involve the consent of the minor, which, by making opposition and clamour, did undoubtedly thereby render themselves the factious party.

7. It was objected, that the government of the companies, as it then stood, was democratical and tumultuous, and ought therefore to be altered, and reduced into the hands of a few. — And this was properly argumentum ad hominem, and very weighty in the eyes of that Prince; who had a noted aversion to all republican forms of government, and was, in truth, for a monarchy, in the strictest and highest sense of the word.

However, the company replied, that as to the tumultuousness objected, it was already answered in the former article of faction, and plainly appeared to proceed only from themselves. And as to the democracy, they said, that the government of the companies was no other, than what was prescribed in his majesty's letters-patent; and it was a bold censure, thus to tax a government, ordained and constituted by such an authority. But yet they denied this allegation to be just, or that their government was properly democratical. For the companies had not supreme authority over the people of the plantations, but governed them by an authority derived from the king, according to his laws, and were accountable to his majesty for their conduct; and therefore that government could not properly be termed democratical, where the king was supreme, and where the people swore allegiance only to him. And they added farther, that the companies were so far from having supreme power over the people of the colonies, that when any man had committed offences, of what high nature soever (as lately appeared by two notorious instances) if they could escape punishment in the plantations, where the companies had power, by his majesty's letters-patent, to call them to trial and account, they might, there in england, outface the companies, (as those two did) and they could have no means of redress, but by appealing to higher justice.

However, they owned, that, according to his majesty's institution, their government had some shew of a democratical form; which was nevertheless, in that case, the most just and profitable, and most conducive to the ends and effect aimed at thereby. For those plantations, though much furthered by his majesty's grace, were yet chiefly founded by the purses of private men; who would never have adventured their fortunes in such an enterprise, if, in the regulation and government of the business, their own...
Votes and Opinions had not been admitted. Besides which, such infant Undertakings often called for large and speedy Supplies, which could not be sent, but by the Purse of many Men; who, had their Voices been excluded, and the Management committed to a Few, would not perhaps have been over-forward and hasty in contributing towards their Relief.

Lastly, they observed, that the opponent Faction cried out loudly against Democracy, and yet called for Oligarchy; which would, as they conceived, make the Government neither of better Form, nor more monarchial. But they however hereby discovered their Aim and Desire, which was to draw all things into their own Hands and Power, as had been sufficiently manifested before, by some of their late Steps and Actions.

Having thus given Answers to the most material Scandals against the Companies, they next proceeded, to inform his Majesty of the true Causes, tho’ disguised, why these twenty six, by their secret Whisperings and Insinuations, and by their continual under-hand Practices, so much laboured, to disgrace the Government of the Companies, and in Effect, to bring the Plantations to utter Ruin. And they assured his Majesty, that, whatever Imputations they might lay on the Companies behind their Backs, they never yet had the Confidence, openly to avow and maintain them in their Courts, but always qualified them with such Distinctions and Equivocations, as amounted to a flat Denial of what they had said. And

1. The first Cause of these Mens Malice, was the ill Affection of the old Officers; out of whose Hands (the Colonies having not prospered under them) the Government was necessarily taken; and their Prosperity since, implying the evident Benefit of that Removal, and a manifest Proof of their ill Government, it had so offended them, that they endeavoured, the better to cover that Fault, by public Disturbances, and private Practice and Confederation, to interrupt the present Prosperity of the Colonies, and to blasphe the Reputation, and disturb the Peace of the Companies: And that, to this End, they had not forborne to set to their Hands in Attestation of most false and scandalous Petitions; frequently to lay Imputations themselves on the Courts; sometimes to procure Complaints from others against them; and at all times to yield a publick Encouragement and Protection to such Persons, as had done Wrong, or were declared Enemies, to the Companies.

2. The second Cause was, that the principal of those Citizens, and some others, who had wove themselves into the
the Opposition, were for the most Part such, as had formerly borne Office, either in the Companies, or the Plantations; who having not cleared their many Accounts (some of which were very suspicious) and being pressed by the Companies, used all the Art, that Malice could invent, to do Prejudice, and give Disturbance, to the present Government; hoping, by that means to shroud themselves from a due Examination, and so, in the Storm and Confusion, to go off, unconvicted and unpunished.

3. Some others of these Opponents, of a different Rank and Quality, had either been concerned in spoiling and fleecing the Plantations, and in setting forth a piratical Ship, called the Treasurer; or else had abetted and protected those, who had done it, with such Violence, as was greatly to the Offence, Scandal, and Wrong of the Company. But their Ends not fully answering their Expectations, they had therefore abandoned the Virginia Courts, except when they came to raise Troubles and Diffensions, in order, by that means, to keep the Company from calling those Offences into Question.

4. Most of the twenty-six were involved in some, or all these Causes of Diffension; and the few that remained, were either Servants to, or had necessary Dependency upon, some of the rest.

Lastly, they went on to propose some Remedies, to prevent the like Inconveniencies and Disturbances for the future. Since therefore these Colonies were chiefly settled, for the Honour of his Majesty's Times, in propagating the Christian Religion in those barbarous Parts; for the Enlargement of his Dominions; for the Encrease of his Revenue; for the enriching his People; and for the future Strength and Ornament of the Kingdom of England; they besought his Majesty, to give Countenance and Encouragement to their Labours; to believe well of the Companies, and not give too ready a Credit to the malicious and pre-concerted Informations of some of their Members; and to grant them some such present Testimony of his good Opinion, and gracious Acceptance of their Endeavours, by Letter or otherwise, as might do Honour to the Company, and strengthen their Authority. And this they were the rather induced to hope, as the late great Breach in the Companies had been occasioned, by their Forwardness and Desire, to advance his Majesty's Profit and Revenue by the Contract. And they further besought his Majesty, to be graciously pleased to declare his Intention, that, in all Business of the Courts for the future, they should be left freely to govern themselves by their Charters and Laws; and withal, to give
present Order to the Lords of the Privy Council, that, if there should be any such private Conspiracy, Confederation, or Opposition, as the Companies themselves could neither remedy nor punish, to afford them their Help and Assistance, in the Remedy and Punishment of the same. And lastly, they prayed, that for such, as had been accused of heinous Crimes, committed in the Plantations, and had thence escaped, and then bribed the Companies in England, his Majesty would be graciously pleased, to extend his Power, and send them back to the Plantations, there to receive their just and legal Trials. And by these Assistance, the Companies would be enabled, cheerfully to proceed, and in short time so to advance those great and noble Undertakings, as would give his Majesty full Content, and just Cause to believe, that these his Favours had been well bestowed, and rightly used.

The Earl of Southampton was not present, when these things passed; and as he was obnoxious at Court, and had received some ill Usage from it, it may be surmised, that he kept out of the Way purposely, to avoid being further embroiled. But it is, I think, much more agreeable to the Character of that worthy and patriot Nobleman, to suppose, that he did not desert his Station in such a Manner, but was absent on other just and necessary Occasions. In his Absence therefore, these two Papers (together with a Petition to his Majesty, to refer the Hearing of the Complaints of Alderman Johnson and his Associates, to the Body of his most Honourable Privy Council) were committed to Lord Cavendish, Lord Delawarr, Sir Edward Sackviel, Sir John Brooke, and Colonel Ogle, to take the first proper Opportunity to present them to his Majesty, and to make Choice or such others of the Company, as they thought fit, to attend them.

This Court also, at Mr. Deputy Farrar's Motion, conferred the Freedom of the Company on Carew Raleigh Esq; the only surviving Son of Sir Walter. He had gone, after his Father's Death, a Gentleman Commoner, to Wadham College, in Oxford; where he continued his Studies, about five Years. About this time, being yet scarce twenty Years of Age, he came up to London, and went to Court; hoping by the Favour of William, Earl of Pembroke, his noble Kinsman, to obtain some Redress, in the Hardships and Wrongs done him. But the King did not like his Countenance there; and said, that he appeared in his Court, like his Father's Ghost. Wherefore, by the Earl's Advice, he removed himself from his Majesty's Sight, and went upon his Travels, till a more favourable Conjuncture should offer.
offer. But however fixed this Monarch might be in his Antipathy; and however steady and constant in doing an eternal Dishonour to his own Judgment and Fame, by disgracing and deprecating every thing that had Relation to this great Man, the *Virginia* Company seems to have had a quite different Notion of things: For they willingly embraced the Pretence, of Sir Walter Raleigh’s being the first Discoverer of *Virginia*, to testify their Respect to his Memory and Merit, by conferring extraordinarily, upon his Son, the Freedom of the Company, and a Voice in their Courts. And he accordingly appears at their Courts, commonly ranked with the Knights, till June the next Year, at which time, it may be supposed, he went on his Travels.

Soon after this, authentic Copies of Alderman Johnson’s Petition and Captain Butler’s Information were, by some Person, sent to the Company; which being publickly and distinctly read; the Court was informed by Persons of Worth, that this Report, in particular, of the unhealthiness of the Country, and of the Colonies being seated among Bogs and Marshes, having been industriously spread by Captain Butler and his Associates, not only over all Parts of the City, but likewise into divers Parts of the County; was likely to stop many hundreds of People, who were preparing to transport themselves thither; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary, to make an immediate Enquiry about that Matter. Whereupon some, then present, who had been long and often in *Virginia*, affirmed upon their certain Knowledge, that, at all the Plantations on the main River, they might land, with Boats drawing three Foot Water, from half Flood to half Ebb, safe and dry, without wetting their Foot; and that they had found, by their own Experience, the Air to be as wholesome, and the Soil for the most part, as fertile, as in any Part of England, or of any other Country, where they had been. But the better to obviate the ill Consequences and Calumny of Captain Butler’s Information, an Answer was drawn up in Writing against the next Meeting of the Company, and subscribed by the Rev. Mr. William Mayo, a Minister, who had lived ten Years in *Virginia*; by one Mr. John Procter, a Man of good Sort, who had lived there fourteen Years; and by fourteen others, Masters of Ships, Mariners, and Inhabitants, who had been and lived, some more and some less, in the Country, and were perfectly acquainted with the River, and all Parts of the Colony. This Answer, which they declared themselves ready to justify upon Oath, contained a flat Denial and Disproof of
the seven first Articles of Butler’s Information. As to the
three last, they left them to be answered by the Governor
and Company, as relating immediately to themselves, and
containing things, either above their Determination, or out
of their Knowledge. And as this Writing contained the
Testimony of Eye-witnesses to Matters of Fact, it agreed
so exactly in Substance with an Answer, afterwards returned
from Virginia by the Governor and General Assembly, that
I shall not detain the Reader, at present, with an Abstract
of it, but shall refer to that more authentic Testimony of
the whole Body of the Colony, which will be hereafter re-
cited, in its proper Time and Place.

But besides this Disproof of Captain Butler’s Information,
the farther to detect and expose his malicious De-
signs and unfair Proceedings, two Papers were produced in
Court, and admitted to Record, under the Hands of John
Severne, Masters-mate, and John Lowe, Boatswain, of the
James. In these they affirmed, that coming, one Morn-
ing, to Captain Nathaniel Butler, about some Business, the
said Captain brought a Writing in his Hand, and began to
read some Part of it; telling them, he had been with the
King, and professing, the Writing was for the Good of the
Country. Whereupon they, being in great Haste, having
heard a few Lines only read, and not attending much to the
Matter, and besides conceiving Captain Butler to be a very
honest Man, did readily set their Hands to the said Writing.
But having since understood, that it was in Disgrace and
Disparagement of the Country, they, the said, John Severne
and John Lowe, did thereby disavow the said Writing, as
false and unjust; and farther protested, that, upon their
Oaths, they must declare the contrary. And all these Proofs
of his wilful Malice and Injustice did Captain Butler fit in
the Court and hear, and calmly demanded a Copy of the An-
swer to his Information.

But as his Majesty intended, in Compliance with the
Petitions of both Alderman Johnson and the Company, to
appoint Commissioners to enquire into all these Matters and
Allegations, the Court thought it proper, to prepare be-
times to make their Defence. To this End, as the Com-
pany consisted of many Members of both Houses of Parlia-
ment, they were naturally led to the Parliamentary Me-
ths of proceeding, and resolved themselves into a grand
Committee of the whole Company, which had Power, to
substitute and ordain other Sub-Committees, for expediting
Matters; that so the Business, being parted among many
Hands, might be the more speedily and better accomplished.
And now having Copies of Alderman Johnson’s and Cap-
tain Butler's Complaints, they soon after drew up direct and particular Answers to them both.

In Answer to Alderman Johnson's Petition, they observed, that it was founded upon three main Allegations: First, that the former Government, under Sir Thomas Smith, as Treasurer, and Mr. Canning and himself, as Deputy-Treasurers, was mild and discreet; whereby all Sorts of Persons were induced to engage themselves in that great and difficult Action, which thence proceeded in a most hopeful Way, and with Peace and Concord; whereas it had of late come to pass, that their Love and Unity at home were turned into civil Discord and Discontent; and that divers of the ancient Adventurers and Planters conceived themselves, to be many ways injured, abused and oppressed.

To this they replied: That as to the Government at home in those times, all his Majesty's particular Instructions therein were clean suppressed and extinguished, and the Originals no longer extant; and that there were no Orders made for the Government of the Company, except now and then one, upon present Occasion. And as to the Government abroad in the Colony, it was, for the most part, left absolutely to the Governor's Will and Pleasure; only instead of a Body of moderate Laws, agreeable to the Constitution and Government of England, there was printed at home, and with great Honour dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith, and afterwards by him sent to Virginia, by his own Authority, and without the Company's Order or Consent, a Book of most truculent Laws, written in Blood; which, altho' they might serve for Martial Government in time of War, being translated most of them from the Martial Laws of the United Provinces, yet were absolutely destructive of all the native Rights and Liberties of English Subjects, and very far from deserving the Name of a mild Government, here given it by the Petitioners: And that, for this Cause, People in England were deterred from going over in Person, to live there under such bloody and tyrannical Laws, and many of his Majesty's Subjects in Virginia were put to most unjust and undeserved Deaths. But most especially, such a Weapon was hereby put into the Hands of one of the Governors, a Kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, that he, in a manner, spoiled and destroyed the whole Colony, as was still extant and to be seen, in the Letters of Sir Thomas Smith himself and Alderman Johnson.

That the Consequence of this Misgovernment was, that the Colony was wasted to a few hundreds of People, who had nevertheless no Intent to proceed in the Plantation.
The History of VIRGINIA. Book V.

Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor.

294

ation, but being destitute of Food, both spiritual and temporal, cried out loudly against the Company, for Injustice and Cruelty; being sometimes, in Despair, all shipped to return, and at other times, in Revenge, adopting to themselves new Patrons and Defenders against their bad Government. And that Adventurers at home did indeed, at first, come plentifully in, as to a new thing; but that, at last, they abandoned the Courts, and refused to pay their Monies subscribed; for which being sued, they pleaded in Chancery, upon their Oaths, that the Monies were not converted to the Use intended, but to particular Men's Gains; and that no Accounts were kept, or were at least to be seen. But on the contrary, they said, what Reforms had been made, and what Measures taken, in Point of Government, for the four last Years, might be apparent to all Men; and that their Labours herein had given such Satisfaction to the Plantations, that the Colony of Virginia haul, in particular, by a publick Act in their General Assembly, returned Thanks to the Company, for their great Love, Justice, and Care.

As for Discord and Dissension, they acknowledged, within the Compass of the four last Years, there had been some great Rents made in the Council and Company; but that these proceeded wholly from the Alderman and his Party, the greatest Number of whom were seldom seen in their Courts, but when they came to raise, or to nourish, this very Discord and Faction, they here complained of. And as to the Wrongs and Oppression of the ancient Adventurers and Planters, they challenged him to shew, that the Justice, which it was in the Company's Power to give, had ever been denied to any Man whatsoever; much less had the Goods of some particular Persons in the Colonies, by private Directions and underhand Letters, been taken violently from them, contrary to all Justice and due Course of Law, and consigned into the Hands of their potent Adversaries in England; as was notoriously done, in the Case of Captain Miles Kendall, formerly Governor of Bermudas, who was spoiled by Captain Butler, his Successor, of fourteen Negroes, granted him by a Dutch Captain, under a false and groundless Pretence, that they belonged to their piratical Ship, the Treasurer.

The second Allegation of Alderman Johnson's Petition was: That, under the former Government, they had Peace with the Indians, by which means fundry of those Infidels, and some of eminent Rank, were converted to the Christian Religion; whereas, of late, there had been a Massacre and Hatred between the Natives and the Colony of Virginia.
In Answer to this, they denied, that except Pocahontas (whom they here call Matoax) there had happened any thing of Note in the Conversion of those Infidels, under Sir Thomas Smith’s Administration. And they farther affirmed, that during his time, the English were almost in a continual War and Hostility with the Indians; and that, in particular, Captain Argall came away, in the last Part of that time, and left unpunished the Murder of ten of the English, by a Party of the Chickahominies. But on the contrary, how great, and what chargeable Attempts, had been made, within the last four Years, for the Conversion and Education of those Infidels, was sufficiently evident, from the Plantation for the College; on which, notwithstanding the late Massacre, they conceived, there were yet remaining sixty Tenants, or thereabouts. And the Company had indeed, in their first Letter after the Knowledge of the Massacre, proposed Methods, and given strict Orders, to the Governor and Council, for the Renewal of the College, and Refettlement of it’s Lands; but Means being wanting, the Governor and Council could do nothing in it to Effect. However they promised, that that pious Work should, by the Divine Assistance, again proceed, in due time. And as to the Hostility with the Indians, they declared, there had been none, within the four last Years, before the late treacherous and bloody Massacre; which had it not happened, these Maligners must have been mute, and would have had nothing to alledge to the Disgrace of the Company and Plantation.

The third Allegation of the Alderman’s Petition was:
That, in the first twelve Years, divers Staple-Commodities began to be raised and imported into England; whereas, of late Years, the aforesaid Commodities did not appear.

They replied, that this Objection reflected strongly on the Objector himself. They owned, that some Samples of those Commodities had been, by the Industry of Sir Thomas Dale, sent home, in the ninth and tenth Years of the first twelve; but that none had appeared, in the two last, under the Government of Captain Argall. The Reason of which was, that the Magazine being then on foot, whereof the Alderman was Director, it pleased him, to set no Price upon any other Commodity, except Tobacco and Saffafiras, being Commodities of his own Trade, and for the greatest Part whereof he himself became the Company’s Chapman; and that, by this means, all Endeavours for those other Commodities were abandoned, and the Colony possessed with that doating Affection for Tobacco, which the Company had not since, with all their Care, been able to extinguish.
tlinguish. And they then proceeded, to recount their late Endeavours for raising divers Commodities; which had indeed lately received a sore Interruption from the Massacre, but it was their Intent and Resolution, shortly again to restore and set them up.

As for that Pretence, that the Petition aimed at no other End, but that after the Work of some necessary Reformation, the Work of the Plantations might be again renewed and prosper; they said, they were obliged, therein to detect the Alderman’s unclear Proceedings. For it should be justified against him, by undeniable Proof: That he had laboured of late, by strange and false Allegations, to discourage some Persons of Eminence and Fortune, from favouring or proceeding in the Enterprise: That he had Brow-beaten and found Fault with such, as had commended the Country, so much extolled formerly by himself, in sundry printed Treatises; and had declared, that the World had been cheated and deluded by Virginia: That he had said, there were too many of the English Nation there already; that the Staple-Commodities, spoken of, would come to nothing; that the Iron was base, and not worth the Freight; the Grapes four, and the Climate improper for Wine; that the Mulberry Trees had a Prickle in them, which destroyed the Silk-worms, when they came to any Bigness; and that the Conversion of the Infidels was a vain and impossible Attempt, they being defecrated of the cursed Race of Ham. And now, whether a Person of this Malice and Virulence of Disposition was a proper Instrument to work out the Good of the Colonies, they left to the Judgment of all clear and impartial Minds.

Lastly, touching the Issue of the Petition, that all Abuses might be examined and reformed, the Company declared, they willingly concurred with the Petitioners therein, but could not forbear remarking their too evident Partiality. For they desired only, that the Accounts since Sir Thomas Smith’s Time might be examined, which had always been fairly kept, and legally audited, according to the Orders of the Court, (except by one only of the Petitioner’s Society) and yet they passed the Accounts of the former Years over in Silence, which were nevertheless three times as large, and thrice three times more questionable.

In their Answer to Captain Butler’s Information, they recited, that the seven first Articles had been answered by sixteen Eye-witnesses of the Matters alleged, Men of unquestionable Character and Veracity, who were ready, at any time, to justify the same upon their Oaths. They therefore referred to that, as being the highest and most unex-
unexceptionable Evidence, that could be had in such a Case; and they proceeded themselves, to give Answers to the three last Articles. But as the Answer, afterwards returned from Virginia by the Governor and General Assembly, was much the same in Purport with this, I shall still, to avoid all tedious and needless Repetition, refer to that, hereafter to be given. But as to Butler's last Clause, of the Confusions and private Ends of some of the Company in England, and of the bad Execution of their Agents in Virginia, they besought his Majesty, that he might not be permitted to wander in such general and indeterminate Accusations, which only tended to Slander and Defamation, but might be obliged to make an express and particular Discovery of those Persons and Measures before the Commissioners, that were soon to be appointed. And in the mean while, they protested against it, as calumnious and unjust, and of the self-same Truth with the rest of his Informations.

Mr. Berbloc also desired, that a short Passage, out of one of Sir Thomas Dale's Letters to Sir Thomas Smith, might be read; which he had accidentally happened upon, in perusing the Company's Books, by Order of the Court. This was dated in June, 1613, and has been already mentioned and extracted. In it, he desires them not to be gulled by the clamorous Reports of base People, but to believe Caleb and Joshua, and gives a very great and lavish Commendation of the Country; which Mr. John Smith declared to agree exactly, with what he, and divers others Persons of Worth, had heard from his own Mouth in England; and Mr. Copeland affirmed, that Sir Thomas Dale had told him the same in Effect, at Japan, in the East-Indies. There was also read Part of a Letter from Sir Samuel Argall to the Company, dated in July 1617, highly commending the Healthiness and Conveniency of Jamestown. To these was added, at the Lord Cavendish's Motion, a long Declaration, by his Majesty's Council for Virginia, and the principal Assistants for the Somer-Islands; in which, they plainly, and without Disguise or Palliation, laid open the whole Scene of the Earl of Warwick's Proceedings, with the iniquitous Practices of himself and his Faction, but most especially of his two grand Instruments of Rapine, Sir Samuel Argall and Captain Butler. This long and particular Relation has been of singular Service, and given great Light, in the fuller Detection of their fraudulent Arts and Management; but as it contains nothing materially different from the foregoing Relation of their Proceedings, I shall ease both myself and the Reader from the Trouble of an Abstract.
The History of VIRGINIA. Book V.

All these publick Acts, Declarations, and Testimonials were laid before his Majesty, the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Commissioners. For, two Days after this, on the 10th of May, a Commission issued, under the Great Seal of England, to Sir William Jones, Knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Garton, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir William Pit, Sir Henry Bourchier, and Sir Henry Spilman, Knights, or any four of them, to examine and enquire into all Matters and Businesses, any ways relating or appertaining to the Plantations of Virginia and the Somers-Islands. Altho' the Points, to be enquired into, ran very much, in this Commission, according to the general Heads, and even the very Words, of the latter Part of Alderman's Johnson's Petition, yet the Lords of the Privy Council had the Alderman's Partiality reformed, and their Enquiry was not confined to the four last Years, but extended to all Acts and Things, from the first Incorporation of the Companies, and Settlement of the Colonies. Who these Commissioners were, and what were their real Characters and Conduct throughout Life, I cannot say. I only find, that Camden, in his Annals for the Year 1619, briefly mentions Fortescue, Garton, Sutton, and Pit, late Commissioners for the Navy, and for Domestick Affairs, to be then knighted.

From this time, all Letters from the Colonies, both publick and private, were intercepted by his Majesty's Command; in order to surprize, and find out, any secret Combinations and underhand Practices of the Companies, or their Officers. All their Books and Records were likewise sequestrated, by an Order of the Privy Council; and both the Mr. Farrar, the Deputy Treasurers to the two Companies, were laid under Arrest, and confined. I cannot discover, by what Colour or Pretence this was done; but it was a great Interruption, in preparing the Company's Business, which was to be laid before the Commissioners, and for their Defence depended entirely on their Books and Records, from which, they doubted not, to make their Innocency abundantly appear. And they were so sensible of the Prejudice, that would arise to the Companies, by their Deputies Restraint, who were their greatest Assistants, and by reason of their Places, the most conversant of all others in the Business of late Years, that they petitioned the Privy Council, so far at least to set them at Liberty, that they might be able to go forward with the Companies Business, and attend the Commissioners. And their Books were accordingly soon after restored, and the Deputies released.
But from these, and other discouraging Circumstances, it was an easy Matter to conjecture, what was aimed at, and how things were going. And therefore the great Officers of the Company, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the two Farrars, through whose Hands all the Company’s Business and Money had of late Years passed, sued out their general Acquittances in the Court. And as their Accounts had undergone the Examination of the Company’s Auditors, and had laid, all their legal time, and some much longer, open in the Courts, for any Person to examine, and make Exceptions against them, their Discharges were granted, under the legal Seal, by a cheerful and unanimous Concurrence of the whole Company. The Proportions of Land; formerly granted, were also confirmed to them in the strongest Manner, and Mr. John Farrar had the best Security, they could give him, for three hundred and twenty Pounds, which he had taken up at Interest, for the Use, and by the Order of the Company; all their Effects from Virginia being ordered, to be confign’d into his and his Brother Nicholas Farrar’s Hands (who was likewise soon after found to be about eighty Pounds in Advance for the Company) till their Ballances, with all other Damages incident thereto, were discharged. In Consideration of the ill Consequences, of having continued Sir Thomas Smith so many Years in the Place of Treasurer, the Company had made it a standing Rule and Order, that no Person, after that, should hold the Place of Treasurer or Deputy, above three Years together. The Earl of Southampton’s three Years being therefore now expired, Lord Cavendish and Lord Paget were named, to stand in Election to succeed him. The King had always been endeavouring, to get such a Person chosen into that Place of chief Government, as should be perfectly submissive to his Pleasure and Command. And now, on the Day of Election, the Court received a Letter from his Majesty, signifying; That he had appointed Commissioners, to examine into the present State of the Colony of Virginia; and as he expected to receive, within a few Days, some Account of their Labours therein, it was his Will and Pleasure, that all Officers should continue, as they were; and that they should not proceed to any new Election, before the Morrow Fortnight after, at the soonest. This unexpected Order, and mysterious Reason, caused a long and general Silence in the Court. But at length, considering, that they were restrained, by their Charters, to Quarter Courts only for the Election of Officers; and that, all Offices expiring that Day, their Government would become void, and their Pat
The History of Virginia. Book V.

1623.

Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor.

Tents forfeited, unless something was done therein, they continued all Officers in their Places, not a Fortnight longer, but 'till the next Quarter Court, when only Election could legally be made. And thus, the King never after having expressed his Pleasure therein, and the Company, to avoid Misconstruction, forbearing to do any thing, 'till his Majesty's Pleasure was farther known, the Earl of Southampton and Mr. Nicholas Farrar were, from time to time, continued in their Places, 'till the Suppression of the Courts and Dissolution of the Company.

In some of the intercepted Letters from Virginia, the Lords of the Privy Council found great Complaints of the Scarcity of Provisions. This had been occasioned by the Massacre, and the consequent War with the Indians; by which much of their Corn and Stocks had been destroyed, and a general interruption given to the Culture of their Lands. Their Lordships therefore called the Deputy, and a few more of the Company, before them; and acquainting them therewith, commanded them, to send an immediate Relief to the Colony. And they proposed, that the whole Company should be obliged to contribute their Parts towards it, according to the Number of each Man's Shares, by rating them at twenty, or at least ten Shillings a Share; and that they should be compelled to pay the same, by an Order of that Board. But Mr. Farrar and his Associates seem, not to have been perfectly convinced of the Legality of such a Proceeding; and conceived themselves to have no Power by Law, to lay such a general Assessment on the Company, without their Consent. Wherefore, after much Debate, they prevailed on their Lordships, to permit them to proceed, in their usual Method of voluntary Subscriptions. And as the opponent Faction had been loud before the Lords of the Council, and pressed much the sending a speedy Supply, thereby endeavouring to insinuate and reflect on the Negligence and sinister Views of the Company, a Roll of Subscription was prepared purposely, and presented to them, to subscribe by themselves, and Sir Edward Sackville earnestly entreated them, to be liberal and exemplary in their Contributions, since they had expressed, before the Council, to tender a Sense of the distressed State of the Colony. But they had the Confidence to withstand so strong a Snare; and the Colony was obliged to the other Side for the Supply, as I find intimated, in a Letter from Mr. Deputy Farrar, sent at the same time, in the Name of the Council and Company. However, it was not of that vast Use and Relief, as was imagined or pretended. For, as the Deputy and Company had judged, the Colony had gathered in their Corn, before it could possibly arrive.
But notwithstanding these lowering Prospects, and this unpromising Aspect of their Affairs, the Company proceeded cheerfully and boldly in their Defence. And therefore, as soon as the Commissioners were known, they deputed Sir Edward Sackvill, Sir Robert Killigrew, and Sir John Davers, to wait upon them, in the Company's Name; and to declare their Joy and Satisfaction, in the Commission's being issued. And they very earnestly and unanimously besought them, to take into their immediate Consideration Captain Butler's Information to his Majesty, entitled; The unmasked Face of the Colony in Virginia; which had given a deadly Wound to the happy Progress and Prosperity of that Plantation. So that until, by their Wisdom and Integrity, the Truth should be discovered, and the World again possessed with their former Hopes and good Opinion of that Colony, it must undoubtedly languish, if not shortly perish, for Want of those daily Supplies, which its Reputation alone had before raised, in great Abundance. But I do not find, that the Commissioners took the least Notice, or did any thing in Consequence, of this just and reasonable Request; though the Company urged it often, as a Point of great Importance, which required an immediate Examination and Dispatch. But soon after, they issued their Warrant to Mr. Cellingwood, the Secretary, and to all other the Clerks and Officers of the Virginia Company, to bring before them, to the Quest-House, adjoining to St. Andrew's Church in Holborn, all and singular Letters-patent, Proclamations, Commissions, Warrants, Records, Orders, Books, Accounts, Entries, and all other Notes and Writings whatsoever, in their Custody. Hereupon the Company appointed a Committee, consisting of Sir Robert Killigrew, Sir John Davers, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Tomlyns, Mr. White, Mr. Withers, Mr. Bland, Mr. Barber, and Mr. Berblock, who should all, or any three of them, with the Secretary, attend the Commissioners, from time to time, with the Letters-patent, Books of Accompnt, and other Writings. But they charged them, at every Rising of the Commissioners, to bring back the original Letters-patent, and to leave with them only a Copy; which, they hoped and conceived, would be sufficient. The Commissioners were likewise desired, in the Company's Name, to respite the Delivery of their Books of Account, till their Accompntant had taken Copies of them; when they were, together with all other Writings and Records, delivered into their Hands, and never afterwards returned to the Company.

Whilst the Company urged to the Commissioners an immediate Enquiry into the Truth of Captain Butler's Allegations,
legations, they, at the same time, recommended to their View and Perusal, as a thing relative to that Affair, the Declaration of the Council for Virginia and of the principal Assistants of the Somer-Islands Company, which hath been before mentioned, and which charged, in a home and open Manner, the Earl of Warwick and his Faction, but particularly Sir Samuel Argall and Captain Butler, with many illegal and oppressive Practices. This, I presume, gave Occasion to a Letter, which the Company soon after received from the King; wherein he utterly forbids, that any Complaints should be brought before the Commissioners against any Man, in the Name of the Council or Company, because that Course only tended to Defamation, and to raise more Contention; and because to bring Matters, determined by the Council or Company, before the Commissioners, was to preoccupate the Commissioners' Judgments, or else to oppose the Act and Opinion of the Council and Company, to the Act and Opinion of the Commissioners. It was therefore his express Pleasure and Command, that whosoever would exhibit Complaints against any Man, either for publick Wrong to the Company, or for private Injuries to himself, he should bring the same in Writing, subscribed with his Name, to the Commissioners, who should receive the Answer thereto in Writing, and thereupon proceed, as they should see Cause.

What was the End or Design of such an Order is not easily conceived, I think; unless it was to prevent the Company from acting with that Unanimity and Agreement, which it plainly appeared, they would, and which, in the Eyes of all impartial Men, would give the greater Weight and Authority to their Proceedings. And where the Justice was, or Legality, of forbidding the Company to prosecute for publick Wrong to themselves, as a Body corporate, and to leave it only to private Men, who could not legally do it, without being first authorised and impowered by the Company (and then it became their Act and Deed) is to me equally mysterious and inconceiveable. I am unwilling to make hard and uncharitable Interpretations, but this whole Affair of the Commissioners appears to have very little of the Face of Justice, but seems to have been set on Foot for quite different Ends and Purposes.

But besides this, that Letter contained another Express Command; That no Man, of what Degree or Quality ever, should be admitted to their Courts or Committees, who, besides his Freedom and Land, had not some Men then, or lately before, planted upon his Shares; or that was not, at that time, actually engaged in, and accordingly
ly pursued, the sending of Men or Supplies over. And he
farther ordered, if any other presumed to be present at their
Meetings, that they should be proceeded against, as factious
and seditious Persons. This was likewise a manifest In-
fringement of their Charters, which had specified the dif-
ferent Ways, by which Men should become free, and act
as Members of the Company. Being therefore much stag-
gered and surprized at both these Points, they resolved to
hold no more Courts, ‘till the King’s Pleasure was farther
understood. To this End, they presented a Petition to his
Majesty; in Answer to which, he, in effect, took off and
reversed those two Prohibitions and Commands. After
which, the Company again proceeded, as a Body corporate,
in their Business before the Commissioners; and they laid
before them their Reasons and Exceptions against Sir Thomas
Smith’s Accounts, together with all the other Declarations,
Answers, and Writings, which had been drawn up, and so
unanimously agreed to, by the Committee of the whole
Company. And they still particularly insisted upon, and
strenuously pressed, the expediting Captain Butler’s Affair,
as that Business was the most urgent, and most immediately
hurtful and pernicious to the Colony.

But what the Commissioners did, what Enquiries they
entered upon, and what Reports they made to his Majesty,
was a dead Secret to the Company; who, in a Letter to
the Colony, acknowledge themselves to be entirely in the
Dark, as to what was passing, or what was intended. At
length, after long waiting for the Issue of their Enquiries
and Determinations, Mr. Deputy Farrar, with some few
more of the Company, were called, on the 8th of October,
before the Lords of the Privy Council, who made some
Proposals to the Deputy. But these being of a very weighty
and important Nature, and Mr. Farrar conceiving himself
to have no Power to give an Answer to them, they were,
at his Request, drawn up into an Order of that Board; that
so he might, under that Form, present them to the Com-
pany. This Order of Council set forth:

That his Majesty had taken into his princely Consi-
deration the distressed State of the Colony of Virginia, oc-
casioned, as it seemed, by the ill Government of the Com-
pany: That this could not well be remedied, but by re-
ducing the Government into fewer Hands, near the Num-
ber of those, that were, in the first Patent, appointed: That
therein especial Provision should be made, for continuing
and preserving the Interests of all Adventurers and private
Persons whatsoever: That his Majesty had therefore re-
olved, by a new Charter, to appoint a Governor and twelve
Assistants,
The History of Virginia. Book V.

1625.

Sir Francis Wyatt Governor.

Assistants, to be resident in England, to whom should be committed the Government of the Company and Colony; that the said Governor and Assistants should be nominated and chosen, for the first time, by his Majesty; and that their Election afterwards should be in the following Manner, viz. the Assistants should present the Names of three to his Majesty, of whom he should nominate one, to be Governor; and the Assistants themselves should be chosen, by the major Part of their own Body for the time being, the Names of those to be chosen being first presented to the King, or the Council Board, to be allowed of, or disallowed, by his Majesty; and that the Governor, and six of the Assistants, should be changed, once in two Years: That there should also be resident in Virginia, a Governor and twelve Assistants, to be nominated by the Governor and Assistants in England, they first presenting their Names to his Majesty, or the Council Board, for their Allowance or Disallowance of the same: And that, as the Governor and Assistants, resident in Virginia, should have Relation and Dependence on the Governor and Assistants in England, so the Governor and Assistants in England, should have Relation and Dependence upon the Council Board, that to all Matters of Importance might thereby be under his Majesty's immediate Direction at that Board: And that his Majesty further purposed, to make the like Grants, as well of Lands, as of other Franchises and Benefits, as had been granted in the former Charters; with Declaration, that for settling and establishing all private Interests, this new Company should confirm, or grant anew to all Persons, the like Interests, as they enjoyed by the Grant, Order, or Allowance of the former Company. And therefore, the Deputy and the rest were, by their Lordships, required, to assemble a Court forthwith, to resolve, whether the Company would submit, and surrender their former Charters, and be content to accept a new one, with the aforesaid Alterations; and they were commanded to return their Answer, with all Expedition, his Majesty being determined, in Default of such Submission, to proceed for recalling their former Charters, in such Sort, as to him should seem just and meet.

This Order of Council so struck and amazed the Company, that, as if they disbelieved their own Ears, they caufed it to be read over three several Times; and after that, no Man, for a long while, spoke a Word to it. However, eight of the Faction of Twenty-six, being present with Sir Samuel Argall at their Head, moved the Company, in Conformity to their Lordships Order, to make an immediate Surrender of their Charters; but far the major Part of the Court,
BoofCV. 9fcffis-TORV of VIRGINIA.

1st the fame Month, they had drawn up Answers to them. Their Answer to the Alderman's Declaration set forth:

THAT holding it a Sin against God and their own Sufferings, to permit the World to be abused with false Reports, and to give to Vice the Reward of Virtue, They, in the Name of the whole Colony of Virginia, in their General Assembly met, many of them having been Eye-witnesses and Sufferers in those Times, had framed, out of their Duty to the Country, and Love to Truth, the following Answer to the Praises given to Sir Thomas Smith's Government, in the said Declaration.

THEY averred, that, in those twelve Years of Sir Thomas Smith's Government, the Colony for the most part, remained in great Want and Misery, under most severe and cruel Laws, which were sent over in Print, and were contrary to the express Letter of the King's most gracious Charters, and as mercilessly executed here, often times without Trial or Judgment: That the Allowance for a Man, in those Times, was only eight Ounces of Meal and half a Pint of Pease a Day, both the one and the other being moldy, rotten, full of Cobwebbs and Maggots, loathsome to Man, and not fit for Beasts; which forced many to fly to the Savage Enemy for Relief, who, being again taken, were put to fundry Kinds of Death, by hanging, shooting, breaking upon the Wheel, and the like: That others were forced, by Famine, to filch for their Bellies; of whom one, for stealing two or three Pints of Oatmeal, had a Bodkin thrust through his Tongue, and was chained to a Tree, till he starved: That if a Man, through Sickness, had not been able to work, he had no Allowance at all, and consequently perished: That many through these Extremities, dug Holes in the Earth, and there hid themselves, till they famished: That they could not, for those their Miseries, blame their Commanders here; for their Sustenance was to come from England, and had they given them better Allowance, they must have perished in general: That their Scarcity sometimes was so lamentable, that they were constrained to eat Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Toadstools, Horse-hides, and what not? That one Man, out of the Misery he endured, killed his Wife, and powdered her up to eat; for which he was burnt: That many others fed on the Corpses of dead Men; and that one, who, through Custom, had got an infatiable Appetite to that Food, could not be restrained, till he was executed for it: And that, indeed, so miserable was their State, that the happiest Day, many ever hoped to see, was, when the Indians had killed a Mare; the People wishing, as she was boiling,
The History of VIRGINIA. Book V.

306

1624.

Sir Francis Wyat, Governor.

A ND whereas it was affirmed, that very few of his Majestys Subjects were lost in those Days, and those Persons of the meanest Rank, they replied; that for one, that the died, five had perished in Sir Thomas Smiths Times, many being of ancient Houses, and born to Estates of a thousand Pounds a Year, some more, some less, who likewise perished by Famine: That those, who survived, and had in Ventures both their Estates and Persons, were constrained to serve the Colony seven or eight Years for their Freedom, and underwent as hard and as servile Labour, as the basest Fellow, that was brought out of Newgate: As for Discovery, they owned, that much had been discovered in those twelve Years, but in the four or five last Years, much more than formerly: That the Houses and Churches, the built, were so mean and poor by reason of these Calamities, that they could not stand above one or two Years; the People going to work indeed, but out of the Bitterness of their Spirits, breathing execrable Curses upon Sir Thomas Smith; neither could a Blessing from God be hoped for in these Buildings, which were founded upon the Blood of few Christians: That the Towns were only Jamestown, Henrico, Charles Hundred, West and Shirley Hundred, and Kicquoian; all which were ruined in those Times, except ten or twelve Houses in James-Town: That at that Present there were four for every one then, and forty times exceeding them in Goodness: That Fortifications there were none against a foreign Enemy, and those against the domestick Foe very few and contemptible: That there was only one Bridge, which also decayed in that time: That, because of the aforefaid Calamities, many had not perished, there would doubtless have been largely above a thousand People in the Country, when Sir Thomas Smith left the Government; but they conceived, when Sir George Yeardley arrived Governor, he found not above four hundred, most of them in Want of Corn, and utterly deficient of Cattle, Swine, Poultry, and other necessary Provisions to nourish them: That there were some Ministers to instruct the People, whose Ability they would not tax, but divers of them had no Orders: That they were never over furnished with Arms, Powder and Ammunition; yet that in Quality almost entirely useless: They acknowledged that in those times a Trial was made of divers Staple Commodities, which they had not Means to proceed in; but they hoped, in time a better Progress would be made there in, and had it not been for the Massacre, many by that time
time would have been brought to Perfection: That for Boats, there was only one serviceable one left in the Colony, at the End of that Government; for which one, beside four or five Ships and Barks, there were not then so few as forty: That the Barks and Barges, then built, were in Number so few, and so unwillingly and weakly by the People effected, that in the same time they perished: That they never knew, that the Natives did voluntarily yield themselves Subjects to the King, took any Pride in that Title, or paid any Contribution of Corn towards the Support of the Colony; neither could they, at any time, keep them in such good Correspondency, as to become mutually helpful to each other; but contrariwise, whatever was done, proceeded from Fear, and not Love, and their Corn was got by Trade or the Sword.

And now, to what a Growth of Perfection the Colony could arrive at the End of those twelve Years, they left to be judged, by what had been said; and they besought his Majesty, rather than be reduced to live under the like Government again, that he would send Commissioners over to hang them. As to Alderman Johnfon, one of the Authors of that Declaration, they said, he had great Reason to commend Sir Thomas Smith, to whose Offences and Infamy he was so inseparably linked. And all this they affirmed to be true by the general Report of the Country, which they never heard contradicted; many of them also having been Eye-Witnesses, or else resident in the Country, when every Particular here reported, happened.

This Declaration was signed by Sir Francis Wyat, the Governor; by George Sandys, John Pot, John Pountis, Roger Smith, and Ralph Hamer, Esquires. of the Council; and by William Tucker, William Pierce, Raleigh Croshaw, Samuel Matthews, Jabez Whitaker, and others, to the Number of twenty four, of the House of Burgesses. And this, I judge (or the Number of twenty five, which subscribed the Answer to Captain Butler’s Information) was nearly about the full Number of the House of Burgesses at that time. For there were, three Years before, eleven Boroughs which had Right to send Members to the Assembly; and there might be, and undoubtedly were, a few others since added to them. Their Answer to Captain Butler’s Information, ran in the following Manner.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WHEREAS a Copy of an Information, presented to Your Majesty by Captain Nathaniel Butler, entitled, The Unmasking of Virginia, is come to our Hands;
and whereas the same is full of notorious Slanders and Falshoods, proceeding from the Malice of his corrupt Heart, and abetted by private Enmity and publick Division, which aim at the Satisfaction of their particular Spleen, altho' it be to the Subversion of this whole Colony; We, the Governor, Council, and Colony of Virginia, in our General Assembly; out of Zeal and Respect to Your Majesty and this our Country, not to suffer Your sacred Ears to be profaned with false Suggestion, nor Your Royal Thoughts to be diverted from so hopeful a Plantation, which may add in time a principal Flower to Your Diadem, do, in all Humbleness, submit this our Answer to Your Princely Survey, annexed to the several Untruths of the said Informer.

1. I found the Plantations generally seated, &c. *

The Plantations, for the most Part, are high and pleasantly seated; and the rest not low, nor infested with Marshes, which, we wish, were more frequent. The Creeks are rather useful, than noisome; and no Bogs have been seen here by any, that have lived twice as many Years, as he did Weeks, in the Country; the Places which he so miscalls, being the richest Parts of the Earth, if we had a sufficient Force to clear their Woods, and to give the fresh Springs, which run through them, a free Passage. The Soil is generally rich, and restores our Trust with Abundance; the Air is sweet, and the Clime healthful, all Circumstances considered, to Men of sound Bodies and good Government.

2. I found the Shores, &c.

In this he traduceth one of the goodliest Rivers in the habitable World, which runs for many Miles together within upright Banks, till at length, enlarged with the Receipt of others, it beats on a sandy Shore, and imitates the Sea in Greatness and Majesty. It is approachable on both Sides, from half Flood to half Ebb, for Boats of good Burthen; neither is there any River in the World of this Vastness, without Cranes or Wharfs, more commodious for landing. And it is equally contrary to Truth, that by wading we get violent Surfeits of Cold, which never leave us, till we are brought to our Graves.

3. The new People, sent over, arriving for the most Part, &c.

We affirm, that the Winter is the only proper time for the Arrival of new Comers; whereof the Governor and Council have often, by their Letters, informed the Com-

* Vide Captain Butler's Information, p. 268,
pany; and the like Advice has been given to their Correspondents, from time to time, by private Planters, for their Supply of Servants. As to Houses of Entertainment, there was a general Subscription, amounting to an unexpected Sum, and Workmen actually employed, to build a fair Inn in James City, and every principal Plantation had resolved on the like, for the Entertainment of their new Supplies; when it pleased God, to punish our Crimes by the bloody Hands of the Indians, which obliged us to divert that Care to the Housing ourselves, many of us having been unfurnished by that Disaster. But Buildings of late have every where increased exceedingly; neither have new Comers any Reason to complain, when every Man's House is, without Recompence, open to the Stranger, even to the disaccommodating ourselves. So that we may with Modesty boast, that no People in the World do exercife the like Hospitality. As for dying under Hedges (whereof there are none in Virginia) or lying unburied in the Woods, by reason of this Defect, it is utterly false. However, if such things should sometimes be seen accidentally here, the like may, and often doth happen, in the most flourishing Countries of Europe.

4. The Colony was, this Winter, in great Distress, &c. The Colony, that Winter, was in no Distress of Victual, as the Accuser well knoweth. For he bought Corn himself for eight Shillings a Bushel, cheaper, as we hear, than it was then sold in England. It is true, a succeeding Scarcity was feared. But what less could be expected, after such a Massacre; when near half the Colony were driven from their Habitations in time of planting, others strengthened in their Ground by receiving them, and all interrupted in their Business by supporting a sudden War? English Meal sold, as he affirmeth, at thirty Shillings the Bushel, was only sold for ten Pounds of Tobacco; for which, in truck, we ordinarily receive under twelve Pence a Pound, real Value. And it is not to be supposed, that any of the Great should affect Scarcity, in order to enrich themselves by Trade. For Trade hath ever been free for us all; neither have they, who have brought in most Corn, sold it out at unconscionable Rates, but have often freely imparted it to the Necessity of others, without any other Advantage than Repayment. We agree with that Prime-one, who wished, that Corn might never be under eight Shillings a Bushel; meaning in Tobacco at three Shillings a Pound. For so there would be some Proportion between the Profit of making the one and the other, and Corn would thereby be planted in greater Abundance.
5. Their Houses are generally the worst, &c.

Our Houses, for the most Part, are rather built for Ufe than Ornament; yet not a few for both, and fit to give Entertainment to Men of good Quality. If we may give Credit to thofe, who are accounted the moft faithful Relaters of the West-Indies, many Cities of great Rumour there, after threefofe Years Progrefs, are not to be compared in their Buildings to ours. And fo far are they from the meaneft Cottages in England, that many Towns there have hardly one Houfe in them, which exceedeth ours in Conveniency or Structure. The greatest Disparagement, that some of them received, proceeded from his Riots and lascivious Filthines with lewd Women, purchafed with Rials of Eight and Wedges of Gold, the Spoils of the dif­trefled Spaniards in Bermudas; which, as we are informed by a Gentleman of good Credit, who casually surveyed his Inventory, did, with other Treasure, amount to divers Thoufands. As for the Interpofition of Creeks, which Men are moft defirous to seat upon, where we cannot go by Land, we have Boats and Canoes, for our sudden Tranf­port on any Occafion.

6. I found not the leaft Piece of Fortification, &c.

We have, as yet, no Fortifications againft a foreign E­nemy, altho' it hath been endeavoured by the Company, with a Success unanswerable to their Care and Expence; as also lately by ourselves. But the Work, being interrupted by the Scarcity of laft Summer, shall proceed again, God willing, with all convenient Expedition; and almost all our Houfes are sufficiently fortified againft the Indians, with strong Palifadoes. His Envy would not let him num­ber truly the Ordinance at James City; four Deni-Culver­ins being there mounted, and all serviceable. At Flower­de-Hundred, he makes but one of fix; neither was he ever there, but, according to his Cuftom, reporteth the unfeen as seen. The fraie Envy would not let him fee the three Pieces at Newport's-News, and thofe two at Elizabets-City. Two great Pieces there are at Charles Hundred, and seven at Henrico. Befides which, feveral private Planters have fince furnifhed themfelves with Ordinance. So that it were a desperate Enterprife, and unlikely to be attempted by a Man of his Spirit, to beat down our Houfes about our Ears, with a Bark of that Burthen.

7. Expecting, according to their printed Books, &c.

The time that this Informer came over, was in the Winter, after the Maffacre; when thofe Wounds were green, and the Earth deprived of her Beauty. His Ears were open to nothing but Detraction, and he only enquired after
after the Factious, of which there were none among us, and how he might gather Accusations against those in the Government, being, as it should seem, sent over for that Purpose. Otherwise he could not but hear of our Proclamations for the Advancement of Staple Commodities, and with what Alacrity and Success they proceeded; Vines and Mulberry Trees being planted throughout the whole Country, the Iron-Works in great Forwardness and shortly to receive Perfection, and the Glafs-Works laboured after with all possible Care, till the Slaughter by the Indians, and the succeeding Mortality, gave a Ruin to some, and Interruption to all. So that he hath nothing but our Misfortunes to accuse and upbraid us with; which have obliged us, still to follow that contemptible Weed, as well to sustain the War, as to enable us again to erect those Works. As for deriding the Books, that were sent over by the Company, it was done by himself, and no other, that we know of.

8. I found the ancient Plantations of Henrico, &c.

Still he abuseth your Majesty with these Words, I found, in Places, where he never was by some Score of Miles; having never been higher up the River, than the Territories of James-City. Henrico was quitted in Sir Thomas Smith's Time, only the Church and one House remaining. Charles-City, so much spoken of, never had but six Houses. The Soil of both is barren, worn out, and not fit for Culture. The Loss of our Stocks the Informer hath less Reason to urge. For he joined with the Indians in killing our Cattle, and carried the Beef aboard his Ship; which would have cost him his Life, if he had had his Deferts.

9. Whereas according to his Majesty's gracious &c.
The Governor and Council, whom it only concerned, replied to this; that they had followed the Laws and Customs of England to their utmost Skill; neither could he, or any other, produce any Particular, wherein they had failed. As to their Ignorance, they held him to be no competent Judge of those, who so far transcended him in Point of Learning and Ability. For he had never been bred to the Law (as was not unknown to some of them) nor yet in any other of the liberal Sciences. But his principal Spleen in this Article, appeared to proceed from his not being admitted of the Council, which they could by no means, consistently with their Instructions, do.

10. There having been, as it is thought, ten thousand, &c.

His Computation of ten thousand Souls falleth short of four thousand; and those were, in great part, wasted by the
The HISTORY of VIRGINIA. Book V.

The more than Egyptian Slavery and Scythian Cruelty, which was exercised on us, your poor and miserable Subjects, by Laws written in Blood, and executed with all Sorts of Tyranny, in the Time of Sir Thomas Smith's Government; whereof we send your Majesty the true and tragical Relation, from which it will plainly appear, that the pretended Confusions and private Ends will strongly reflect upon him and his Instructors. And how unfit such Men are, to restore that Plantation, which suffered so much under their Government, we humbly refer to your Princely Consideration; invoking, with him, that divine and supreme Hand, to protect us from such Governors and their Ministers, who have poured out our Blood on the Earth like Water, and have fatted themselves with our Famine. And we beseech your Majesty, to support us in this just and gentle Authority, which has cherished us of late by more worthy Magistrates; and We, our Wives, and poor Children, as is our Duty, shall ever pray to God, to give you in this World all Increase of Happines, and to crown you in the World to come, with immortal Glory.

This Answer was subscribed by the same Persons as the former; only with the Addition of the Honourable Francis West, Brother to the late, and Uncle to the then Lord Delawarr, and Sir George Yeardley, of the Council, and of one more Member of the House of Burgeses. Mr. John Pountis also, one of the Council of State, was appointed to go to England, to solicit the general Cause of the Colony (for so they call it); and four Pounds of Tobacco was levied upon every Male Tithable, that had been a Year in the Country, to support his Expences. But this Gentleman, in his Voyage home, died upon the Coast of England; and was therefore able to do nothing in the Affair. But to these, the General Assembly added two other Writings; the one a Petition to the King, and the other a Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council.

In their Petition to the King, they declared their great Joy and Satisfaction, that his Majesty, notwithstanding the late unjust Disparagement of this Plantation, had taken it into his nearer and more especial Care. And that his Royal Intentions might have their due Effect, they humbly besought him, being urged thereto by their Duty and Experience, to give no Credit to the late Declarations of the happy, as it was called, but in Truth, miserable Estate of the Colony, during the first twelve Years, nor to the malicious Imputations, which had been laid on the Government of late; but that he would be pleased to behold, in
Miniature, the true Estate of both Times by their Relations, which they then presented by the Hands of Mr. John Pointis, a worthy Member of their Body; and which contained nothing but the Truth, without Disaffection or Partiality. From these they doubted not, but that his Majesty would clearly understand the true Condition of both Times; and would be pleased, according to their earnest Desire, to continue, and even farther confirm, the Government, under which they then lived. But if it should please him otherwise to determine, they besought him, by all the Ties of Compassion and Humanity, not to suffer them, his poor Subjects, to fall again into the Hands of Sir Thomas Smith, or his Confederates; but that he would graciously protect them from those Storms of Faction, which threatened the Ruin of some Persons (whose Endeavours had deserved a better Reward) and in general the Subversion of the whole Colony. And if the Government must be altered, they desired, since the Action was of such Honour and Consequence, that they might still depend upon such great and noble Persons, as they lately had done. And further, in Consideration of the late Massacre and subsequent Calamities, they besought his Majesty to grant them and the Somer-Islands the sole Importation of Tobacco; assuring him, that they affected not that contemptible Weed, as a thing good and desirable in itself, but as a present Means of Support. And if it should please his Majesty, to send over that Aid of Soldiers, whereof they had been put in Hopes; or any other Assistance, they humbly desired, that the Governor and General Assembly might have a Voice in their Disposal; since none at that Distance, by reason of Accidents and emergent Occasions, could direct such an Affair so advantageously, as they were enabled to do, by their Presence and Experience in the Country:

In their Letter to the Privy Council, they acknowledged the Receipt of several of theirs, and returned their Thanks to his Majesty for his Princely Care of the Colony; particularly for remitting three Pence a Pound in the Custom of Tobacco, and for his gracious Intention to grant them a sole Importation; than which nothing could give greater Life, or a more speedy Advancement, to the Colony. For little or nothing could be expected from Poverty, to which the mean Prices of Tobacco, and great Expense of the War against the Indians, had reduced them. Neither had they, in their present State, the Means to fortify themselves, or to set up Staple Commodities, which would require a long Expectation of Profit; the Fruit of their Labours at present amounting to no more, if so much, as
would barely feed and cloath them. They therefore humbly entreated their Lordships, to be a Means to his Majesty to confirm his gracious Intention; and to take into their Consideration the heavy Burthen, of paying for Custom above a Third of their Labour; which, they desired, might be reduced to five per Cent. according to the express Tener of their original Charters.

They further told their Lordships, that they understood by their Letters, that they had been accused by one, who went from hence, of Neglect in Fortifications, in building Houses, and in providing themselves Sustenance; but they protested against his Relation, which was, as in other things, so in this, most false and flanderous. They had, in due Submission, published their Orders, sent over by Mr. Pory; by which they understood his Majesty’s Intention, to change the Government. They professed themselves ignorant of the Dangers and Ruin, that threatened them from the Government, as it then stood; and declared, they had nothing to accuse those Gentlemen of, who had swayed their Affairs, since the Expiration of Sir Thomas Smith’s Authority; their Slavery having since been converted into Freedom, and the Colony cherished under a just and moderate Government. Neither would they have been subject to Censure, had not the bitter Effects of the Massacre clouded the Company’s Zeal and their Endeavours.

But however it might please his Majesty to dispose of them, it was their humble Desire, that the Governors, sent over, might not have absolute Authority, but might be restrained to the Consent of the Council; which Title, they desired, might still be retained to the Honour of the Colony, and not converted to the Name of Assistants, as was proposed in an Order of their Board. They said, they had found some Inconveniences, by the strict Limitations of the Governor and Council, to proceed according to their Instructions out of England. For in so far a Distance, and imperfect Knowledge of the Country, those things might seem good in Advice, which might happen to prove very inconvenient in Execution; neither was it fit, that any main Project should be set on Foot, which had not first Approbation from hence. They conceived, the present short Continuance of Governors to be very disadvantageous to the Colony. The first Year, they were raw and unexperienced in the Country, and for the most part in ill Disposition of Health, through the Change of Climate; the second, they began to understand something of the Affairs of the Colony; and the third, they were providing to return. But above all, they made it their most humble Request to their Lordships,
Lordships, that they might still retain the Liberty of their General Assemblies; than which, nothing could more conduce to the publick Satisfaction and publick Utility.

These two were signed by almost the same Persons as the former; and I cannot but observe, to the immortal Honour of Sir Francis Wyat, that he was so far from desiring the Tyranny of an absolute Authority, that he was most strenuous and active, and joined very cordially in all these Petitions and Representations, for restraining the exorbitant Power of Governors. All these things were carried in the Assembly with the utmost Unanimity and Dispatch; and they were kept secret from the Commissioners, whom they found to be in other Interests, and to have quite different Views from themselves. For, having at first promised to communicate all their Representations and Papers to the Governor and Assembly, expecting the like Favour from them, they afterwards stood off, and indeed absolutely refused to let them know any thing they were doing; under Pretense, that the Lords of the Privy Council ought to have the first View of what they intended to present. Whereupon the Governor and Assembly, suspecting some sinister Designs, endeavoured to conceal from the Commissioners what was passing among them. But Mr. Pory, a Tool of Power, and versed in Corruption, by the Promise of a Reward, obtained Copies of all the Writings from Edward Sharples, Clerk of the Council; and altho' Captain Harvey had no Hand in corrupting him, he afterwards promised him fifty Pounds of Tobacco, in Reward of his Treachery. This Sharples had been entertained, by the late Mr. Secretary Davidson, as a Writer in his Office; and after the Secretary's Death, which happened towards the last of the former Year, he was admitted, far above his Condition and Desert, Clerk of the Council, and took an Oath (a Copy whereof is still extant in our Records) to deliver no Copies of any Papers or Writings, without the Governor's Leave. Wherefore I find, at a Court held the 10th of May following, as it appeared by sufficient Evidence, and by his own Confession, that he, being sworn Clerk of the Council of State, had betrayed their Councils to the Commissioners, he was sentenced to stand in the Pillory, and there to have his Ears nailed to it, and cut off. However, he was only just set on the Pillory, and lost a Piece of one of his Ears. A Letter was also sent by the Governor and Council to the Company, to inform them of his Crime and his Punishment; and to complain of Mr. Pory's Subornation of him, that they, understanding his double Dealing, might thence be upon their Guard, and prevent his corrupt Practices. But
it was now too late for the Company to do any thing.

For such a mean and prostitute Instrument of their Amis
and Designs, as Pory, had long before this more Power and
Interest at Court, and was likely to be more regarded,
than all the noble, great, and worthy Members of the
Company.

But the Commissioners, finding, that things were go­
ing in the Assembly quite contrary to their Hopes and De­
desires, resolved to lay some of their Powers before them,
which might probably intimidate and influence them, and
restrain them from proceeding with so much Sharpness
and Vigor. They therefore opened some Part of their Com­
mittal to the Assembly, on the 24th of February. A
Week after, they wrote them a Letter, importing: That
they supposed, in a Week’s Time, since their publishing
the Orders of the Lords of the Privy Council, the Assembly
could not but have maturely considered the same: That
therefore, for the speedier Advancement of the Colony in
general, and for the securing every Man’s Interest in par­
ticular; and that they might all, by Submission and Thank­
fulness, as by Obedience and Sacrifice both together,
gratiate themselves and their common Cause to his Majesty’s
renowned Clemency, They, as Remembrancers, thought
it no less than their Duty, to propose to their Consideration
the Form enclosed; which, they hoped, they would appre­
hend very fit to be subscribed by the whole Assembly, it
being no other, than what they themselves would most
readily, and most humbly, set their Hands unto. The
Form proposed was, as follows.

WHEREAS we understand by three Acts of Council in
England, lately published in this General Assembly, that
his Majesty hath signified his gracious Pleasure, for the uni­
versal Good of this Plantation, which by reason of our late
Calamities is in an unsettled State, to institute another Form
of Government, whereby the Colony may be upheld, and prosp­
er the better in time to come, and to that End hath required
a Surrender of the present Patents, declaring his Royal In­
tention, to secure to the particular Members of the Company
such Lands and Privileges in the said Country, as, according
to the Proportion of each Man’s Adventure and private In­
terest, shall be found due unto him; We of this General As­
sembly do, by Subscription of our Names, not only profess and
testify our Thankfulness, for that his Majesty’s most gracious
and tender Care over us, but do moreover, for our Parts, in
all Humility and Willingness, submit ourselves to his princely
Pleasure, of revoking our old Charters, and of vouchsafing his
new...
Thus to draw the General Assembly to surrender and petition for a Revocation of their Charters, which the Courts in England would by no means submit to, was certainly a very crafty and effectual Way, to disgrace the Company, and to make the Colony seem disaffected to them, and willing to throw off their Yoke; and would also have given some Colour to their violent Suppression afterwards. But the Assembly seems fully to have understood their Aim, and even to suspect, that this was Part of their Errand and Instructions from England. For in their Answer, they endeavoured to draw from them, by what Authority they made such a Proposal, and said; As they could not see, how this Proposition had any Ground in the Instructions, they had yet seen, they desired, before the Assembly returned an Answer, that the Commissioners would shew them the Depth of their Authority; or otherwise set it down under their Hands, that they had no further Commissions or Instructions, which might concern them.

But this Answer gave the Commissioners great Offence, and drew from them a very fierce and menacing Reply: That they had acknowledged, in delivering their Papers, that they had neither Commission nor Instruction, to move them to subscribe the Form proposed; neither could the least Shadow of any such thing be collected from their Letter: That what they had proposed, was out of their Discretion, as wholesome Counfel for the Good of the Colony; neither was it precipitate or sudden, but proper to the Time, Occasion, and Persons: That the Mark, aimed at, was no less than his Majesty's Favour upon their Persons and common Cause, to be obtained by Obedience and Thankfulness: That as there needed neither Commission nor Instruction, for them to propound the Practice of so eminent a Duty, so it was lawful for them, as being Freemen and Planters, to offer to the General Assembly any reasonable Motion, tho' of far less Consequence; and had they not vouchsafed to return an Answer, they might justly have seemed discontented, or at least discourteous: That they had no Reason, upon this Occasion, to search into the Depth of their Authority (since their Motion depended not, nor needed to depend, on their particular Commission) much less, to urge them to set down any thing under their Hands: That they could not profess, that they had no farther Commissions, which might concern them, besides that already put in Execution; for their Commissions, yet unperformed, con-
cerned them in their Houses, Persons, Servants, Corn, Cattle, Arms, &c. That however they need not suspect, that they would attempt any thing to any Man's Wrong, or which they could not very well answer.

To this the Assembly calmly replied: That they had already presented their humblest Thanks to his Majesty, for his gracious Care of them; and had returned their Answer to the Lords of the Privy Council: That when their Assent to the Surrender of their Charters should be required by Authority, it would then be the most proper Time to make a Reply: But in the mean while, they conceived, his Majesty's Intention to change the Government, had proceeded from wrong Information; which, they hoped, would be altered upon their more faithful Declarations. But the better to enable them to take a View of the Plantations, and to render an exact Account of the State of the Colony, the Assembly ordered, upon the Commissioners Application for their Assistance, that the several Plantations should transport them from Plantation to Plantation, as they should desire; and should accommodate them in the best Manner their Houses and Rooms would afford. The Commissioners also made the Assembly four Propositions; concerning the best Places of Fortification and Defence; the State of the Colony, with Respect to the Savages; the Hopes, that might be really and truly conceived, of the Plantation; and the properest Means, to attain those Hopes: To all which the Assembly gave full and particular Answers. And I cannot but remark, that Captain Matthews, who joined with the General Assembly in their publick Acts and Representations against the former Government, did likewise join with the Commissioners in all these Proceedings: Whether he was brought over by the almighty Force and irrefistible Allurement of private Advantage; or whether he thought himself obliged to do something in Conjunction with them, as he was included in the same Commission.

The Laws of this Assembly consisted of thirty five Articles. For that Manner (taken, I presume, from the Articles sent over by Sir Thomas Smith) was at this time, and continued long after, the usual Way of drawing up and enacting their Laws; which indeed had this Good in it, that all tedious Forms were thereby cut off, and the main Sense and Substance of their Acts appeared at once, in clear and precise Terms. As these Laws are the oldest, that I can now find upon our Records, and as they contain some things of especial Note, I shall here present them to the Reader.

The
The first seven related to the Church and Ministry, and enacted: That in every Plantation, where the People were wont to meet for the Worship of God, there should be a House, or Room, set apart for that Purpose, and not converted to any temporal Use whatsoever; and that a Place should be empanelled and fequestrated, only for the Burial of the Dead: That whosoever should absent himself from Divine Service any Sunday, without an allowable Excuse, should forfeit a Pound of Tobacco, and that he, who absented himself a Month, should forfeit fifty Pounds of Tobacco: That there should be an Uniformity in the Church, as near as might be, both in Substance and Circumstance, to the Canons of the Church of England; and that all Persons should yield a ready Obedience to them, upon Pain of Censure: That the 22d of March (the Day of the Massacre) should be solemnified and kept holy; and that all other Holidays should be observed, except when two fell together in the Summer Season (the Time of their Working and Crop) when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their Necessities and Employment: That no Minister should be absent from his Cure above two Months in the whole Year, upon Penalty of forfeiting half his Salary; and whosoever was absent above four Months, should forfeit his whole Salary and his Cure: That whosoever should disparage a Minister, without sufficient Proof to justify his Reports, whereby the Minds of his Parishioners might be alienated from him, and his Ministrv prove the less effectual, should not only pay five hundred Pounds of Tobacco, but should also ask the Minister Forgiveness, publicly in the Congregation: That no Man should dispose of any of his Tobacco, before the Minister was satisfied, upon Forfeiture of double his Part towards the Salary; and that one Man of every Plantation should be appointed, to collect the Minister's Salary, out of the first and best Tobacco and Corn.

The eighth and ninth Articles related to the Governor's Power: That he should not lay any Taxes or Impostitions upon the Colony, their Lands, or Commodities, otherwise than by the Authority of the General Assembly; to be levied and employed, as the said Assembly should appoint: That he should not withdraw the Inhabitants from their private Labours to any Service of his own, under any Colour whatsoever; and if the public Service should require the Employment of many Hands, before another General Assembly met to give Order for the same, in that Case, the levying Men should be done, by the Order of the Governor and whole Body of the Council; and that in such Sort, as to be least burthensome to the People, and most
most free from Partiality. Thus early was the Assembly, out of the Memory of their past Miseries and Oppressions, studious and careful to establish our Liberties; and we had here, by the ready Concurrence and Co-operation of this excellent Governor, a Petition of Right passed, above four Years, before that Matter was indubitably settled and explained in England. For these two Articles contain the same in Effect, as that famous explanatory and fundamental Law of the English Constitution; viz. The firm Property of the Subjects Goods and Estates, and the Liberty of their Persons.

The other Articles enacted: That all the old Planters, who were here before, or came in at the last Arrival of Sir Thomas Gates (in August 1611,) should both themselves and their Posterity, except such as were employed to command in Chief, be exempted from their personal Service in the Wars, and from all other publick Charges (Church Duties only excepted) but without the like Exemption of their Servants and Families: That no Burgefs of the General Assembly should be arrested, during the sitting of the Assembly, and a Week before and Week after; upon Pain of the Creditor's forfeiting his Debt, and such Punishment upon the Officer, as the Court should award: That there should be Courts kept once a Month, in the Corporations of Charles-City and Elisabeth-City, for deciding Suits and Controversies, not exceeding the Value of one hundred Pounds of Tobacco, and for punishing petty Offences; and that the Commanders of the Places, with such others, as the Governor and Council should appoint by Commission, should be Judges, the Commanders to be of the Quorum, and Sentence given by Majority of Voices; with Reservation nevertheless of Appeal, after Sentence, to the Governor and Council; and that whosoever appealed and was cast upon such Appeal, should pay double Damages: That every private Planter's Dividend of Land should be surveyed and laid off separately, and the Bounds recorded by the Surveyor, who should have ten Pounds of Tobacco for every hundred Acres surveyed; and that all petty Differences, between Neighbours about their Bounds, should be decided by the Surveyor, but if of Importance, referred to the Governor and Council: That, for the People's Encouragement to plant Store of Corn, the Price should be left, free, and every Man might sell it, as dear as he could: (For the Governor and Council did then, and long afterwards, set a Rate Yearly upon all Commodities, with Penalties upon those, who exceeded it) That there should be a publick Granery in each Parish, to which every Planter, above
above eighteen Years of Age, who had been in the Country a Year, and was alive at the Crop, should contribute a Barrel of Corn, to be disposed of, for the publick Uses of the Parish, by the major Part of the Freeman; the Remainder to be taken out by the Owners, Yearly on St. Thomas's Day, and the new brought and put in it's Room: That three capable Men, of every Parish, should be sworn, to see, that every Man planted and tended Corn sufficient for his Family; and that those, who neglected to do so, should be presented by the said three Men, to the Censure of the Governor and Council: That all Trade with the Indians for Corn, as well publick as private, should be prohibited, after the June following: That every Freeman should fence in a Quarter of an Acre of Ground, before the Whitsuntide next ensuing, for planting Vines, Herbs, Roots, and the like, under the Penalty of ten Pounds of Tobacco a Man; but that no Man, for his own Family, should be obliged to fence above an Acre; and that whoever had fenced a Garden, and was out of the Land, should be paid for it by the Owner of the Soil; and that they should also plant Mulberry Trees: That the Proclamations against Swearing and Drunkenness, set forth by the Governor and Council, were ratified by this Assembly; and it was farther ordered, that the Churchwardens should be sworn, to present all Offenders, to the Commanders of their respective Plantations; and that they should collect the Forfeitures for publick Uses: That a Proclamation should be read aboard every Ship, and afterwards fixed to the Mast, prohibiting them, without special Order from the Governor and Council, to break Bulk, or make private Sale of any Commodities, till they came up to James-City: That the ancient Rates of Commodities should be still in Force; and that Men should be sworn, in every Plantation, to censure the Tobacco: (So old are the first Rudiments of our Tobacco-Law; which nevertheless, after such long Experience, raised much Opposition and Disturbance:) That there should be no Weights or Measures used, but such as were sealed, by Officers appointed for that Purpose: That every Dwelling-house should be Palisadoed in, for Defence against the Indians: That no Man should go, or send abroad, without a sufficient Party, well armed: That Men should not go to Work, without their Arms and a Sentinel set: That the Inhabitants of the Plantations should not go on board Ships, or upon any other Occasion, in such Numbers, as thereby to weaken and endanger the Plantation: That the Commander of every Plantation should take Care, that there be sufficient of Powder and Ammunition within his Plantation; and that their Pieces
Pieces be fixed, and Arms compleat: That there be sufficient Watch kept, every Night: That no Commander of any Plantation should either spend himself, or suffer others to spend Powder unnecessarily, in Drinking, Entertainments, and the like: That such Persons of Condition as were found delinquent in their Duty, and were not fit to undergo corporal Punishment, might notwithstanding be imprisoned at the Discretion of the Commander, and for greater Offences be subject to a Fine, inflicted by the Monthly Court; so that it did not exceed the Value above said: That every Person who had not found a Man at the Castle, (then building at Warrasquake) should pay, for himself and Servants, five Pounds of Tobacco a Head, towards defraying the Charge of those, who had their Servants there: That, at the Beginning of July following, every Corporation should fall upon their adjoining Indians; and that those who should be hurt upon the Service, should be cured at the publick Expense; and if any were lame, they should be maintained by the Country, according to their Person and Quality: That for discharging such publick Debts, as their Troubles had brought upon them, there should be levied ten Pounds of Tobacco upon every Male, above sixteen Years of Age, then living; but not including such, as had arrived since the Beginning of July last: That no Person, within this Colony, should presume, upon the Rumour of any supposed Change and Alteration in England, to be disobedient to the present Government, nor Servants to their private Masters, Officers, or Overseers, at their utmost Peril. And the last Article related to sending Mr. Pountis to England, and levying four Pounds of Tobacco a Head, to support his Expenses. Most of these Laws were taken from preceeding Proclamations and Orders of the Governor and Council; and I find, that the Governor was obliged, soon after, to issue a Proclamation, forbidding Women to contract themselves to two several Men at one time. For Women being yet scarce, and much in Request, this Offence was become very common; whereby great Disquiet arose between Parties, and no small Trouble to the Government. It was therefore ordered; That every Minister should give Notice in his Church, that what Man or Woman soever should use any Word or Speech, tending to a Contract of Marriage, to two several Persons at one time, altho' not precise and legal, yet so as might entangle or breed Scruple in their Consciences, should, for such their Offence, either undergo corporal Correction, or be punished by Fine, or otherwise, according to the Quality of the Person so offending.
Book V. *The History of VIRGINIA.*

But whilst the Commissioners were pushing the Court Designs in Virginia, the opponent Faction in England were not less diligent and industrious to blacken and defame the Company. To this end, they engaged, according to their usual Method, some Planters, lately returned from Virginia, to petition and complain to his Majesty. Neither was it a difficult thing, among so many weak, indigent, or wicked Persons, as were concerned in the Plantations, to procure some to second and abet any Complaint, however false and unjust. Among other Matters of Grievance, they complained of the many Impositions and Levies, laid upon the Planters towards the Support of the Company, from whom they were wont formerly to receive Relief; and therefore they besought his Majesty, to take them into his Royal Mercy and Protection, and to free them for the future, from the grievous Impositions of the said Company. But Mr. Deputy Farrar desired them, to set down in Writing the particular Grievances and Oppressions, which they thus complained of in general; that the Company might thereby be enabled to return a full and particular Answer. This they promised to do, but afterwards, upon better Advice, refused; till at length, being farther pressed, they brought nine Articles, which however they could not be induced to subscribe, being restrained by those behind the Scene. These Articles contained criminal Charges of a very high Nature, and some of them Capital, against the Governor and Council in Virginia; so that the Lawyers of the Company declared, that the Persons who presented them, except they could maintain and make them good, had incurred the Penalty of Libellers. But at last, after much Shuffling and Absurdity of Complaint and Accusation, the Complainants in general, and one Perry in particular, confessed, that although they pretended to have Authority and Commission from the Planters in Virginia to make these Complaints, yet the Whole, both the Petition and Grievances, were entirely framed in England. Wherefore the Company, perceiving, they had been abused and drawn into it by the Malice of others, thought fit to pass it over, in Favour and Compassion to their Ignorance and Credulity.

Upon Occasion of these grievous Accusations against the Governor and Council, Sir Francis Wyatt's Character and Conduct were called much into Question and canvassed. But he was sufficiently cleared by the rest of the Planters then in England; who gave ample Testimony to the Worthiness and Uprightness of his Proceedings, and declared upon their Consciences, that they esteemed him to be a most just and sincere Gentleman, and free from all Manner of Cor-
Corruption and private Ends. As therefore he had; by a Letter to the Company, declared his Desire to leave the Government at the Expiration of his Commission, which would be shortly, they took the Matter into their serious Consideration. But finding, that he had given very great Satisfaction to the Colony, as appeared by the Report of the Planters; and considering also, how much the Company was in his Debt, by not furnishing him with his legal Number of Tenants, and that they had no Means left to make good their Promise to him, much less were they able to set out a new Governor; it was thought best and most advisable, to continue him still in his Office. But some of the opponent Faction moving, that Sir Samuel Argall, in Regard of his Worth, and of his Desire for the Place, might stand in Election with him, they were both ballotted; and Sir Francis Wyatt was chosen by having sixty nine Balls, and Sir Samuel Argall only eight. And as the Company was then unable to send over more Men to him, it was ordered, that he should be supplied with his full Complement, out of the Company's Tenants in Virginia; and the Consideration of some Recompence, for his former Loss and Disappointment, was referred to the next Quarter Court.

The last Parliament, out of their Love and Esteem for Virginia, but more especially out of Regard to the Advancement of the Trade of England, had taken into their Consideration the Case of the Plantation Tobacco, and had entered into a very good Course about it; but by Reason of their sudden Adjournment and Breach with the King, they were obliged to leave it unfinished. The Company therefore, being encouraged by this, and quite wearied out by the equivocal and suspicious Conduct of the King and his Ministers, presented a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth:

THAT after divers Discoveries had confirmed the Opinion, that Virginia was situate in a temperate and wholesome Climate, that the Soil was rich and fertile, the Country well watered with fruitful and navigable Rivers, and that their Ships, through a fair Sea, might have a comfortable falling in on a safe Coast, it pleased God so to affect the Minds of divers worthily disposed Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, as to think it a Matter of great Religion and Honour, to endeavour the Propagation of Christianity among those barbarous People, and to gain such a hopeful Addition of Territory to his Majesty's Dominions: That his Majesty also, being informed thereof, and apprehending, that great Honour and Commodity would thence arise to this Kingdom, was pleased, by his most gracious Letters-patent...
THEY then proceeded to recount the several Emoluments and Advantages to England, which they had in their View and Expectation. 1. The Conversion of the Savages to Christianity, and establishing the first Colony of the Reformed Religion. 2. The discharging the Overplus of nec everlasting People, which administered Fewel to dangerous Insurrections, and the leaving greater Plenty for thoe, who remained. 3. The gaining a large Territory, already known to be great, and which might prove much greater; whose Fertility of Soil, and Temperature of Clime, agreed well with the English, and produced by Nature and Industry, whatever useful Commodities were found in any known Country. 4. The beneficial Fisheries discovered; which, together with the continual Intercourse and Commerce between People of the fame Nation, would contribute exceedingly to the Increase of the English Trade and Navigation. 5. The vast Quantity of Timber and Materials, for building and setting forth Ships; whereof there was a great Scarcity throughout all Europe. 6. The Assurance, that many rich Trades might be found out there, and driven on to the incredible Benefit of the Nation; besides the no small Hopes of an easy and short Passage to the South Sea, either by Sea or Land. 7. The inestimable Advantage, that would be gained, in Case of War, both for the easy assaulting the Spanish West-Indies, and for the relieving and succouring all Ships and Men of War; the Want whereof had in former times, disappoited and overthrown so many Voyages. But hereby the Benefit to the
English would be certain, and the Enemy's Loss and An-
noyance inevitable. After which, they went on the fol-

**The History of Virginia. Book V.**


**But so it is, that now, when the natural Difficulties, incident to all new Plantations, are by Diligence and Tra\nct of Time, but most especially by the Blessing of Almighty God, in a great Measure overcome; yet there have arisen other unnatural Impediments, proceeding from Faction and Discord, from the cunning Courses and Practices of some Persons, who tended wholly to their own Profit, from Misemployment of the publick Stock, false Accounts, and the like Corruptions and Diversions from the main Business; and that these were so increased of late, and supported by strong Hand, as threatened speedy Ruin and Destruction to that excellent Work, if Remedies were not timely applied: That they, the Council and Company of Virginia, differed not a little from other Companies; as well in their Composition, consisting of principal Noblemen, Gentlemen, Merchants and others; as in the Ends, for which they were estab\lished, being not simply for Matter of Trade, but for things of a higher and more publick Nature: That nevertheless, finding themselves, in their Body, as it was then distempered, unable to be their own Physicians without higher Assistance, they thought it their Duty, as well to clear their own Reputation, as in Discharge of their Conscience, and of the Trust repose in them, to represent to the Parliament this Child of the Nation, exposed, as in the Wilderness, to extreme Danger, and then fainting, as it were, and labouring for Life.

They therefore humbly intreated that honourable House, to take into their Commiseration, the distressed Colony and oppressed Company; and to receive an Account from such of his Majesty's Council for Virginia, as, being Members of their House, had been appointed by the Company, to give them a full and exact Relation of all their Grievances and Oppressions: Which, tho' of fundy Kinds, yet had received (as they doubted not to make evident) either their Original or Strength from the Lord High Treasurer, out of his private and unjust Designs; not only to almost the Overthrow of the Colony, but also to the Deception of his Majesty in his Profit and Revenue, to the great Prejudice of the whole Kingdom in Matter of Trade, and even to Points of dangerous Consequence to the Liberty of the Subject.

This Proceeding was certainly no ways grateful to the King, who conceived himself much injured and affronted, if the Parliament entered upon any Consideration, which
was not recommended to them by himself. For he looked upon them, not as the grand Council of the Nation, but of the King; and expected, that they should proceed with the abject Adulation and Submission of his Privy Council, and never touch upon any disagreeable Subjects. But above all, Matters of Grievance were the Points, on which he was most tender and touchy, and would often winch grievously; and altho' the Thing was disguised, and even Praisés were given him in some Parts of this Petition, yet it was evidently levelled, in the main, against him and his Ministers. However, as his Majesty had called this Parliament with quite different Views, and treated it in a quite different Manner from the last, he took no Notice of it, but permitted it to take its Course in the House. Its Reception was also secured by the Complaints, in the latter Part, against the Lord High Treasurer; whom Buckingham and the Prince were, at this time, pulling down and tearing, as it were, with great Violence from the King's Side, not without very great Pain and Grief to his Majesty.

This Petition was committed to the Deputy, and such others of the Council, as were also Members of the House of Commons; to present it to their House, in the Name of the Council and Company of Virginia. It was received by the Commons very acceptably, notwithstanding some Opposition at first; and a Committee was appointed to hear and examine their Grievances and Oppressions, to which all of the Company, that were Members of the House, were admitted, to come and to hear, but not to have any Voice. But conceiving, that Counsel at Law could not be so fully informed of all Passages, as was requisite, and would not perhaps be so cordially concerned, or favourably heard, they divided their Grievances into four several Heads, and committed them to the following Gentlemen, to deliver and speak to them. 1. The Case of their Tobacco, with all the Oppressions and Impostions upon it, was committed to Mr. Deputy-Treasurer, Nicholas Farrar: 2. The Business of the Contract, to Sir Edwin Sandys: 3. The Proceedings of the Commissioners, to the Lord Cavendish: 4. All Passages and Measures since, to Sir John Davers. And all these Gentlemen, but especially the Lord Cavendish, did very nobly and cheerfully undertake, to perform and make good their several Parts.

It was the Misfortune of these Affairs, to be brought into Parliament very late in the Sessions; and they were besides of a very tender and delicate Nature. For, in their Proceeds and Issue, they must have turned to a plain Arraignment of the Weakness and Unfairness, or even of the
downright Injustice and Oppressiveness of the King’s Conduct towards the Company and Colony. The main Business therefore of their Oppressions and Grievances did not proceed in Parliament, but was waved and flurred over in Silence. But the particular Case of Tobacco, by the exceeding Care and Wisdom of Sir Edwin Sandys, assisted by the Lord Cavendish, and the other Gentlemen of the Company, who had Seats in Parliament, was brought to a happy Issue. For the Importation of foreign Tobacco was put, as one of the nine Grievances of the Realm in Point of Trade, which this Season presented to his Majesty, and desired Relief in. And altho’ this was done professedly for the Good of England, without any Mention or Relation to Virginia, yet the Deputy told the Company, that he doubted not, but the whole House had, in their Hearts, an especial Regard to the Advancement of the Colonies. And as this Course was as effectual for Exclusion of Spanish Tobacco, as if it had been done by Bill, so was it much better, than if it had been done by the Bill, which was drawn the last Parliament. For since that Time, the State and Price of Tobacco was so much altered, that it could then no ways bear the twelve Pence a Pound Duty, which that Bill laid upon it, but must thereby have been as certainly ruined and overthrown, as by any other Course. But this second Way brought with it all the Good of the Bill, and left out all its Evil. Wherefore, he said, it could not be too much commended, nor Sir Edwin Sandys, to whom they were beholden for it, sufficiently thanked. And it may be here farther observed, that the King’s Measures by this time were entirely reversed. For the Spanish Match was now broke off, and even War was declared against the King of Spain, and the whole House of Austria. So that the Interest of England would no longer be obliged to stoop to the Interest of Spain; and a Prohibition of their Tobacco would be easily granted, as it agreed with the present Passions and Measures of the Court.

This was the last Service that Sir Edwin Sandys, or the Company, were able to do the Colony and Trade. For soon after, Captain Harvey and Mr. Pory, the Privy Council’s Commissioners, returned from Virginia. What their Report was of the State of the Colony, I cannot discover; but we may easily judge, by the Principles and Dispositions of the Men, that it was not much to the Honour or Advantage of the present Government. Upon their Return therefore, his Majesty was pleased, by a Proclamation bearing Date the 15th of July, 1624, to suppress the Course of their Courts at Deputy Farrar’s. And for the present Ordering...
of the Affairs of the Colony, 'till a fuller and more perfect Settlement of them could be made, the Lord President of his Majesty's Privy Council, with other Privy Counsellors, and several Knights and Gentlemen, were appointed to meet, every Thursday in the Afternoon, at Sir Thomas Smith's Houfe, in Philpot-Lane; whiter all Persons, whom it might concern, were ordered to repair. And thus Sir Thomas Smith triumphed over the Companies and the Colonies; and notwithstanding the authentic Representations of the Company in England, and our General Assembly here against him, and the plain Detection of his Cruelties and Oppressions, to all Men of common Sense and common Justice, yet he did at last recover his Power again, and was the Person chiefly depended upon, by the Solomon of that Age, in all Matters relating to them. For the Somer-Islands Courts had been suppressed some Months before, by a simple Letter from the King; and Meetings appointed, at Sir Thomas Smith's, for the Management of their Affairs. But these Meetings were without the Mixture of any Privy Counsellors, and wholly consisted of himself and his Creatures. And by this time, in the Absence of Sir Edward Sackville, now Earl of Dorset, their Governor, who had, the Year before, succeeded the Lord Cavendish, now also Earl of Devonshire, and under Colour of some Complaints and Difcontent, the Lords of the Privy Council appointed Sir Thomas Smith again Governor of that Company; assuming to themselves a boundless Power of placing and displacing legal Officers, as they pleased. This Appointment, Captain Smith tells us, was afterwards confirmed, and Sir Thomas Smith elected by the Court. But this Court was only his Faction, who assumed to themselves that Name and Character. For I find, that many of the Company, and as it appears, a vast Majority, complained of them, and declared against their Meetings, as Usurpations upon the Government of the Company, and no ways legal or valid.

This was the End of the Virginia Company; one of the noblest, most illustrious, and public-spirited Societies, that ever yet perhaps engaged in such an Undertaking. It was an Event certainly of Benefit and Advantage to the County, as we in America find by Experience, that it is better to be under a Royal Government, than in the Hands of Proprietors, in what Shape or Manner soever. But yet it must be at last confessed, that it was brought about with all imaginable Instances of Unrighteousness and Oppression; and that not even the Decency of Forms of Law were kept up or regarded in it. For a Writ of Quo Warranto and oppressive Writ in itself, and for the most part turned
The History of Virginia. Book V.

The history of the Virginia Company, yet I cannot understand, although I have taken no small pains to find it out, that it ever came to an issue or determination. And to dissolve them by the arbitrary authority of a proclamation, whilst a legal process was depending, seems but a more bare-faced injustice and oppression. For the greater part of the Company did, by no means, deserve such treatment. They appear, from all the papers and records that I have perused, to have been gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested designs; who, as they were above the necessity of any access to their own fortunes, were willing and intent to spend much of their time and money, in advancing an undertaking, which they justly conceived to be of very great consequence to their country. And even Captain Smith, who was certainly no friend to the company, and whose history seems much in honour and vindication of Sir Thomas Smith and his government, yet owns, that scarce any of the nobility and gentry expected or aimed at anything else, but the prosperity of the action: and he was confidently persuaded, that some merchants, and others took more care and pains, even at their own continual great charge, than they could be hired to, for the love of money; so honestly regarding the general good of the enterprise, that they would hold it worse than sacrilege, to wrong it but a shilling, or to extort a penny upon the common people.

It may indeed be thought something strange, how so many gentlemen, of the noblest fortunes and most public spirits in the nation, could so patiently submit to such evident injury and wrong, without bringing the matter to a legal trial. But they had been much harassed and fatigued of late, by the discords and factions in the company; which, they plainly saw, were supported and abetted by the king, for some unjust and partial views of his own, being much charmed with the unexpectedly large and rising revenue from tobacco, and therefore desirous to get the plantations wholly into his own hands. They had also expended largely above an hundred thousand pounds, out of their own private fortunes, without any probable prospect of present retribution or gain to themselves; and they could not but see, that proceeding in the enterprise would still engage them into farther expenses, for which they would only be exposed to the abuses and affronts of the opponent faction, and to injuries and oppressions from the king and his council. They might also consider perhaps the state of the courts of law at that time, which could give them but slender hopes of obtaining any redress there. For the judges...
Judges and Oracles of Law are greatly wronged and abused, if they were not then, like the lying Oracle of old, much addicted to philippising, and willing to raise the Royal Prerogative above all Restraints of Law, or of any other earthly Power. Their original Records, on which their Proofs must chiefly depend, had likewise been taken from them by the Privy Council. And the Earl of Southampton, who had all their Eyes and Hearts fixed upon him, after languishing some time, and having first lost his eldest Son, the Lord Wriothesley, died this following Winter 1624. To which may be added, that the Success of the Colonies was still doubtful, without the King’s Favour and Protection; or at least against his Will, and the perpetual Stretch of his Power thwarting and oppressing them. They therefore silently acquiesced and submitted to this illegal Dissolution; and quietly withdrew from an Affair, which had cost them so much Money and Pains, and had given them such continual Trouble and Vexation.

FINIS.
AN APPENDIX TO THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA:
CONTAINING
A Collection of such ancient Charters or Letters Patent, as relate to that Period of Time, and are still extant in our publick Offices in the Capitol, or in other authentic Papers and Records.

WILLIAMSBURG: Printed by W. PARKS, M,DCC, XLVII.
THE PREFACE.

In the two first of the following Charters, I have seen four Copies; one among the oldest Records in the Secretary's Office, much mangled and defaced; another in the Council Office, tolerably legible; a third, in a very fair Book of Records, which belongs, as I take it, to the House of Burgesses Office, and the fourth and most correct, I found among Sir John Randolph's Papers, transcribed by his Clerk, and collated, as I suppose, from different Copies. However, I can venture to assure the Reader that the Edition, which I here give by the Help of the two last mentioned Copies, is still fuller and more correct than any of them. Of the third Charter I have never met with but one Copy, likewise in Sir John Randolph's Collection of publick Papers. It is pretty correctly transcribed; and I hope, it will be found, with the necessary Emendations, I have made in it, very complete and exact. These are all the King's Charters to the Company, that I have been able to find; although they certainly are not all, be granted. For many things are mentioned in the Company's Records, as drawn from their Charters, which, are nevertheless not to be found in these. But to these Royal Charters I have added a fourth, The Company's Charter and Constitution of a Council of State and a General Assembly; which I found in the above-mentioned Book, belonging to the Clerk's Office of the House of Burgesses. As their Authority for granting it was unquestionable, and as it is of an important Nature, and the first Draught and Foundation of the Constitution of this Colony, I thought, an Edition of it would not be unacceptable to the learned and curious Reader.

I once intended (as Bishop Burnet has done, in a very useful and satisfactory Manner, in his History of the Reformation) to have added several other very curious Papers and original Pieces of Record. But I perceived, to my no small
Surprise and Mortification, that some of my Countrymen (and
too, Persons of high Fortune and Distinction) seemed to
be much alarmed, and to grudge, that a complete History of
their own Country would run to more than one Volume, and
cost them above half a Pifole. I was therefore obliged to
restrain my Hand, and only to insert these few most necessary
Instruments, for fear of enhancing the Price, to the immense
Charge and irreparable Damage of such generous and publick-
spirited Gentlemen.

I thought the Publication of these Charters the more proper,
as I conceive, that they have never been legally revoked, and
as they contain things of very great Consequence and Concern.
For if the Inhabitants and Natives of these Colonies are en-
titled to all Liberty, Franchizes, and Immunities of free
Denizens and natural Subjects, to all Intents and Purposes,
as if they had been abiding and born within the Realm of
England, or any other of his Majesty's Dominions (as is
expressly declared in Sect. xv. of the first, and Sect. xxiv. of
the second Charter) what Room can there be for that jejible
Doctrine, which was breached by a 'Judge of New-York, in
a criminal Trial, (the Case of Col. Bayard, publifhed in the
printed Collection of State Trials) that although petitioning the
King was no Crime, yet it might be so, to petition the
House of Commons in the Plantations, where the King
bears by his PREROGATIVE; a Word always
doubtful, equivocal, and suspicious, but to be sure fruitful of
Tyranny and of all arbitrary and illegal Oppression, when
unfixed and unrestrained by the Law. And what Law in
the Plantations can curb the Royal Prerogative, which is said
to be as ancient as the Crown of England itself, and to be
always inherent and inseparable from it? But it is not to be
supposed, that that Dragoons of the Long-robe, and legal
Pander to Slavery, had any thought or Design, to stop with
the Laws the Brench, which he endeavoured to make in the
Liberties of the Colonies; or to stay, with old moldering
Parchments, the lawless and overwhelming Waves of Prer-
ogative.

BUT farther: If we have a Right to all the Liberties,
Franchizes, and Immunities of Englishmen, in vain was the
Chicanery of K. Charles II. and at last his absolute Refufal,
in the Charter which he granted the Colony, to ratify and con-
firm the Power and Authority of the Grand Assembly,
consisting of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses; as also
to grant and declare, that no Manner of Impositions or
Taxes should be laid on the Colony, but by the common
Consent of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, as had
been theretofore used. For what Liberty, Franchise, or
Im-
Immunity is dearer or more essential to Englishmen, than to be subject to such Laws, as are enacted, and to be liable to no Taxes, but what are laid upon them, by their own Consent, in a Parliamentary Way? And besides, it was then too late to abridge the Liberties of our General Assemblies, and to keep them in a precarious and dependent State, as that Prince (never a Friend to the Liberties of his People or Mankind, but about that time particularly plunged in arbitrary Schemes and Designs) endeavoured to do. For above fifty Years before that, the Company had expressly established the General Assembly, by the fourth Charter in this Collection, and by a Power immediately derived from the King. And supposing their own Charters were afterwards legally revoked, yet that (which they granted by his Majesty’s express Authority and Direction, and whilst their own Powers were in full Force and Validity) will not, I presume, consequently fall and be annulled with them.

These, and the like Conclusions, will naturally arise from the following Charters. And I therefore hope, I shall need no other Reason or Apology, for thus giving them to the Publick.
George Somers, and others, for two several Colonies and
Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other Parts and
Territories of America. Dated April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scot-
land, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.
WHEREAS our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir
Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard
Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward Maria
Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqrs. William
Parker, and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our
loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would
vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation,
and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that
Part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other Parts
and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which
are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People,
situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four
and thirty Degrees of Northern Latitude from the Equinoctial
Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in
the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and
forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one
hundred Miles of the Coast thereof:

II. AND to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplish-
ment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are
defirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Com-
panies; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Mer-
chants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and else-
where, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto
them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation
in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one
and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, along the Coasts of
Virginia and Coasts of America aforesaid; And the other con-
sisting of fundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Ad-
venturers, of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town
of Plymouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto
that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Ha-
bitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty
Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all along
the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth:

III. WE, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of,
their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may,
by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory
of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to
K. James’s first Charter for Virginia, April 10, 1606.

such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended Desires;

IV. AND do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors;

GRANT and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the first Colony; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of English Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marishes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like English Miles, all along the said Coasts of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Expresse Licence or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V. AND we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors;

GRANT and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Town of Plymouth in the County of Devon, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the second Colony; And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia and America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and
and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like English Miles, as is aforesaid, all along with the said Coasts of Virginia and America, towards the West and South-west, or towards the South, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all along the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Back of them, towards the main Land, without the express Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII. AND we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same Instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the said several Councils; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraved on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraved round about, on the one Side, these Words; Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae; on the other Side this Inscription, round about; Pro Consiliis primis Coloniar Virginiae. And the Seal for the
the Council of the said second Colony shall also have engraved, round about the one Side thereof, the aforesaid Words; Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae; and on the other Side; Pro Concilio secundo Colonie Virginise:

VIII. AND that also there shall be a Council established here in England, which shall, in like Manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be, for that Purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall be called our Council of Virginia; And shall, from time to time, have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, aforesaid; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the like Arms and Portraiture, as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraved round about on the one Side; Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae; and round about the other Side, Pro Concilio suo Virginia:

IX. AND moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any Part of their said several Colonies, as of the said main Lands on the Backside of the same Colonies; And to Have and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner of Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect of the same:

X. AND that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a Coin, to pass current there between the People of those several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

XI. AND we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the said several Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations.
It. fames* firft Charter for VIRGINIA, April 10, 1606.

stations; With sufficient Shipping, and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Viftual, and all other things, necessary for the faid Plantations, and for their Ufe and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the faid Perfons be fuch, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs, or Successors.

XII. MOREOVER, we do, by these Prefents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the faid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanbam, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the faid Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their severalDefences, encounter, expulf, repel, and refift, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every fuch Perfon and Perfons, as without the efpecial Licence of the faid several Colonies and Plantations, fhall attempt to inhabit within the faid several Precinfts and Limits of the faid several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that fhall enterprife or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the faid several Colonies or Plantations:

XIII. GIVING AND GRANTING, by these Prefents, unto the faid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and their Associates of the faid firft Colony, and unto the faid Thomas Hanbam, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the faid second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprife, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Perfon and Perfons, with their Ships, VefTels, Goods, and other Furniture, which fhall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precinfts of the faid several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the fame Colony, until fuch time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, fhall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precinfts they fhall fo traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, fo by them trafficked, bought, or fold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obedience, until they fhall pay five upon every Hundred, of fuch Wares and Merchandifes, as they fhall traffick, buy, or fell, within the Precinfts of the faid several Colonies, wherein they fhall fo traffick, buy, or fell, as aforesaid; WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, fhall be wholly employed to the Ufe, Benefit, and Behoof of the faid several Plantations, where fuch Traffick fhall be made; And after the faid one and twenty Years ended, the fame fhall be taken to the Ufe of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by fuch Officers and Minifters, as by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, fhall be thereunto assigned or appointed.
XIV. AND we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers, and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattels, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of England and Ireland, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or payed for the same.

XV. ALSO we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their Children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall have and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI. MOREOVER, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XVII. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their, or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or any
any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations, make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And, that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, 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 Person or Persons, and their Procurers, Abettors, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abettors, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. And finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, Grant and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent, under the Great Seal of England, Give and Grant unto such Persons, their Heirs and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, To be Holden of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of East-Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common Socage only, and not in Capite:

XIX. And we do, in like Manner, Grant and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the said second Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent, under the Great Seal of England, Give and Grant unto such Persons, their Heirs and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, To be Holden of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of East-Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common Socage only, and not in Capite.

XX. All which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient
Assurance from the said Patentees, to distribute and divide among the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lie or be; Although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Remises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knt. Sir George Somers, Knt. Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, 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 Ourself at Westminster, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

Lukin

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

No. II.

King James the I.'s second Charter to the Treasurer and Company for Virginia, erecting them into a Corporation and Body politic, and for the further Enlargement and Explanation of the Privileges of the said Company and first Colony of Virginia. Dated May 23, 1609.

I. AMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas, at the humble Suit and Request of sundry our loving and well disposed Subjects, intending to deduce a Colony, and to make Habitation and Plantation of sundry our People, in that Part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto Us, or which are not actually possessed of any Christian Prince or People, within certain Bounds and Regions, We have formerly, by our Letters-patents, bearing Date the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth, Granted to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for the more speedy Accomplishment of the said Plantation and Habitation, that they should divide themselves into two Colonies (the one consisting of divers Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, of our City of London, called the
FIRST COLONY: And the other consisting of divers Knights, Gentlemen and others, of our Cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Town of Plymouth, and other Places, called the SECOND COLONY) And have yielded and granted many and sundry Privileges and Liberties to each Colony, for their quiet Settling and good Government therein, as by the said Letters-patents more at large appeareth:

II. Now, forasmuch as divers and sundry of our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers, as Planters, of the said first Colony, which have already engaged themselves in further the Business of the said Colony and Plantation, and do further intend, by the Affistance of Almighty God, to prosecute the same to a happy End, have of late been humble Suitors unto Us, that (in Respect of their great Charges and the Adventure of many of their Lives, which they have hazarded in the said Discovery and Plantation of the said Country) We would be pleased to grant them a further Enlargement and Explanation of the said Grant, Privileges, and Liberties, and that such Counsellors, and other Officers, may be appointed amongst them, to manage and direct their Affairs, as are willing and ready to adventure with them, as also whose Dwellings are not so far remote from the City of London, but that they may, at convenient Times, be ready at Hand, to give their Advice and Affistance, upon all Occasions requisite.

King James the I.'s second Charter to the


* The Adventurers Names are vastly confused and different in the different M. S. Copies of this Charter. I chose the two fairest and most correct Copies, that I had met with, to transcribe from; and altho' they both agree in writing this Name, Sir Edward Sandis, or Sandis, yet they are both certainly wrong, as might be easily proved, were it worth while, and would not be too tedious. I was also much puzzled to adjust and set right others of the Names and altho' I was at no small Pains in collating the Copies, and in consulting and referring to other ancient Letters Patents and Papers, yet I will not affirm that I am not often mistaken. But however erroneous and perplexed the Names of the Adventurers may be, yet I found the main Body, and material Parts of the Charter, very clear, full, and correct.
Treasurer and Company for VIRGINIA, May 23, 1609.

King James the I's second Charter to the

Treasurer and Company for Virginia, May 23, 1609.

the Company of Dyers, the Company of Brewers, the Company of Leatherfellers, the Company of Pewterers, the Company of Cutlers, the Company of Whitebakers, the Company of Wax-Chandlers, the Company of Tallow-Chandlers, the Company of Armorers, the Company of Girdlers, the company of Butchers, the Company of Saddlers, the Company of Carpenters, the Company of Cordwainers, the Company of Barber-Chirurgeons, the Company of Painttainers, the Company of Curriers, the Company of Masons, the Company of Plumbers, the Company of Inholders, the Company of Founders, the Company of Poulers, the Company of Cooks, the Company of Coopers, the Company of Tylers and Bricklayers, the Company of Bowyers, the Company of Fletchers, the Company of Blacksmiths, the Company of Joiners, the Company of Weavers, the Company of Woolmen, the Company of Woodmongers, the Company of Scriverers, the Company of Fruitiers, the Company of Plaiyers, the Company of Brownbakers, the Company of Stationers, the Company of Imbroderers, the Company of Upholsters, the Company of Musicians, the Company of Turners, the Company of Gardiners, the Company of Basketmakers, the Company of Glaziers, John Loeset, Merchant, Thomas Norricot, Clothworker, Richard Ven, Haberdasher, Thomas Scot, Gentleman, Thomas Ixson, Merchant-taylor, George Hunkinon, Thomas Beyor, Gentleman, Matthew Cooper, George Butler, Gentleman, Thomas Lawcrin, Gentleman, Edward Smith, Haberdasher, Steven Sparrow, John Jones, Merchant, Reynolds, Brewer, Thomas Plummer, Merchant, James Duppa, Brewer, Rowland Caftmore, William Southern, George Whitmore, Haberdasher, Anthony Goffe, the Younger, John Allen, Fishmonger, Simon Yeomans, Fishmonger, Lancelot Davis, Gentlemen, John Hopkins, Alderman of Bristol, John Kettilby, Gentleman, Richard Clee, Goldsmith, George Hooker, Gentleman, Robert Chening, Yeoman; and to such, and so many, as they do, or shall hereafter, admit to be joined with them, in Form hereafter in these Presents expressed, whether they go in their Persons, to be Planters there in the said Plantation, or whether they go not, but adventure their Monies, Goods, or Chattels; that they shall be one Body or Commonalty perpetual, and shall have perpetual Succession, and one Common Seal, to serve for the said Body or Commonalty; And that they, and their Successors, shall be known, called, and incorporated by the Name of, The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia:

IV. And that they, and their Successors, shall be, from henceforth, for ever enabled to take, acquire, and purchase, by the Name aforesaid (licenfe for the fame, from Us, our Heirs or Successors, fhr had and obtained: any Manner of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, within our Realm of England, and Dominion of Wales:

V. And that they, and their Successors, shall likewise be enabled, by the Name aforesaid, to plead, and be impleaded, before any of our Judges or Juflices, in any of our Courts, and in any Actions or Suits whatsoever.
VI. AND we do also, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, under the Reservations, Limitations, and Declarations, hereafter expressed, all those Lands, Countries, and Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of America called VIRGINIA, from the Point of Land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the Sea Coast, to the Northward two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of Cape Comfort, all along the Sea Coast, to the Southward two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, West, and North-west; And also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both Seas of the Precinct aforesaid; Together with all the Soils, Grounds, Havens, and Ports, Mines, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Minerals, Pearls, and precious Stones, Quarries, Woods, Rivers, Waters, Fisheries, Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preeminences, within the said Territories, and the Precincts thereof, whatsoever, and thereunto and theraabouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any fort belonging or appertaining, and which We, by our Letters Patents, may or can grant, in as ample Manner and Sort, as We, or any our noble Progenitors, have heretofore granted to any Company, Body politick or corporate, or to any Adventurer, or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discovers, Plantations, or Traffick, of in or into any foreign Parts whatsoever, and, in as large and ample Manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed; To HAVE AND TO HOLD, possess and enjoy, all and singular the said Lands, Countries, and Territories, with all and singular other the Prelates, heretofore by these Presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the said Treasurer and Company, their Successors and Assigns for ever; To the sole and proper Use of them, the said Treasurer and Company, their Successors and Assigns for ever; To BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of East-Greenwich, in free and common Socage, and not in Capite; YIELDING and PAYING, therefore, to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, the fifth Part only of all Ore of Gold and Silver, that, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, for all Manner of Services.

VII. AND nevertheless, our Will and Pleasure is; and we do, by these Presents, charge, command, warrant, and authorize, that the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, or the major Part of them, which shall be present and assembled for that Purpose, shall, from time to time, under their Common Seal, DISTRIBUTE, convey, assign, and set over, such particular Portions of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, by these Presents, formerly granted, unto such our loving Subjects, naturally born, or Denizens, or others, as well Adventurers as Planters, as by the said Company (upon a Commission of Survey and Distribution, executed and returned for that Purpose) shall be nominated, appointed, and allowed; Wherein our Will and Pleasure is, that
K. James the I.'s second Charter to the

Respect be had, as well of the Proportion of the Adventurer, as to the special Service, Hazard, Exploit, or Merit of any Person, so to be recompenced, advanced, or rewarded.

VIII. And forasmuch, as the good and prosperous Success of the said Plantation cannot but chiefly depend, next under the Blessing of God, and the Support of our Royal Authority, upon the provident and good Direction of the whole Enterprize, by a careful and understanding Council, and that it is not convenient, that all the Adventurers shall be so often drawn to meet and assemble, as shall be requisite for them to have Meetings and Conference about the Affairs thereof; Therefore we do ordain, establish, and confirm, that these shall be perpetually one Council here resident, according to the Tenour of our former Letters-patents; Which Council shall have a Seal, for the better Government and Administration of the said Plantation, besides the legal Seal of the Company or Corporation, as in our former Letters-patents is also expressed.


X. And the said Thomas Smith we do ordain to be Treasurer of the said Company, which Treasurer shall have Authority to give Order, for the Warning of the Council, and summoning the Company, to their Courts and Meetings.

XI. And the said Council and Treasurer, or any of them, shall be from henceforth, nominated, chosen, continued, displaced, changed, altered, and supplied, as Death, or other several Occasions, shall require, out of the Company of the said Adventurers, by the Voice of the greater Part of the said Company and Adventurers, in their Assembly for that Purpose: Provided always, that every Councillor, so newly elected, shall be presented to the Lord Chancellor of England, or to the Lord High Treasurer of England, or to the Lord Chamberlain of the Household of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for the time being, to
Treasurer and Company for Virginia, May 23, 1609.

XII. And we do, by these Presents, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that if it happen, at any time or times, the Treasurer for the time being to be sick, or to have any such Cause of Absence from the City of London, as shall be allowed by the said Council, or the greater Part of them, assembled, so as he cannot attend the Affairs of that Company, in every such Case, it shall and may be lawful for such Treasurer for the time being, to assign, constitute and appoint, one of the Council or Company, to be likewise allowed by the Council, or the greater Part of them, assembled, to be the Deputy Treasurer of the said Company; Which Deputy shall have Power, to do and execute all things, which belong to the said Treasurer, during such time, as such Treasurer shall be either sick, or otherwise absent upon Cause allowed of by the said Council, or the major Part of them, as aforesaid, so fully and wholly, and in as large and ample Manner and Form, to all Intents and Purposes, as the said Treasurer, if he were present, himself might or could do and execute the same.

XIII. And further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, we do, by these Presents, give and grant full Power and Authority to our said Council, here resident, as well at this present Time, as hereafter from time to time, to nominate, make, constitute, ordain, and confirm, by such Name or Names, Stile or Stiles, as to them shall seem good, And likewise to revoke, discharge, change, and alter, as well all and singular Governors, Officers, and Ministers, which already have been made, as also which hereafter shall be by them thought fit and needful to be made or used, for the Government of the said Colony and Plantation;

XIV. And also to make, ordain, and establish all Manner of Orders, Laws, Directions, Instructions, Forms, and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy, fit and necessary, for and concerning the Government of the said Colony and Plantation; And the same, at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the Precincts of the said Colony, but also upon the Seas in going and coming, to and from the said Colony, as they, in their good Discretion, shall think to be fittest for the Good of the Adventurers and Inhabitants there.

XV. And we do also declare, that, for divers Reasons and Considerations us thereunto especially moving, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby ordain, that immediately from and after such time, as any such Governor or principal Officer, so to be nominated and appointed, by our said Council, for the Government of the said Colony, as aforesaid, shall arrive in Virginia, and give Notice unto the Colony there resident of our Pleasure in this Behalf, the Government, Power, and Authority of the President and Council, heretofore by our former Letters Patents there established, and all Laws and Constitutions, by them formerly
King James the I.'s second Charter to the
merly made, shall utterly cease and be determined, and all Officers, Governors, and Ministers, formerly constituted or appointed, shall be discharged, any thing, in our former Letters Patents concerning the said Plantation contained, in any wise to the contrary notwithstanding; Straightly charging and commanding the President and Council, now resident in the said Colony, upon their Allegiance, after Knowledge given unto them of our Will and Pleasure, by these Present signed and declared, that they forthwith be obedient to such Governor or Governors, as by our said Council, here resident, shall be named and appointed, as aforesaid, and to all Directions, Orders and Commandments, which they shall receive from them, as well in the present Resigning and Giving up of their Authority, Offices, Charge and Places, as in all other Attendance, as shall be by them, from time to time, required.

XVI. And we do further, by these Presents, Ordain and establish, that the said Treasurer and Council here resident, and their Successors, or any four of them, being assembled (the Treasurer being one) shall, from time to time, have full Power and Authority, to admit and receive any other Person into their Company, Corporation, and Freedom; And further, in a General Assembly of the Adventurers, with the Consent of the greater Part, upon good Cause, to disfranchise and put out any Person or Persons, out of the said Freedom and Company.

XVII. And we do also Grant and confirm, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that it shall be lawful for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, by Direction of the Governors there, to dig and to search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, Tin, and all Sorts of Minerals, as well within the Precinct aforesaid, as within any Part of the main Land, not formerly granted to any other; And to have and enjoy the Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, and Tin, and all other Minerals, to be gotten thereby, to the Use and Behoof of the said Company of Planters and Adventurers; Yielding thereof, and paying Yearly, unto Us, our Heirs and Successors, as aforesaid.

XVIII. And we do further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, Grant, by these Presents, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that it shall be lawful and free for them, and their Assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of our Realm of England, and out of all other our Dominions, to take and lead into the said Voyages, and for and towards the said Plantation, and to travel thitherwards, and to abide and inhabit there in the said Colony and Plantation, all such and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, that will become our loving Subjects and live under our Obedience, as shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyage and Plantation; With sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Victuals, and such Merchandizes or Wares, as are esteemed by the wild People in those Parts, Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horses, and Mares,
Mares, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantation, and
for their Use, and Defence, and Trade with the People there;
and in passing and returning to and fro; Without yielding or
paying Subsidy, Custom, Impostion, or any other Tax or Duty,
to Us, our Heirs or Successors, for the Space of seven Years
from the Date of these Presents: Provided, that none of the
said Persons be such, as shall be hereafter, by especial Name, re-
strained by Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XIX. And for their further Encouragement, of our special
Grace and Favour, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs,
and Successors, Yield and Grant, to and with the said Treas­
urer and Company, and their Successors, and every of them,
their Factors, and Assigns, that they and every of them, shall
be free of all Subsidies and Customs in Virginia, for the Space
of one and twenty Years, and from all Taxes and Impostions, for
ever, upon any Goods or Merchandises, at any time or times here­
after, either upon Importation thither, or Exportation from thence,
into our Realm, of England, or into any other of our Realms or
Dominions, by the said Treasurer and Company, and their Suc­
cessors, their Deputies, Factors, or Assigns, or any of them:
Except only the five Pounds per Cent due for Custom, upon all
such Goods and Merchandises, as shall be brought or imported
into our Realm of England, or any other of these our Dominions,
according to the ancient Trade of Merchants; Which five
Pounds per Cent. only being paid, it shall be thenceforth lawful
and free for the said Adventurers, the same Goods and Mer­
chandises to export, and carry out of our said Dominions, into
foreign Parts; without any Custom, Tax, or other Duty, to be
paid to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or to any other our Officers
or Deputies: Provided, that the said Goods and Merchandises
be shipped out, within thirteen Months, after their first Landing
within any Part of those Dominions.

XX. And we do also Grant and confirm to the said Treas­
urer and Company, and their Successors, as also to all and every
such Governor, or other Officers and Ministers, as by our said
Council shall be appointed to have Power and Authority of Go­
vernment and Command, in or over the said Colony or Planta­
tion; That they, and every of them, shall and lawfully may,
from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their
several Defence and Safety, encounter, expulse, repel, and refhit,
by Force and Arms, as well by Sea as by Land, and all Ways
and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons
whatsoever, as (without the special Licence of the said Treasurer
and Company, and their Successors) shall attempt to inhabit,
within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said Colony
and Plantation; And also, all and every such Person and Persons
whatsoever, as shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter,
Destruction, Invasion, Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, to the
said Colony and Plantation, as is likewise specified in the said for­
mer Grant:

XXI. And that it shall be lawful for the said Treasurer and
Company, and their Successors, and every of them, from time to
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time, and at all times for ever hereafter, and they shall have full Power and Authority, to take and surprise, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons whatsoever, with their Ships, Goods, and other Furniture, traffickling in any Harbour, Creek, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said Colony and Plantation, * not being allowed by the said Company to be Adventurers or Planters of the said Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms and Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer or of some other Officer, deputed by the said Governor of Virginia (over and above such Subsidy and Custom, as the said Company is, or hereafter shall be, to pay) five Pounds per Cent. upon all Goods and Merchandises so brought in thither, and also five per Cent. upon all Goods by them shipped out from thence; And being Strangers, and not under our Obedience, until they have paid (over and above such Subsidy and Custom, as the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, is, or hereafter shall be, to pay) ten Pounds per Cent. upon all such Goods, likewise carried in and out, any thing, in the said former Letters Patents, to the contrary notwithstanding; And the same Sums of Money and Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, shall be wholly employed to the Benefit, Use, and Behoof of the said Colony and Plantation; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, or Successors, shall be thereunto assigned and appointed, as is specified in the said former Letters Patents.

XXII. ALSO, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall go and inhabit within the said Colony and Plantation, and every of their Children and Posterity, which shall happen to be born within any the Limits thereof, shall HAVE AND ENJOY all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities of free Denizens and natural Subjects, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or in any other of our Dominions.

XXIII. AND forasmuch, as it shall be necessary for all such our loving Subjects, as shall inhabit within the said Precincts of Virginia, aforesaid, to determine to live together, in the Fear and true Worship of Almighty God, Christian Peace, and civil Quietness, each with other, whereby every one may, with more Safety, 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 unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and to such Governors, Officers, and
Ministers, as shall be, by our said Council, constituted and appointed, according to the Natures and Limits of their Offices and Places respectively, that they shall and may, from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said Precincts of Virginia, or in the Way by Sea thither and from thence, have full and absolute Power and Authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, all such the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as shall, from time to time, adventure themselves in any Voyage thither, or that shall, at any time hereafter, inhabit in the Precincts and Territories of the said Colony, as aforesaid, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by our said Council, as aforesaid, shall be established; And in Defect thereof, in case of Necessity, according to the good Discretions of the said Governor and Officers, respectively, as well in Cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and other; So always, as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy of this our Realm of England.

XXIV. And we do further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, GRANT, DECLARE, and ORDAIN, that such principal Governor, as, from time to time, shall duly and lawfully be authorized and appointed, in Manner and Form in these Presents heretofore expressed, shall have full Power and Authority, to use and exercise Martial Law, in Cases of Rebellion or Mutiny, in as large and ample Manner, as our Lieutenants in our * Counties, within this our Realm of England, have, or ought to have, by Force of their Commissions of Lieutenancy.

XXV. And furthermore, if any Person or Persons, Adventurers or Planters of the said Colony, or any other, at any time or times hereafter, shall transport any Monies, Goods, or Merchandises, out of any of our Kingdoms, with a Pretence or Purpos, to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within the Limits or Bounds of the said Colony, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed within any Part of the said Colony, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpos there to sell and dispose thereof; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of the said Person, or Persons, so offending and transported, together with the Ship or Vessel, where in such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs and Successors.

XXVI. AND further, our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise, upon any Difficulty of Construction or Interpretation of any thing, contained either in this or in our said former Letters Patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial Manner for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every Member thereof.

‡ M. S. Seas, † M. S. Directions, ° M. S. Countries.

CC XXVII
King James the I.'s second Charter to the £fe.

XXVII. AND further, we do, by these Presents, KATIFY and CONFIRM unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, all the Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, and Immunities, granted in our said former Letters Patents, and not in these our Letters Patents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged.

XXVIII. AND finally, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do further, hereby, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that all and singular Person and Persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, adventure any Sum or Sums of Money, in and towards the said Plantation of the said Colony in Virginia, and shall be admitted, by the said Council and Company, as Adventurers of the said Colony, in Form aforesaid, and shall be enrolled in the Book or Records of the Adventurers of the said Company, shall and may be accounted, accepted, taken, held, and reputed, Adventurers of the said Colony, and shall and may enjoy all and singular Grants, Privileges, Liberties, Benefits, Profits, Commodities, and Immunities, Advantages, and Emoluments, whatsoever, as fully, largely, amply, and absolutely, as if they, and every of them, had been precisely, plainly singularly, and distinctly, named and inserted in these our Letters Patents.

XXIX. AND lastly, because the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion, in which Respect we should be loath, that any Person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the Superstitions of the Church of Rome; We do hereby DECLARE, that it is our Will and Pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any Voyage, from time to time to be made into the said Country, but such, as first shall have taken the Oath of Supremacy; For which Purpose, we do, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority, to the Treasurer for the time being, and any three of the Council, to tender and exhibit the said Oath, to all such Persons, as shall, at any time, be sent and employed in the said Voyage. Although express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made, in these Presents is not made; Or any Act, Statute, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, 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 Patent. Witness ourself at Westminister, the 23d Day of May, in the seventh Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the ****

Per ipsum Regem

Lukin.

No. III.

I. \textit{James}, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; To all, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. \textit{Whereas}, at the humble Suit of divers and sundry our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers as Planters of the first Colony in \textit{Virginia}, and for the Propagation of \textit{Christian} Religion, and reclaiming of People barbarous to Civility and Humanity, We have, by our Letters Patents, bearing Date, at \textit{Westminster}, the three and twentieth Day of \textit{May}, in the seventh Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and the two and fortieth of Scotland, \textit{Given} and \textit{Granted} unto them, that they, and all such and so many of our loving Subjects, as should, from time to time for ever after, be joined with them, as Planters or Adventurers in the said Plantation, and their Successors, for ever, should be one Body politic, incorporated by the Name of, The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in \textit{Virginia};

II. \textit{And whereas} also, for the greater Good and Benefit of the said Company, and for the better Furtherance, Strengthening, and Establishing of the said Plantation, we did further \textit{Give}, \textit{Grant}, and \textit{Confirm}, by our said Letters Patents, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, all those Lands, Countries, or Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of \textit{America} called \textit{Virginia}, from the Point of Land, called \textit{Cape or Point Comfort}, all along the Sea Coasts, to the Northward, two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of \textit{Cape Comfort}, all along the Sea Coast, to the Southward, two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up or into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, \textit{West} and \textit{Northwest}, and also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both the Seas of the Precinct aforesaid, with divers other Grants, Liberties, Franchises, and Preeminences, Privileges, Profits, Benefits, and Commodities, granted, in and by our said Letters Patents, to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever:

III. \textit{Now}, forasmuch as we are given to understand, that in those Seas, adjoining to the said Coasts of \textit{Virginia}, and without the Compass of those two hundred Miles, by Us so granted unto the said Treasurer and Company, as aforesaid, and yet not so distant from the said Colony in \textit{Virginia}, there are, or may be, divers Islands, lying desolate and uninhabited, some of which are already made known and discovered, by the Industry, Travel,
A third Charter of K. James I. to the Treasurer

and Expenses of the said Company, and others also are supposed to be and remain, as yet, unknown and undiscovered, all and every of which it may import the said Colony, both in Safety and Policy of Trade, to populate and plant, in Regard whereof, as well for the preventing of Peril, as for the better Commodity and Prosperity of the said Colony, they have been humble Suitors unto us, that we would be pleased to grant unto them an Enlargement of our said former Letters Patents, as well for a more ample Extent of their Limits and Territories into the Seas, adjoining to and upon the Coast of Virginia, as also for some other Matters and Articles, concerning the better Government of the said Company and Colony, in which Point our said former Letters Patents do not extend so far, as Time and Experience hath found to be needful and convenient:

IV. WE therefore, tendering the good and happy Success of the said Plantation, both in Regard of the general Weal of human Society, as in Respect of the Good of our own Estate and Kingdoms, and being willing to give Furtherance unto all good Means, that may advance the Benefit of the said Company, and which may secure the Safety of our loving Subjects, planted in our said Colony under the Favour and Protection of God Almighty, and of our Royal Power and Authority, have therefore, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, given, granted, and confirmed, and for Us, our Heirs and Successors, we do, by these Presents, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, to the said Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia, and to their Heirs and Successors, for ever, all and singular those Islands whatsoever, situate and being in any Part of the Ocean Seas bordering upon the Coast of our said first Colony in Virginia, and being within three hundred Leagues of any the Parts heretofore granted to the said Treasurer and Company, in our said former Letters Patents, as aforesaid, and being within or between the one and fortieth and thirtieth Degrees of Northerly Latitude, together with all and singular Soils, Lands, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, Fisheries, Mines, and Minerals, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines and Minerals, Pearls, Precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Pre-eminences, both within the said Tract of Land upon the Main, and also within the said Islands and Seas adjoining, whatsoever, and thereunto or thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being or situate; And which, by our Letters Patents, we may or can grant, and in as ample Manner and Sort, as We, or any our noble Progenitors, have heretofore granted to any Person or Persons, or to any Company, Body politic or corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discoveries, Plantations, or Traffick, of in or into any foreign Parts, whatsoever, and in as large and ample Manner, as if the
and Company for Virginia, March 12, 1611-2.

fame were herein particularly named, mentioned, and expressed: Provided always, that the said Islands, or any the Premises herein mentioned, or by these Presents intended, or ± meant to be granted, be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or Estate, nor be within the Bounds, Limits, or Territories of the Northern Colony, herefore by Us granted to be planted by divers of our loving Subjects, in the North Parts of Virginia. To have and to hold, possess and enjoy, † all and singular the said Islands, in the said Ocean Seas lying, and bordering upon the Coasts and Coasts of the Territories of the said first Colony in Virginia, as aforesaid; With all and singular the said Soils, Lands, and Grounds, and all and singular other the Premises, heretofore by these Presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the said * Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia, and to their Heirs, Successors, and Assigns, for ever, to the sole and proper Use and Benefit of them, the said Treasurer and Company, and their Heirs, and Successors, and Assigns, for ever; To be held of us, our Heirs and Successors, as of our Manor of East-Greenwich, in free and common Sokeage, and not in Capite; Yielding and paying therefore to us, our Heirs, and Successors, the 1 fifth Part of the Ore of all Gold and Silver, which shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, for all Manner of Services whatsoever.

V. And further, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, Grant and Confirm, for the Good and Welfare of the said Plantation, and thatposterity may hereafter know, who have adventured and not been sparing of their Purse in such a noble and generous Action for the general Good of their Country; and at the Request, and with the Consent, of the Company aforesaid, that our trusty and well-beloved § Subjects, George, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, Earl of Huntington, Edward, Earl of Bedford, Richard, Earl of Clanrickard, &c. who since our said last Letters Patents are become Adventurers, and have joined themselves with the former Adventurers and Planters of the said Company and Society, shall, from henceforth, be reputed, deemed, and taken to be, and shall be Brethren and free Members of the Company, and shall and may, respectively, and according to the Proportion and Value of their several Adventures, have, hold, and enjoy all such Interest, Right, Title, Privileges, Preeminences, Liberties, Branchises, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, in as large, and ample, and beneficial Manner, to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes, as any other Adventurers, nominated and expressed in any our former Letters Patents, or any of them, have or may have, by Force and Virtue of these Presents, or any our former Letters Patents whatsoever.

† M. S. mean. † M. S. and singular. * M. S. Treasurer.
M. S. first. § M. S. Subject.
A third Charter of K. James the I. to the Treasurer

VI. AND we are further pleased, and we do, by these Presents, G R A N T  A N D  C O N F I R M, that Philip, Earl of Montgomery, W i l l i a m Lord Paget, Sir John Starrington, Knt. &c. whom the said Treasurer and Company have, since the said last Letters Patents, nominated and set down, as worthy and discreet Persons, fit to serve us as Counsellors, to be of our Council for the said Plantation, shall be reputed, deemed, and taken, as Persons of our said Council for the said first Colony, in such Manner and Sort, to all Intents and Purposes, as those, who have been formerly elected and nominated, as our Counsellors for that Colony, and whose Names have been or are inserted and expressed, in our said former Letters Patents.

VII. AND We do hereby O R D A I N  a n d  G R A N T, by these Presents, that the said Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters aforesaid, shall and may, once every Week, or oftener, at their PLEASURE, hold and keep a Court and Assembly, for the better ORDER and Government of the said Plantation, and such things, as shall concern the same; And that any five Persons of our Council for the said first Colony in Virginia, for the time being, of which Company the Treasurer, or his Deputy, to be always one, and the Number of fifteen others, at the least, of the Generality of the said Company, assembled together in such Manner, as is and hath been heretofore used and accustomed, shall be said, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shall be a sufficient Court of the said Company, for the handling, and ordering, and dispatching of all such casual and particular Occurrences, and accidental Matters, of less Consequence and Weight, as shall, from time to time, happen, touching and concerning the said Plantation:

VIII. AND that nevertheless, for the handling, ordering, and disposing of Matters and Affairs of greater Weight and Importance, and such, as shall or may, in any Sort, concern the Pub l i c k and general Good of the said Company and Plantation, as namely, the Manner of Government from time to time to be used, the Ordering and Disposing of the Lands and Possessions, and the Settling and Establishing of a Trade there, or such like, there shall be held and kept, every Year, upon the last Wednesday, of Hillary Term, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas Terms, for ever, one great, general, and solemn Assembly, which four Assemblies shall be called, The four Great and General Courts of the Council and Company of Adventurers for Virginia; In all and every of which said Great and General Courts, so assembled, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for ever, G I V E  A N D  G R A N T to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that they, the said Treasurer and Company, or the greater Number of them, so assembled, shall and may have full Power and Authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to elect and chuse discreet Persons, to be of our said Council.

† M. S. in and every.
Council for the said first Colony in Virginia, and to nominate and appoint such Officers, as they shall think fit and requisite, for the Government, Managing, Ordering, and Dispatching of the Affairs of the said Company; And shall likewise have full Power and Authority, to ordain and make such Laws and Ordinances, for the Good and Welfare of the said Plantation, as to them, from time to time, shall be thought requisite and meet: So always, as the same be not contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this our Realm of England; And shall, in like Manner, have Power and Authority, to expulse, disfranchise, and put, out of and from their said Company and Society, for ever, all and every such Persons, as having either promised, or subscribed their Names, to become Adventurers to the said Plantation of the said first Colony in Virginia, or having been nominated for Adventurers, in these or any other our Letters Patents, or having been otherwise admitted and nominated to be of the said Company, have nevertheless, either not put in any Adventure at all, for and towards the said Plantation, or else have refused and neglected, or shall refuse and neglect, to bring in his or their Adventure, by Word or Writing promised, within six Months after the same shall be so payable and due.

IX. And whereas the Failing and not Payment of such Monies, as have been promised in Adventure for the Advancement of the said Plantation, hath been often by Experience found, to be dangerous and prejudicial to the same, and much to have hindered the Progress and Proceeding of the said Plantation, and for that it seemeth unto Us a thing reasonable, that such Persons, as by their Hand Writing have engaged themselves for the Payment of their Adventures, and afterwards neglecting their Faith and Promise, should be compelled to make good and keep the same; Therefore our Will and Pleasure is, that in any Suit or Suits, commenced or to be commenced, in any of our Courts at Westminster, or elsewhere, by the said Treasurer and Company, or otherwise, against any such Persons, that our Judges for the time being, both in our Court of Chancery and at the Common Pleas, do favour and further the said Suits, so far forth as Law and Equity will, in any wise, further and permit.

X. And we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, further give and grant to the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, for ever, that they, the said Treasurer and Company, or the greater Part of them, for the time being, so in a full and general Court assembled, as aforesaid, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, elect, choose, and admit into their Company and Society, any Person or Persons, as well Strangers and Aliens, born in any Part beyond the Seas wherefover, being in Amity with us, as our natural Leige-Subjects, born in any of our Realms and Dominions; And that all such Persons, so elected, chosen, and admitted to be of the said Company, as aforesaid, shall thereupon be taken, reputed, and held,
A third Charter of K. James I. to the Treasurer

and shall be, free Members of the said Company, and shall have, hold, and enjoy all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, Immunities, Benefits, Profits, and Commodities, whatever, to the said Company in any Sort belonging or appertaining, as fully, freely, and amply, as any other Adventurers, now being, or which hereafter at any time shall be of the said Company, hath, have, shall, may, might, or ought to have and enjoy the same, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

XI. AND we do further, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Prefents, that it shall be lawful and free, for them and their Assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of any our Realms and Dominions whatsoever, to take, lead, carry, and transport, in and into the said Voyage, and for and towards the said Plantation of our said first Colony in Virginia, all such and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, that will become our loving Subjects and live under our Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyages and Plantation; With Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Victuals, and all Manner of Merchandises and Wares, and all Manner of Clothing, Implements, Furniture, Beasts, Cattle, Horses, Mares and all other things necessary for the said Plantation, and for their Use and Defence, and for Trade with the People there, and in passing and returning to and from, without paying or yielding any Subsidy, Custom, or Impostion, either inward or outward, or any other Duty, to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for the same, for the Space of seven Years from the Date of these Presents.

XII. AND we do further, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Prefents, that the said Treasurer of that Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, or any two other of the said Council for the said first Colony in Virginia, for the time being, or any two other at all times hereafter, and from time to time, have full Power and Authority, to minifier and give the Oath and Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, or either of them, to all and every Person and Persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, go or pass to the said Colony in Virginia:

XIII. AND further, that it shall be lawful likewise for the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, for the time being, or any two or others of our said Council for the said first Colony in Virginia, for the time being, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to minifier such a formal Oath, as by their Discretion shall be reasonably devized, as well unto any Person or Persons, employed in, for, or touching the said Plantation, for their honest, faithful, and just Discharge of their Service, in all such Matters, as shall be committed unto them for the Good and Benefit of the said Company, Colony, and Plantation; As also, unto such other Person or Persons, as the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, with
and Company for **Virginia**, *March 12, 1611-2.*

two others of the said Council, shall think meet, for the Examination or clearing of the Truth, in any Cause whatsoever concerning the said Plantation, or any Business, from thence proceeding, or thereunto belonging.

XIV. **And** furthermore, whereas we have been certified, that divers lewd and ill disposed Persons, both Sailors, Soldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, Labourers, and others, having received Wages, Apparel, and other Entertainment from the said Company, or having contracted and agreed with the said Company, to go, or to serve, or to be employed in the said Plantation of the said first Colony in **Virginia**, have afterwards, either withdrawn, hid, or concealed themselves, or have refused to go thither, after they have been so entertained and agreed withal; And that divers and sundry Persons also, which have been sent and employed in the said Plantation of the said first Colony in **Virginia**, at and upon the Charge of the said Company, and having there misbehaved themselves by Mutinies, Sedition, or other notorious Misdemeanors, or having been employed or sent abroad, by the Governor of **Virginia** or his Deputy, with some Ship or Pinnace, for our Provision of the said Colony, or for some Discovery, or other Business and Affairs, concerning the same, have from thence most treacherously, either come back again and returned into our Realm of England, by Stealth, or without Licence of our Governor of our said Colony in **Virginia** for the time being, or have been sent hither, as Misdosers and Offenders; And that many also of those Persons, after their Return from thence, having been questioned by our said Council here, for such their Misbehaviors and Offences, by their insolent and contemptuous Carriage in the Presence of our said Council, have shewed little Respect and Reverence, either to the Place, or Authority, in which we have placed and appointed them; And others, for the colouring of their Lewdness and Misdemeanors committed in **Virginia**, have endeavoured, by most vile and slanderous Reports, made and divulged; as well of the Country of **Virginia**, as also of the Government and Estate of the said Plantation and Colony; as much as in them lay, to bring the said Voyage and Plantation into Disgrace and Contempt; By Means whereof, not only the Adventurers and Planters, already engaged in the said Plantation, have been exceedingly abused and hindered, and a great Number of other our loving and well-disposed Subjects, otherwise well-affectcd, and inclined to join and adventure in so noble, christian, and worthy an Action, have been discouraged from the same, but also the utter Overthrow and Ruin of the said Enterprise hath been greatly endangered, which cannot miscarry without some Dishonour to Us and our Kingdom;

XV. **Now** forasmuch as it appeareth unto us, that these Insolences, Misdemeanors, and Abuses, not to be tolerated in any civil Government, have, for the most part, grown and proceeded, in regard our said Council have not any direct Power and

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A third Charter of K. James I. to the Treasurer

Authority, by any express Words in our former Letters Patent, to correct and chastise such Offenders; We therefore, for the more speedy Reformation of so great and enormous Abuses and Misdemeanors, heretofore practised and committed, and for the preventing of the like hereafter, do, by these Prefents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, give and grant to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, that it shall and may be lawful for our said Council for the said first Colony in Virginia, or any two of them (whereof the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, for the time being, to be always one) by Warrant under their Hands, to send for, or to cause to be apprehended, all and every such Person and Persons, who shall be noted, or accused, or found, at any time or times hereafter, to offend, or misbehave themselves, in any the Offences before mentioned and expressed; And upon the Examination of any such Offender or Offenders, and just Proof made by Oath, taken before the said Council, of any such notorious Misdemeanors by them committed, as aforesaid; And also upon any insolent, and contumacious, or indecent Carriage and Misbehaviour, to or against our said Council, shewed or used by any such Person or Persons, so called, convented, and appearing before them, as aforesaid; That in all such Cases, they, our said Council, or any two of them, for the time being, shall and may have full Power and Authority, either here to bind them over with good Sureties for their good Behaviour, and further therein to proceed, to all Intents and Purposes, as it is used, in other like Cases, within our Realm of England; Or else, at their Discretions, to remand and send them back, the said Offenders, or any of them, unto the said Colony in Virginia, there to be proceeded against and punished, as the Governor, Deputy, or Council there, for the time being, shall think meet; or otherwise, according to such Laws and Ordinances, as are and shall be in Use there, for the Well-ordering and good Government of the said Colony.

XVI. And for the more effectual Advancing of the said Plantation, we do further, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, of our especial Grace and Favour, by Virtue of our Prerogative Royal, and by the Assent and Consent of the Lords and others of our Privy Council, give and grant, unto the said Treasurer and Company, full Power, and Authority, free Leave, Liberty, and Licence, to set forth, erect, and publish, one or more Lottery or Lotteries, to have Continuance, and to endure and be held, for the Space of our whole Year, next after the Opening of the same; And after the End and Expiration of the said Term, the said Lottery or Lotteries to continue and be further kept, during our Will and Pleasure only, and not otherwise. And yet nevertheless, we are contented and pleased, for the Good and Welfare of the said Plantation, that the said Treasurer and Company shall, for the Dispatch and Finishing of the said Lottery or Lotteries, have six Months Warning after the said Year ended, before our Will and Pleasure shall, for and on the Behalf, be continued, deemed, and adjudged, to be in any wise altered and determined.
and Company for VIRGINIA, March 12, 1611-2.

XVII. A N D our further Will and Pleasure is, that the said Lottery and Lotteries shall and may be opened and held, within our City of London, or in any other City or Town, or elsewhere, within this our Realm of England, with such Prizes, Articles, Conditions, and Limitations, as to them, the said Treasurer and Company, in their Discretions, shall seem convenient:

XVIII. A N D that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and Company, to elect and choose Receivers, Auditors, Surveyors, Commissioners, or any other Officers whatsoever, at their Will and Pleasure, for the better marshalling, disposing, guiding, and governing of the said Lottery and Lotteries; And that it shall likewise be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and any two of the said Council, to minister to all and every such Person, so elected and chosen for Officers, as aforesaid, one or more Oaths, for their good Behaviour, just and true Dealing, in and about the said Lottery or Lotteries, to the Intent and Purpose, that none of our loving Subjects, putting in their Names, or otherwise adventuring in the said general Lottery or Lotteries, may be, in any wise, defrauded and deceived of their said Monies, or evil and indirectly dealt withal in their said Adventures.

XIX. A N D we further GRANT, in Manner and Form aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and Company, under the Seal of our said Council for the Plantation, to publish, or to cause and procure to be published, by Proclamation or otherwise (the said Proclamation to be made in their Name, by Virtue of these Presents) the said Lottery or Lotteries, in all Cities, Towns, Burroughs, and other Places, within our said Realm of England; And we Will and Command all Mayors, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers and loving Subjects, whatsoever, that, in no wise, they hinder or delay the Progress and Proceedings of the said Lottery or Lotteries, but be therein, touching the Premises, aiding and assisting, by all honest, good, and lawful Means and Endeavours.

XX. A N D further, our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise, upon any Difficulty of Construction or Interpretation of any thing, contained in these, or any other our former Letters Patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial Manner for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every Member thereof.

XXI. A N D lastly, we do, by these Presents, RATIFY AND CONFIRM unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, all and all Manner of Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, Immunities, Preheminences, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, granted unto them in any our former Letters Patents, and not in these Presents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged. ALTHOUGH express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any

† M. S. Mayor  † M. S. Sr  D d 3 other
The Company’s Charter for a Council

other Gift or Grant, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made, in these Presents is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary thereof heretofore made, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or thing, whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

IN WITNESS whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the twelfth Day of March, in the ninth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the five and fortieth.

N°. IV.


I. TO all People, to whom these Presents shall come, be seen, or heard, The Treasurer, Council, and Company of Adventurers and Planters for the City of London for the first Colony of Virginia, send Greeting. KNOW YE, that we, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, taking into our careful Consideration the present State of the said Colony of Virginia, and intending, by the Divine Assistance, to settle such a Form of Government there, as may be to the greatest Benefit and Comfort of the People, and whereby all Injustice, Grievances, and Oppressions may be prevented and kept off as much as possible from the said Colony, have thought fit to make our Entrance, by ordering and establishing such Supreme Councils, as may not only be assisting to the Governor for the time being, in the Administration of Justice, and the Executing of other Duties to this Office belonging, but also, by their vigilant Care and Prudence, may provide, as well for a Remedy of all Inconveniences, growing from time to time, as also for advancing of Increase, Strength, Stability, and Prosperity of the said Colony:

II. WE therefore, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, * by Authority directed to us from his Majesty under the Great Seal, upon mature Deliberation, do hereby order and declare, that, from hence forward, there shall be TWO SUPREME COUNCILS in Virginia, for the better Government of the said Colony aforesaid.

III. THE one of which Councils, to be called THE COUNCIL OF STATE (and whose Office shall chiefly be assisting, with their Care, Advice, and Circumspection, to the said Governor) shall be chosen, nominated, placed, and displaced, from time to

* Vide Sect. XIV. and XXIII. of the second Charter, and Sect. VIII. of the third.
time, by Us, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, and our Successors: Which Council of State shall consist, for the present, only of these Persons, as are here inserted, viz. Sir Francis Wyat, Governor of Virginia, Captain Francis West, Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Sir William Nauce, Knight Marshal of Virginia, Mr. George Sandys, Treasurer, Mr. George Thorpe, Deputy of the College, wapat Tomaso Nauce, Deputy for the Company, Mr. Pawlet, Mr. Leech, Captain Nathaniel Powel, Mr. Christopher Davison, Secretary, Doctor Pots, Physician to the Company, Mr. Roger Smith, Mr. John Berkeley, Mr. John Rolfe, Mr. Ralph Hamer, Mr. John Pountis, Mr. Michael Lapworth, Mr. Harwood, Mr. Samuel Macock. Which said Counsellors and Council we earnestly pray and desire, and in his Majesty's Name strictly charge and command, that (all Factions, Partialities, and sinister Respect laid aside) they bend their Care and Endeavours to assist the said Governor; first and principally, in the Advancement of the Honour and Service of God, and the Enlargement of his Kingdom amongst the Heathen People; and next, in erecting of the said Colony in due Obedience to his Majesty, and all lawful Authority from his Majesty's Directions; and lastly, in maintaining the said People in Justice and Christian Conversation amongst themselves, and in Strength and Ability to withstand their Enemies. And this Council, to be always, or for the most Part, residing about or near the Governor.

IV. The other Council, more generally to be called by the Governor, once Yearly, and no § oftener, but for || very extraordinary and important Occasions, shall consist, ** for the present, of the said Council of State, and of two Burgesses out of every Town, Hundred, or other particular Plantation, to be respectively chosen by the Inhabitants: Which Council shall be called THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, wherein (as also in the said Council of State) all Matters shall be decided, determined, and ordered, by the greater Part of the Voices then present; reserving to the Governor always a Negative Voice. And this General Assembly shall have free Power to treat, consult, and conclude, as well of all emergent Occasions concerning the Publick Weal of the said Colony and every Part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact such general Laws and Orders, for the Behoof of the said Colony, and the good Government thereof, as shall, from time to time, appear necessary or requisite;

V. WHEREAS in all other Things, we require the said General Assembly, as also the said Council of State, to imitate and follow

† It is to be noted, that the Governor is always inserted in the old Commissions, as a Part, and the Head of the Council of State.

† M. S. Tborne; but as I am perfectly well acquainted with these Names and Persons, by perusing the ancient Records, I shall take the Liberty of correcting the Errors of the Transcripter.

* M. S. Downtus.

§ M. S. officer.

|| M. S. very and extraordinary important; which likewise makes Sense, taking extraordinary adverbially.

** M. S. for present.
The Company's Charter for a Council for the Policy of the Form of Government, Laws, Customs, and Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in the Realm of England, as near as may be, even as ourselves, by his Majesty's Letters Patent, are required.

VI. PROVIDED, that no Law or Ordinance, made in the said General Assembly, shall be or continue in Force or Validity, unless the same shall be solemnly ratified and confirmed, in a General Quarter Court of the said * Company here in England, and so ratified, be returned to them under our Seal; It being our Intent to afford the like Measure also unto the said Colony, that after the Government of the said Colony shall once have been well framed, and settled accordingly, which is to be done by Us, as by Authority derived from his Majesty, and the same shall have been so by us declared, no Orders of Court afterwards shall bind the said Colony, unless they be ratified in like Manner in the General Assemblies. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto set our Common Seal, the 24th of July 1621, and in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, JAMES, King of England &c. the **** and of Scotland the ****

* M.S. Court.
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A COMPLETE INDEX

TO

Stith's History of Virginia

BY

MORGAN POITIAUX ROBINSON
PREFACE

In the preparation of this index,—a labour of love which has afforded no small pleasure,—the compiler has proceeded upon the assumption that the usefulness of an index is limited only by its scope and by the accuracy with which the work is done. Such being the case, an attempt has been made to index and to cross-reference every topic and every name which appears in Stith's HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,—as well cross-references of general topics, as also of the references under the more important names and general topics—with a view to covering the volume treated, in a comprehensive and intelligent manner, so as to furnish to the student a final key,—whether he be interested agriculturally, economically, educationally, ethnologically, financially, geographically, governmentally, industrially, religiously, socially, or what not.

In the matter of the value and importance of Stith to students of the early history of Virginia, we know of no more eminent nor acceptable authority than Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, of the Department of History of Columbia University, New York City, who contributed the following estimate to Laiden's LITERATURE OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1902), No. 1164:

"This is, and is always likely to be, one of the standard books on early Virginia history. As planned by the author, it is the first volume of an extended work; but it is the only installment which ever appeared. It covers the history of Virginia under the London Company. The author had access to the archives of the colony, to the papers of Sir John Randolph, to the Byrd library, to the Records of the London Company. He treats the writings of John Smith as reliable so far as they relate to events which occurred while he was in the country; considers Smith an honest man, but that his writings are very confused. The first part of Stith's volume is largely based on Smith, the latter part on the Records of the London Company. Defends the cause of the Company against the King. Written in dignified style, with thorough scholarship."

For this work, there has been used a copy of the Edition of the Sabin Reprint (1865) of Stith,—this being a reprint of the Williamsburg Edition of 1747,—which I have designated as (i),—as well as a reprint of the London Reprint of 1753,—here designated as (iii),—as is pointed out on p. viii of the Bibliographical Note of the Sabin Reprint.

The orthography and phraseology of Stith have been preserved as near as may be; and the choice of "key-words" and a repeated indexing of the same entry under another "key-word" have both been determined by the importance of the subject involved, as well as by the number of entries under that particular caption,—the same entry oftentimes appearing more than once, but under a different "key-word," where there are many entries under a caption,—as is the case under "Colonists," "Smith, Capt. John," "Tobacco," etc.

In the matter of cross-references, an attempt has been made to cite as cross-references, under any particular caption, all synonymous terms and phrases appearing
in the volume, whether they were synonymous in Stith's day and generation or are so in this,—and this for the obvious reason that the indexer could not be in a position to anticipate the interpretation that the student is likely to place upon any word or phrase. And for the same reason,—and contrary to what seems to be more or less of a general custom,—all cross-references have been put at the beginning instead of, as usual, at the end of the entries under the caption, as being probably the more expeditious method of enabling the student to locate that phase of the situation which he is seeking.

In order to reduce the bulk, resort has been had to a liberal use of certain arbitrary abbreviations,—a list of which will be found opposite p. 1,—but an effort has been made not to start any entry with an abbreviation.

As a result of errors in the pagination* of certain editions of Stith (as indicated below), it has been necessary to devise a system of combination references,—which is fully explained below,—in order to provide an index which would indicate the desired topic or name, irrespective of the edition in hand. It may appear odd to some that these combination references were devised, but this would seem the less cumbersome method when one recalls the fact that the editions designated as (i), (iii) and (v) contain two pages each of the pages numbered 247 to 256, inclusive, while the edition designated as (ii) contains two pages each of the pages numbered 295 to 304, inclusive, which would appear to necessitate some system of -A and -B sub-pagination, but once such pagination were used in the index, one would have no means of telling without further explanation which page so-and-so it was that he had really turned to, as the pages are not numbered with the suggested -A and -B sub-pagination.

Of the several editions of Stith, there appear to have been five (5):—

(i) 1747,—Williamsburg (Fine Paper Edition, so called);†
(ii) 1747,—Williamsburg (Poor Paper Edition, so called);†
(iii) 1753,—London;†
(iv) 1753,—Williamsburg;†
(v) 1865,—Sabin Reprint.

As Stith remains one of the unsolved bibliographical puzzles of American literature, it has seemed that a bibliographical note might not be out of place. As I have been unable to have any but a limited access to the several editions indicated,—never having seen a copy of the edition indicated as (iv)—it was manifestly impossible that I should make an extended bibliographical study of all these editions. However, the appended Bibliographical Note has been added, for the purpose of setting forth the latest and most competent information along that line in the hope that it may not only help to clear up the situation, but also that it will put in the hands of such students as use this index, certain bibliographical information which would probably not be available without access to a good library.

The present writer has been able, as stated, to make a more or less restricted examination of a copy of each of these editions, except (iv), and has found the same errors and peculiarities in (i), (iii) and (v), while (ii) shows the corrections and variations indicated by the black type in column (ii) in the following table:—

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*No attention has been paid in the references to the isolated error of 410 for page 104; nor to that of 223 for page 333, but the combination references to this latter page are 333 (323), as though there were no error.
†No claim is here made to establish the priority of the volumes under the dates 1747 or 1753, but it will be noted that the arrangement under each date is alphabetical.
TABLE "A."

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<td>134, line 28,</td>
<td>Powhdtan</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
<td>Powhdtan</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138, line 33,</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
<td>Powhdtan</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
<td>Renegado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141, line 4,</td>
<td>Bravade</td>
<td>Bravade</td>
<td>Bravade</td>
<td>Bravade</td>
<td>Bravade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179, line 1,</td>
<td>Travels</td>
<td>Travels</td>
<td>Travels</td>
<td>Travels</td>
<td>Travels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-5,</td>
<td>wise and understanding</td>
<td>wise and understanding</td>
<td>wise and understanding</td>
<td>wise and understanding</td>
<td>wise and understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254 (top)</td>
<td>p. 254</td>
<td>p. 254</td>
<td>p. 254</td>
<td>p. 254</td>
<td>p. 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256 (top)</td>
<td>p. 256</td>
<td>p. 256</td>
<td>p. 256</td>
<td>p. 256</td>
<td>p. 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258 (top)</td>
<td>p. 258</td>
<td>p. 258</td>
<td>p. 258</td>
<td>p. 258</td>
<td>p. 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259 (top)</td>
<td>p. 259</td>
<td>p. 259</td>
<td>p. 249</td>
<td>p. 249</td>
<td>p. 249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pagination intervening here is uniform and correct in all editions indicated.

| 299 (top)   | p. 289   | p. 299   | p. 289     | p. 289     | p. 289  |
| 300 (top)   | p. 290   | p. 300   | p. 290     | p. 290     | p. 290  |
| 303 (top)   | p. 293   | p. 303   | p. 293     | p. 293     | p. 293  |
| 304 (top)*  | p. 294*  | p. 304*  | p. 294*    | p. 294*    | p. 294* |
| 305 (top)*  | p. 295*  | p. 295*  | p. 295*    | p. 295*    | p. 295* |
| 306 (top)   | p. 296   | p. 296   | p. 296     | p. 296     | p. 296  |
| 308 (top)   | p. 298   | p. 298   | p. 298     | p. 298     | p. 298  |

Pagination intervening here is uniform and correct in all editions indicated.

| 333 (top)   | p. 223   | p. 323   | p. 223     | p. 223     | p. 223  |
| 335 (top)   | p. 325   | p. 325   | p. 325     | p. 325     | p. 325  |
| 337 (top)   | p. 327   | p. 327   | p. 327     | p. 327     | p. 327  |
| 338 (top)   | p. 328   | p. 328   | p. 328     | p. 328     | p. 328  |
| 339 (top)   | p. 329   | p. 329   | p. 329     | p. 329     | p. 329  |
| 341 (top)   | p. 331   | p. 331   | p. 331     | p. 331     | p. 331  |

However, for the purposes of the indexer, these bibliographical data are not necessarily of the first importance, but the matter of greater import is whether the text falls page-for-page alike in all the editions,—if one index is to serve all editions.

While "differences occur on almost every leaf," as has been pointed out by Cole (CHURCH CATALOGUE, IV, No. 963: see also Bibliographical Note below), yet the liberal paragraphing so adjusts the text that a page-for-page examination of the editions indicated has shown that there is comparatively no variation in the "catchwords" at the end of the last (47th) line of each page,—the pages thus being substantially the same for all intents and purposes, even to the last page of the text, as is shown by the following comparisons, which are all the variations which have been found,—the first quotations being from the text of (i), (iii) and (v), while those in parentheses are from (ii):

*Note that this error in (ii),—after the correction at p. 256-7,—adjusts the pagination to the same basis in all these editions.
TABLE "B."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>&quot;is here most&quot; (&quot;is here most * * * they first made&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>&quot;their Houses&quot; (&quot;their Houses likewise&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>&quot;and advises&quot; (&quot;and advises them against expecting&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>&quot;him in England. But&quot; (&quot;him in&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>&quot;at that&quot; (&quot;at that time little&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>&quot;seem to have&quot; (&quot;seen to&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>&quot;than venture among&quot; (&quot;than venture&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>&quot;relented&quot; (&quot;relented at the Horror of&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>&quot;thus Tor-&quot; (&quot;this Torrent&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>&quot;allotted each&quot; (&quot;allotted each Man&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178-9</td>
<td>exquisite Book of Travels (&quot;and exquisite Book [ ] Travels&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Dudley Digges (&quot;Dudley Digges, Sir Nathaniel&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Behavior (&quot;Behavior in&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-5</td>
<td>wise and understanding (&quot;wise [ ] understanding&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>accordingly (&quot;accordingly requited&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>Indian (&quot;Indian Conspiracy, to&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Plantations (&quot;Plantations. Wherefore&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>crossed one (&quot;and crossed&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268-9 (258-9)*</td>
<td>called to (&quot;should be called to&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269-0 (259-0)*</td>
<td>&quot;as it was&quot; (&quot;apprehended as it was&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271 (261)*</td>
<td>joyful (&quot;joyful Obedience&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286 (276)*</td>
<td>&quot;as in&quot; (&quot;as in all well&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299 (289)*</td>
<td>void (&quot;void, and their Patent&quot;);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341 (331)*</td>
<td>continual Trou- (&quot;continual!&quot;);</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table "A", it will be seen that the pagination (with the exception of p. 10 which appears in (i), (iii) and (v) as p. 410) is correct in all these editions up to and including p. 256; hence a single number is used as the reference up to this point, as 17, 42, 256. The next page is actually p. 257, but in (i), (iii) and (v) it is numbered 247, which error of ten (10) pages continues uniformly to the end of the volume with the result that, while there are actually 341 pages in the book, yet the last page is numbered 331.

On the other hand, in (ii) the error at p. 256 is corrected (the next page being 257), and the pagination is correct up to and including p. 304. The next page is actually 305, but it is numbered 295, which error of ten (10) pages likewise continues uniformly to the end of the volume with the same result that, while there are actually 341 pages in the book, yet the last page here is also numbered 331.

The error in (ii) at pp. 304-5,—after the correction of the error of the other editions at p. 257,—readjusts the pagination to the same basis in all these editions, and so it is that all references after p. 256 are combination references, as 257 (247), 304 (291),—the first number up to and including p. 304 being the actual page,—or as numbered in (ii),—while that in the parentheses is the numbered page,—or as numbered in (i), (iii) and (v).

*Combination references are explained by Table "A" in conjunction with the detailed explanation below.
After p. 304, the first page number is the actual page, while the number in parentheses is the page numbered in all these editions, as 305 (295): use 295 as the numbered page, no matter what the edition.

By way of recapitulation, I suggest that the student might find the following a helpful guide:

(a) If the student has (i), (iii) or (v), he should use the single number given or the parenthetical number of all combination references,—being careful, however, that, if any of pp. 247 to 256 (inclusive) appear in parentheses, they are the second and not the first pages of these numbers that appear in the text of these editions.

(b) If the student has (ii), he should use the single number given, or the first number of any combination reference up to and including p. 304: after p. 304, he should use the parenthetical number of all combination references,—being likewise careful, however, that, if any of pp. 295 to 304 (inclusive) appear in parentheses, they are the second and not the first pages of these numbers that appear in the text of this edition.

It has been the source of a great deal of regret to the indexer that he was unable to devise a less cumbersome system, but the above is the best result that he could attain from a long and close study of the vagaries of this bibliographical puzzle.

The number of entries (or references) is about 14,000; while the topics and names indexed approximate 3,000.

To Dr. McIlwaine and Mr. Swem of the State Library, and to Mr. Stanard, of the Virginia Historical Society, are due my hearty thanks for constant encouragement, much help and many practical suggestions, and especially to Mr. Swem for his kindly interest, his every-ready help and his great aid in the matter of the technical matters of printing. And, by no means least, to the gentlemen of the Library Board for their kindness in accepting my proposition to publish this index as a Bulletin of the Library.

113 S. 3rd St., Richmond, Va.
April 22, 1912.

MORGAN POITIAUX ROBINSON.

ERRATA.

Page 6, line 10, "opposite p. 1" should read "opposite p. 21."
Page 21, line 16, "on p. 282 of other editions." should read "on p. 282 of (ii)."
Page 21, line 18, "on pp. 303-4 of the other two editions" should read "on pp. 303-4 of (ii)."
Page 21, line 20, "on the second p. 295 of the other two editions" should read "on the second page 295 of (ii)."
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE*

Steven's NUGGETS (1852), 2, No. 2620 and 2621 give only the title-pages of the Williamsburg, 1747, and the London, 1753, editions and make no criticisms.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. I (1857), 27, contains the earliest bibliographical mention of Stith's "Virginia," of which we know,—in these words, except for the omissions indicated:—

"There are copies of Stith, we are informed (but we have not seen one), purporting to have been printed in London. If the work was reprinted in England, it is remarkable that copies of the edition are of such rare occurrence in our time. Certainly it is not so with other books first printed in the colonies. That is to say, copies of English editions of such works are usually far more common than those printed in the colonies, from the very fact that by an American edition the market would be pretty well supplied, and hence most of an English edition would remain on hand.

Mr. Jefferson's criticism upon our author's labors in the history of Virginia, we do not fully endorse. He says "he was a man of classical learning and very exact." This no one can deny. That gentleman then says, "he had no taste in style, is inelegant, and often too minute to be tolerable, even to a native of the country." In respect to the first part of this charge,—that "he had no taste," etc.,—there may be a difference of opinion, even among pretty good "doctors." And as to the latter charge,—of being "too minute," etc.,—we think that no intelligent Virginian will sustain Mr. Jefferson, and that his judgment was reversed even in his own day.

The author lived about eight years after that date 1747, [the year this volume was printed], but we hear nothing of a Second Part, although in his preface he tells us that he was (when he wrote it) "enjoying perfect leisure and retirement, and not burthened with any public post or office." Therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude that there is, or was, something done during that eight years towards a Second Part of his History of Virginia; especially as he says himself, "Such a work will be a noble and elegant entertainment for my vacant hours, which it is not in my power to employ more to my own satisfaction, or the use and benefit of my country." Perhaps some of the readers of this article can throw a ray of light upon the point in question

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. II (1858), 61, has this to say under the heading "Replies":—

"STITH'S VIRGINIA (Vol. I, pp. 27 and 59),—In the H. M. for January 1857 appeared a notice of the above work, in which the writer remarks that he has not been able to determine whether the work was reprinted in London or not. The following number contained a communication from J. R. B. assuring

*The scope and purpose of this note is fully set forth in the preface. Acknowledgment is hereby made of having drawn largely upon: Evans' AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY (1903–1910); Cole's A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS RELATING TO AMERICA (1907); and W. Clayton Torrence's A TRIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA (Virginia State Library, 1908.)
the readers of the Magazine that there was a London edition,—or, at least, that there were copies purporting to be printed in London. The editor then suggests that, "a collation of the two editions would determine whether the whole work was reprinted in London, or only the title page."

I have recently been able to settle this biographical question in a perfectly satisfactory manner. I have compared a copy with a London title-page and one with the Williamsburg imprint together, and I find them identical in every particular except the title-pages,—there being two title-pages, one to the work itself and another to the Appendix.

ARGUS."

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. II (1858), 184, contains this note on Stith:—
"I have two copies of Stith's History of Virginia, which appear to be of different editions. Both are from the press of William Parks, Williamsburg, 1747. Each has the same title and imprint, the same number of pages, and is printed on the same type; but there are very numerous typographical varieties. The two copies do not always agree page for page, nor line for line; indeed there are hundreds of instances of differences in the termination of lines. These will be found in almost every signature, perhaps in every one but A and X. Besides these, there are many other variations.

There are errors in the paging in both copies, but these do not occur in the same place in each. In one copy, page 256 is followed by 247, making an error of ten pages, which is continued to the end, 331. In the other the paging is correct to 304, the next is numbered 295, and then goes on to the end, 331, while in each the last page should be 341. Were two editions of this work printed in 1747? B. FRANKLIN.

Washington, D. C.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. V (1861), 350, contains the following bibliographical mention of Stith:—
"STITH'S VIRGINIA (vol. i, pp. 27, 59).—There were evidently three editions of Stith, one with the London and two with the Williamsburg imprint, one of them being on poor paper and the others on good paper.

All three copies have signature x, pp. 295–310, on the poor paper. The type in all is the same, and evidently from the same office.

The pages of the London, and the good paper Williamsburg, correspond entirely, in type, lines, pages, ornaments. The pages run to 304, then back to 295–310.

The poor paper Williamsburg differs frequently from the other two in lines, but generally ends the pages in the same way, with occasionally a word or two more or less. It differs from them in many of the ornaments. Its paging runs on correctly to 256, and then begins again 247.

All copies end on p. 331. D. P. S."*

SABIN in the Bibliographical Note in his re-print of 1865 has this to say:—
"The Original Documents from which much of this valuable work was compiled having been lately destroyed, and the work itself being scarce, it is hoped its reproduction will be an acceptable contribution to American History.

Two Editions of the work have been published; the First, of Williamsburg Edition (of which this is a re-print), in 1747, and the London Reprint in 1753.

*Sabin in his Bibliographical Note of 1865 says that this name is D. P. Smith.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In the "Historical Magazine," Vol. II, page 184, a writer, under the pseudonym of B. Franklin, describes what he considers Two Williamsburg Editions, but which were, in reality, the Editions of 1747 and 1753, but probably having titles alike.


As I have the three varieties now before me, I will endeavour to describe them.

The First, or Williamsburg Edition, of 1747, appears to have been printed on two varieties of paper, both the same size, and both laid, one being thicker than the other. The Signatures, Catchwords, Ornaments, &c., agreeing exactly with each other, and the error on page 104, which is printed 410, being alike in each.

Signature S is mispaged. It should read 257 instead 247, and so on to the end, adding 10 pages to the whole number (331) as they appear in this reprint.

The Second Edition has the following Title:—"The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia. By William Stith, A. M., President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Tanitas molis erat * * * condere gentem. Virg. Virginia, Printed: London, Reprinted for S. Birt, in Ave-Mary-Lane. M. DCC. LIII."

The Number of Pages, Signatures, &c., is the same as in the Williamsburg Edition. The pagination runs on regularly up to page 304, then the recto of Signature X is paged 295, and so on till it terminates at page 331 (for 341) as in the other Edition.

The Paper and Types are the same as the Williamsburg Fine Paper, but in other respects there are several variations.

On pages 1, 35, 101, 175, and 176, the Ornaments differ.

On pages 21 and 119, the London Edition has Signature-marks not in the other.

On pages 33, 73, 82, 84, 86, 89, 98, 99, 131, 171, 178, 179, 206, 208, 214, 225, 233, 238, and 244, the Catchwords differ; while Signature X appears to be precisely the same in each Edition, and in my copy of the London Edition, the paper in this Signature differs from the rest of the volume.

On page 308 of the Williamsburg Edition, there is a line across the page, over the foot-note. This is omitted in the London Edition.

On page 2 of the Appendix, the capital J is in Roman,—in the London Edition it is in Italic.

New York, 1865.

JOSEPH SABIN.

The North American Review, 103 (Oct., 1866), 605, contains the following, after the elimination of two paragraphs which are more historical than bibliographical:


The accurate and faithful narrative of the worthy President of the College of William and Mary, first printed in Williamsburg in 1747, has long been
estemed a standard authority in the early history of Virginia. Although his style is inelegant and diffuse, and his minuteness of detail is sometimes unnecessarily extended, his scrupulous adherence to the facts as related by the authors whom he cites, and his unquestioned probity, have established the truthfulness of his work.

Stith was indebted to the narratives of Captain John Smith and other early residents of the Colony for the incidents connected with its settlement; and while giving full credit to the author of the "Generall Historie,"—"for I take him," says Stith, "to have been a very honest man and a lover of truth,"—he does not fail to recognize the prejudices which seem to have influenced and distorted his account of the affairs of the Colony.

A copy of the Records of the Virginia Company for a period of five years (1619-1624) was made by direction of the Earl of Southampton, and purchased after his death by Colonel Byrd, which was used by the author in the preparation of his History. This copy is said to have come into the possession of Congress with the papers of Jefferson, and is supposed to be now in the law library at Washington. Among other documents which came into the hands of Stith were also many state papers, collected originally by Sir John Randolph.

The narrative of Stith, while it records the events which occurred in Virginia during the early years of the Colony, contains also the history of the opposition to the Company in England, which, with the internal dissensions of the Council, contributed, no less than the hardships experienced by the colonists, to the failure of the enterprise.

An important and valuable part of the work is found in the Appendix of original documents, embracing the three Virginia charters, the first of April 10, 1606, to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others; the second, to the Treasurer and Company for Virginia, or the London Company, bearing date May 23, 1609; and the third, to the same incorporators, dated March 12, 1611-12; together with the charter from the Company, of July 24, 1621, establishing a Council of State and General Assembly in the Colony.

The execution of the work in the reprint is creditable both to the editor and printer, and we are confident that their labor will be appreciated alike by the bibliophile and the historical student.

Field, CATALOGUE (1875), Nos. 2278 and 2279, gives the title-pages of the Williamsburg edition, 1747, and of the Stith reprint of 1865, but contains no technical comment.

Menzies, CATALOGUE (1875), No. 1916, contains the following; after giving the title line-for-line:

"The valuable original documents from which this history was compiled have recently been destroyed by fire. The Appendix contains a collection of charters relating to the period comprised in the volume. Besides the copious materials of Stith, the author derived assistance from the manuscripts of his uncle, Sir John Randolph, and from the records of the London Company, put into his hands by Col. William Byrd, President of the Council.

Notwithstanding the recent efforts of American bibliographers, the bibliography of this subject remains in as much doubt and obscurity as ever. We
briefly remark, that, there are two varieties of the first edition, one on coarse, the other on fine paper, except signature X which is more or less poor in both. Then we have another Williamsburg edition of the same date, but differing in several particulars. Lastly comes the London edition of 1753, which is precisely like the second Williamsburg issue. It is not at all unlikely that the so-called London edition is the second Williamsburg one with an English title-page.

Brinley Catalogue (1880), 2, No. 3796, in commenting upon the Williamsburg edition of 1747, says:—

"In the title-pages, both of the History and of the Appendix, the word "Virginia" is in Italic capitals, and the letters are absolutely identical,—even in their defects,—with those in which the same word appears in the title of Mercer's Abridgment of the Laws, printed by W. Parks, 1737; and the same typographical ornaments, made up in the same fashion, for page-heads and initial letters, occur in these two volumes. But the collation does not agree with that of either of the two editions described by Mr. Sabin. The error in page number 104 (misprinted 410, in his copy) is corrected: sig. S is correctly paged, 257–272, and so on to the end of sig. U, p. 304; but sig. X (on inferior and yellowish paper) is mispaged, 295–310, and the error runs on through sigs. Y and Z, to the end on recto Z, mispaged 331 (for 341), as in the "edition" of 1753; moreover, this copy has "signature marks on pages 21 and 119"; the "line across the page, over the foot-note" on page 308, is omitted; and the capital J, on page i of the Appendix is in Italic,—as in "the London edition,"—though this page of the Appendix is in the title-form, and on the sixth leaf of sig. Z, the type and ornaments of which unmistakably mark it as from Park's press. Sig. Aa (pp. 5–12) and sigs. Cc and Dd (pp. 21–34) of the Appendix are on the same yellowish paper as sig. X: and the lines across the pages, over the foot-notes, are omitted on pp. 21 and 27, but retained elsewhere.

Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America (1884), III, 165 (including foot-note), contains the following bibliographical mention of this history:—

"Forty years after Beverley, the early history of the colony was again told, but only down to 1624, by the Rev. William Stith, the rector of Henrico Parish; being, however, at the time of his death (1755), the president of William and Mary College. He seems to have been discouraged from continuing his narrative because the "generous and public-spirited" gentlemen of Virginia were unwilling to pay the increased cost of putting into his Appendix the early documents which give a chief value to his book to-day. He had the use of the Collingwood transcript of the records of the Virginia Company. His book, History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia was published at Williamsburg in 1747, and there are variations in copies to puzzle the bibliographer.* Stith's diffuseness and lack of literary skill have not prevented his becoming a high authority with later writers, notwithstanding that he implicitly trusts and even praises the honesty of Smith.

*Some claim to be printed in London in 1753; the copy in Harvard College Library is of this 1753 imprint; see Hist. Mag., I, 59 and II, 61 (where it is asserted that only the title is of new make), and the bibliographical note which Sabin added to his reprint of Stith in 1865, where he describes three varieties. There is a collation in the Brinley Catalogue, No. 3796, not agreeing with either; of Hist. Mag., II, 184, and North American Review, October, 1866, p. 605.
Hilbeburn, CHARLEMAGNE TOWER COLLECTION (1890), p. 294, No. 76, gives only a line-for-line title of the volume and of the Appendix, and the following comment:—

"Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Preface, pp. iii-viii; text, pp. 1-331; Appendix, Title, 1 leaf; Preface, iii-v; 1 p. blank; text, pp. 1-34.

Brown's ENGLISH POLITICS IN EARLY VIRGINIA HISTORY (1901), makes quite elaborate bibliographic-historical mention in Chapter VI (p. 124), entitled Stith's "History of Virginia," 1747:—

"The press finally circumvented (so to speak) the opposition of the crown by worming its way into Virginia via Maryland. As early as 1727 William Parks had established a printing press at Annapolis, where he printed for the governments of Maryland and Virginia. He set up a printing press at Williamsburg, probably in 1729, and finally removed to that city to reside in 1736. He was the first legally employed printer in Virginia. "Stith's History of Virginia," which was issued from his press in 1747, was the first historical book published in Virginia, and related entirely to the formative period of 1606-1624.

The Rev. William Stith was far better equipped with evidences on which to base his history than any previous Virginia historian had ever been; but owing to the long-continued purpose of the crown to obliterate the truth, he was very far from being fully equipped, even if he had taken the proper political view, and even if the press of the colony had not been virtually under the control of the royal government. It is very remarkable that in compiling his history, although he evidently had access to the leading libraries in Virginia, he did not have the use of a single one of the contemporary prints published by the managers of the movement, the history of which he proposed to write, and it was not possible for him to understand the case properly without them. His chief published authorities were the histories of Smith and Purchas, which had previously been for so long the only authorities available to historians. He had none of the national official records in the premises; of Spain, France or the Netherlands, and but few of those of England, and he could not have understood the movement correctly without them. But some of the corporation records,—or rather copies of them, the originals having been confiscated by the Crown in 1624,—were now being brought to light, and he had a good many of these relative to events after 1618; but only a few of the records prior to that date, and it was not possible for him to write his history completely without them. He knew that several documents issued by the Virginia courts had been sent over by Sir George Yeardley, but he had the use of only one of them; and seems to have been under the mistaken idea that the "great charter" and the commission of 1618 for establishing the General Assembly in Virginia had not been issued until after the changes in the presiding officials of the corporation in 1619. He had, however, in manuscript complete copies of the following really important documents:—

The Royal Charter of April 20, 1606.
The King's Instructions of Nov. 30, 1606.
The Orders of the King's Council, Dec. 20, 1606.
The Advice of the King's Council, Dec. 20, 1606.
The King's Ordinance and Constitution, March 19, 1607.
The First Charter to the Body Politic, June 2, 1609.
The Second Charter to the Body Politic, March 22, 1612.
The Instructions of the Virginia Court to Yeardley, November, 1618.
The Instructions of the Virginia Court to Wyatt, August, 1621.
The Ordinance and Constitution of the Body Politic, 1621.
The copies which had been preserved in Virginia of the papers sent to England from the General Assembly of March, 1624, by Pountis in 1624, namely:—
A. Their Answer to Johnson's Declaration.
B. Their Answer to Butler's Unmasking.
C. Their Petition to James I.
D. Their Letter to the Privy Council; enclosing,—
E. The Declaration of the Ancient Planters.
F. Their Answer to Harvey's Propositions; and,—
G. The Laws, Orders, etc., passed by them during the session of February and March, 1624.

"And last, but not least,"—The copies of the Acts of the General Courts of the Company ("The Seminary of Sedition") in London, from the Quarter Court of May 8, 1619, to that of June 17, 1624.

Next to the charters of 1609 and 1612, the copies of the records of the Virginia courts were the most important documents used by Stith. They covered the period from May, 1619, to June, 1624, but contain many references to prior dates, and Stith's history of events from 1618 to 1624 is largely based on them. As Stith did not have a proper understanding of the case, he misunderstood the records in several particulars. The popular form of government had been instituted in Virginia during the administration of Sir Thomas Smith. The parties in the Company during the period covered by these records had originated in disputes over business matters, and not over political rights; but it came to pass that Sir Thomas Smith's party, in order to accomplish their business objects, catering to the national Court party, were finally willing to surrender their popular charter rights to the crown."

Evans' American Bibliography (1903–1910) contains two entries bearing upon the volume under consideration,—one upon the editions of 1747 and the other upon those of 1753, as follows:—

Vol. 2 (1904), No. 6071,—

"STITH WILLIAM
THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT AND DISCOVERY OF VIRGINIA, BEING AN ESSAY TOWARDS A GENERAL HISTORY OF THIS COLONY * * * [One line from] Virg.
Williamsburg, Printed by William Parks M, DCC, XLVII, pp. viii, 331; v, 34.
8 vo.
Second Title,
An Appendix to the first part of the History of Virginia, containing a Collection of such ancient charters or letters patent, as relate to that period of time, and are still extant in our publick offices in the capitol, or in other authentic papers and records.
Williamsburg, Printed by W. Parks, M, DCC, XLVII, p. v, 34.
There are two editions bearing the date of this year. The first edition may be known by the poor quality of the paper;* and by pages 257 to 303 being mis-

*Note that Cole, below, designates the edition on the poorer quality of paper as (2), while it is here stated that "the first edition may be known by the poor quality of the paper."
numbered 247 to 293.† This error was corrected in the second Williamsburg edition, which was not printed until about the year 1753, the date of the London edition. These two editions are identical with no other change than the title-pages, and were both evidently printed at Williamsburg. The copies met with are printed on different qualities of paper, the signature with the wrong paging differing materially in quality both in the American editions and the supposed London edition. Henry Stevens notes as many as five varieties being known to him. The copy sold at the sale of the Brinley collection was evidently a mixed copy. Reprinted in New York in 1865.”

Vol. 3 (1905), No. 7125,—

“STITH, WILLIAM

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA * * * [One line of Latin from] Virg. Virginia printed; London Re-printed for S. Birt in Ave-Mary-Lane, M,DCC,LIII, pp. viii, 331; v, 34. 8 vo.

Second Title,

AN APPENDIX TO THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA. CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF SUCH ANCIENT CHARTERS OR LETTERS PATENT, AS RELATE TO THAT PERIOD OF TIME, AND ARE STILL EXTANT IN OUR PUBLIC OFFICES IN THE CAPITOL, OR IN OTHER AUTHENTIC PAPERS OR RECORDS. Virginia, Printed. London, Reprinted for S. Birt in Ave-Mary-Lane, M,DCC,LIII, pp. v, 34. This imprint is given place from the fact that no doubt can exist, after a comparison of editions, that the body of this work is the first impression, before the error in paging was corrected in the Williamsburg edition of 1747, with a change of title-page, probably printed in England, only. The peculiarities of paper and paging are the same as noted in the American printed edition of 1747.”

Cole’s—A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS RELATING TO * * * AMERICA (1907), Vol. IV, No. 963, contains the following concerning the volume under consideration:—

“STITH, WILLIAM (b. 1689, d. 1755).


Collation by Signatures: A 4 leaves; B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, X, Y, Z, each 8 leaves; Aa to Dd, each 4 leaves (the last blank and genuine); total 196 numbered leaves. Leaves C3, I4, L4, and L4 have no signature-marks.

Collation by Pagination: [title as reproduced*; See No. 963], p. [i];—[blank], p. [ii];—THE PREFACE [dated] Varina, Dec. 10, 1746, pp. iii–viii;—[text, with heading] THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, pp. 1–331; [blank], p. [332] [Title-page] AN APPENDIX TO THE First Part of the HISTORY OF VIRGINIA: containing A Collection of such Ancient Charters or Letters Patent, as relate to that Period of Time, and are still extant in our publick Offices in the

†The present writer has found, in the editions designated as (i), (iii) and (v) in table “A” of the Preface, that pages 257 to 341 are misnumbered 247 to 331; while in (ii) pages 305 to 341 are misnumbered 295 to 331; nor has he seen the error in pagination, here noted, in any of the texts examined.

Page 104 is wrongly numbered 410; the numbers 247–256 are repeated in the pagination; and 323 is 333.

CONDITION: Size of leaf 7 7-8 x 4 5-16 inches. Bound in red levant morocco, gilt edges; by Pratt.

There were two editions printed at Williamsburg in 1747, with the title-pages reading alike, but with the text printed from the same type readjusted. For convenience of description, but without any attempt to decide as to their priority, we shall designate them as (1), the edition here described, and (2). Edition (2) was printed on poorer paper than (1)† and had sheets X of the text, and Ce, Dd, and sometimes Aa, of the Appendix badly discolored.


As pointed out by Turnbull in the Brinley Catalogue, p. 23, has no signature-mark (is marked Ca); p. 119 has no signature-mark (is marked I4); p. 308 has single rule over note (has none); p. 27 has single rule over note (has none).

In the Lenox Library there are two copies like the one here described and two of edition (2). There is also in the Lenox Library a London Edition (with both title-pages) dated 1753, which is only the Williamsburg edition (2) with substituted title-pages. It is possible that copies of edition (1) may also be found with the London title-pages.

It is possible that copies of edition (1) may also be found with the London title-pages.

The work brings the history of Virginia down only to 1624. The early charters contained in the Appendix give the work its chief value at the present day. The author had the use of the Collingwood transcript of the records of the Virginia Company. Notwithstanding his diffuseness and lack of literary style, he has become a high authority to later writers.

OTHER COPIES: British Museum (2); John Carter Brown; Lenox (2); and Historical Society of Pennsylvania Libraries.

REFERENCES: Evans, American Bibliography, 2, No. 6071; Winsor, 3, 165; Hildeburne, Charlemagne Tower Collection, p. 294, No. 76; Brinley, Catalogue, 2, No. 3796; Stevens, Nuggets, 2, No. 2620; Field, Indian Bibliography, No. 1502; Menzies, Catalogue, No. 1916.

†See Note under Evans, above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Appendix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adventurer, or adventurers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agst</td>
<td>against.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appams</td>
<td>Appamatocks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar</td>
<td>Captain Samuel Argall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Captain Nathaniel Butler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berms</td>
<td>Bermuda Islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. N.</td>
<td>Bibliographical Note.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br</td>
<td>Captain Edward Brewster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck</td>
<td>Marquis of Buckingham.</td>
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<tr>
<td>burg</td>
<td>burgess, or burgesses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Council.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cavend</td>
<td>Lord Cavendish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cks</td>
<td>Chickahominies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Co.</td>
<td>Virginia Company of London.</td>
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<tr>
<td>cols</td>
<td>colonists, or settlers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>com</td>
<td>committee, or commission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>commr</td>
<td>commissioner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. of S.</td>
<td>Council of State.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. of W.</td>
<td>Council of War.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Lord Delaware.</td>
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<td>Eng</td>
<td>England, or English.</td>
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<td>exped</td>
<td>expedition.</td>
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<td>Ga</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Gates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. A.</td>
<td>General Assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. &amp; C.</td>
<td>Governor and Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilb</td>
<td>Sir Humphrey Gilbert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gos</td>
<td>Captain Anthony Gosnold.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H. B.</td>
<td>House of Burgesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. C.</td>
<td>House of Commons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inds</td>
<td>Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrm</td>
<td>Information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jast</td>
<td>Jamestown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. P.</td>
<td>letters patent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Captain John Martin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas</td>
<td>Massacre of 1622.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>member V. C.</td>
<td>member of the Virginia Company,—an adventurer,—grantee of a charter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Captain Christopher Newport.</td>
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<td>Nds</td>
<td>Nansamonds.</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Opechancanough.</td>
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<td>Op</td>
<td>Opitchapan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Powhatan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. C.</td>
<td>Privy Council, or Lords of the Privy Council.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
petition.
Po. Pocahontas.
proc. proclamation.
R. Sir Walter Raleigh.
S. Captain John Smith.
S. I. Somers Islands.
S. I. C. Somers Islands Company.
So. Captain George Somers.
Spans. Spain, or Spaniards.
ST. Sir Thomas Smith.
Sth. Earl of Southampton.
tob. tobacco.
V. C. Virginia Company (adventurer).
Wa. Earl of Warwick.
W. I. C. West India Co.
Y. Sir George Yeardley.
A COMPLETE INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA
BY MORGAN POITIAUX ROBINSON

On account of the conflicting errors of pagination,* as fully set forth in the Preface, it has seemed desirable to place here this key to the combination references which appear in the following pages, along with one or two illustrating examples, as it is impossible to use the index intelligently without understanding this key:—

(a) If the student has (i)†, (iii)† or (v)†, he should use the single number given, or the parenthetical number of ALL combination references; being careful, however, that if any of pp. 247-256 (inclusive) appear in the parentheses, they are the second and not the first pages of these numbers which occur in this text of these editions.

(b) If the student has (ii)†, he should use the single number given, or the first number of any combination reference up to and including p. 304; after p. 304, he should use the parenthetical number of ALL combination references; likewise being careful, however, that if any of pp. 295-304 (inclusive) appear in parentheses, they are the second and not the first pages of these numbers which occur in this text of these editions.

For example:

ADVENTURERS, increase of. . . . . . . . . 282 (272).
This will be found on p. 272 of (i), (iii) and (v), and on p. 282 of the other editions.

ADVENTURERS, interests of, preserved, 303-4 (293-4).
This will be found on pp. 293-4 of (i), (iii) and (v), and on pp. 303-4 of the other two editions.

ADVENTURERS, summoned. . . . . . . . . . 305 (295).
This is found on p. 295 of (i), (iii) and (v), and on the second p. 305 of the other two editions.

*No attention has been paid in the references to the isolated error of 410 for page 104; nor to that of 223 for 323, but the combination references to this latter page are 333 (323) as though there were no error.

†The Preface explains the editions indicated by these numbers.
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Title, assumed 60
Admiral of New England. Smith has empty title of 137
Admiral of Virginia. Argall 145
Argall oversteps powers of 150
Admiral-ship. Distress of 113
Adultery. Punishment for 38, 41-2
Tendencies, punished 322 (322)
Adventure of the Purse. Great Shares granted on 139-0
Adventurers (see also "Virginia Company,—members"). Answer of 293 (283)
Argall Fso. opposed by 186-7
Bennet the most considerable 199
Charters granted to A 1-34
Devon,—those from A 2
Discontent of, increase 151
Discouraged by bad reports 174-5
Discouraged by discord 261-2 (251-2)
Discouraged by false advices 81
Discouraged by P. C. 309 (299)
Discouraged, wish to withdraw 121
Expulsion of A 27
Increase of 282 (272), 335 (325)
Index of, to be published 175
Interests of, preserved 303-4 (293-4)
Lands granted to 197
Largest, Bennet the 199
Majority against Argall Faction 186-7
Menacing order to 314 (304)
Names of 1, 9-14, 25
Names of, vary A 10 note
New, on equality with old A 22
Number in Co 286 (276)
Number in England 202
Number in S. I. C 249
Number of (relative) 282 (272)
Oppose Arab. Faction 186-7
Oppose illegal meetings 339 (329)
Powers granted 4-8, 8-22, 23-32
Record of, to be kept A 22
Refuse to pay 294 (284)
Rights of, secured 326 (316)
Southampton the chief 172
Subscriptions volunteered by 197
Summoned 305 (295)
Trade kept in hands of 170-1
Troubles do not discourage 276 (266)
Advises. False, sent to England 81
Africa. European ignorance as to 2
Portuguese territory in 2-3, 3
Smith goes to 111
Agents (see also "Factors," "Store-
houses," "Cape Merchant,
"Magazines").
Company to control all tobacco 248
King to contribute to 248
Ahab. Story of, and Naboth 137
Alba-Regalis. Smith in siege of 109
Albemarle Sound. Explored by settlers 13
Owned by Weapomeokes 14
Referred to 9, 10
Roanoke Island in 10, 13
Alcocke, Thomas. Member V. C 13
Algerines. Argall goes against 186
Expedition against, failure 184-5
Gondomar goes against 184
Algiers. Expedition against pirates of 184-5
Alive. See "Colonists,—alive.
Allegator River, N. C. Referred to 24
Allegiance (see also "Oath of Allegiance,
"Oath of Supremacy"). Maintenance of, provided 37
Allegiance, Oath of. See "Oath of Allegiance.
Allen, Edward. Member V. C 13
Allen, John (Fishmonger). Member V. C 14
Allen, Thomas (Grocer). Member V. C 13
Almalfi, Naples. Referred to 2
Ambassadors. Chickahomines send to Dale 130
Hamer sent as, to P 133-4
Indians send, with offerings 80
Roe, to Great Mogul 178-9
Smith (T), to Russia 42
Spanish, compounds with Ar. 160
Ambergrease. Disposition of 223
Embezzled 127, 288
Finder of, taken by Indians 241
Finders of, deprived of 127, 228
Found on S. I. 119-0
Ambuscades (see also "Ambushes").
Corn not grown for fear of affording 240
Indians make 7, 62, 65, 95
Indians try to get S. In 95
Smith caught in 69
Smith prepares, for Germans 99-0
Ambushes (see also "Ambuscades").
Smith in, in Rappahannock Creek 69
America (see also "America, Discovery of").
Colonists favour royal rule in 339-0 (329-0)
Colonists favourable to Co 339 (329)
Constitution diffused in 161
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Disappointment at lack of gold in... 81-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gondomar fears another Eng. land in... 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hanno makes voyage to... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oldmixon's &quot;British Empire in,&quot; criticised 33-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smith embarks for... 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somers arrives in... 113-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>America, Discovery of (see also &quot;America&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cabot's efforts for... 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbus accomplishes... 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Efforts for... 3-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gilbert's efforts for... 3-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greenland's efforts for... 12-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Letters Patent for... 3-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raleigh's efforts for... 8-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raleigh gets Letters Patent for... 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seneca predicts... 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertainty concerning... 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ameras, Captain Philip. Command under Raleigh... 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explores Occam River... 10-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indians receive... 10-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mentioned... 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ammunition (see also &quot;Arms&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supply exhausted... 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amoroleck. (prisoner). Indians receive well... 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Says good word for Eng... 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amsterdam, Governor of, resists... 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West India Company of, settles Hudson... 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ancients. Of O. excuse intrusion... 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andrews, John the Elder, Doctor of Cambridge. Member V. C... A 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andrews, John the Younger, of Cambridge. Member V. C... A 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andrews, Nicholas. Member V. C... A 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Answers. Adventurers make... 293 (283)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brooke to P. C... 272 (262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Butler from Gouv... 317 (307)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Butler Infrm. from Co... 290-7 (280-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Butler Infrm. from G. A... 292 (282), 296-7 (286-7), 317-26 (307-16), 322 (312)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cavendish to P. C... 272 (262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cavendish to vindication... 234-3 (274-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cavendish to Wrote... 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charges and replies to... 285-6 (275-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commissioners from G. A... 327 (317), 328 (318)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commissioners offended by... 327 (317)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commissioners to G. A... 327-8 (317-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commodities—as to... 201-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company from G. and C... 242, 242-3, 291-2 (281-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company from M... 223-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company on tob... 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company ordered to make... 305-6 (295-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to B. Infrm... 290-7 (280-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to Dixon... 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to Johnson... 292-7 (282-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to Kemp... 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to Ld. H. Treas... 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to Martin... 223-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company to P. C... 272 (262), 304-5 (294-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dale from P... 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Declaration from John... 316-7 (305-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy to Wrote... 257 (247)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy Treas. to King... 305-6 (295-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dixon from Co... 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farrar, J., to P. C... 272 (262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farrar, J., to Wrote... 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farrar, N., to P. C... 303 (293)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full, to be given to grievances... 333 (323)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General As. from Commrs... 327-8 (317-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General As. to B. Infrm... 292 (282), 296-7 (286-7), 317-26 (307-16), 322 (312)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General As. to Commrs... 327 (317), 328 (318)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General As. to Johnson... 314-7 (304-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General As. to &quot;Unmasked Face&quot;... 317-26 (307-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governor to P. C... 317 (307)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governor to B. Infrm... 292 (282), 296-7 (286-7), 317-26 (307-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governor and C. to Co... 242, 242-3, 291-2 (281-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson from Co... 292-7 (282-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson from G. A... 314-7 (304-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson to Declaration... 315-7 (305-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kemp from Co... 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King from Dep. Treas... 305-6 (295-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lord H. Treas. from S. I. C... 246-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martin from Co... 223-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martin to Co... 223-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offends Commrs... 327 (317)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Powhatan to Dale... 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Privy Council displeased at... 305-6 (295-6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Privy Council from Brooke. . . . 272 (262)
Privy Council from Cavend. . . . 272 (262)
Privy Council from Co. . . . 272 (262), 304-5 (294-5)
Privy Council from Farrar, J. . . . 272 (262)
Privy Council from Farrar N. . . . 272 (262)
Sandys to P. C. . . 272 (262)
Sandys to Wrote . . . 256
Signers of. . . . 317 (307), 322 (312)
Somers from S. I. C. . . . 228
Somers Is. Co. to Ld. H. Treas. . . . 246-8
Somers Is. Co. to Somers. . . . 228
Tobacco. . . . 285-6 (275-6)
Tobacco,—Co., on. . . . 246
Tobacco charges,—as to . . . . 285-6 (275-6)
"Unmasked Face" from G. A. . . . 317-26 (307-16)
Vindication from Cavend. . . . 284-8 (274-8)
Wrote from Cavend. . . . 256
Wrote from Dep. . . . 257 (247)
Wrote from Farrar, J. . . . 256
Anthony, Charles (Goldsmith). . . . A11
Anthony, Dr. On committee to estab-lish college . . . . 163
Antimony (Probably). Mine worked by Indians . . . . 65
Newport sends, home for assay . . . . 65
Apothecaries. To be used in distillation . . . . 195
Appamatox. Powhatan's hereditary domain . . . . 53
Appamatocks (see also "Appama-tocks"). . . . 195
Commission to go agst. . . . 313 (303)
Dale takes revenge on . . . . 124
Town of the, named "New Bermudas" . . . . 124-5
Appamatocks (see also "Appama-tocks"). . . . 195
Smith discovers people of . . . . 84
Appamatox River. Smith discovers . . . . 35
Apparel (see also "Attire"). . . . 84
Burned at Jast. . . . 59
Captured from French . . . . 132-3
Change of, desired by Ger-mans . . . . 90
Excess forbidden . . . . 194
Much for coronation of P. . . . . 78-9
Purchase of, possible . . . . 260
Silk, worn only by certain ones . . . . 194
Smith leaves . . . . 107
Stolen by prospective cols. . . . A29
To be sent . . . . 197
Transportation of, provided . . . . A 6
Appeals (At Law). Provided in two cases . . . . 330 (320)
Apprentices. Boys and girls to be sent as . . . . 165, 187
Eagerness of cols. for . . . . 183
Enochstoned—set up . . . . 185
Importation of, provided . . . . 165
Aquascogoc. Indians of. slay cols. . . . 23
Aqua-Vitae. Embezzled by Wingfield . . . . 48
Miracle performed with . . . . 66
Arcadia. Argall sent agst. French of . . . . 132-3
Beverley tells of expedi. to . . . . 164
St. Juan River probably same as Sagadahock . . . . 75
Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. Abbot . . . . 179
Bancroft. . . . 76
Crowes . . . . 76
Member V. C. and privileges, etc. . . . . A25
Whitgift . . . . 76
Archer, Captain Gabriel. Blamed by S. . . . . 83
Imprisoned . . . . 104
Jamestown,—settler at . . . . 46
Member V. C. A. . . . 11
Ratliffe and, to abandon colony . . . . 50
Returns to Va. (1609) . . . . 102
Sent home . . . . 60
Trouble-maker in colony . . . . 102-3
Argall, Capt. Samuel. Admiral . . . . 146
Admirality taken from . . . . 174
Advice as to supplies . . . . 148-9
Aids and abets Martin . . . . 221-2
Affairs of affected by sick-ness . . . . 193
Arrives at Jast . . . . 100
Assigns goods to prevent con-fisc . . . . 164
Bad management of . . . . 176
Berry granted land by . . . . 226
Beverley describes expedi. of . . . . 154
Brewster condemned by . . . . 163
Brewster exposes tyranny of . . . . 153
Brewster forced by, to give oath . . . . 153
Brewster to be spared by . . . . 153
Butler as bad as . . . . 243
Butler escape same as that of. . . . . 243
Captures Dutch colony on Hudson . . . . 133
Captures ships of French . . . . 133
Charges agst., sent to D. . . . . 151
Chickahominies c on c l u d e peace with . . . . 130-1
Commission to Investi-g. does nothing . . . . 219
Complaints of M.'s Patent . . . . 219
Complaints to O. about Cks. . . . . 149
Conditions at Jast. describ. by 137, 297 (287)
Confirmation of titles under...157
Confiscation of goods prevent­ed ..........................154
Corn secured by...118, 127, 147
Cross suppressed by...295 (285)
Damage done by...255
Defeated for Gov. 334 (324)
Dep. Governor...145
Dep. Gov.—title of—scorned by...150
Desires to surrender charters 304 (294)
Despotio authority given 145
Dixon granted land by 226
Dutch captured by...133
Edicts issued by...147-8
Escapes punishment...151
Exceeds authority for M. 220-1
Expedition of, described by Beverley 154
Extortions doubled 151
Extortions of, to be paid 151
Faction of, and Smith (T). 186-7
Fraudulent grants to...157, 189
Go to Eng. with account of conds. 100
Goods of, seized 151
Goods of, sequestered 151
Government of...182
Governor, arrives in colony...146
"Grand instrument of rapine" 297 (287)
Grants land to Dixon & Berry 226
Grants to, fraudulent...157, 189
Illegal acts charged to...303 (292)
Illegal grants to...157, 189
Iniquity of,—why G. A. grant­ed...182
Jamestown, conds. are describ. by 137, 287 (297)
Joins ST. to retard colony...186
Kettle offered Po. by...128
Kinsman of ST., Treasurer...100
Knighted, 1823 276 (266)
Land granted by, to Dixon & Berry 226
Languages of Co. ruined by...159
Leaves for England...157
Martin aided and abetted by...221-2
Martin's Patent vexes...219
Member C. of W. agst. Alge­rines...184
Murder not punished by...295 (285)
Oath extracted from Br. by...153
Outrages and oppressions of...149-0
Peace with Cks. concluded by...130-1
Peonage practiced by...226
Pelrsey made Vice-Adm. by...174
Pory conveys proofs agst. 190
Powell left Dep. Gov. by...157
Proofs, agst., conveyed by Pory...190
Prosecution of, hastens disso­lution of Co...186
Protégé of Lord Rich...145
Punishment evaded by...186
Rapines of, require confirm. of titles 157
Reports colony in good condi­tion...137
Reprimanded by C. for Va...150
Rolfe's subservience to...157
Ruins lands of Co...159
Sails to West Indies...120-1
Sandy forbears to offend...164
Saved by conspiracy of War­wick...157
Scorns title of Dep. Gov...150
Sent after Fr. in Arcadia...152-3
Smith gives wrong idea of...iv-v
Smith's account of, criticised. iv
Spilman boy found by...118
Starts to Berms. for supplies...118
Subscribes Johnson's Declara­tion...811 (801)
Subservience of Rolfe to...157
Supplies advised by...148-9
Suspected of strife against Co...222
Suspend as Admiral...174
Titles under, need confirm...157
Tobacco edict issued by...147-8
Tobacco crop favoured by...295 (285)
Trades for corn...118, 127, 147
Tyranny of, exposed by Br...153
Vexes colony all possible...219
Villification of Virginia by...174-5
Virginia vexed and retarded by...186, 219
Virginia, villainy by...174-5
Warwick incensed at...158
Warwick keeps, posted...154
Warwick tries to protect...193
Warwick unable to save...157
Wine trade by, connived at...100
Yeardey to press charges against...154, 157
Yeardey's attitude to govern­ment of...242
Carter steals...120
Carts of mail given colony...233
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Collecting of, authorised. A 4-5
Colonists prepare to use. 11
Commissioners’ author, over. 327-8 (317-8)
Gilbert prepares to use. 6
Indian. 49
Indians get by trade. 94
Indians promise to restore. 243
Smith leaves at last, 1609. 107
Stolen. 90, 120
Traded to Indians. 94
Supply of, for defence. 312 (302)
Supply of, number large. 316 (306)
Supply of, sign of good will. 73
Arrest. Burgesses not subject to, when. 330 (320)
Arrows. See “Bows and Arrows.”
Arsecks. Of Eastern Shore, characteristics of. 63
Artificers. Break contracts to go to Va. A 29
Artisans. See name each trade.
Arthur, Legend of. Referred to. 1-2
Articles (Charges). Against G. & C, but not pushed. 333 (323)
Articles (Laws) (see also “Orders,” “Instructions”). Establishing King’s Council. 36-41
Passed by G. A. of 1624. 328-32 (318-22)
Articles (Religious). As to churches. 1624. 328-9 (318-9)
Artificers. Break contracts to go to Va. A 29
Artisans. See name each trade.
Arundel, Lord. Weymouth sent by to discover Va. 33
Arundel, Mr. Conducts hostage to the main. 12
Ashley, Captain John. Member V. C. A 10
Ashley, Sir Anthony, Knt. Member V. C. A 9
Ashton, Sir Roger, Knt. V. C. A 10
Asia. European ignorance of. 2
Askew, James. Member V. C. A 12
Assembly. See “General Assembly.”
Assistants to Governor. (See also “Council of Twelve”).
Number to reside in Eng. 303-4 (293-4)
Objection to. 324 (314)
Assyrian References. In Raleigh’s History. 137
Atheism. Corbet collects testimony as to. 20
Corbet denies there was any. 20
Explanations of charges of. 20
Unjust charges against R. and Harriot. 20
Atkinson, William. Member V. C. A 11-2
Atlantic Islands, Plato’s Fable of. 2
Attire. Description of, of Susquehannocks. 68
Attorney General. Opinion of, in Jacob case. 169
Auchter, Anthony, Esqr. (See also name below.) Member V. C. A 11
Auchter, Sir Anthony, Knt. (See also name above.) Member V. C. A 10
Audit. Records show, of ST. books false. 275 (265)
Auditors. Abbot. 275 (265)
Approve books of ST. Dovers. 274-5 (264-5)
Duty of. 275 (265)
Examine accounts. 299 (289)
Elected for lotteries. Keightly. 274-5 (264-5)
Sandys, George. 274-5 (264-5)
Unable to balance accounts. 275 (265), 276 (266)
War declared against House of. 333 (323)
Augustan Age. Writers of, praised. vii
Austria. Palatine of Rhine supported against. 295
War declared against House of. 333 (323)
Bagen. Stolen by Newport. 81
Used against Indians. 81
Azores. Battle off the. 28-9
Babylonian References. In Raleigh’s History. 137
Bache, George (Fishmonger). Member V. C. A 13
Bache, Anna. (Fisherwoman). Member V. C. A 13
Bach, George (Fishmonger). Member V. C. A 13
Bachelors of Divinity. Cresentshaw.
William. A 11
Member V. C. A 11
Bacon, Sir Francis, Knt. Member C. for Va. A 16
Member V. C. A 10
Badger, John. Member V. C. A 12
Bagg, James, Knt. (of Falmouth). Member C. for Va. 36
Bagnall, Anthony (Surgeon). Escape of 74
Bags, Indians use for antimony. 65
Bailie, Captain, Solicitor of Somers. Damage done by 255
Baker, John. Member V. C. A 12
Baldwin, Mr. Hamer escapes to 213
Participated in Mas. 212
Baltimore, Lord. Grant to 74
Bancroft, Richard. Archbishop of Cant. 76
Characteristics and aims 76
Banditti. See “Pirates.”
Banister, Richard (Merchant). Member V. C. A 11
Bankrupts. Encouraged by M. 224
Banks, John, Member V. C. A 11
Banks, Miles (Cutter). Member V. C. A 13
Banquet. Powhatan entertains English at 58
Barbary. Smith's travels in. 111
Barber, Mr. On committee to attend Commrs 301 (291)
Barber, Mr. Gabriel. Character of 216
Educational bequest of 216
Barber-Chirurgeons, The Company of. Member V. C A 14
Bardwell, William. Member V. C. A 12
Barge (Discovery). See also “Discovery.”
Arrival of, saves Ratcliff. 66
Gets corn from Cks. 80
Sails to raid P. 85
Barges (see also name above and “Vessels,” etc.).
Built in colony 312 (302)
Few available 317 (307)
Fitted for trip 84
Sail to raid P. 85
Sent for supplies 83
Barker, Mr. Speech of, on Contract 252
Barker, Robert (Shoemaker). Member V. C. A 13
Barks (see also “Vessels”).
Few available 317 (307)
Fish for 9
Germans try to seize 99
Newport tries to freight with corn 77
Portuguese sent out small 2, 3
Sail to raid P. 85
Sent for supplies 83
Slothful warned against stealing. 85
Barley. Grows rapidly on N. E. coast 31
Planted by settlers 31, 33
Ration of, at last 47
Barlow, Captain (also a Land Officer). Commands vessel under Raleigh 8
Barns, Built 312 (302)
Barnstable. Bark from, rescues B. 243
Baron, Christopher. Member V. C. A 12
Barret, Mr. (Master Shipwright). Called “Captain Barwick” by S. 229
Comes over 229
Barwick, Captain. Name given Mr. Barret by S. 229
Bashabes (Chief Lords of Indians). Weymouth trades with. 34
Basing, Lord St. John of. Gives coats of mail to colonists. 233
Basketmakers, The Company of. Member V. C A 14
Basket. Indians bring large 91
Supplies traded for 81
Baskets of Corn. See also “Baskets”.
Indians have 50
Nandsamonds refuse to give. 84
Peace offering 74
To be contested for 91-2
Valued exorbitantly 85
Bason and Ewer, Brought to P. 77
Presented to P. 78
Bateman, Mr. Candidate for Dep. Treas. 230
Chosen from King's candidates to go in election 230
Votes received by 230
Bateman, Robert. Member V. C. A 12
Bath and Wells, James, Bishop of.
Member C. of Va A 16
Bath and Wells, Montague, Lord Bishop of. Member V. C. A 9
Bathori, Sigismund, Duke of Transylvania 109
Baths. Mevis in W. Indies famous for 120-1
Bathurst, Timothy (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13
Bathurst, Thomas. Member V. C. A 12
Bayard, Col. Trial of 1 iv
Bayley, Thomas (Vintner). Member V. C. A 13
Bay of Fundi. Argall sent against. French in 132-3
Placed near, named 136-7
Beadle, Gabriel. Success as woodsman 79-0
Beads. Blue, bring large price. 59
Chain of, presented to Ind. woman 72
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Chain of white 68
Corn promised for 84
Embroidery of white 58
English to provide Inds. with 73
Furnace to make 198
Given to O 141
Japazaws returns, sent him 237
Offered to O 148
Offered to P for daughter 135
Paid as tribute 54
Powhatan promises corn for 84
Roanoke—a kind of 63
Sent to Japazaws 237
Smith sends to O 59
Smith to make for Po 55
Beale, Edward (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13
Bears. Abundance 64
Flesh of, given by Inds 65
Skin of (painted) given S 68
Skins of, used as clothes 68
Beasts (see also “Cattle,” “Horses,” etc.). Authority to transport A 28
Supplies stolen by N. traded for 81
Bed (see also “Bedding,” “Bedstead”).
Brought to Powhatan 77
Of masts 58
Presented to P 78
Bedding (see also “Bed,” “Bedstead”).
Burned at Jamestown 59
Bedford, Edward, Earl of. Member Co. and to enjoy privileges, etc A 25
Bedstead (see also “Bed,” “Bedstead”).
Brought to Powhatan 77
Presented to P 78
Beedle, Gabriel. Member V. C. A 12
Beedle, John. Member V. C. A 13
Beef. Embezzled by Wingfield 48
Stolen by B 312
Behethland, Mr. Trades at Pamunkey 90
Bell, Mr. Delivers message from King 230
Bells. Smith to make for Po 55
Benefactions. See “Gifts.”
Benefit of Clergy. When allowed and denied 35
Benefits. Confirmed A 22, 27-8
 Granted A 33
Bennet, Mr. Edward. Descendants of, in Md. and wealthy 199
Tobacco treatise of, rewarded 199
Bennet, George. Member V. C. A 12
Bennet, Richard. Esquire. First Gov. of Va. by election of the colony 199
Bennet, William (Fishmonger). Member V. C. A 13
Benson, Nicholas. Member V. C. A 12
Benson, Peter. Member V. C. A 12
Bentley. Employed to reclaim the Germans 99
Tiratious behavior of 99
Bents, Alexander. Member V. C. A 12
Bequests (see also “Gifts,” “ Presents”). Southampton Hundred gets part 215
Berlock, Mr. On committee to attend Commrs 301 (291)
Berkeley (Plantation). Mr. Thorpe lived at 208
Berkeley, Edward, Gent. Member V. C. A 13
Berkeley, George. Member V. C. A 12
Berkeley, John (see also name below). Ironworker, sent over 193
Berkeley, Mr. John (see also name above).
Ironworker, sent over 193
Member C. of S A 33
Puts ironworks in “so good a forwardness” 218
Slain in Mass 218
Berkeley, Maurice. Son of John, sent over 193
Berkeley, Sir Maurice, Knt. (see also “Berkeley, Sir Morris,” Knt). Member C. in Va. A 16
Member V. C. A 9
Berkeley, Sir Morris, Knt. (see also “Berkeley, Sir Maurice, Knt”). Member C. for Va 36
Berkeley, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C. A 9
Berkeley, William (see also name below). Member V. C. A 12
Berkeley, William (see also name above). Member V. C. A 13
Bermuda (Girl). Girl born in Berms 115
Bermuda Hundred (also “Bermudas,” p. 125, 132).
Corn raising at 125, 132
Dale plants corn at 125
Hogs at, to be ringed 148
Sends members to G. A 160
Whitaker, minister at 136
Bermudas (Boy). Boy born in Berms 115
Bermudas (Indian Town). See “New Bermudas.”
Bermudas (Islands). Births in 1619 115
Butler Gov. of 243
Butler sent to pillage 277 (267)
Butler spoils Spans. i. 320 (310)
Children born in, 1610 115
Company favours settlement
In .......................... 128-7
Deaths in .......................... 115
Delawarr sends to, for provi­
sions .......................... 118
Gondomar opposes voyages to 247
"Isle of Devils" .......................... 114
Kendal Gov. of .......................... 284 (284)
Map of, made by Norwood. 190
Negros placed on Wa. lands .......................... 154
Origin of name .......................... 114
Plat of, made by Norwood. 190
Possession of, taken by Co. 227-8
Relations of, by Somers 125
Resources of .......................... 114-5
"Sea Vulture" founders on 102, 113

Supplies sought from .......................... 118-9
Vessel lost on .......................... 114
Warwick lands in .......................... 154
Waters of, prisoner of Inds 241
Bermudas Hundred (see "Bermuda Hundred").
Bermudas, John. Discovered Ber­
mudas .......................... 114
Bernard, Mr. To enquire into B's acts 243
Berries. Abundance on N. E. coast .......................... 31
Berrisford, Robert (Grocer). Mem­
ber V. C A 13
Berry, John, Held in peonage 226
Land granted to 226
Beverley, Mr. (Historian). Ac­
count of Ar. exped. agst. French by 154
Confusion of, as to date of Ar. exped. 154
Hackluyt's With imitated by 16
On where the Burgesses sat. 160
Tells of first negroes imported 182
Bible. Harriot explains to Inds 19
Biddelford. Relief exped. fitted out at 25
Bigamy (Female). Forbidden by Gov. 332 (322)
Bills of Exchange. Easily spent at floating tavern off Jast. 59
Bills of Lading. Lost with "Sea Vulture" 101
Bing, Mr. Attacks Sth 267-8 (257-8)
Indecent behavior of 268 (258)
Imprisoned 268 (258)
Indecent behavior of 268 (258)
Petitions, opinion as to 308 (298)
Southampton attacked by 266 (256)

Summoned by Ld. Treas. 266 (256)
Warwickian Faction wins over 269 (259)
Bingham, Captain John. Member V. C. A 10
Bingham, Sir Richard. Member C. of W. 24
Bingley, John, Esqr. Member V. C 11
Births. See "Colonists,—births.
Biscayneers. Possible presence of on N. E. coast 31
Bishop (first name omitted in text). Member V. C. A 13
Bishop, Edward. Member V. C. A 12
Bishop of Bath and Wells. See "Bath and Wells.
Bishop of Litchfield. See "Litch­field, Bishop of."
Bishop of London. See "London, Bishop of."
Blackamores. Indians (painted) look like 65
Blacksmiths, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14
Blackwall. Expedition leaves 44
Block-House. Built at Hog Is­
land 97
Built at Jast. 97
Each sent to build 229
Block Island, R. I. Probably ex­
plored by Weymouth 33
Bland, Mr. Dies 215
Ironworks to be established by 215
On committee to attend comms. 301 (291
Member C. in Va. 18
Receives bad report of Va. 3
Bludder, Sir Thomas, Kn. Mem­
ber V. C. A 1
Blundell, Captain John. Mem­
ber V. C. A 1
Blunt, John, (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13
Blunt Point. Each to build block­
house at 229
Boats (see also "Vessels," etc.)
Built in colony 312 (302)
English return to 11
Bodkin. Thrust through tongue 215 (205)
Bohs. Found in colony 278 (258)
None in colony 318 (298)
Bohun, D. Appointee in place of 193
Killed by Spaniards 188
Land grant to 188
Physician-General 188
Pot on same footing as 188-9, 193
Sails to W. Indies 120-1
Succeeded by Pot. 188-9, 193
Bole Armeniac. River named from 64
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Bolling, Major John. Leaves son and several daughters.—great, great, grandchildren of Po…146
Bolling, Col. Robert. Leaves only son, Major John Bolling…146
Married daughter of Thos. Rolfe, son of Po…146
Bolls, George, Esquire, Sheriff of London. Member V. C. A 14
Bolus River. Discovered & origin of name…64
Smith returns to…67
Bond, Martin. Member V. C. A 11
Bone. Used to head javelins…62
Bonham, William, Member V. C., A 11
Bookkeeper. Contract necessitates…251
Books (see also “Library”). Indians amazed at…18
Printed ones sent over…272 (269), 320-1 (310-1)
Books (of Company). Ordered produced…301 (291)
Quest-house call for…301 (291)
Sequestered…298 (288)
Born. (1587)…24
(1616)…115
Bourchier, Sir Henry. To examine affairs of companies…298 (288)
Bourne, David. Member V. C., A 12
Bow and Arrows (see also “Arms”). Ceremonies with…73, 74, 92
Colonists killed with…50-1
Described…68
Indians use…11, 49, 50-1
King’s, as peace offering…74
King’s surrendered to S…92
Massawomeck targets imper­vious to…70
Offered for trade…91
Powhatan makes his own…59
Smith narrowely escapes from…51
Bow Church. Thanksgiving sermon at…218
Bowling. “Daily and usual work” at Jast…122
Bowyer, Richard, Esq. Member V. C., A 11
Bowyers, The Company of. Member V. C., A 14
Boyce, Mrs. Prisoner, sends letter to Crowshaw…238
Sent back naked…239
Boyle, Robert, Esquire. Educ¬tional benefaction of…217
Bracelet. Powhatan sends to S…89
Bran. Ration of at Jast…47-8
Brass. From Susquesahanocks…67
Brazil. Discovered by Portuguese…3
Bread. Abundance…50
Abundance at Kicquotan…85
Indians give colonists…49
Made from Tuckahoe Root…98
Platters of, provided…58
Powhatan sends to S…

Breaking Bulk. Proclamation as to…331
Brearley, James. Member V. C., A
Bree, John, Gent. Member V. C., A
Brentford. Pocahontas moved to…
Brewers (Individuals). Members V. C., A
Brewers, The Company of. Member V. C., A
Brewer, Edward (son of William). (See also name below.) Member V. C., A
Brewster, Captain E. (see also name above). Acquitted as unlawfully tried…13
Apeal of, taken up
Appeals his case
Condemned to death
Court-martial of, unjust.
Oath extracted from
Opposes Ar. tyranny
Returns to Eng
Saved by friends
Brewster, William. Member V. C., A
Brickbats. Used agst Inds.
Bricklayers and Tylers, The Com¬pany of. Members V. C.
Bridges. Built…312 (311)
Bristol. Adventurers of, to control Northern colony
Citizens of, to be in Norther colony
Expedition of, follows Gosnold’s route
Hopkins of, member V. C.
Members V. C.
Merchants of, finance expect to Va
Referred to
Bristol, James of. Member V. C., A
Bristol Works (of 1747). Location of Pisacack, Matchopeak and Mecuppon
Brittain, Thomas. Member V. C.
British America. Virginia one of finest countries in
British Constitution. See “Constitu¬tion.”
British Empire in America, The. mixons’ badly mixed about Weymouth
Brocket, Thomas, Gent. Member V. C.
Brooke, Sir Calisthenes, An
Member V. C., A
Brooke, Mr. Christopher. Mem
BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.

Beverly, Mr. Christopher, Esqr.
Brooke, Sir John, Knt.
Brooke, Mr. Christopher, Esqr.
Brooke, Hugh, Esqr.
Brooker, Hugh, Esqr.
Brown, Matthew.
Brown, Sir William, Knt.
Brown, William (Shoemaker).
Brownbakers, The Company of.
Brown, Sir John, Knt.
Burleigh, Lord.
Burleigh (Lord Treasurer).
Burley, Francis (Minister).
Burnet, Bishop.
Burnham, Samuel.
Burras, Anne (Maid).
Burroughs, Education of Indians, in.
Burton, George.
Burwell, Edward.
Burlesque, The Company of.
Bush, John.
Bush, Ralph (Grocer).
Bull, Mr.
Bull, John, Esqr.
Bulls. Idle ones in colony.
Burgess, House of.
Burgess, House of (see also "Burgesses, House of").
Burglary. Punishment of.
Burgoyne, Peter.
Burgoyne, Robert.
Burgoyne, Thomas.
Burlacoe, Sir John, Knt.
Burley, Francis (Minister).
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Answer of G. A. to Infrm. of.. 317-22 (307-12)
Answer to Infrm. of.................. 296-7 (286-7)
Bermudas to be pillaged by.... 277 (267)
Cattle stolen by.. 321 (311)
Charged with illegal prac­... 302 (292)
Colony informed of Infrm of... 314 (304)
Commodities returns falsified by... 320-1 (310-1)
Conditions left by... 243, 277-0 (267-0), 291 (281)
Conduct in Va.. 243
Company urges expediting af­... 303 (293)
Cry of... 243
Depredations aided by. 321 (311)
Erects memorial to Somers... 119
Escapes to Va. by plot... 243
Evidence (further) agst. 292 (282)
Falsifies as to commodities... 320-1 (310-1)
Falsifies ordinance returns... 320 (310)
Flees to save life 321 (311)
Governor of Berms... 243
"Grand instrument of rapine, a"... 297 (287)
Henrico not visited by.. 321 (311)
Information of, considered... 300 (290)
Information of, ignored. 301 (291)
Information of, sent to Co... 291 (281)
Inquiry of allegations of, urged... 301-2 (291-2)
Investigation of, sought. 301 (291)
James City highest up river by... 321 (311)
Learning of, slight... 321 (311)
Ordinance returns falsified by... 320 (310)
Riotous living of, in Berms... 320 (310)
Reports on conditions... 277-0 (267-0)
Returns to Eng... 243
Spoils Kendal... 294 (284)
Spoils Spans, in Berms... 320 (310)
Spreads report as to condi­... 291 (281)
Steals cattle of colonists... 321 (311)
Stith's comments on account of.... 280 (270)
"Unmasked Face, etc," by... 278-0 (268-0)
Butler's Information. See "Infor­... Button's Information. See "Infor­... Button, Captain Thomas (see also name below). Member V. C. A. 11

Byrd, Col. Wm. Father of, buys Records of Co... vi
Byrd, Col. William (Pres. of Counc.). Lends Stith Records of Co... vi
Records Co. bought by................... vi
Tells of Records of Co... vi
Cabbins (see also "Houses," "Huts")... 114
Made of Palmeta leaves Smith quartered in... 85
Cabin. See "Cabbins."
Cabanot, Sebastian. Discovers New foundland... 3
Caesar. Worse than James I... vii
Caesar, St. Julins (Master of the Rolls). Related to John Mar­... 219
Cage, Thos. M (Greer). Member V. C. A. 12
Caleb and Joshua. Dale advises belief in... 132, 297 (287)
Calenture. Scrivener suffers from... 66
Callcruit, William (Refliner). On Manakin expd. 79
Calvert (Secretary of Co.). Deliv­ers message... 167
Representations of, overruled. 167
Calvert, George, Esqr. Member V. C. C. 11
Campbell, James (Ironmonger). Member V. C. A. 13
Cambled. Mention Fortescue, Goffon, Pit, Sutton... 298 (288)
Says Lane first carried tob. to Eng... 20-1
Tells of death of D... 148
Tells of successes of Algerines agst. Eng... 185
Cambridge. Educational bequest by Ruggles of... 216-7
Fellow of... 216-7
John Andrews, Elder, Doctor of, member V. C. A. 13
John Andrews, Younger, of, member V. C. A. 13
Ruggles of... 216-7
Cambridge, Fellow of. 216-7
Campe, Lawrence (Draper). Mem­... 12
Canada. French of, furnish hatch­ets to Sushusquehanocks 69
Massawomecks lived in... 67
Canaries. Greenvil exped. passes... 12
Newport exped. passes... 44
Ralegh exped. to Amer. passes... 8
Canning, Mr. Administration of, foundation of Johnson Petition... 293 (283)
Of Argall-Smith Faction... 186-7
Canning, Paul. Member V. C. A 13
Canning, William. Member V. C. A 13
Cannon (see also "Arms"). Used agst. M. and Wingfield. 50
Cannon, Thomas, Gent. Member V. C. A 12
Canoe. Colonists try to seize... 15
Destroyed and Inds. ask peace. 74
Indians come in... 9, 8-10
Indians leave, in flight 241
Massawomecks in... 67
Provisions brought in... 65
Smith seizes loaded 69
Smith Uses. Ind 15, 78
Taken from Inds. 95
Used in Va... 320 (310)
War... 67
Canons of Church of England. Churches to conform to... 329 (319)
Canter, William, Gent. Member V. C. A 11
Capahowsick, Country. To be given to S... 55-6
Cape Charles. Indians at... 62
Orign of name... 45
Cape Cod. Fishing rights of Co. at... 185
Houses,—none at... 31
Orign of name... 45
Places near, named... 176-7
Cape Comfort. Base of measurements in Charters... A 15, 23
Cape Fear. Expedition lost on... 23
Greenvil expd. lands near... 12
Mentioned... 9
Cape Florida. One of few places named... 9
Cape Hatteras. Colonists flee to... 23
Colony near, lost... 99
Disaster to relief expd. off... 27
Expidition arrives at... 23
Food sought at... 15
Greenvil expd. goes to... 12
Mentioned... 9
Relief expd. reaches... 28
Cape Henry. Colonists arrive at... 44-5
Description of country near... 45
Nelson blown from... 57
Orign of name... 45
Smith goes to... 62
Cape Lookout. Food sought at... 15
Relief expd. sails for... 27
Cape Merchant (see also "Agents, "Factors")
Duties of... 39
Factor of Co. ...171
Goods sent to... 171
Peirce, Vice-Adm. ...174
Pierce, testifies agst. M. ...224
Sells goods for tob... 171
Sells goods sent to Va... 197
Studley... 33
Supplies delivered to... 94
Cape of Good Hope. Portuguese reach... 2-3
Capital Punishment (Without Benefit of Clergy). Crimes punished by... 38, 41-2
Capite. Lands to be granted in... A 7, 15, 25
Capital. Stith uses Records in... v
Capitol Records. Put ST. in bad light... 57
Used by Stith... v
Captain-General and Governor in Chief of Virginia. Delawarr... 100, 101
Captain of the Guard. Pierce... 313 (303)
Captain of Guard and Lieut. Gov. of James City. Pierce... 313 (303)
Captain-General of Virginia. Governor of Va.,—title... 117
Captains, Against Algerines... 184
Appointment of, provided for... 42
Members V. C. A 10-1, 12, 13
Car. Lands of R. given to... 126
Careles, Thomas. Member V. C. A 12
Carew, Edward. Member V. C. A 12
Carew, Lord. Member C. for Va... A 16
Member V. C... 9
Carey, Sir Henry, Knt. Member C. for Va... A 16
Member V. C... 9
Carey, Sir Robert, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
Caribbees. Tobacco from... 19
Carpenter, Thomas. Member V. C. A 1
Carpenter, William. Member V. C. A 1
Carpenters. Sent to build free school... 204
Sent for East India School... 229
Carpenters, The Company of. Members V. C. A 14
Carril, John. Member V. C. A 12
Carter, Christopher. Commonwealth erected by... 119-0
Left in Berms... 115
Steals arms of fellows... 120
Carter, Randal. Member V. C. A 11
Carthagena. Drake captures... 15
Cartwright, Abraham. Member V. C. A 12
Cashiers. Contract necessitates... 251
Tobacco dealings under... 251
Cason, John. Member V. C... A 12
Cassen, Allen. Member V. C. A 12
Cassen, George. Indians kill... 50
Castle. Columbus offers services to Ferdinand and Isabel of... 3
Castle. At Warrasqueake. 332 (322)
Caswell, Richard. Member V. C. A 11
Catataugh. Powhatan's brother
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

and heir ........................................... 54
Heir in order of succession ....... 87

Cater, William, Member V. C., A 12

Cattle (see also “Stock”).
Abundance, when ST. left .......... 312 (302)
Arrive from Ireland ................. 203
Attract priv. plantation owners .... 164
Authority to transport, A. 18-9, 28
Butler steals .......................... 321 (311)
Chickahominies to protect, of Eng ............................................. 130-1
Commissioners auth’r. over ......... 327-8 (317-8)
Destitute of, under ST. .............. 316 (306)
Gates brings .......................... 123
Increase since ST. time ............... 232
Indians steal .......................... 321 (311)
Ireland trades for ..................... 202
Left on outlying plantations ....... 235
Number of (1618) ................. 281 (271)
Number of (1619) ................. 159
Number of (1622) ................. 281 (271)
Plantations attracted by .......... 164
Ranges for, at Rochdale ............. 125
Sandys sends .......................... 176-7
Sent to colony .......................... 122
Stock established ...................... 164
Stock to be maintained ............... 188
Stolen by B. and Inds. .............. 321 (311)
Tobacco traded for .................... 202
Transportation of, authorized,A 18-9, 28

Cats. Food made from ............... 315 (305)

Cause, Nathaniel. Escape of, from Mas ............................................ 212

Cavady, John (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13

Cavendish, Lord. Administration of, commended ....... 268-9 (258-9)
Advised of Johnson petition ......... 280 (270)
Answers to vindication by ........ 284-8 (274-8)
Answers Wrote .......................... 256
Appeals for justice ...................... 268 (258)
Charges agst. Wrote deferred by .... 253 (248)
Commended on administration ....... 268-9 (258-9)
Conditions reported by .......... 180
Confirms contents pet. ............... 280-1 (270-1)
Delivers answer to P. C. 273 (262)
Devonshire,—Earl of .......................... 339 (329)
Election of director moved by .... 265 (255)
Governor of S. I. C. ................. 187
Grievance as to Commrs. referred to ................. 337 (327)
Interest in matters .................... 337 (327)
Lord Treas. summons ................. 265-6 (255-6)
Moves to expose all rapine ......... 297 (287)
Nominated for Treas. ................. 299 (289)
Notify King of Sth. election ........... 339 (329)
Opinion on complaints agst. Contract ................. 267 (257)
Opposed to Ar.-S. Faction ...... 187
Opposes M. petition ................. 222
Papers referred to ..................... 290 (280)
Privy Council summons .............. 267 (257)
Replies to King as to condts. ....... 232
Reports on deliberations .............. 250
Reprimanded ......................... 270 (250)
Reprimands Wrote ..................... 255
Reproves Johnson action .............. 250 (270)
Sackville succeeds .................... 339 (329)
Scandalized by Wrote ................. 256
Somers Is. Co. summoned by ........ 260 (250)
Summoned before Ld. Treas. ......... 264-5 (255-6)
Summoned by P. C. ................. 267 (257)
Summoned by Treas. ................. 260 (250)
Tax (additional) forced by .......... 249
Tax proposal communicated to ........ 245
Testifies agst. Wrote ................. 283 (248)
Tobacco case settled by .......... 338 (328)
Tobacco officials selected by ........ 250
Tobacco tax proposed by ........... 249
Vindication, answers to .............. 284-4 (274-8)
Vindication colony, offered by ..... 283 (273)
Vindication, substance of, by ........ 284-8 (274-8)
Witness for Co. ......................... 268 (258)
Wrote answers by ...................... 256
Wrote answered by ................. 256
Wrote reprimanded by .......... 255
Wrote scandalizes ..................... 266
Wrote’s behavior towards .......... 257-8 (247-8)
Wrote’s behavior towards .......... 256-7 (246-7)

Caviare. Colonists use with surgeon 98
Commodity of Va. ....................... 271 (261)

Cecil, General. Consulted as to fortifications ............... 174
Son Ld. Treas. Burleigh .................. 174
Vere supplants in exped .......... 174

Cecil, Sir Edward, Knt. Member C. for Va. ....................... A 16
Member V. C. ......................... A 9

Cedars. Sent to Eng. ................. 62

Cemetery. See “Burying Grounds.”
Consuring of Tobacco. To be done ................. 331 (321)

Census (see also “Colonists,—population”).
Data ................ 317 (307)
Census of England. Tomocomo takes,—how ........... 143-4
Ceremonies (see also "Dances," "War Dances," "Invocations," "Songs").

Bow and arrows 72
Capture of Smith 53, 55-6
Friendship 49, 72
Mannahocks 72
Mask to entertain Smith 78
Okée 49
Over Peace treaty 72-3
Powhatan's death 209
Quiver 72
Smith's capture 53, 55-6
Susquesahanock. over S. 68
Vambrace 92
Waters escapes during 241

Ceremonies (of Government). Ordained A 17

Chains. Bead 58
Bead, given Ind. women. 72
Great, of white beads. 68
Indians carry 49
King of Paspahcy captive in. 85
Pearl, brought 74
Pearl, demanded by P. 134
Powhatan sends S. one of pearls 89
Used as ornaments 68

Challoner, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member C. for Va. 36
Member V. C. A 9
Chamberlayne, Abraham. Member V. C. A 11
Chamberlayne, Richard (Merchant). Member V. C. A 11
Champion, Richard. Member V. C. A 11

Chancery. Suits to recover monies, 294 (284)
Chancery Court. See "Chancery, Court of."

Chancery, Court of. Favour Co. suits 27
Invoked to force payments. 121
Chance. Sawyer colony 212
Sent to Wyat by Op. 238-9
Chandler, George. Member V. C. A 13
Chaoilois, Lord. Member V. C. A 9
Chaplain. Mr. Hunt comes over. 45
Chapman, Mr. George. Says Harriot atheistic 20

Chard, Edward. Commonwealth erected by 119-0
Duel to be fought by 120

Charity Fort. At Henrico 124

Charles I. Admiral of,—Monson. 184
Cape Charles named after. 45
Complaints of Dutch to 133
Monson, Admiral of. 184
Sandys dedicates book to 314 (304)

Charles II. Chicanery of, vain
Charles City. Courts to sit at 330 (320)

Deserted, 1622 276 (269)
Free school to be built at 204
Houses in,—six 221 (211)
Plantation of, deserted 279 (269)
School to be built at 204

Charles Hundred. In ruins 316 (306)
Ordinance at 230 (310)
Town under S. T. 316 (306)

Charters (see also "Letters Patent," "Grants," "Patents").

All found A iii
Company asked to surrender, 304 (294)
Company Courts limited by. 306 (296)
Conditions of surrendering 309 (299)
Copies of, found 309 (299)
Elections restrained by 299-0 (289-0)
First grant, (1606) 35-6
First, text of A i-3
"Fourth," added A iii
"Fourth," text of. A 32-4
Infringement of 299-0 (289-0)
James grants Second 101
King grants 35-6, 101, 127
Liberties guaranteed by, 161;

Limit Co. Courts 306 (296)
Never legally revoked A iv
New ones proposed 326-7 (316-7)
New to be granted 303-4 (293-4), 305-6 (295-6)
One copy only of Third A iii
Proposal of new ones 326-7 (316-7)
Quarter Court refuses to surrender 308 (298)
Quest-house call for. 301 (291)
Ralegh gives to White. 25-6
Reasons for granting. 101
Restrain election officers. 308 (298)
Second granted (1609) 101
Second,—grantees of, 35-6, 102;
A. 9-14.
Second,—text of A 8-22
Surrender,—condit. of. 309 (299)
Surrender of, refused. 308 (298)
Surrender of, requested 304 (294), 326-7 (316-7)
Surrender of, resisted 306 (296)
Surrender of, resisted. 306 (296)
Text of A 1-34
Text of First. A 1-3
Text of "Fourth" A 32-4
Text of Second A 8-22
Text of Third A 22-32
Third applied for,—why. 126-7
Third granted 127
Third,—one copy A iii
Third,—text of A 23-32
Third,—why asked. 126-7
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Chatfield, James. Member V. C., A 11

Charts. See Maps.

Chattels. Forfeiture of, A 21

Chawonocks (also “Chowanocks”).

Copper told of by 14

Indian Nation 13

King of, a hostage 14

Sicklemore returns from 99

Smith gets guides to 85

Cheeke, Sir Hatton, Knt. Member V. C. A 10

Cheesecake. Formerly called Klack 53

Chening, Robert. Yeoman. Member V. C. A 14

Chester, Captain Anthony. Com­mends gallantry of Bohun.... 188

Chesapeake. Advantages of, for

City of R. 32

City of R. to be seated at 23

Chesapeake Bay. Account of, by

Indian 66

Gilbert puts into 33

Indian account of 66

Indian name of 13

Oldixon confuses 33-4

Origin of name 13

Smith goes to discover 62, 66-7

Smith makes discoveries in

upper 69

Smith returns from discoveries in 67

Chesapeake River (now Elizabeth

River). Explored by S 73-4

Chesapeake. Meaning of name. 13

Nation of Indians 13

Smith ambushed by 74

Smith visits 73

Sue for peace 74

Weopomeokes own country next to 14

Chickahominy, Alliance P. and

Eng. feared by 130

Ambassadors sent to by 139

Argall complains to O. of... 149

Commission to Pierce to go

agst. 313 (303)

Copper to be given 131

Corn among 131

Corn refused by, but se­cured 80, 140-1

Council with Eng. held by 130

Discovered by S. 49

Government of, repub. In

form 130

King of, proclaimed 141

Matchacomoco House robbed

by 149

Murder by, unpunished 295 (285)

Opechancanough affects title,

King of 155

Opechancanough not to ally with 141

Opechancanough proclaimed

King of 141

Powhatan opposed by 130

Proposals to Dale made by 130

Republican form of govern­ment. 130

Rob Matchacomoco House 149

Slay children 149

Surely, but corn forced from... 80

Tassautessus,—name new for 140

Treaty of, with Eng. 130-1

Yeardley sends to, for corn. 140

Chickahominy. Argall concludes

treaty at 130-1

Butler visits 243

Discovered by S. 49

Opechancanough affects title,

King of 155

Smith assaulted on way to 96

Yeardley goes to, for corn. 140

Chickahominy River. Abundance

of corn on 50

Explored by Smith 50

Smith censured as to discov­ery of 50

Chickahominy Swamp. Abundance

of game in 51

Smith conducted to 51

Chickens. Left at last by S 107

Yeardley goes to, for corn 140

Chiles, Alexander. Member V. C., A 12

Chirurgeon. None at fort 106

Chirurgery. None at fort 106

Chowanocks. See “Chawonocks.”

Chowan River. Chowanocks live

in fork of 85

Explored 13

Indian troubles on exped. up. 14

Weopomeokes own 14

Christ (see also “Religion”).

As to woman in adultery 41

Harriot teaches Doctrines of. 19

Pocahontas confesses Faith of 136

Christ-Church Hospital. Indians

to wear habits, as children of. 214

Christian Customs. Amongst In­dians 18

Christianity (see also “Religion,”

“Education”).

Conversion Ins. provided 335 (325)

Christmas. 1608,—S. at Kicquo­tan 85

1609,—S. leaves Va. 109

1611,—Dale assaults Appa­mattocks 124-5

1618,—condition 281-3 (271-3)

1622,—condition 281-3 (271-3)

Christ’s Church, Oxford. Hack­luyt of, referred to 16

Chronicler. Howe, comes over 229

Pension granted, but does nothing 229

Chronologer. Title assumed 60
Chrowshaw, Capt. Ralegh (see also "Crowshaw," "Crawshaw") (Includes "Mr.," etc.).
Absence of.—Results .................. 231
Arrives at Jast ........................ 77
Contempt of, for ........................ 0 237
Corn to be sent by ...................... 238
Design of, agst. O. defeated .......... 240
Dies supposedly ......................... 237-8
Fights with Indians ...................... 92
Fortifies himself ........................ 238
German confederate met by. ............ 94-5
Hamer leaves men with .................. 237-8
Informed of plot ........................ 237
Letter received by ....................... 238
Maddison builds In fort of ............. 239
Maddison defeats designs of .......... 240
Newce visits ............................ 238
Powhatan raided by ........................ 85
Sent to Jast ................................ 94-5
Visit of, in vain .......................... 239
Church (at Jamestown). Repairs to .................. 60, 76, 97
Churches. Articles of 1624 as to .... 329-9 (318-9)
Built ................................. 123-4, 124, 312 (302)
Built at Henrico .......................... 123-4, 134
Fine for not attending .................... 329 (319)
Henrico, when ST. quit .................... 321 (311)
Money raised for a ....................... 204
Plate given by Robinson .................. 171
Poor quality of those built .......... 316 (306)
Punishment for not attending ........... 329 (319)
Robinson gives plate ...................... 171
Uniformity in ............................ 329 (319)
Church (The). Bancroft on relation of govrnt. to ........ 76
No exceptions agst ...................... 330 (320)
To conform to Church of Eng .......... 329 (319)
Church of England. Canons of, churches to conform to . . . 329 (319)
Faith professed by, no enactments agst. 5
Puritans conform to ...................... 76
Services according to rites of ......... 37, 194
Church, Thomas (Draper). Member V. C .... 13
Churchwardens. To present offenders .... 331 (321)
Circassia. Smith flees to ................. 111
Cities. See "Towns," " Corporations."
Civil War (in England). Incidents leading to .......... 207
Clapboard. Garrison at Hog Is. makes .......... 97
Jamestown supply of .................... 46
Sending to Eng. confirms Ind. theory .... 144
Sent to Eng. ............................. 82
Smith starts cols. making ................ 79-0
Clapham, John, Gent. Member V. C ......... A 12
Clare, Earl of. Esteemed equally with Earl of Clarence, 1618-153
Reason Lord Rich not made .......... 153
Clare Hall. Ruggles, Fellow of, makes educational bequest. . . 216-7
Clarence, Earl of. Esteemed equal with Earl of Clare ........ 153
Clarendon, Earl of. Mentioned .......... vii
Clarendon, Lord. Relates Bruce-Dorset duel ............................. 187
Clarrickard, Richard, Earl of ........... Member and to enjoy privileges, A 25
Clarke, Captain. Member V. C .......... A 10
Clarke, John. Imprisoned and returned .......... 138
Pilot for Span. ship ..................... 138
Refuses to betray colony ............... 138
Stolen by Spaniards ...................... 138
Clauaday, William. Member V. C ........ A 12
Clay. Resembles gum from trees .......... 64
Clayborne, William. Appointed surveyor (1621) .......... 180
Cleave, Sir Christopher, Knt. Member V. C ......... A 10
Clene, Richard (Goldsmith). Member V. C .......... A 14
Clergy, Benefit of. When allowed and denied .......... 38
Clergymen (see also "Religion," "Priests," "Ministers").
Absence of, punishment of .......... 329 (319)
Bishop of Lond. to send ............... 173
Burley, member V. C ..................... A 12
Cared for properly ...................... 282 (272)
Hackluit, member V. C ................. A 11
Members V. C ................................ A 11, 12
Never thought kindness would win Inds. .................. 233
Opinions of, as to Inds .................. 233
Orders lacking amongst. 316 (306)
Proctor, member V. C .................... A 12
Provision for ......................... 173, 329 (319)
Punishment for absence from curé ........ 329 (319)
Punishment for disparaging .......... 329 (319)
Salary of, collected by planta-
tions ....................... 329 (319)
Scarcity of (1619) ....................... 172-3
Shepherd (preacher), member V. C .... A 12
Some, without orders ................... 316 (306)
Sufficient number of ........................ 312 (302)
Tobacco not sold until paid ................ 329 (319)
Clerk (Council of State). Sworn in .......... 325 (315)
Clerk (of Council). Sharples ............ 325 (325)
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Clerks. Crenshaw, William... A 11
For Magazines 129
Hackluyt, Richard A 1
Howard, John A 12
Waterhouse, Edward A 10
Clickeley, Clement. Member V. C A 13
Climate. Bad for wine. 296 (286) 278-9 (268-9)
Effect of change of, on Govs. 324 (314)
Healthful 318 (308)
Same as Italy, Spain, etc. 81-2
Unseasonable winter 287 (268)
Winter only proper time to send cols. 318-9 (308-9)
Clitheroe, Mr. Chosen to go to election 230
King's candidate for Treas. 230
Votes received by 230
Clitheroe, Christopher. Member V. C A 13
Cloaths. Arms worn as much as 88
Arrows in S's 51
Brought to P. 77
First necessity 82
Food offered for 49
Hunt saves only his 59
Indians steal 105
Left at Jast. by S. (1609) 107
Newport gives to P. 88
Presented to P. 78, 88
Skin, described 68
Spent at tavern off Jast. 59
Stolen by escaping Inds. 105
Transportation of, authorized A 18-9, 28
Clocks. Ins. amazed at 18
Clothes. See "Cloaths."
Clothworkers, Individuals. Members V. C. A 13, 14
Clothworkers, The Company of. Member V. C. A 13-4
Clubs. Used by Indians 49
Coats (red). To be given Inds. 130-1
Coats of Mail. See "Mail, Coats of."
Cobwebbs. In food 315 (305)
Cock, Robert (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13
Cock and Hen (see also "Hens"). Corn promised for 84
Code. Orders of Govr. and Laws 162
Codfish. Gosnold exped. catches many 31
Codrington, John. Arrives at Jast. 77
Volunteers agst. deserters 100
Coin (see also "Money"). Beads of the Indians 198
Coinage. Authorized A 4
Cottmore, Rowland. Member V. C. A 14
Coke, Sir Edward. Enmity of, to R. 126
Imprisoned by King 206-7
Tyranny of, in law. 126
Coke, Captain John. Member V. C. A 10
Coke, Sir William, Kn. Member V. C. A 10
Coke, Pats ab. ran away 123
Collection of Voyages (Hackluyt's). Letters Patent in 8
"So very rare" 8
College (see also "Education."
"Schools," "Free Schools," "Religion," "University," etc.).
Bishop of Lon. supports 173
Building of 162, 195
Communion set for 171
Copeland, Rector of 182
Deputy for.—Gov. when 196
Deputy massacred 211
Deputy, member C. of S. A 33
Erection of 162
Establishment of 163
Governor & Council to rehabilitate 295 (285)
Indians to attend 172, 195
King provides 182
Lands abandoned 217
Lands for 163
Massacre,—effect on 217
"Most towardly," Inds. to go to Plantation,—purposes of 295 (285)
Provisions for 195
Rector,—his pay 218
Renewal after Massacre. 295 (285)
Sands recommends 163
Scholars of, provided for 163
Somers befriends 162-3
Stith leaves 163
Superintendent of 163
Thorpe, Deputy for 182
Thorpe, Superintendent of 163
Collins, Henry. Member V. C. A 11
Collingwood, Edward, Gent. Attests records v-vi
Company issues warrant to 201 (291)
Clerk of Co. 201 (291)
Collet, Thomas, Gent. Attests Records of Co. vi
Abandonment of, threatened 82
Alive after Starving Time 117
Argall arrives 100
Arms required 831 (321)
Arrive (1584) 12, 22
(1585) 12
(1586) 22
BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1687)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1607)</td>
<td>47, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1608)</td>
<td>62, 76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1609)</td>
<td>102, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1610)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1611)</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1612)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1617)</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1621)</td>
<td>188, 191, 193, 194, 205, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1622)</td>
<td>229, 321-2 (311-2) Report on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attitude to. | 107 |
Authority King's | not respected by. | A 29 |
Authority to transport. | 26; A 4-5, 18, 28 |

Births (1587) | 24 |
(1609) | 115 |
Bohun brings | 183 |
Butler estimates number. | 221-2 (311-2) |
Butler report on conditions. | 278 (268) |
Captured grows like Inds. | 136 |
Carpenters arrive (1622) | 229 |
Cavendish cannot punish. | A 30 |
Christian influence of on Inds. | 18 |
Colonization compared with Spanish efforts | 191 |
Contracts broken by A 29 |
Corn given N. by | 77 |
Corn planted for by Inds. | 72-3 |
Corn to be replaced by | 331 (321) |
Courage of, during massacre. | 212-3 |
Deaths (1586) | 23 |
(1587) | 23 |
(1607) | 46, 48, 50-1 |
(1608) | 59-0, 60, 66, 74, 75 |
(1609) | 98, 97, 102, 115 |
(1610) | 116 |
(1616) | 141 |
(1618) | 148, 149 |
(1619) | 161 |
(1621) | 183, 193 |
(1622) | 208, 211, 212, 215, 237, 237-8, 241, 249 |
(1623) | 278 (268) |
(1624) | 316 (308), 322 (312), 325 (315) |
Decrease of, in Virginia. | 168 |
Delawarr starts with (1618).148 |
Density population relieved by 335 (325) |
Deprived of liberties | 161 |
Deferred from crossing | 293 (283) |
Discouraged by Ar. petitions | 175 |
Discouraged from coming to colony | 164 |
Dispersed to gather food | 98 |

Drake carries to Portsmouth. | 16 |
Drowned (1590) | 27 |
(1609) | 93, 115 |
(1616) | 141 |
Drowned in Berms. | 115 |
Drowned near Hog Island | (1609) | 93 |
Drowned off Hatteras | 27 |
Embark for England | A 164 |
England return to | 175, 117 |
Estimate number of | 321-2 (311-2) |
Exceptions to certain. | 330 (320) |
Expenditures upon | 202 |
Explore country | 13, 50 |
Farming of | 131-2 |
Few come over (1620) (?) | 203 |
Folly of, makes life harder. | 127-8 |
Food not gathered by. | 98 |
Fortifications asked by. | 175 |
Free subjects of Eng. | 271 (261) |
Gates to build new town. | 123 |
Gathered on plantations. | 237 |
Gooch brings | 205 |
Granary to receive corn from. | 330-1 (320-1) |
Great Shares, an encouragement to | 139 |
Greenvil brings | 12, 22 |
Hatteras left at | 24 |
Increase since ST.'s time. | 232 |
Indians carry to fort. | 28 |
Indians live with | 72 |
Indians plant corn for | 72-3 |
Indian treaty with | 180-1 |
Intentions of | 165 |
Ironworkers sent | 153 |
Increase in other colonies | 168 |
Jamestown left at | 47 |
Jamestown sick at | 66, 74 |
Killed at falls and Nsds. | 116 |
Killed by Inds. (1607).46, 60-1 |
(1610) | 116 |
(1618) | 149 |
(1619) | 161 |
(1621) | 183, 208, 211, 237, 241, 249 |
Killed by Pascotlcons. | 241 |
Killed in West Indies | 188 |
Killed near Jast. | 149 |
King fails in promise of cos. | 233 |
King promises to send | (1622) | 233 |
Land assigned to each. | 131-2 |
Land granting methods. | 140 |
"Large importation of" | 191 |
Leave colony | 75 |
Left at Hatteras (1687) | 149 |
Liberties guaranteed to | 160-1 |
Liberties taken from | 161 |
Maids sent over | 165-6, 166 |
Married | 84 |
Massacre, effects on | 316 (306) |
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Massacred (1622) .... 208, 211
Mutiny of .......... A 29
Nansamond,—wrecked in... 241
Necessaries to be furnished. 39
Necessities recommended to. 177
New, equal to first .... A 22
Newport brings ......... 57
Newport's News,—gather at. 235
Newport's News,—wrecked near .... 241
None lost .... 217-8
Number effected by Mas... 316 (306)
Number effected by Mas. 316 (306)
Number for each patent... 282 (272)
Number in S. I. (1622) .... 249
Number massacred (1622) .... 211, 249
Number reported (1621) .. 203-4
Number sent over (1621) . 203-4
Number sent by Sandys .. 176, 176-7
Number prepared to come over ... 203-4
Number to supplant massa­cred ... 232
Number workmen ... 215
Offending to be punished, A. 29-0, 30
Patent provisions for ...... 282 (272)
Pembroke to bring (1621) ... 194
Peonage of ... 226
Petition for 400 ... 283 (273)
Population* (1585) ... 12
(1586) ... 22
(1607) ... 47
(1608) ... 79
(1609) ... 94, 107
(1610) ... 117
(1612) ... 148, 281 (271)
(1619) ... 159
(1621) ... 191, 292
(1622) ... 207, 232, 279-0 (269-0), 281 (271)
(1624) 321-2 (311-2)
Report on ... 203-4
Powhatan tries to starve ... 30
Privileges, entitled to ... A iv
Prospective break contracts to go to colony ... A 29
Punishment for offending ... 20-0, 30
Quality of, better (1623) ... 282 (272)
Respect of for King's C. for Va. ... A 29
Return to Eng. ... 75, 117
Right of, to liberties ... 161
Roanoke Island chosen by ... 13, 50
Sail for colony (1609) ... 102
Sail for N. Eng. (1608) ... 75
Sailors to war on Inds. ... 234
Scattered ... 104
Scattered to seek food 97, 97-8, 99
Scriveners and others ... 57-8, 62
Sent by C. and Co. ... 148
Sent by C. for Va. ... 57
Sent home (1608) ... 75
Sent to colony (1619) ... 148
Sent to Falls ... 104
Sent to S. I. (1612) ... 127
Serve on committee ... 302-3 (292-3)
Sick at Jast ... 66, 74
Smith addresses ... 94
Smith wishes to bring sailors, 234
Somes fs,—number in (1622) ... 249
Starvation scatters ... 97, 97-8, 99
Starving Time,—number alive after ... 174-5
Taken to fort by Inds ... 98
Tobacco culture discouraged ... 177
Tobacco policy of, ungrateful ... 266 (256)
Tomocomo rails agst ... 147
Transportation of, 26; A... 4-5, 18, 28
Treaty of, with Inds ... 130-1
Tyranny deters ... 293 (283)
White brings ... 24
Winter only time for new ... 218-9 (208-9)
Wives for ... 165, 165-6, 166, 167
Women among ... 77, 165-6, 166, 238, 239
Workmen sent ... 215
Wyatt brings ... 194
Wynne dies ... 97

Colonization. Encouraged by charters A 4-5, 18, 28
"Noble enterprise, a," ... 22-3
Spanish efforts compared with ... 191

Colthurst, Henry (Grocer). Member V. C A 13
Columbus. Referred to 1, 3
Commissioner of Navy. Smith (T) ... 158

Commissioners. Action of in colo¬
yon ... 333 (323)
Action of, secret ... 303 (293)
Action of, uncertain ... 307 (297)
Answer of, to G. A ... 327 (317)
Authority of, over servants ... 327-8 (317-8)
Betrayed of, pilloried ... 325 (315)
Butler Infrm. ignored by ... 301 (291)
Committee to attend ... 301 (291)
Company in dark as to ... 303 (293)
Conditions investigated by ... 299 (289)
Conditions to be reported on ... 174-5

*See note under "Population."
Declaration recommended to... 302 (292)
General Assembly answered by... 327 (317)
General Assembly petitions King to send... 317 (307)
General Assembly replies to... 328 (318)
General Assembly withdraws papers from... 325 (315)
Grievance as to... 328 (318)
Intimidation G. A. attempted by... 277 (267)
Investigate colony... 301 (291)
Investigate conditions... 299 (289)
Investigate grievances... 277 (267)
Matthews joins acts of... 328 (318)
Mission kept secret by... 314 (304)
Offended reply to G. A... 327-8 (317-8)
Order records brought... 301 (291)
Privy Council appoints... 307 (297)
Privy Council, arrive... 314 (304)
Privy Council, return to Eng... 338 (328)
Proceedings of, uncertain... 307 (297)
Proposals of, to G. A... 328 (318)
Propose surrendering charters... 326-7 (316-7)
Report of, unknown... 338-9 (328-9)
Report of work of... 302-3 (292-3)
Return from colony... 328 (318)
Sanderson, Queen's, joins R... 8
Sharples betrays... 325 (315)
Smith's error as to... 307 (297)
Surrender of charters proposed by... 326-7 (316-7)
Transportation of, from plantation to plantation... 328 (318)
Uncertain who were... 298 (288)
Urged to action... 301-2 (291-2), 312 (302)
Commission of Survey and Distribution. Lands allotted by... A 15-6
Commisions (Authority).
Appointment by... 330 (320)
Argall violates his... 150
Bonchier gets, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
Commissioners had no... 327 (317)
Condition of, given N... 77, 81
Conditions of, given Newce... 238
Dale reads his... 117
Discoveries under, from Jast... I... 75-6
Fortescue gets, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
General Assembly inquires of... 327 (317)
Gilbert (H.) acts under... 6-7
Gilbert (H.) reads his... 6-7
Gofton gets, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
Import of, given Gates, etc... 101
Issued to Sir Henry Bouchier... 298 (288)
Sir Nicholas Fortescue... 298 (288)
Sir Humphrey Gilbert... 6-7, 313 (303)
Sir Francis Gofton... 298 (288)
Sir Wm. Jones... 298 (288)
Capt. Samuel Matthews... 6-7, 313 (303)
Capt. William Pierce... 6-7, 313 (303)
Sir William Pit... 298 (288)
Sir Henry Spilman... 298 (288)
Sir Richard Sutton... 298 (288)
Capt. William Tucker... 6-7, 313 (303)
Capt. Nathaniel West... 6-7, 313 (303)
Jones, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
Joy over... 301 (291)
Letters Patent to Gilbert (H)... 3-6
Ldtenancy A 21
Lord General's dependence on... 105
Matthews gets to go agst. Inds... 313 (303)
New, granted... 106-7
Newce's conditions of... 23
Newport's, conditions of... 77, 81
None possessed... 327 (317)
Opened... 328 (316)
Ordered produced... 301 (291)
Pierce gets to go agst. Inds... 313 (303)
Pit gets, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
Powers of Yeardley under... 242
Quest-house call for... 301 (291)
Rolfe's expired... 157
Smith allows his stolen... 107
Spilman gets, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
Sutton gets, to examine Co. accounts... 298 (288)
Tucker gets to go agst. Inds... 313 (303)
Under Great Seal of Eng... 277 (267)
West gets to go agst. Inds... 313 (303)
Wyat's expires... 334 (324)
Yeardley's expires... 187
Yeardley's powers under... 242
Commisions (Persons). Conditions to be reported by... 174-5
Committee Extraordinary. Membership of... 283
Commodities (see also "Goods," "Wares," "Merchandises").
Abundance .................. 312 (302)
Account of, shipped .......... 40
Ancient rates enforced 331 (321)
Answer as to .................. 201-2
Captured in battle by S ... 109
Collected in storehouses .... 39
Company takes, to Holland ... 201
Confirmed .................. A 22
Confirmed to Co. ............ A 15, 27-8
Cultivation of, encouraged... 164-5, 193
Culture of ................. 232, 321 (311)
Encouraged .................. 164-5, 193, 232, 311 (311)
Experiments with 281 (271) 316-7 (306-7)
Exportation of, controlled . A 6
"Forwardness" of sundry ... 279 (269)
Governor and Council set rate on 330-1 (320-1)
Granted .................. A 23, 24, 25
Harriot on best to import ... 17
Importation to Eng. 279 (263)
"In perfecting" ............ 231
Instructions for raising ...... 195
Jamestown supply of .......... 107
King's Forest contained ....... 233
Lottery, to be elected ......... A 31
Necessaries not plentiful ........ 77
Necessary, basis of power .... 82
Necessary, of greatest value ... 82
Necessary, raised .......... 183
None sold until arrive at James City 331 (321)
Only, in 1618 ............... 281 (271)
Others to be raised .......... 184
Outlook for, poor .......... 296 (286)
Poverty discourages ......... 323 (313)
Powhatan cheats N. of ........ 58
Preparations for, destroyed 218-9
Price of, committee to rate ... 185
Price of forced up .......... 57
Proclamations as to ........ 321 (311)
Production of, looked into . ... 193
Projects for producing ....... 193
Progress with ................ 295-6 (285-6)
Rate upon, set by G. and C. 330-1 (320-1)
Rates (ancient) enforced .... 331 (321)
Ratified,—of former charters, A 31-2
Remitted to Va. .......... 164
Sale of deferred ............ 331 (321)
Skill of merchants in ......... 231-2
Smith seized canoes of ....... 69
Spent at floating tavern off ... 59, 81
Supplies stolen traded for .. 81
Tax on to be determined .... 329-0 (319-0)
Tobacco an odd .......... 182-3
Tobacco an uncertain ....... 244
Tobacco a "very sinking" ...... 193
Tobacco forces out ....... 281 (271)
Tobacco not to be taken for .. 183
Tobacco sold for .......... 171
Tobacco the staple .......... 140
To be sent home ............. 43
Trade at expense of .......... 81
Trifling, offered by Inds .... 91
Unknown (to Stith), to be cul-
vatived .................. 184
Valuable ones (1618) 281 (271)
Virginia gains new, for Eng 335 (325)

Common Law (of England). Basis of government ..... 37
Martial Law the, of country ... 145, 153

Common Pleas. See "Court of Common Pleas."

Common Seal. Lands granted under .... A 15
Ordinance and Const. given under .......... A 34

Commons, House of. Appoints Committee on Grievances and Oppressions .... 337 (327)
Attitude of, Farrar on ...... 338 (328)
Bespoke to consider pet. .... 338 (326)
Company petition not acted on by .......... 206
Farrar on attitude of .......... 338 (328)
Garbling petition offered in. 199
Members of appointed by Co. ........ 336 (326)
Patriot Party in, heads of .... 179-0
Petition committed to mem-
ers of .......... 337 (327)
Petition of Co. not acted on by .......... 206
Petition takes course in ........ 337 (327)
Petition to ........ 334-7 (324-7)
Quarrels of with King ....... 206
Receive pet. ................ 337 (327)
Tobacco action of .......... 203
Wish to help colony .......... 338 (328)

Commonwealth. Bennet first Gov-
ernor under ................ 199-0

Communion. Celebrated .......... 47
Plate for, given college ....... 171

Comock, Captain. Member V. C., A 10

Companies (see also "Virginia Company)."
Grantees of charter .......... 103, A 1, 9-14
To be two .................. A 1
To colonize Va. ............ A 1

Companies (of the Trades). Mem-
ers V. C., A 13-4

Company and Colony, Gov. to assume charge of .......... 303-4 (293-4)
Company Courts. See "Courts of Company."

Company's Journals. Used by
Stith .......................... v

Compass. Discovered and use of. 18
Indians amazed at .......... 18
Saves Smith ................ 51
Smith mystifies Inds. with. 51

Complaints. (See also "Conditions").
Against Argall taken up 151
Against Governor ............ 232
Argall agst. Cks. ........... 223
Argall agst. M. patent ...... 219
Argall to O. ................. 149
As to provisions ............ 300 (289)
Authority to make .......... 333 (323)
Benefactor of education pre­
sents 214
Charle I to Dutch .......... 133
Chickahominies on West ... 105
Chickahominies subject of. 149
Commissioners not to get.. 302 (292)

Company, forbidden .......... 302 (292)
Delawarr (Lady) agst. Ar. 151-2
Governors,—against 232
Indians agst. West .......... 105
False abetted ................. 333 (323)
Kemp presents, to King ... 226-7
Kent sent to G. and C. ... 227
King suppresses ............. 302 (292)
Lord H. Treas. criticized in.
.......................... 337 (327)
Mariners, as to negroes ... 153-4
Martin patent,—Ar. agst. 219
Martin patent objected to. 219
Negroes,—as to ............. 153-4
Not to go to Comrns. ...... 292 (292)
Of Argall extortions .......... 151-2
Opechancanough gets from
Ar. .......................... 149
Pountis agst. betrayres of
Inds. .......................... 240
Powhatan agst. West ....... 105
Referred to P. C. ......... 290 (230)
Smith, on West .............. 105
Suppressed by King ......... 302 (292)
Tobacco, blocked .......... 285-6 (275-6)
Tobacco, examined .......... 287 (257)
Vice-Admiral's .............. 240
War makes ................. 230 (290)
West,—Cks. agst. ........ 105
West,—Powhatan agst. ... 105
West subject of ............. 105
Written, requested ........ 302 (292), 333 (323)

Compton, Dord. Member V. C. A 9

Concupines. Of Powhatan 53

Conditions. (See also "Complaints").
Actions justified by .......... 100
Argall,—under ...... 175, 176
Butler reports on .......... 378 (368)
Cavendish replies as to .. 232
Christmas (1618) .... 381-3 (271-3)
Christmas (1622) .... 281-3 (271-3)

Commission to report on 174-5
Commissioners investigate 299 (289)
Dale,—under .... 223
Davers reports .... 160
Doncaster to report on .... 180
Explained ........ 293 (283)
Gates reports .... 121
Government .... 317-26 (307-16)
Health ........ 278 (268)
Henrico,—when ST. left ..... 321 (311)

Houses ........ 273 (263), 278 (268), 279 (269), 316 (306)

Justify actions .......... 100
Reports as to 82-3, 121, 160, 174-5, 180, 232, 293 (283), 299 (289), 378 (268)
Smith explains .......... 82-3
Smith (T).,—under 159-6, 159, 219 (288), 312 (302), 315-17 (305-7)
Trade .......................... 236, 240

Conses... Abundance in N. Caro­
 ... 9

Indians send as present .... 10
Connecticut. Coast explored by
Weymouth 33

Conspiracy (see also "Plots,"
"Treachery," "Mutiny").
By Germans ........ 86-10
Punishment for .......... 38, 4
Webb and others in .... 12

Constantinople. Smith sent to ... 11

Constitution. Establishment of.. 160-

For C. of S. and G. A., A. 32-

to accord with ........ 194
Laws sent not agreeable to ... 122

Contract for Tobacco (see also
"Tobacco")
Answer to charges 285-6 (275-6)
Business of, referred to San­
dys ........ 337 (327)
Complaints agst. blocked .... 285-6 (275-6)
Complaints agst. examined .... 267 (257)
Conditions ........ 247-52
Confirmed by Ld. Treas. ..... 267 (257)
Considered .......... 285 (275)
Construction in favour Co.... 247
Control of Co. under .... 247-9
Cranfield to make .......... 244
Deferred ........ 285 (275)
Dissolved .......... 273 (263)
Dissolution of, aimed at Co. .... 276 (266)
Dissolution of, suggested .... 266 (256)
Dissolution threatened .... 246, 247
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

0. Effected by salaries 284 (274), 284-5 (274-5)
1. King declares, void 269 (259)
2. Lord H. Treas. confirms 267 (257)
3. Meeting to complain agst. 267 (257)
4. Merits of 269-0 (259-0)
5. Officers necssitated by. 251
6. Overawes courts and answer to charge 284-5 (274-5)
7. Quarter Court could not ratify 285-6 (275-6)
8. Ratification of, by Quarter Court 285-6 (275-6)
9. Result of money greed and answer to charge. 284-5 (274-5)
10. Revenues advanced by. 289 (279)
11. Salaries effect 284 (274), 284-5 (274-5)
12. Salaries under 251
13. Southampton uses undue influence for 266 (256)
14. Undue influence for ..266 (256)
15. Validity of 267 (257)
16. Void, says King 269 (259)
17. Warwick Faction alarmed.... 273 (263)
18. Wrote plan for 260 (250)

Cable to Marry. With two, forbidden 332 (322)

Conversion (see also “Education,” “Religion”).

Rector for, of Inds. 218

Conway, Sir Edward, Knt. Member C. for Va. A 16
Member V. C. A 9

Conway, Captain Thomas. Member V. C. A 10

Cooke, Captain. Saves drowning sailors 27

Cook’s, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14

Cooper, John. Member V. C. A 12

Cooper, Matthew. Member V. C. A 14

Cooper, Richard. Member V. C. A 12

Cooper, Robert. Member V. C. A 12

Coopers (Individuals). Members V. C. A 11

Coopers, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14

Cope, Sir Anthony, Knt. Member V. C. A 9

Cope, Sir Walter, Knt. Member 3 for Va. 36; A 16
Member V. C. A 10

Copley, Mr. Corroborates ale 297 (287)

Efforts of, for colony 204

Freedom of Co. presented. 204

Land granted 204

Member C. in Va. 218

Member C. of S. 218

Money raised by, for church or school 204

Pastoral care of tenants by. 218

Rector of Col. and his pay. 218

Requested to go to Va. and enter ministry 218

Thanksgiving sermon by. 218

Copper. Authority to mine. A 4, 18

Bounty on. 95

Bounty on. 4, 18

Chain of, to be given Chks. 131

Corn offered for. 91-2

Corn promised for by P. 84

Corn traded for. 84, 91-2, 105

English to provide Inds. with. 73

Fort to be given for. 104-5

Given O. 141

Houses traded for. 104-5

Kettle of, to Japazaws to entice Po. on ship 123

Kettle of, traded for corn. 87

Menatonon tells cols. of. 13

Mining of, authority. A 4, 18

Newport always gave to P. 88

Offered P. for daughter. 135

Offered to Inds. 49

Ornaments. Plates to be used 16

Smith to make for Po. 55

Tribute of 49

Value depreciates as trade medium 57

Value deteriorates 77

Value lower than corn 86

Copplin, Sir George, Knt. (see also "Copplin")

Member C. for Va. A 16

Member V. C. A 10

Coppin, Robert. Member V. C. A 12

Copping, Sir George, Knt. (see also "Copping")

Member C. for Va. A 16

Member V. C. A 10

Co-racial School. Provided for. 214

Corbet, Dr. Richard (later Bishop). Says Harriot not atheistic. 20

Harriot defended by. 20

Cordage. Directions given for making 177

Cordwainers, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14

Corn (see also "Food," "Provisions," "Supplies," "Victuals").

Abundance amongst Cks. 131

Abundance amongst Nsamsmonds 73

Abundance in 1916. 161-2, 166

Abundance on Chickahominy. 50

Abundance relieves famine. 313 (303)

Abundance, when ST. left. 312 (302)
Ambuscades concealed in ........................................... 240
Amount secured ..................................................... 242-3
Appamatocks forced to give ...................................... 84
Argall gets shipload ................................................. 118
Argall spends public ............................................... 150
Authority of Commrs. over ........................................ 327-8 (317-8)
Basis of power of nation ........................................... 82
Bought for skins ..................................................... 99, 140
Brought as treaty condns ......................................... 74
Burned ................................................................. 59, 313 (303)
Cheaper than in Eng. ............................................... 319 (309)
Chickahominies forced to give .................................. 80, 140-1
Chickahominies to pay, for hatchets ............................. 151
Chrowshaw agrees to send ......................................... 238
Clergy to receive ................................................... 173
Clergy's, collected ................................................. 329 (319)
Colonists fail to plant .............................................. 122
Colonists secure .................................................... 83-4
Commissioners authority over ................................... 327-8 (317-8)
Company to pay in .................................................. 183
Contributions to store-house ...................................... 132
Copper offered for ................................................ 91-2
Copper promised for, by P ....................................... 84
Copper traded for .................................................. 84, 91-2, 105
Copper kettle traded for ......................................... 87
Cost of ................................................................... 242
Culture of, by Dale .................................................. 122, 140
Culture of, by Mangoags .......................................... 99
Culture of, encouraged ............................................. 140, 160, 195, 330-1 (320-1)
Exhausted ............................................................... 140
Culture of, provided for ........................................... 99, 331 (321)
Culture of, rules for ................................................. 151-2
Dale has much planted ............................................. 140
Dale plants ............................................................. 122, 140
Damaged by hail ....................................................... 147
Destroyed by Inds ..................................................... 300 (290)
Destroyed by rats ..................................................... 97
Destroyed,—that of Inds ............................................ 313 (303)
Destroyed to keep from Inds ........................................ 236
Discouraged by ambuscades ....................................... 240
Encouraged ............................................................. 140, 160, 195, 330-1 (320-1)
Exhausted ............................................................... 140
Famine relieved by .................................................. 318 (303)
Fish (dried) traded for .............................................. 99
Fish (dried) attacked when gathering ............................ 24
Gathered before relief received .................................... 300 (290)
Granary to be supplied ............................................. 330-1 (320-1)
Greenvil destroys, of Inds ......................................... 12
Hall damaged .......................................................... 147
Hamer goes for ....................................................... 227-8
Hamer takes, for ransom ........................................... 240
Hatchets traded for .................................................. 131
Indians ask cols. to pray for rain ................................ 18
Indians cease to bring .............................................. 116
Indians have little but ............................................. 234
Indians hide their ................................................... 79
Indians invited to plant ............................................ 238
Indians leave part crop for cols .................................. 24
Indians plant for colonists ........................................ 14
Indians say Eng. came to colony to get ......................... 144
Indians steal ........................................................... 101
Indians to plant for cols .......................................... 72-3
Jamestown supply of .............................................. 74, 94, 107
Japazaws offer to trade ............................................ 161
Lack of, under ST .................................................... 316 (306)
Land mortgaged for ................................................ 140
Maddison sent to get ................................................ 238
Magazine supplies when scarce .................................. 164-5
Mangoag method of raising ....................................... 99
Mangoags trade for .................................................. 99
Mortgage of, for lands ............................................. 139-0
Namontack not know of in Eng ................................ 144
Nansamonds forced to give ....................................... 84
Nansamonds have much .......................................... 73
Necessary for existence ............................................ 96
Negotiation for ....................................................... 127
Newce plants much .................................................. 236
Newport receives from colony .................................... 77
Newport receives from Powhatan ................................. 79
Newport to load bark with ....................................... 77
Offered by Japazaws ............................................... 161
Plantations attracted by .......................................... 164
Planted ................................................................. 122, 140, 146-7
Planted at Bermudas ............................................... 125
Planted by Dale ....................................................... 122, 140
Plentiful (1607) ....................................................... 50
(1608) ................................................................. 73
(1613) ................................................................. 131
(1619) ................................................................. 161-2, 166
(1622) ................................................................. 319 (309)
(1623) ................................................................. 312 (302), 313 (303)
Powhatan forces up price of ...................................... 58, 59, 86
Powhatan gives to colony ......................................... 97
Powhatan promises ................................................ 84, 128
Powhatan gives S .................................................... 89
Price not forced up ................................................ 319 (309)
Price of, (1622) ..................................................... 242, 278 (268)
Price of (1624) ....................................................... 319 (309)
Price of, and tob. compared ..................................... 319 (309)
Price run up by P .................................................... 58, 59, 86
Promises of, obtained ............................................. 73
Provision for raising ................................................ 124
Rare—ripe, common ................................................ 162
Rats destroy .......................................................... 97
Rental of, established .............................................. 164
Rules for culture of ............................................... 131-2
Secured ................................................................. 242-3
Secured at Kicquotan......149
Secured by Ar. 118
Seized ...161, 242, 317 (307)
Skins sold for ......99, 140
Smith gets from Appama­
tocks .......................... 84
Smith carries to Jamestown. 94
Smith forces from Cks 80
Smith gets, from Powhatan. 89
Smith on cost of. 242
Smith searches for 93
Spilman goes to trade for. 240-1
Stolen by Indians 101
Stolen by West's men 105
Supply of, at Jamestown. 74, 94, 107
Supply of, carried to Jamestown for trade in 59
Supply of, exhausted 140
Surplus to be replaced by fresh 331 (321)
Taken from Inds 317 (307)
Tobacco subordinated to. 140, 160
Tomocomo sent to Eng. to study 144
Trade for, offered 161
Trade with Inds. for stopped 331 (321)
Traded for by Mangoags ....99
Tribe of 54
Tribe of, from each house 105
Tribe of, not paid 317 (307)
Tribe of, paid 312 (302)
Valuation of by P. 58, 59, 86
Value (comparative) of 319 (309)
Ward seizes 161
Wasted by C. members 238
Yearley finds scarcity of 150
Yearley neglects cultivation 140
Yearley seizes 242
Yearley sends to Cks. for 140
Council (Minor, in Eng.). Appoints officers for Va 101
Council for Virginia (see also "Council," "Council in Virginia," "Council of Virginia").
Abandonment of colony considered by 121-2
Abandonment of colony threatened by 82
Abrogates powers of Pres. and C. in Va 101
Admission of new members, to Co. A 18
Allegiance (oath of) for members of 43
Applies for new charter 101
Appointive power of 37
Appointment officers for Va 101
Argall reprimanded by con. 150
Bishop of London member of 173
Commons besought to receive acct. 336 (326)
Conditions explained by S. 32-3
Courts to be held by and quorum. A 26
Credit due, for good govt. 161
Cruelty of, to cols. 47-8
Declaration by, read 297 (287)
Declaration of recommended to Commons 302 (292)
Desire of for exped. to Mangoags 99
Disappointed, applied for new charter 101
Discouraged, tries to abandon colony 121-2
Disclose ones ordered sent by 167
Distinction as to 37
Divided for two colonies 37
Established and increased 36
Gold (lack of), disappoints 81, 82
Goods of, stolen by Wa. 154
Government (good), due to 161
Grants privileges to M. 220
Powers of, in each colony, 37,
Smith forbidden by, to go agst. Massawomecks 69
Trade rules overridden by 57
Yearley thinks 158
Council (see also "Council in Virginia").
Instructions to N. from... 42
King's, created ..... 36
Laws amended by ... 49
Laws not sanctioned by, sent... 122
Lotteries of,—Proc. as to...A 31
Lottery to be drawn... 133
Marshal and Treas. admitted... 190
Martin a member of... 220
Martin granted privileges by... 220
Members of... 36, A 16
Members (new) of... A 26
Members (new) to be admitted to Co... A 18
Members (new) to be from Co... A 16
Mexican mines attract... 101
Mines of Mexico and Peru interest... 101
Newport's influence upon... 77
Oath of allegiance for members of... 43
Oath to be taken by... 41
Officers appointed by... A 17-8
Opposed to foregone conclusion... 340 (330)
Ordinance and Const. for... A 32-4
Orders under seal of... 41
Petition committed to... 337 (327)
Perpetuation of... A 16-7
Powers of... 42-3, 101
Pocahontas and son provided for... 142
Proclamation as to Lotteries of... A 31
Provide for Po. and son... 142
Provisions, attitude of, as to... 59
Quorum... A 26
Reprimands Ar... 150
Respect for, slight... A 29
Seal of, orders under... 41
Silver (lack of), disappoints... 81, 82
Smith explains conds. to... 82-3
Smith (Thos.), Treas. of... 42
Southampton calls meeting of... 254
South Sea,—powers to, to discover... 43
Supplies and cols. sent by... 57
Thorpe, Sup't of College... 163
Threatens to abandon colony... 82
Tobacco culture restrained by... 164-5
To direct C. in America... 37
Warwick steals goods of... 154
Wyat a member of... 188
Wrote a member of... 254
Wrote excluded from... 261 (251)
Wrote suspended from... 258 (248)

Council in Virginia (see also "Council," "Council for Virginia," "Council of Virginia").

Amends laws... 40
Answers B. Infrm... 318 (308)
Betrayed, pilloried... 325 (315)
Bidery to get papers of... 325 (315)
Butler angered as not member of... 321 (311)
Clerk of, bribed for papers... 325 (315)
Colonists desire name of, preserved... 324 (314)
Composition of... A 3
Corn wasted by... 46
Governors restrained by consent of... 324 (314)
In charge in S. absence... 79
Instructions to... 194-5
Judicial proceedings subscribed by... 3
Jury trials provided by... 3
King gives excessive power to... Pres... 4
King's C. for Va. to appoint... 4
Laws amended by... 4
Maliciousness of, not concern S... 9
Martin removed from... 118, 224
Meetings to assist Gov... 193
Members added to... 158, 182, 193, 211
Members of... 236
Members subscribe answer to B. Infrm... 323 (312)
Newce visited by... 236
Oath of, same as King's C... 41
Orders sent to under seal... 41
Powers of... 158
Powers of... 38-41; A 3
Powers of, abrogated... 101
Powers of, dual... 310 (300)
Powers of Pres... 37, 38-41
Powers of,—when to cease... A 17-8
Presidents,—how elected... 37, 42-3
Presidents,—powers of... 37, 38-41
Punishment for members of... 196
Punishment,—power of, given to... A 30
Punishment,—power of, not given to... A 29-0
Reply of, to instructions... 194-5
Restraint of, on Govs... 324 (314)
Royal Domain in Va. agree-

*See note under "Presidents of the Colony."
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

able to ........................................ 224
Scriveners admitted to .......... 57-8
Seal,—design of .................. A 3-4
Sharpies pilloried for betray­al of ........................................ 325 (315)
Smith blamed by .................. 50
Smith elected Pres. of ........... 76
Smith has two voices in ........ 97
Smith opposes orders in .......... 77
Smith overruled by ................. 78
Smith's rules overthrown by .... 57
Sworn ........................................ 45

Council of State. Asst. Gov. ... 193
Charter and constitution of ....... A ii, 32-4
Clerk of, sworn in ................. 326 (315)
Copeland member of .............. 218
Directions to ......................... 157
Dispersed greatly ................ 124
Governor assisted by ............. A 33
How constituted ..................... A 32-3
Instructions to ....................... 194
Laws of Eng. to guide .......... A 33-4
Marshal and Treas. of ............. 190
Meet in Quarter Sessions ......... 193
Members of G. A. .................. 196
Member of, signs Declaration, ... 322 (312)
Offenders to appear before ...... 196
Ordinance and Constitution for, and the G. A .... A 32-4
Privy Council act as King's ....... 310 (300)
Part of G. A. ......................... 196; A 33
To assist Gov. ....................... A 33

Council of Twelve (see also "Assistants").
Assistants to White ................. 23
How of, slain ......................... 23
Supplies sent for by ............... 24
White assisted by ................... 23

Council of Virginia (see also "Council," "Council for Virginia," "Council in Virginia").
Composition, powers and seal of ........................................ A 4
Land distributed by ............... A 8
Members of .......................... A 16
Powers of ............................ A 4
Successors of, named by ......... A 7

Council of War. Agst. Algerines 184
For Spanish Armada .............. 24
Members of .......................... 24

Counsellors. Oath to be adminis­tered to ........................................ A 16-7
"Counter-Blast to Tobacco, A."
Treatise by King ................... 183
Counters. Punishment by send­ing to ........................................ 263 (253)
County Courts (see also "Courts")
Origin of ............................ 207-8
Powder waste to be punished by ........................................ 332 (322)
To be held monthly ............... 330 (320)

County Lieutenants. See "Lieutenants of Counties."

Court-Books. King and PC. do not return ........................................ vi
Records of Co. compared with original ........................................ v-vi

Court Martial. Brewster tried by 152
Brewster's, unlawful .......... 181-2
Verdict agst. Brewster ille­gal ........................................ 181-2

Court of Common Pleas. Com­pany favoured by ......................... A 27
Jones of, gets commn. .......... 298 (288)

Court of Pleas. Title assumed .... 60

Courts (see also "Courts of Co.", "County Courts," "Inferior Courts," "Quarter Courts," etc.).
Acts of, confirmed ............... 308 (298)
Held monthly ....................... 330 (320)
Little redress in, of law ......... 340-1 (330-1)
Powers of ............................ A 26-7
To be as in Eng. .................. A 14

Courts (of Company). Admit­tance to, barred ......................... 202-3
Cease to be held ................. 303 (293)
Farrar calls extraordinary .... 306 (296)
Great and general, held ......... A 26
Jefferson at ........................ 307 (297)
Held when desired ............... A 26
Jurisdiction of ....................... 305 (295)
Officers of, continued .......... 299-0 (289-0)

Covell, Francis. Member V. C. .... A 11
Cows, see "Cattle."
Cox, Richard. Member V. C. .... A 11
Coxendale. At Henrico .......... 124
Coyse, William. Member V. C. .... A 11

Crabs. Colonists subsist upon .... 48
Colonists catch ..................... 25
Newce obliged to live on ......... 137

Cranfield, Sir Lionel. Advocates higher tax on tob. .......... 244
Lord H. Treas. and Earl of Middlesex .......... 244
Married relative of Bucking­ham ........ 244
Offices held by ..................... 244
Reprimands Argall ................. 150-1

Crawfish. Abundance, in Berms. .... 114
Crawshaw, Ralegh (see also "Crow­shaw," "Chrowshaw") (includes Capt., Mr., etc.).
Member V. C. ....................... A 11

(Clerk). Member V. C .... A 11
Creeks. More useful than noisome 318 (308)
Crew, Anthony. Member V. C. A 11
Crew, Sir Thomas. Banished to Ireland 207
Crimes (see name each crime).
Adultery, 31
Bigamy,
Conspiracy,
Incest, 31
Manslaughter, 31
Murder, 31
Manslaughter, 31
Rape,
Sedition,
Tumults, 31
Punishable where committed. 38
Punishment for. . . . 38, 41, 41-2
Croatan. Colony moved to 27-8
Food sought at. . . . 15
Greenvil party sought at. . . 23
Indians of, killed by mistake. 24
Relief exped. reaches. . . . 26
Relief exped. sails for 7-8
Croft (see also name below) Sir Herbert, Knt. Member C. for Va. . . . 36
Croft (see also name above) Sir Herbert, Knt Member V. C. . . . A 10
Cromwell, Henry. Member V. C., A 12
Cromwell, Sir Oliver, Knt. Bennet Gov. under Commonwealth. . . . 199-0
Member C. for Va. . . . 38, A 16
Member V. C. . . . A 9
Cromwell's Usurpation. Bennet first Gov. elected under. . . . 199-0
Crosby, William. Member V. C., A 11
Cross-Bar. Indians scared by. . . . 46
Crosses. Set up in Rappahannock River 70
Crow. Forced upon Powhatan. 79
Newport brings to P. . . . 77
Used at coro...nation of P. . . . 78-9
Crowshaw, Capt. Raleigh (see also "Chrowsaw," "Crawshaw") . . .
(Includes "Mr."). 317 (307)
Burgess . . . . 317 (307)
Friendship of Inds. for. . . . 218-4
Jamestown visited by. . . . 94, 238
Patomack visited by. . . . 218-4
Signs Declaration by G. A. . . . 317 (307)
Smith aided by. . . . 92
Trades at Pamunkey 90
Trades in Patomack River. 213
Cruelty. Thos. Smith and Council charmed with. . . . 47-8
Cucumbers. Indians send, as present. . . . 10
Culler, Thomas (Grocer). Member V. C. . . . A 13
Culpeper, John, Gent. Member V. C. . . . A 11
Culpeper, Thomas, Esqr. (of Wig-sel). Member V. C. . . . A 11
Culverins. Two demi— sent to P. . . . 56
Currency, see "Money."
Curriers, The Company of. Member V. C. . . . A 14
Cursing. Smith cures. . . . 80
Friendship of Inds. for. . . . 213-4
Jamestown visited by. . . . 94, 238
Patomack visited by 213-4
Signs Declaration by G. A., 317 (307)
Smith aided by. . . . 92
Trades at Pamunkey 90
Trades in Patomack River. 213
Dances (see also "Ceremonies," "Invocations," "War Dances," "Songs").
Over boat found. . . . 241
Smith honoured by. . . . 67
Dale, Lady. Castle of, spoiled. . . . 243
Dale, Sir Thomas. Arrives safely (1611) . . . . 122
Council of Cks. and. . . . 130-1
Character of. . . . 123, 139, 295 (285)
Chickahominies send ambassa-doors to, with proposals. . . . 130
Christianity taught Po. by. . . . 156
Civilizing of Indians by. . . . 216
Conditions under. . . . 223
Corn given as mortgage on whole Ind. country. . . . 140
Corn planted by. . . . 122, 140
Dispatched with supplies. . . . 122
Duty exemption to those arriv-ing prior to departure of. . . . 158
Exploits of, to be recorded. . . . 191
Explores rivers. . . . 122
Farrar's Island selected by as town site. . . . 122
Firearms, use of, taught Inds. by. . . . 142
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indexing Category</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor 122</td>
<td>Governor again 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamer sent by, as ambassador to P. 133-4</td>
<td>Henrico, the name given his town 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Marshall 101</td>
<td>Impressed by country, writes ST. 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians civilized by 216</td>
<td>Industry of 295 (285)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King's Forest laid off by 223</td>
<td>Land allotted Indians by 131-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land allotting methods changed by 139-0</td>
<td>Laws, harsh administration of, by 122, 152-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws of ST. ordered published by 122</td>
<td>Letters of, desired to be read 297 (287)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management of, good... 163-4, 164</td>
<td>Marriage of Rolfe and P. approved by 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narratives of, corroborated 297 (287)</td>
<td>Opechancanough sends Tomocomo to Eng., says 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy in charge until arrival of 121</td>
<td>Pocahontas sent to Eng. by 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocahontas and others taken to Eng. by 123</td>
<td>Pocahontas taken with, to negotiate with P., but return to Jast. 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan answers 135</td>
<td>Powhatan calls, “Brother” 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge taken by, on Appamattocks 124</td>
<td>Says O. sent Tomocomo to Eng. 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Says Pocahontas equal all Europe put together 132</td>
<td>Statements of, corroborated 297 (287)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaches Indians use of firearms 142</td>
<td>Thorpe, kinsman of, Supt of College 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomocomo rails violently agst 147</td>
<td>Tobacco officials selected by 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomocomo sent to Eng b’y O. 144</td>
<td>Davies, Captain. Arrives in Va. 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town built by 123-4</td>
<td>Embezzles ambergrace 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns sent P. by 134</td>
<td>Sends pilot to Spanish ship 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmoil after departure of 140</td>
<td>Davies, Abraham, Gent. Member V. C. 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues of 139</td>
<td>Davies, John. Member V. C. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeardley Dep. Gov. under 138</td>
<td>Davies, Lancelot, Gent. Member V. C. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damages To be awarded 38-9</td>
<td>Davies, Sir Thomas, Kn. Member V. C. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danby, Henry. Member V. C. A 11</td>
<td>Dawkes, Henry. Member V. C. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dare, Ananias. Daughter born to 24</td>
<td>Dean, Richard. Member V. C. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dare, Virginia. So named as first child born in colony 24</td>
<td>Death Penalties (see also “Punishments”). Benefit of clergy denied—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dartmouth. Gosnold sails from 30-1</td>
<td>Crimes punished by 38, 41, 41-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth returns to 34</td>
<td>Deaths, see “Colonists—deaths.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helped kill cols. on Roanoke Island 23</td>
<td>De Bry, Theodore (see also “De Brye”). Published account of voyage in Latin 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How slain by 23</td>
<td>Says Hackluyt was in Va. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davers, Sir John. Appointed wait on invest. commrs. 301 (291)</td>
<td>Stith uses his Harriot's Treatise 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
De Brye, Theodore (see also "De Brye").

His Harriot, a help to Stith... iv

Debtors. Martin plantation a refuge for... 224-5

Debts.
Burgesses not to be arrested for... 330 (320)
Company owes to Wyatt... 334 (324)
Discharge of, provided for... 332 (322)
Precedence of, for purchase of wives... 197
Smith free from vice of... 112

Declarations of the Prosperous Estate of the Colony, etc...
311-2 (301-2)
Johnson draws... 311-2 (301-2)
Johnson’s,—answer to... 315-7 (305-7)
Johnson’s,—colony informed as to... 314 (304)

Declarations: Consideration of C’s urged... 301-2 (291-2)
Company to King... 281-7 (271-7)
Johnson’s, arrives, copy of... 314 (304)
King to Co... 278-90 (268-80)
Signers of... 317 (307)
To King... 281-90 (271-80)

Deer. Abundance... 64
Abundance on N. C. coast... 9
Flesh of, given... 65
Hunting of, regulated... 148
Indians bring, day before massacre (1622)... 209
Indians bring to Jast... 97
Indians send as present... 10
King’s Forest full of... 224
Prevalence of... 49
Suet of, carried at Jast... 94
Symbol of, used... 49
Tribute of... 54

De Gama, Vasco. Reaches East Indies... 2-3

Deist. Ralegh branded as... 20

Delawarr, Lady. Complains of Argall’s extortions... 151-2
Pocahontas taken to court by... 145

Delawarr Bay. Lord Delawarr died at... 148
Origin of name... 148

Delawarr River. Skin trade with Indians in... 198

Delawarr, Lord. Appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Va... 100, 101
Appointment of, increases interest in Va... 102
Argall’s goods to be seized by... 151

Arrival... 117-8
Assignments of... 117-8
Attacked at Falls... 120
Brother of, arrives at Jast... 77

Charges agst. Argall sent to, after his death... 151
Death of, news of, received by Co... 151
Dies at Western Islands... 148
Discharge of, provided for... 148
Discharge of, to be recorded... 191
Forts at Kicquotan built by... 120
Interests in Va. increased by appointment of... 102
Landing of... 117-8
Letters to, fall in Ar. hands... 151
Oration of... 117-8
Papers referred to... 290 (280)
Martin removed from Council by... 224
Pledges his fortune to stand by colony... 121-2
Pocahontas carried to Court by... 145
Rescues colony... 117-8
Sails for West Indies... 120-1
Supply to be sent by... 100
Starts with supply (1618)... 148
Volday comes back with... 103
Western Islands,—dies at... 148

Demi-Culverlines. Number in colony... 320 (310)
Sent to Powhatan... 56

Demi-God. Smith regarded as... 5

Democracy. Charters provide for... 287-8 (277-8)

Government of colony. Increased by appointment of... 102
Argall’s goods to be seized by... 151
Arrival... 117-8
Assignments of... 117-8
Attacked at Falls... 120
Brother of, arrives at Jast... 77

Opposition to a... 288 (278)

Denmark, King of. Intercedes for Raleigh... 155

Dennis, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C... A 10

Dequester, Matthew. Member V. C. A 12

Deputy (see also "Farrar, John," "Farrar, Nicholas," "Deputy Treas.").

Accusations agst... 255, 256, 266-7 (256-7)
Accused of concealing petition... 266-7 (256-7)
Accused of falsifying records... 255

Answers charges of Wrote... 257 (247)

Blow aimed at... 309 (299)
Books of, well kept... 177
Courts at house of, suppressed... 338-9 (328-9)

Farrar elected agst. his will... 253
Favour not expected by... 310 (300)
For tobacco dealings... 250-1
Fidelity of, commended... 178
Johnson the... 219, 221
Lord Treas, summons... 266 (256)
Meetings of, suppressed... 338-9 (328-9)
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Negligence not imputed to..255
Nominations for ..............230
Oaths to be administered by, A 22, 28-9
On committee to transport dissolute ones ..............167-8
Orderd to obey ..............203
Ordered to relieve colony ....300 (290)
Petition committed to ..337 (227)
Pledges for colony ..........203-4
Powers given to..............303 (298), A 28-9
Rebuked by P. C. ..........201
Salaries debate urged by ..264 (254)
Salaries vote put by .........256
Summoned by Lrd. Treas... ..266 (256)
Tells Co. he supposes they wish to help colony..338 (328)
Deputy Farrar (see also “Farrar, John,” and “Farrar, Nicholas” “Deputy Treasurer”)
Asks written complaints ....333 (322)
Grievance committed to ...337 (327)
On attitude of House of Com­mons ..................338 (328)
Petition committed to ..337 (327)
Deputy for the Company, Member C. of S. ..A 33
Deputy for the Company’s Lands.
Newce ....................182
When elected Governor ....19f
Deputy for the College, Massac­red .........................211
Member C. of S. ............A 33
Thorpe appointed ..........266 (152)
When to be Governor .......196
Deputy Governor. Argall elected.145
Argall declines to be ........50
Argall scorns title of ......150
Conditions under Argall as .........175, 176
Powel left as ..............157
Yeardley, under Dale .....138
Deputy Treasurer of Virginia (see also “Deputy,” “Farrar, John,” “Farrar, Nicholas”).
Answer of, to King. 305-6 (295-6)
Arrested ....................298 (288)
Canning as ..................293 (283)
Conditions for, nominated by King ..............230
Duties of, assigned ........A 17
Extraordinary Court called by ..............306 (296)
Farrar, J., elected ..........159, 181, 193-5, 253
Farrar, J., re-elected (1620) .151
Farrar, J., re-elected (1621) ..........192-3
Farrar, N., elected ..........230
King nomiinates conds. for.230
Limited as result ST.’s rule ....299 (289)
Ordered to answer King’s pro­posal ..................305-6 (295-6)
Privy Council summons, 300 (290), 303 (293)
Proposals rejected by meet­ing of ..............306 (296)
Provision made for .......A 17
Quo Warranto served on ....307-8 (297-8)
Released to aid commrs ...298 (288)
Required at Courts of C.A 26
Summoned by P. C. ..........300 (290), 309 (293)
Descartes. Borrowed much from Harriot 20
Descens. Laws (Indian) of ....54
Deserters. Werowocomoco, to be killed .....................100
Desmond, Earl of. Raleigh gets grant from lands of ..25
Devils, Isle of. Early name of Bermudas .........114
Devon. Adventurers from county of .................A 3
Courteney elected knight of...11
Knights of, elected ........11
Plymouth in county of ........36
Ralegh elected Knight of ...11
Steukley, Vice-Adm. of ....146
Devonshire, Earl of. Cavendish becomes ...........187, 339 (329)
Opposes Argall-Smith Fraction .....187
Dewhurst, Captain. Member V. C. ...............A 10
Dexter, Captain. Member V. C. .................A 10
Diggie-Smith free from vice of ....112
Digby, Sir John, Knt. Member V. C. .............A 10
Diggies, Sir Dudley, Knt. Banished to Ireland ..........207
Member C. for Va. ..........16
Member V. C. ...............A 10
On Com. to codify colonial laws ...............162
On Com. to establish college ....163
Patriot Party member of Commons .............179-0
Diggies’s Hundred. Annexed to Henrico ..........125
Dike, John (Fishmonger). Member V. C. ..........A 13
Dingley, John. Member V. C. ........A 12
Dingley, Thomas. Held in peo­nage by Argall and Smith ..........226
Directors.
Dale becomes, of Magazine, 285 (285)
Election of another, desired .............233 (253)
For tobacco dealings ..........250-1
Government to be in ..........231
Johnson, of Magazine, 295 (285)

52
Nominees for office of...265 (255)
Sandys elected agst. his will.253
Sandys resigns as...263 (253)
Dirt. Gold-dust referred to as.60, 62
Disbursements. Ordered for de­
fence of suit ........ 308 (298)
Discoveries. English, of early
date ................. 3
Discovery (Barge) (see also
“Barges,” “Barge Discovery”).
Arrival of, saves Ratcliffe... 66
Corn gotten from Cks. by. 80
Sails to raid P ........ 85
Discovery of America, see “Amer­
ica, Discovery of”.
Diseases. Butler tells of... 278 (268)
Dissolute Ones (see also “Lewd
Ones,” “Loose Ones,” “Liber­
tines,” “Poor,” Paupers,”
“Rakes”).
Bad reputation from ........ 168
Custom of sending to Va ........ 168
Effect of, on colony ........ 168
King forces shipping of .......... 167
Many sent to colony and give
bad reputation ........ 168
Reclaimed by Dale ........ 164
To be sent to Va. to be ser­
vants .......... 167
Dissolution (of Co.) (see also “Va.
Co.—dissolution”).
Officers continue until......... 300 (290)
Ditchfield, Edward. Member V.
C. ........................ A 12
Dixon, Adam (Master Calker).
Head in peonage by Smith and
Ar. ........................ 226
Land granted to ........ 226
Petition of .................. 226
Dobson, William, Esqr. Member
V. C, 102 A 10
Doctor of Cambridge, Member V.
C. ........................ A 13
Doctor of Physic (see also “Rus­
sell, Walter”).
Russell, arrives .............. 62
Doctors (Individuals). Members
V. C, 102 A 10
Doderidge, John, Esq. Member
King’s C. for Va. ........ 35
Solictor General ........ 36
Dogs. Food made from.64, 315 (305)
Doncaster, Viscount. Opposes Ar­
gall-Smith Faction ........ 187
To report on conditions ........ 180
Donne, Dr., Dean of St. Paul’s.
Asond Quarter Court ....... 2 (250)
Friend of Roe ............ 178
Dorset, Earl of. Member V. C, A 9
Opposed to Argall-Smith Fac­
tion ................. 187
Sackville becomes.187, 339 (329)
Dorsetshire. Somer’s remains
taken to .............. 119
Downs. Home of Rev. Mr. Hunt. 44
Downtus (see also “Pountis”).
Member V. C, A 33 (note)
Dragoon of the Long Robe. Nick­
name for King. ............. A IV
Drake, Sir Francis. Colonists car­
tied to Portsmouth by ........ 16
Fleet of, mentioned .......... 22
On Com. to which R. com­
mittcd ............... 11-2
Pillages Indies and Florida.15-6
Roanoke colony rescued by.15-6
Dransfield, Averic (Grocer). Mem­
er V. C, A 13
Draper, Thomas, Member V. C, A 12
Drapers (Individuals). Members
V. C, A 12, 13
Drapers, The Company of. Mem­
er V. C, A 13
Drones. To be banished from fort 98
Drought. Indians ask S. to pray
for rain .......... 147
To be punished ........ 194
To be suppressed ........ 194
Drury, Sir Druc, Kn. Member V.
C. ........................ A 9
Drury, Sir Robert, Kn. Member
C. for Va. ............ 16
Member V. C, A 9
Ducks. Abundance, on rivers. 50
Duelling. Does not appeal to
Inds. ............... 92
Eppes, kills Stallings while .... 92
Smith challenges O. ........ 92
Dun, Sir Daniel, Kn. Member V.
C. ........................ A 10
Dun, William (see also name be­
low). Member V. C, A 12
Dunn, William (see also name
above). Member V. C, A 13
Duppa, Jeffry. Member V. C, A 11
Duppa, John (Brewer). Member
V. C, A 14
Duret, Philip. Member V. C, A 12
Dust and Ashes, Anon. name
of benefactor ........ 214-5
Dutch Settlement. Argall takes,
on Hudson ........ 133
Complaint to Chas. I concern­
ing ............... 133
Firmcr one made ........ 133
New Amsterdam ........ 76
Part of Virginia ........ 133
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Submit to King James ............... 133
Trades with Inds. for skins .......... 198
Dutch Ship. Brings negroes ........... 182
Duty, see "Customs."

Dyers, The Company of. Member
V. C .................................. A 14

Dyes. Brought by N. C. Inds. ...... 10
Pocones used as, by Inds ......... 84
Search for, urged .............. 195

Each, Capt. Samuel. To build
blockhouse .......................... 229
Earls. Members V. C .............. 102; A 9
Earsye (evidently "Pearsye") Jer­
emy. Member V. C .................. A 12
Eastern. Governor held daring and
title of .............................. A 26
Easter Term. Courts provided
for .......................... A 26
Eastern Shore. Character of coast
of .............................. 62, 63
Colonists propose to return to
and fortify .......................... 285
Domains of Powhatan ............... 54
Explored .......................... 62
Lands of Sec. laid off on .......... 174
Opechancanough tries to pois­
on King on ...................... 209
Powhatan's language spoken
on .............................. 62
Smith visits ........................ 62
East Greenwich. Lands to be
holden as of ........................ A 7, 15, 25
East India. Probable passage to .. 43
Royal James, ship of ............. 204
East India Company. Thos. Smith,
Governor of .................... 42, 158
East India School. Carpenters for,
come over .......................... 229
Connected with college at
Henrico ............................ 204
Free school at Charles City ......... 204
East Indies. Dale at ................ 287 (277)
Portuguese possessions in .. 3
Thomas Smith, Governor of ....... 42
Edicts. Published by Governor .... 147
Tobacco price set by ............ 147
Education (see also "College,"
"University," Free Schools,"
"Schools," "Religion").
Advance in ......................... 295 (285)
Benefaction of Boyce for .......... 217
Bequest for ....................... 214, 215, 216-7
Bequest for, by Ruggles. 216-7
Boyle makes bequest for .......... 217
Clergymen, sufficient number
of ................................. 312 (302)
Complaint from benefactor
of .................................. 214
Free school, money raised for . 204
Gift for, of Indians ................ 166, 171-2
Indians provided for ............ 166, 171-2, 195

"Most towardly" Inds. to go to
college ............................. 195
Of Indians provided for .......... 171, 172
Profts of ironworks to go to .... 215
Provided for ........................ A 20
Provision by each town .......... 195
Rector of College for Convers­
ation of Inds. ....................... 218
Thieves work among Inds. 211
Towns to educate Indians ....... 195
Treaty with Inds. recommend­
ed ................................. 215
Edward VI. Wrothesly, regent of
minority of ......................... 179
"Edwin Sandys's Laws." So call­
ed by Wrote ....................... 255
Eggs. Embezzled by President of
colony .............................. 48
Egyptian Slavery. Colonists wasted
by like of ........................ 321-2 (311-2)
Eight, Rials of, see "Rials of Eight"
Elders (of Inds.). Captured ....... 141
Chickahominies governed by . 130
Great influence of ................ 233
Oration on treaty by .......... 131
Eldred, John (Merchant London).
Member C. for Va ............... 36; A 16
Member V. C ..................... A 11
Eldridge, Thomas. Marries great,
great, granddaughter of Po ....... 146
Election. Of Governor and As­
sistants ............................ 304 (294)
Election, Freedom of. Guar­
teed by King ..................... 230
Elizabeth (Queen). Dies ........... 32
Florida seized in name of ....... 9
Gathers sea-captains for Ar­
mada ............................... 24
Grants L. P. to Humphrey
Gilbert .............................. 3-6
Grants L. P. to Ralegh .......... 28
Grants license to Ralegh for
wine vending ..................... 8
Influence of name of ............. 6
Island named after .............. 31
Loses wager to Ralegh .......... 21
Monson, Admiral of .............. 184
Names the country Virginia .... 11
New Eng. Inds. subject to ....... 16
Newfoundland seized in name
of ................................. 6-7
Okisco owns subjection to ..... 14
Pardons Earl of Southampton .. 179
Plate Fleet ordered intercept­
ed by ..................... 28
Ralegh one of best command­
ers under ....................... 156
Restrains R.'s researches ... 20
Roanoke rescued under orders
of ................................. 15-6
Romish pilgrims rail at ......... 109
Smith petitions, for Po ...... 142-3
Tobacco encouraged by ......... 21
Virginia named by .............. 11
Withdrews favour from Ra­
legh ............................... 30
With sent by, to paint natures, etc. 16
Elizabeth City. Corn planted at. 236
Courts to be held in. 330 (320)
Hill alone at, defends house. 236
Massacre at. 256
Elizabeth Fort. At Henrico. 124
Elizabeth River. Explored by Smith. 73-4
Formerly called Chesapeake. 73
Mentioned. 13
Elizabeth Island. Crops planted on. 31
Left reluctantly. 32
Origin of name. 31
Elkin, John (Merchant). Member V. C. A. 11
Ellis, John (Grocer). Member V. C. A. 13
Embalming. Body of Somers embalmed. 119
Embroiderers. The Company of. Member V. C. A. 14
Embroidery. Pearl and white beads. 58
Emeralds. Spaniards control abundance of. 3
Emigrants. See “Colonists.”
Emperor. See “Powhatan.”
Emry and Robinson. Killed while with Smith. 51
Smith charged with death of. 56
Engineers. Fortifications to be raised by. 173
Treas. and Co. asked for. 173
England. Accusers of Smith sent to. 56
Actions of faction in. 333 (323)
Acts of G. A. sent to. 160
Administration of laws in, and Va. 310-1 (300-1)
Advantages to. 335-6 (325-6)
Affairs in, and Va. 313 (303)
Argall leaves for. 162
Argall sails for. 137
Beeston expedition returns. 33
Clark’s returns to. 138
Colonies to be in league with. 5
Colonists embarked for. 117
Colonists free subjects of. 271 (261)
Colonization for strength of. 289 (279)
Colonization of Newfoundland attempted by. 3
Colony informed as to affairs. 338 (328)
Columbus offers services to Henry VIII of. 3
Commission under Great Seal of. 277 (267)
Commodities not vendable in. 202
Commodities to be sent from. 40
Common Law of, basis of government. 37
Company can purchase lands in. A. 14
Corn cheaper than in. 319 (309)
Council in, sends supplies. 57
Oults of, followed. 321 (311)
Dale returns to. 138
Delawarr returns to. 121
Difficult to comply with instructions from. 324 (314)
Dormant in discovery. 3
Duty on goods imported to. 168
Emoluments to. 336-5 (325-5)
False advices and informations sent to. 81
Gates returns to. 132
Gilbert returns to. 75
Gondomar fears another, in America. 247
Gosnold returns to. 35
Gondomar’s sway in. 246
Governor and Assistants to reside in. 303-4 (293-4)
Governor to reside in. 303-4 (293-4)
Great Seal of, used. 298 (288)
Houses better than cottages of. 320 (310)
Importations to. 202-3
Importations to, policy for. 271 (261), 272-3 (262-3)
Indians own subjection to. 14, 16
Inhabitants of, once wild and barbarous. 16-7
Interest of, not to stoop to Spain. 338 (328)
Jefferson at Courts in. 307 (297)
Justice to accord with Const. of. 194, 197
King James violates Constitution of. 41
Lands can be purchased in, by Co. A. 14
Lane sails for. 21-2
Laws, administration of in, and Va. 310-1 (300-1)
Laws as agreeable as may be to those of. 5
Laws not to be contra to Church of. 5
Laws not to be contra to those of. 40, 41
Laws of, as to crime. 41-2
Laws of, followed. 321 (311)
Laws of, to guide. A. 33-4
Laws of, to prevail. 276 (269), A. 21
Laws of, upheld. A. 33-4
Laws repugnant to Constitution of. 293 (283)
Letters Patent under Great Seal of. 224
Loss of France to. 132
Martial Laws to be agreeable to Statutes of. 152
Martin returns to. 62
Mentioned. A. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14,
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 31, 32, 34

Monopoly of tobacco trade of, offered .......... 244, 247
Namontack back from .......... 78
Newfoundland seized in name of .......... 6-7
Newport returns to .......... 81
Newport’s influence in .......... 77
No longer subservient to Spain .......... 338 (328)
Northern colonists return to (1608) .......... 75
Offenders to be sent to for punishment .......... 37
Orders of Court in, not to bind colony .......... 197
Ordinance and Court for the Treas. and C. and Co. in A 32-4
Petition framed in .......... 333 (323)
Petition to bring all tob. to .......... 286 (276)
Petitions drawn in, are fake .......... 333 (323)
Planters in, defend Wyat .......... 333-4 (323-4)
Policy for importations to .......... 271 (261), 272-3 (262-3)
Policy of King of, to fisheries .......... 74-5
Popham, Ld. Chief Justice of, of 2nd colony .......... 322 (312)
Pountis dies on coast of 322 (312)
Pountis goes to, to solicit cause .......... 322 (312)
Pountis sent to .......... 332 (322)
Proclamation to be made in parts of .......... 5-6
Profits to, from everything .......... 335 (325)
Rumors from, not to be credited .......... 332 (322)
Smith leaves .......... 108
Smith returns to .......... 111
Smith to return to .......... 106
Somers’s crew returns to .......... 119
Supplies expected from .......... 76
Tobacco, average amount imported in .......... 246
Tobacco carried to .......... 20-1
Tobacco, ordered brought to .......... 270 (260)
Tobacco freely imported into .......... 205-6
Tobacco importation for good of .......... 338 (328)
Tobacco imported into 266 (256)
Tobacco plentiful in .......... 246, 247
Tobacco policy of cols. ungrateful to .......... 266 (256)
Tobacco to be imported to .......... 273-4 (263-4)
Tobacco trade of, to be advanced .......... 334 (324)
Tobacco (Va.) not to be sold in .......... 200

Tomocomo rails against .......... 147
Virginia as healthy as .......... 291 (281)
West sails to .......... 116
Weymouth sails for .......... 34
White desires to sail to .......... 28
White sails for .......... 24
Wyat defended by planters in .......... 333-4 (323-4)

English. See “Colonists.”

English Discoveries. Of early date .......... 3

English Mastives (Mastiffs). See "Mastiff Dogs."

Englishmen. Chickahominies to be called .......... 130-1

Ensor. Dies and trouble becomes serious .......... 14-5

Father of Wingina .......... 14

Friend to colonists .......... 14

Entertaining
Powder not to be wasted in .......... 332 (322)

Entries
Quest-house call for .......... 301 (291)

Epidemic (Mortality). Falls on three who betray cols .......... 18

Eppes, William. Kills Stallings in duel .......... 161


King James deviates from .......... 41

Laws not to be contrary to .......... 40, 41

To apply .......... A 27

Esquires, Among Captains agst.

Algerines .......... 184

In King’s Council for Va .......... 36

Members V. C. .......... 102, A 1, 9, 11

Sign Declaration by G. A .......... 317 (307)

Essex. Southampton’s friendship for Earl of .......... 179

Essex, Earl of. Befriended by Earl of Sth .......... 179

Patriot Party member of Lords .......... 179-0

Essington, Mr. Indebted to Company .......... 276 (266)

Member Argall-Smith Faction .......... 186-7

Etheridge, George, Gent Member V. C .......... 12

Europe. Arms unfit for, given to colony .......... 232-3

Dale says Va. equal to all, put together .......... 132

Ignorance of, as to rest of world .......... 2

Liberties of, engross King William .......... 26

Scorn of, for James I .......... 246

Smith’s early travels through .......... 111

Timber scarce in .......... 335 (325)

Virginia equal to all, put together .......... 232-3

Winter of 1607 in, very hard .......... 51

Evangelists. Jurors to be sworn
upon ........................................ 38
Evans, Hugh. Member V. C. ... A 11
Evans, Ralph, Esqr. Member V. C. ....... A 11
Evans, Richard. Member V. C. .... A 11
Evans, William. Member V. C. .... A 11
Evelyn, Robert. Member V. C. .... A 11
Everard, Captain Michael. Member V. C. . A 10
Ewer. See "Bason and Ewer."
Ewre, Lord. Member V. C. .... A 9
Excesses. To be punished 39
Exchequer, Court. Information agst. Raleigh in ....... 125-6
Exeter and Others. Citizens of, to control 2nd colony in Va. ....... 36, A 1, 8-9
Exeter College. Sutcliff Dean of. .... 37
Exeter, Earl of. Member C. for Va. .... A 16
Exmouth...Gosnold returns to. .... 32
Exportations. Duty and taxes upon .......... A 9
Exton, Nicholas (Draper). Member V. C. .... A 13

F
"Face, The Unmasked, of," see "Unmasked Face, etc."
Facet, Edward. Member V. C. ... A 12
Factions. Arise on voyage .... 44
Factors (see also "Agents," Cape Merchant').
Appointed ................. 200
Company to nominate .... 248
King to contribute to .... 248
Powers of ....................... A 6
Falcon. Bohun brings over a. 188
Falling Creek. Ironworks at, destroyed by Mas. .... 218
Falls of James River (see also "James River")
Attacked by men of P .... 105
Colonists taken to, to prevent starvation .... 97
Dale goes to .......... 122
Delawarr attacked at .... 120
Domains of Powhatan extend to .............. 54
Exploration to go beyond .... 77
Location of settlement at .... 104
Manakin expended, passes by .... 79
Mine at, guide to be given to. 205
Monacans live above .... 61, 71
Powhatan's men attack .... 105
Powhatan located near .... 53
River navigable to .... 48
Settlement at, attacked by P. 105

Smith follows West to .... 104
West returns from, with half his men .... 105
West sent to settle at .... 104
Falls of Rappahannock River (see also "Rappahannock River")
Mannahocks dwell near .... 71
Nantaughtacunds lived below .... 71
Smith gets provisions at .... 65
Famine (see also "Starving Time")
Effect of .......... 315 (305)
Fanshaw, Sir Henry. Member V. C. .......... A 10
Member K.'s C. for Va. .... A 18
Farmer, George, Gent. Member V. C. .......... A 13
Farmer, John. Member V. C. .... A 11
Farrar, John (see also "Deputy," "Dep. Treas.").
Accused of falsifying records .... 256
Answer of, to P. C .... 272 (262)
Answers Wrote .... 256
Arrested .... 298 (288)
Authority given, to call Committee .... 308 (298)
Bequest to be paid to .... 172
Calls Extraordinary Court .... 306 (296)
Commended .... 178
Desires charges deferred .... 258 (248)
Desires grievances in writing .... 333 (323)
Deputy Treasurer .... 159, 181, 192-3, 253
Elected Dep. Treas. agst. will .... 253
Lord Treas summons .... 265-6 (255-6)
Meeting at house of .... 176
Merchant of London .... 159
Moves freedom of Co. for R. .... 290 (280)
Negligence not imputed to .... 255
On committee to establish college .... 163
Privy Council summons .... 267 (257)
Quo Warranto served on .... 307-8 (297-8)
Re-elected Dep. Treas. .... 181, 192-3, 253
Reports number sent over .... 203-4
Rewarded for services .... 231
Sues out general acquittance .... 299 (289)
Summoned by Ld. Treas .... 265-6 (255-6)
Summoned by P. C. .... 267 (257)

*As in the cases of "Treasurer" and "Secretary" (see notes below), the text is often confusing in regard to the Deputies.
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Threatened by Wrote. 259 (249)
Tobacco officials selected by Wrote. 250
Wrote's repentance reported by 258 (248)

Farrar, Nicholas (see also “Depuy,” “Dep. Treas.”).*
Accused of falsifying records. 256
 Arrested 298 (288)
 Request of, to Christianize 172
 Commended 268-9 (258-9)
 Deputy Treasurer 230
 Expected no favour 310 (300)
 Generosity of 309-0 (299-0)
 Letter from, intimates true conditions 300 (290)
 Lord Treas. summons, 265-6 (256-6)
 Member V. C. A 12
 Negligence imputed to 255
 Office held until dissolution 300 (290)
 Opposes surrender charters 309 (299)
 Privy Council declines to defraud 309 (299)
 Privy Council summons, 267 (257), 303 (293)
 Questions legality of assessments 300 (290)
 Reply of, to P. C. 303 (293)
 Reprimanded 270 (260)
 Speech of, on assuming office 230-1
 Sues out general acquittance 299 (289)
 Summoned by Ld. Treas. 265-6 (256-6)
 Summoned by P. C. 267 (257), 303 (293)
 Tobacco grievances referred to 337 (327)
 Tobacco officials to be selected by 250
 Farrar’s Island. Site, for new town Tuckahoe opposite 122

Farrington, Richard. Member V. C. 13
 Faucheon. Smith armed with 95
 Feather. Towel made of 55
 Coronet of, used by P. 55
 Featherstone, Richard. Arrives 62
 Boy named after 70
 Characteristics of 70
 Dies 70
 Featherstone’s Bay. Origin of name 70
 Fee Simple. Land to be held in 4
 Fees. Allowed to G. and C. in Va. 174
 Secretary’s, abolished 174

Felgate, William. Member V. C. A 11
 Fellow of Cambridge. See “Fellow of Cambridge,” etc.
 Felony. Punishment for 42
 Ferdinand and Isabel of Castile. Columbus offers services to and employed by 3
 Ferdinando, Simon. Almost wrecks 3rd. expedition 23
 Field, William. Member V. C. A 12
 Fire. Colonists find woods on 27
 Firearms (see also “Arms,” “Ammunition,” “Firelocks,” “Muskets,” etc.).
 As to who first taught Inds. use of 142-3
 Indians not to be taught to shoot with and penalty 147
 Indians taught use of, by S. 141-2
 Powhatan’s desire for 86
 Shooting forbidden, until more ammunition and penalty 143
 Smith teaches Inds. use of 141-2
 Traded to Indians 94
 Firelocks (see also “Arms,” “Ammunition,” “Firelocks,” “Muskets,” etc.).
 Slothful desire to sell 93
 Traded to Indians 116

First Colony. Designed for London 36
 King’s Council for 36
 London to control 36
 Minor company to represent 40
 Organized by cols. from London 41
 First Supply. Arrives 57
 Fish (see also “Fisheries”).
 Abundance at Jast 50
 Abundance at Kicquoton 85
 Abundance, in Berms 114
 Abundance, in Patowmack River 65
 Abundance cod, off N. Eng. 31, 148
 Caught with frying pan 65
 Cod off N. Eng. Coast 41, 148
 Forced from Powhatan 90
 Indians bring day before Mas. 209
 New England 148
 Prospective commodity of Va 271 (261)
 Sent as present 9, 10
 Skins traded for 99
 Stingrays caught on swords 66
 Traded for skins 99

Fisheries (see also "Fish").
Authority to establish... A 15
Cape Cod, values 185
Cod-fish, discovered 31
Discovered 335 (325)
Excellent, found 114
Extensive, in Bermudas 114
Granted A 15
Pearl, told of by Menatonon. 13
Point Comfort 97
Policy of King to 273 (261-2)
Rights of, advantage to Va., 335 (325)
Rights of, known by Werowances 54
Second Colony, rights disputed 185
To establish, at Point Comfort 97
Unlimited, rights granted 98
Value of, rights at Cape Cod. 185
Fishmongers (Individuals), Members V. C A 13, 14
Fishmongers, The Company of. Member V. C. A 13
Flanders. Smith goes to 109
Flax. Directions given for raising 177
Fleetwood, Edward, Gent. Member V. C. A 12
Fleming, Col. John. Marries great granddaughter of Po... 146
Female. Abundance, at Kicquatan 85
Fletcher, John (Merchant). Member V. C. A 11
Fletchers, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14
Flores, Island of. Greenvill hemmed in at 28
Florida. Described 9
Pillaged by Drake 15
Raleigh expedition arrives at 8-9
Seized in name of Elizabeth 9
Whole country known as 31
Courts De Hundred. Colonists gathered at 235
Ordinance at (1623)... 279 (269)
Amount ordinance at 320 (310)
Flushing. Factors appointed at 200
by Va. Co.
Food (see also "Victuals," "Supplies," "Provisions," "Corn,"
"Water," "Fish," etc).
Acorns as 117
Arms, etc., offered for 49
Authority to transport. A 4-5, 18-9
Cape Lookout, sought at 15
Cats as 315 (305)
Cobwebs in 315 (305)
Conditions justifying taking what 100
Ar. brings
Colonists dispersed to gather 98
Colonists killed while S. after 51
Colonists will not gather 98
Corpses as 116, 315 (305)
Crabs as 23, 48
Croaton, sought at 15
Deer brought to Jast. 97
Discipline increases supply of 98
Dogs as 64, 315 (305)
Drake gives, but swept away 15-6
Harriot on supplies of 17
Hatteras, sought at 15
Hogs as 98, 116, 117
Horse-flesh as 316, 315 (305)
Horse-hides as 315 (305)
Indian (dead) as 316
Indians bring 49
Indians bring in famine time 48
Jamestown, spent 94
Lost with "Sea Venture" 101
Maggots in 315 (305)
Meal as 59, 60
Musquets traded for 99
Oysters as 23, 35, 97, 237
Parties sent out to live on roots and oysters 15
Prideaux seeks, at Hatteras. 15
Provision of, urged by 83
Rats as 315 (305)
Roots, by Indians 11, 87
Roots, "Starving Time" 117
Searches for, sent out 15
Sickness caused by bad food 47-8
Smith and prov. for 83
Smith delivers to Cape Merchant 94
Smith very greedy of 50
Snakes used for 315 (305)
Sought at Croatan 15
Sought at Cape Lookout 15
Sought at Cape Hatteras 15
Sources 50, 83
Sturgeon and caviare as 48, 98
Sturgeon as 48, 90, 100
Substitutes for 315 (305)
Supply of (1609) 94
Supply of, left by Greenvill 90
Swords traded for 99
Toadstools as 315 (305)
Tobacco excludes 164
Tuckahoe root as 98
Walnuts as 117
Water in fort good 97
Water lacking on Tangier Is. 63
Werowocomoco source of 83
White goes to Eng. for 22
Wild beasts as 50, 97
Wild fowl as 50
Forces. Marshal to have charge of 189
Ford, Robert (Clerk of C). Joins raid on P. 85
Meets German confederates 94-5
Sent to Jast. by land 94
Trades at Pamunkey 90
Footmen. Come over in 3rd supply 103
Forest, Sir Anthony, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forest, Thomas</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives at Jamestown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest, Mrs. Thomas, and Maid.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First English women to arrive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>326-7 (316-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forts (see also “Arms,” “Fortifications,” “Jamestown,” “Virginia”).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accident at</td>
<td>32-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrico</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built at Henrico</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built at Jast, description of.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burned</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chirurgeon, none at</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper traded for</td>
<td>104-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn brought to</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conspiracy to burn</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of, at Jast, desired</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food brought to</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implements stolen from</td>
<td>80-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, at “Nonesuch”</td>
<td>105-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan not willing to go to.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savage, at Nonesuch</td>
<td>105-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrivener returns to</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith arrives at</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith goes back to</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith to be confined at</td>
<td>80-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be resigned to P.</td>
<td>104-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used against Wingfield and M.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well sunk in</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Charity</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Henrico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Charles</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built at Kicquotan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Henry</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built at Kicquotan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonists captured at, liberated</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Patience</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Henrico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Patience</td>
<td>105-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Savage</td>
<td>105-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortescue, Sir Nicholas. Camden mentions</td>
<td>298 (288)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To examine affairs of the Companies</td>
<td>298 (288)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortifications (see also “Forts,” “Arms,” “Jamestown”).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad condition of</td>
<td>273 (263)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better to be provided</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built</td>
<td>312 (302)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burned</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler says none in 1622</td>
<td>279 (269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chawas Shaw's</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonists ask for</td>
<td>73-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioners make prop. to</td>
<td>328 (318)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions of, under ST</td>
<td>316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers to raise</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall to have charge of</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of, charged</td>
<td>324 (314)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None but half-moon fort</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Repaired: 60
- Too poor to erect: 323 (312)
- Wooden, burned: 59

**“Founder and Father of Country.”**

Ralegh looked upon as: 32

Founders, The Company of, Member V. C.: 14

Fowl (see also “Wild Fowl”).

Abundance in N. Eng: 148

Forced from Powhatan: 80

Fox, Thos., Member V. C.: 13

France, King of, interceded for R.: 155

Loss of, to England: 132

Mentioned: A 1, 8, 22, 23, 32

Silkworm artists sent from: 183

Smith goes to: 108, 109

Smith travels through: 111

Vessels from, captured: 132-3

Franchises. And right to be same as in Eng: A 20, 27-8

Authority for, given: A 15

Confirmed: A 22

Denied: A iv, v

Granted: A 23, 24, 25

Granting of, to continue: 304 (294)

Of former charters confirmed: A 31

Of subjects confirmed: A 22

Threatened: 306 (296)

Francis, Giles, Gent. Member V. C.: A 12

Frankfort. De Bry publishes Harriot Treatise at: 22

Frankfort on Maine. Mentioned: 22

With pictured published at: 16

Frankincense. Trials of, sent home: 82

Franklyn, John (Haberdasher). Member V. C.: A 13

Freaks. Sir Thomas, Kn.: Member King’s Council for Va.: 36

Member V. C.: A 10

Free and Common Soccage. Tenure only by: A 7, 15, 25

Freedom. Confirmed to Company: A 28

Freedom of Election. Invaded by King: 230

Freedom of Speech. Approved by King: 262 (252)

Enjoyed to great extent: 252-3 (252-3)

King approves: 262 (252)

Restraint of: 263 (253)

Suppressing of, charged: 259 (249)

Too much: 263 (253)

Freeman, Martin. Member V. C.: A 11

Freeman, Ralph. Member V. C.: A 11

Freemen. Duties of: 331 (324)

Maids sent over to marry only: 197
Free Schools (see also "College," "University," "Schools," "Religion," "Education").
Abandoned in Southampton Hundred 214
Cost of building, etc. 216
Money raised for (1621) 204
To be built at Charles City 204
To be built in Southampton Hundred 214

Free Trade. In Virginia 171
French. Canadian furnish hatchets to Inds. 69
Encourage mulberry-tree culture 218
Furniture captured from 122-3
Fur-skin trade of, with Inds. 198
Live among Indians 123
Mosco supposed to be of 69
Ships of, taken in Arcadia 132-3
Vine planters at Jamestown 118

Fresh Water. See "Water," "Pond."
Frigot. See "Spanish Frigot."
Frith, Richard, Gent. Colonist at Jamestown 46
Member V. C 13

Frost. After burning of Jast 60
Extraordinary in 1607 51
Referred to 52

Fruiterers, The Company of. Member V. C 14

Fruits. Abundance, on N. Eng. coast 31, 148
Colonists not exist without. 96
Indians bring day before Mas. 209
Indians bring to colonists 49
Presents of, brought 11, 49, 67, 209
Served by Indians 11

Fryer, Captain. Member V. C 10

Frying Pan. Used as net,—fish being so plentiful 65

Fundl, Bay of. See "Bay of Funld."

Furmety. Maize prepared like... 11, note

Furniture. Authority to transport 4, A 2, 18-9; 20, 23
Brought to Powhatan 77
Captured from French 132-3
Presented to Powhatan 78
Furs. Argall forbids others to trade for 150
Finest, on Eastern Shore 67
Frenchman rich in 148
Seized,—those of Argall 151
Spent at floating tavern off Jast. 59
Traded for 198
Traded for supplies 81

G

Gall, Edward. Member V. C 13

Game (see also each kind of game). Abundance 50
At Orapakes 51

Gaming. Suppression of 194

Garbling. Advantageous to opposition 244

Garbling. Applied to tobacco 199
Definition of 199
Influence of 243
Opposed in H. of C 205
Patent for, illegal 205
Petition as to in H. of C 199
Uneasiness under pressure from 244

Gardens. About houses on Eliz. Riv. 73

Cultivation of, provided 331 (321)

Fencing off of, provided for 331 (321)
Laid out at Jamestown 46

Makers of, indemnified 331 (321)
Robbed 105
Weymouth sets out 33

Gardiner, John. Member V. C 11

Gardiners, The Company of. Member V. C 14

Garrison. At Hog Island, duties of 97

Garter. Segar of 110

Gate, Peter (Grocer). Member V. C 13

Gates, Thomas (see also name below)

Peonage charges by 226

Gates, Sir Thomas, Knt. (see also name above)

Arrives at Jast 117
Arrives with cols. and supplies 123
Authority given, to colonize 4, 4-5
Burning Jast. forbidden by 117
Colonization powers to A 4-5
Conditions in Va. reported by 121, 137
Conflicting grants to, reconciled A 8
Council suspicious of 121
Dale gets men from, to build town 123-4
Dispatched to Va. with cols 102, 113
Embarks all colonists 117

Exceptions to those with 330 (320)
Exploits of, to be recorded 191
First charter to, etc A 1-8
First colony of, and others 35-6; A 2-3
Founders on Berms 102, 113
Free and common socage under 123
Governor 123
Grants to, reconciled 8
Industry of, recalled ... 163-4
Invasion to be repelled by ... A 5
Jamestown,—burning of, forbidden ... 117
Lands under, in free and common socage ... A 7
Lieutenant-General of Va. ... 101
Management of ... 163-4
Member King’s C. for Va., A 16
Member V. C., ... 35, A 1, 9
Necessaries for ... A 4-5, 6
Powers granted ... A 1-8
Referred to as former gran­tee ... A 8
Requested to advise as to for­tifications ... 123-4
Returns to Eng. ... 132
Sent to England ... 120
Supports Argall’s report of con­ds. ... 137
Tenure under ... A 7
Transportation necessaries ... A 4-5, 6
Gay, Dr. William. Marries great, great granddaughter of Po... ... 146
Gearing, John (Ironmonger). Member V. C. ... A 11
Geese. Abundance of, on rivers ... 50
General (Rank). Denied Newce. ... 189
General Assembly (see also “Gov­ernor,” “Governor and Coun­cil,” “Government”).
Acts of ... 326-7 (316-7)
Acts of for 1624, 328-32 (318-22)
Acts of, sent to England ... 160
Acts of, to be ratified before binding ... 196-7
Adds two other writings ... 322 (312)
Agrees from ... 328 (318)
Answers from ... 292 (282), 297 (287), 304-16, 328 (318)
297 (287), 314-26 (304-16)
Answer of Commrs. to ... 327-8 (317-8)
Answer of, to B. Infrm. ... 322 (312)
Answer of, to B. Infrms. ... 327 (317), 328 (318)
Answers charges agst. col­ony. ... 292 (282)
Answer to ... 227-3 (317-8)
Arrest of members of ... 330 (320)
Birthright of people ... 160-1
Called ... 314 (304)
Charter and Const. of ... A, III, 32-4
Commissioners answer G. A. ... 327-8 (317-8)
Commissioners answered by ... 328 (318)
Commissioners make propos­als to ... 328 (318)
Commissioners.—papers with­held from, by ... 325 (315)
Commissioners to be trans­ported by ... 328 (318)
Commissioners try to intimi­date ... 328 (316)
Company could annul Acts of ... 160
Composition of ... A 33-4
Conditions under ST. report­ed by ... 315-7 (305-7)
Confirmation of Acts of ... 196-7
Confirmation of powers of, denied ... A iv
Constitution of, settled ... 196
Desire retention of liberties ... 324-5 (315-5)
Effort to establish liberty of subject ... 329-0 (319-0)
Eng. policies to be fol­lowed by ... 196-7
Establishment of, restores birthright ... 160-1
First,—acts and workings of. ... 160
First, held (1619) ... 160
First,—particulars of lack­ing ... 160
Intimidation tried upon ... 326 (316)
Laws of, for 1624 ... 328-32 (318-22)
Laws of to be ratified by Quarter Court ... A 34
Laws to follow policy of Eng. ... 196-7, A 33-4
Letter to ... 326 (316)
Liberties,—desire to retain ... 324-5 (314-5)
Liberty of subject,—effort for, ... 329-0 (319-0)
Martin refuses to obey ... 225
Members not to be arrested ... 330 (320)
Orders of Court to be ratified by ... 196-7, A 34
Ordinance and Const. for a C. of S., and a ... A 32-4
Ordinance brought settling Const. and powers of ... 196
Papers withheld by ... 325 (315)
Petition that, have say in re­lief work ... 323 (313)
Petitions King to hang them ... 317 (307)
Policy of Eng. to be followed by ... 196-7, A 33-4
Power to hold, probably brought by Y ... 158
Powers of ... 196, A 33-4
Privilege of,—why granted ... 182
Proclamations ratified by ... 331 (321)
Proposals to, by Commrs. ... 328 (318)
Proposal to, to surrender Charters ... 326-7 (316-7)
Quarter Court to ratify laws of...............A 34
Ratification by, or Orders of Court...............196-7, A 34
Ratification of Acts of...............196-7; A 34
Ratifies Proclamations 331 (321) Records of, put ST. in bad light...............57
Reports conds. under ST. .............315-7 (305-7)
Reports to go to 325 (315) Second held (1620)...............182
Smith (T.) triumphs over.......329 (329)
Surrender of Charters prossed to.......326-7 (316-7)
Taxes controlled by...........319-0 (319-0) Terms of...............A 26
Thanks of, returned...294 (284)
Triumph of ST. over..339 (329)
Withholds papers from Commrs. 325 (315)
Yeardley publishes intention to hold (1619)...........158
General Court (see also “Great and General Quarter Court”, “Great and General Court”). Constitution and powers of........310 (300)
Dixon’s case tried in...........326
Great and, to be held...........A 26
Records of, refute Smith.141-2
General of the Horse. Wainman constituted...........101
Waynmann, the...........117
Genoa. Columbus offers services to J...........3
Gentlemen. Among the Va. colonists...........42
Charters granted to...........A 1, 11, 12, 13, 14
Come over with Popham...........75
Of reduced means come in 3rd. supply...........103
Members V. C. 35-6, 102; A 11, 12, 13, 14
Named in First Colony...........35-6
Germans. Apprehended by S...............95
Become burdensome...........77
Bag P. to join plot...99-0, 100
Bentley to reclaim...........99
Caught going to P...............94-5
Desire Smith’s head...........89
Pool Aunt as to intenotions...........100
Left to finish P. house...........90
Messages to Inds. by...........95
Powhatan’s dealings with......85, 90, 94-5, 99-0, 103
Return to fort...............94-5
Returns to Jast...............100
Sent to build house for P...........85
Sent to make pitch, tar, etc...........77
Spurned by Powhatan...........103
Steal arms from Jast...........90
Tell P. of Smith’s designs...........96-7
Tomahawks made by...........90
Volday to reclaim...........99
Germany. Smith travels through.111
Gerrard, Thomas. Member V. C., A 13
Gibbs, Mr. Thomas. Accession of Warwickian Faction...........269 (259)
Member Committee Extraordi nary...........253
Gibbs, William (Merchant). Member V. C...............A 13
Gifts (see also “Bequests” “Pres ents”).
Boyle’s, for religion...........217
Company’s...........231
Raleigh’s for religion...........26
Record’s mention...........231
Religious for Cks...........171-2, 172
Religious, from Boyle...........27
Religious, from R...........26
To colony 204, 214, 215, 217-8
Gilbert, Capt. Bartholomew. Arrives in America...........33
Commands exped. to West Indies...........33
N. in Chesapeake Bay...........34
Trades with West Indies...........33
Gilbert, Sir Humphry. Attempts to settle Newfoundland...........3, 6
Citizenship granted followers of...........5
Dies...............Dies
Discoveries (further) of...........1
Granted L. P. by Queen...............3-1
Half-brother of Raleigh...........7
Injury by, provided ag st...........5-1
Letters Patent granted...............3-1
Powers and authority grant ed...............5
Seizes St. John...............6-7
Uncle (?) of Sir John Gil bert...............75
Gilbert, Sir John. Brother or ne phew of Sir Humphry...........75
Dies (1608)...............75
Member C. for Va...............36
Member V. C...............A 11
President North. Colony...........75
Gilbert, Raleigh, Esquire. Admiral North. Colony...........75
Colonization powers to...........A 4-5
Grants to, reconciled...........A 8
Invasion to be repelled by...........A 5
Member V. C. of Plymouth...........35; A 1
Necessaries for...........A 4-5, 6
Powers granted...........A 1-8
Second Colony of, and others...........35-6; A 2-3
Tenure under...............A 7
Transportation necessaries...........A 4-5, 6
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index to Stith's History of Virginia.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giola, John, of Naples. Discovers magnetic needle .......................... 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdlers, The Company of. Member V. C. ............................................... A 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glanvil, Richard. Members V. C. .......................................................... A 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass. Colonists make, under S. 79 Poles and Germans to make. .... 77 Trial made .... 97 Trials sent home .......... 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass Furnace (see also &quot;Glass Works&quot;). Beads to be made by .......... 198 Idle in 1622 .... 279 (269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass-House. Rendezvous of Inds. and Germans .................................. 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glassworkers. Sent over ................................................................. 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass Works (see also &quot;Glass Furnace&quot;). Fostered until Mas. ...... 321 (311)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaziers, The Company of. Member V. C. ............................................ A 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glebe Lands. Tenants attached to ...................................................... 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globes. Sanderson first perfects ......................................................... 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester County. Werowocomo located in .......................................... 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats. Consumed recklessly ............................................................... 116 Few in colony (1619) .... 159 Great stock of, established .... 164 Increase of ................... 281 (271) Left at Jast. (1609) .......... 107 Number left (1622) .... 281 (271)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God (see also &quot;Religion,&quot; &quot;Christianity,&quot; &quot;Christ,&quot; etc.). Indians call, &quot;the God of Capt. Smith.&quot; ......................................................... 57 Powhatan revered as a .. 54-5 Quiyoughquanoocks concede superiority of .... 99 Tomocomo asks to see .... 144 Smith explains ................ 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goddard, Richard. Member V. C. .......................................................... 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godolphin, Sir William. Member C. for Va. ........................................ A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C. .......................................................... A 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwin, Thomas. Member V. C. ............................................................. A 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gofton, Sir Francis. Examiner of affairs of Cos. .............................. 298 (288) Mentioned by Camden .... 298 (288)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold. Abundance, expected ................................................................. 81-2 Authority to mine. 4, A 4, 15, 18 Clothes of, worn by certain ones only ............. 194 Disappointment at lack of ......................................................... 81 Indians ignorant of, medium exchange ............. 82 Lack of, disappoints C. for Va. ......................................................... 81, 82 Lump to be carried back .... 77, 81 Manakin country supposed to contain .......... 105 Martin believes in .......... 82 Proportion of, granted ........ 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessaries cannot be supplied by ....................................................... 82 Raleigh turns smoke into ........ 21 Roanoke (beads) as precious as ......................................................... 63 Spanish greed for ............ 3, 50 Tithe of all found .......... 4 Unknown to Inds. as medium exchange .......... 82 Value of, arbitrary ........ 82 Wedges of, taken from Spaniards ............................... 320 (310)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gooje, John. Member V. C. ................................................................. A 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goolch, Mr. Cattle brought from Ireland by ................................. 205 Defends Newport's News .......... 205 Disobeys orders ............ 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gooseberries. On N. Eng. Coast .......................................................... 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georges, Sir Ferdinando. Fishing rights of Va. questioned by ............ 185 Member King's C. for Va. .... 36 Patent to, stopped .......... 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosnold. Smith embarks for Va. with ................................................. 111 Colonist at Jamestown .......... 46 Drowned ............ 93 New England named by .... 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosnold, Anthony (The Younger). Member V. C. ....................................... A 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.

Gosnold, Capt. Bartholomew. Anthony, brother of, drowned... 93
Bristol exped. piloted by man of .............................. 33
Colonization of Va. revived by ................................ 30
Colonizes island, but returns. 31-2
Dies ................................................................. 48
First to take direct course.. 31
Instructions (sealed) given 42
London exped. piloted by man of ................................ 33
Member C. in Va. ............................. 35
Persuades friend to join Va. exped. ............................ 35
Gosnold's Bay. To south of York River .............................. 73
Gospel (see also "Christ," "Christianity," "Jesus," "Religion").
Laws of, violated ........................................ 41-2, 73
Government (see also "General Assembly," "Governor").
As prescribed by Charters 287 (277)
Bad, results in bad laws... 293 (283)
Bancroft stickler on relation Church and State 76
Basis of ......................................................... 37
Change in, resolved upon. 303-4 (293-4)
Charters prescribe 287 (277)
Chickahominies have republican form of government 130
Church and State,—stickler for 76
Conditions of 317-26 (307-16)
Conditions of, explained 293 (283)
Conditions under Dale 223
Constitution, how constituted A 26, 32-4, 33, 34
Constitution of, of Eng. 287 (277)
Constitution of Eng. not bind .................................. 196
Courts to further A 26-7
Dale in charge of 132
Dale's,—conditions 223
Democratic and tumultuous. 287 (277)
Desired to remain as it is.... 323 (313)
Directions for, from King's C. 37
Forming of, left to Virginia. 162
Form of, provided 5, 40, A., 3-8, 14-23
Fruits of Johnson's and ST... 232
"General" (rank of) bad for good 159
General Assembly established for good A 33-4
General Assembly (first) under, called (1619) 160

General Assembly to be held
by Yeardley .................. 158
General Assembly to follow policy of Eng. A 34
Good, due to Co. .................. 161
Governor and Assistants to assume 303-4 (293-4)
Governor's will controls 293 (283)
Harmful change of.. 306 (296)
History of, to be written B. N. iii
Improvement in, of colony 160-1, 282 (272)
Ignorance of ruin from, as it stood 324 (314)
Ignorant 279 (269)
Illegal meetings usurp 339 (299)
Indian forms of 54
Instructions as to 162
Jamestown, taken over by Smith 66
Johnson's,—fruits of 232
Laws (bad) result in bad. 293 (283)
Martial Law to be agreeable to, of Eng. 152
Martin controls 48
Martin refuses to submit to. 221
Orders for, read 45
Orders of, codified 162
Orders of, sent 44
Ordinance for settling 193
Percy forced to take over 107
Plot against 122-2
Policy of Eng. to be followed by A 3-
Powers of courts of........... A 26-
Power to hold G. A.,—when brought 158
Privy Council administration of 310-1 (300-1)
Rank of "General" bad for good 189
Ratcliffe controls 48
Reports (bad) weaken 193
Restrictions of, by letters patent 287 (277)
Republican form of, among Cks. 130
Smith (T),—fruits of 232
Smith invested with 76
To be settled 231
Treatise on, in Va. 217
Tumultuous and democratic 287 (277)
Usurpation of, at illegal meetings 339 (329)
Usurpation of, attempted 106
Weakened by bad reports 193
Whole in Ratcliffe, Martin, etc 48
Yeardley takes over 157-8
Yeardley to hold first G. A. 158
Governors (see also "General Assembly," "Governor and Council," "Government").

Aid—to Supreme Councils...

Answer returned by...

Answers Butler Information...

Appointed by Council in Eng...

Appointment of, provided...

Argall...

Argall defeated for...

Arrival of, revokes powers of C...

Assistants to, to be appointed...

Bennet under Commonwealth...

Bigamy (female) forbidden by...

Captain General of Virginia, title of...

Complaints against...

Council in Va. to assist...

Council of State to assist...

Council's consent desired for...

Council's powers revoked on arrival of...

Dale...

Death of, provision in case of...

Declaration signed by...

Delawarr...

Directions to...

Directions to, from Co...

Education encouraged by...

Elected, how...

Election of...

Gates...

Government left to will of...

Government to be in...

Incumbents—

Argall (1617)...

Bennet (1621)

Dale (1611)...

Dale (1614)...

Delawarr (1610)...

Gates (1610)...

Gates (1611)...

Lane (1584)...

Percy (1609)...

Percy (1610)...

Percy (1611)...

Powel (16??)...

White (1587)...

White (1589)...

Wyat (1621)...

Wyat (1624)...

Yeardley (1616)...

Yeardley (1619)...

Instructions (1621) to...

King's Council to appoint...

Lands laid off for...

Lands of, tenanted...

Lane...

Leave of, necessary...

Liberties abolished by tyranny of...

Lieut.-Gov., etc., when elected...

Lines to be contracted by...

Lord Treas. summons...

Massacre warned agst...

Member Council of State...

Member of G. A...

Newcastle reports to...

Offenders to be punished by...

"Other" Council to be called by...

Percy...

Petition that, direct relief...

Powel...

Powel goes to warn, agst...

Powers of, defined...

Powers given...

Powers of...

Rank "General" only to...

Resides in England...

Restraint of, desired by cols...

Results of short term of...

Smith, T., Somers I. Co...

Somers I, Co., ST. elected Gov. of...

Summoned by Ld. Treas...

Tenants for...

Term (continuance) of, and results...

Tobacco culture to be restrained by...

Treaty with O. not favoured by...

Tyranny of, abolishes liberties...

Veto power given...

White (1587)...

Wyat...

Wyat, member Council of State...

Wyat re-elected...

Wyat, takes revenge on Pascoitons...

Yeardley...

Yeardley encourages education...

Yeardley sent with full power...

Governor and Council (see also "General Assembly," "Governor," "Government").
Laws of G. A. to pass under A. 877
Commission under of Duke of Burgundy

BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.

Action of, on Kemp complaint 227
Advise as to when to send cols 318-9 (308-9)
Answer Butler Infrm. ..318 (308)
Answer from 297 (287)
Answer charges 292 (282)
Appeal to 330 (320)
Appeal to, from judges.330 (320)
Appeal to, from Surveyor... .
Assistance of, to Commrs....
Berry-Dixon pet. referred to.226
Burgesses sat with 160
College to be rehabilitated by...
Commodities rated by 330-1 (320-1)
Complaint of Kent to be sent to 227
Conditions favourably reported 217-8
Corn culture encouraged by...
Dixon-Berry pet. referred to. 226
Duties Vice-Adm, committed to 17*
Fees allowed by 174
Judges appointed by..330 (320)
Kemp complaint sent to....227
Laws taken from Records of...
Letter to, says Mas. advantage 233-4
Letters of, as to Indians slain, 242-3
Letters of, as to Yeardley...242
Levy of workmen by, only. .329-0 (319-0)
Limitations on, an impediment 324 (314)
Martin's patent exempt from...
Massacre advantageous,—says 233-4
New form of, proposed.326 (316)
Pension for Widow Newce ordered from 237
Petition of Dlxon-Berry referred to 226
Proclamations of, ratified.... 331 (321)
Proclamation of, as to Breaking Bulk 331 (321)
Queries to 141-2
Records of, furnish laws....332 (322)
Relieved of burden of courts 207
Retort of, as to instructions. .232
Royal Intentions conveyed to.
Tobacco frauds to be righted by 198
Treachery reported by 325-6 (315-5)
Untrammeled, original date of 161
Withholds papers 325 (315)
Gown. Given S. by Inds 52
Granary. To be in each parish...
Grand Committee. To conduct Co.

Grantees (Charter) see also "adventurers," "Members of Co.
First Charter 35; A 1
Second Charter 101-2; A 9-14
Confirmation of, provided.... 304 (294); A 23
Fraudulent 219, 220-1
Granted A 23
Illegality of, to Martin 235
King to make 304 (294)
Limited as to size 139-0
To Companies 244
Violated 245
Teardley brings from Co...
Grapes, Abundance on N. C.
Alleged to be sour 296 (286)
Variety of 177
Gratuity. See "Pensions.
Grave, Thomas. Member V. C .A 11
Gravesend. Pocahontas dies at. .146
Gray, John. Member V. C A 12
Great and General Court (see also "Great and General Court.
When held A 26
Great and General Quarter Court (see also "Great and General
Court.
Company restrained to four..219
Decision affirmed 256
Decision questioned 254-5
Industry of Gates recalled to, 163-4
Orders patent examined. .. .222
Present at 176
Great Bear. Manguahaian,—Ind.
name of 204-5
Great Mogul. See "Mogul.
Great Seal (see also "Great Seal of
England.
Commission under, of Eng. ..277 (267)
Councils appointed under. .A 32
Laws of G. A. to pass under A 34

...
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Used ........................................ 298 (288)
Great Seal of England (see also "Great Seal"). Authority under, to appoint Councils ... A 32
Commission under ................................... 298 (288)
Commissioners under, to report on va. .................. 277 (267)
Letters Patent granted under .......................... 224
Liberties granted under ................................ 200
Martin privileges granted under .......................... 220
Pardons to be under ...................................... 338
Tobacco monopoly under .................................. 247

Great Shares (see also "Shares, " Shares of Old Adventure ").
Conditions for, altered ................................. 139
Defined .................................................. 139
Granted on Adventure of the Purse ...................... 139-0
 Granted Sir Thos. Smith ................................. 159
Limited to twenty ........................................ 139-0
 Mentioned in Records .................................... 139
Presented to Farrar (John) .............................. 23
Merit basis of award ..................................... 139
Purpose of ................................................ 139
 Shares of Old Adventure, same as ....................... 139

Great Wyanokes. Maddison marches agst. ............ 318 (303)

Green, Lawrence (Grocer). Member V. C. ............ A 13
Greenvil, Bernard, Esquire. Member K. C. for Va. .... 36
Greenvil, Sir Richard.
Arrives Cape Fear ......................................... 12
Attempts second colony .................................... 22
Catches Spanish prizes ................................... 12
Censored unjustly ........................................ 22-3
 Commands relief exped. .................................. 25
Disciplines Inds. ........................................... 12
Elizabeth sends, to intercept Plate Fleet .............. 25
Encouraged, makes voyage ................................ 12
Explores coast of voyage ................................ 12
Fits exped. to America .................................... 8
Killed off Azores ......................................... 28-9
Lands on Roanoke Island ................................ 22
Last words of .............................................. 29
Little hope for return of ................................. 16
Member C. of W. .......................................... 24
On Parliamentary Com. to which R. bill committed . 11-2
Ordered not to leave Cornwall ........................... 25
Returns home ............................................ 12, 22
Searches for colony ...................................... 22

Greenvil, Sir Fulke. Member King's C. for Va. ....... 36
Greyn, Lord. Member C. of War ........................ 24
Grievances (see also "Grievances and Oppressions").
Business of .............................................. 338 (323)
Classified .................................................. 337 (327)
Committed to Dep. Farrar ................................. 337 (327)
"Crying,"—Monopoly ..................................... 199

Framed in Eng. ........................................... 333 (323)
From King .............................................. 340 (330)
Investigation of .......................................... 277 (267)
Lord High Treasurer, origin of .......................... 338 (326)
Monopoly a "crying" ...................................... 199
Number of .................................................. 338 (323)
Parliament,—brought to, late ............................ 337-8 (327-8)
Parliament does not take up .................................. 338 (323)
Relations of, given ....................................... 338 (326)
Relations of,—none in Va. ................................ 338 (328)
Sandys on Cont. .......................................... 337 (327)
Set forth .................................................... 333 (323)
Tobacco ...................................................... 337 (327)
Trade ......................................................... 338 (328)

Grievances and Oppressions (see also "Grievances").
Classified .................................................. 337 (327)
Committee to hear ........................................ 337 (327)
Misfortune of, to be advanced late ...................... 337-8 (327-8)
Sir Robert ................................................... 338 (328)
To be put in writing .................................... 333 (323)
Written required ......................................... 333 (323)

Grindon, Edward. Testifies as to use firearms .......... 142

Grindstone. Corn promised for .......................... 84
Smith gives to Powhatan .................................. 56
Grocers (Individuals). Members V. C. .................. A 12, 13
Grocers, The Company of. Member V. C. .............. A 13
Gryce, Nicholas. Member V. C. A 12
Gypes, Thomas (Clothworker). Member V. C. .......... A 13
Guest-House (see also "Inn").
None found ............................................. 278 (268)
Provided for .............................................. 205

Guiana. Discovery of, advocated by R. .................. 30
Memory of voyage to, revived .......................... 156
Raleigh's voyage to ...................................... 22, 30

Guides. Conduct Powel to high country ............... 99
Hamer takes with him .................................... 134
Indians act as .......................................... 50, 133-4, 141
Japazaws lend ............................................ 65
Kindly treated by Smith .................................. 56
Manteo as ............................................... 23, 24
Mosco as ................................................... 70
Namontack, for N ....................................... 79
Offered ..................................................... 205
Opechancanough to give ................................ 205
Powel conducted by ..................................... 99
Powhatan refuses, to Manakin country .................. 79
Quiyoughquanoacks give ................................ 99
Smith gets, to Chowanocks .............................. 85
Smith uses as buckler ................................... 51
Todkill gets .............................................. 99
Twelve go with Smith ................................... 56

Guilstone, Dr. Books and physic to be sent by ....... 189
On committee to establish college .......................... 163
Pot recommended by as Physician-General .......................... 188
Guns. Search for urged ........................................... 197
Gunpowder (see also "Powder").
Explosion kills Inds ............................................. 96
Indians want to plant ........................................... 53
Magic power of .................................................. 96-7
Stolen by Newport ............................................... 81
Stolen from Jamestown .......................................... 90
Gunpowder Plot. Northumberland privy to .................. 46
Guns (see also "Arms," "Ammunition," "Firearms," Muskets,"
" ordnance," etc.).
Denied to P ...................................................... 88
Eight brought by Bohun ......................................... 188
Penalty for teaching Inds. use of ................................ 147
Penalty for using until more ammunition ........................ 148
Powhatan desires to get ........................................ 86
Powhatan objects to S's ........................................ 87, 88
Slothful desire to sell .......................................... 93
Smith to give to Powhatan ...................................... 56
Stolen and Po. held as ransom ................................ 128
Stolen from Jast ................................................. 90

H 

Haberdashers (Individuals). Members V. C. ................. A 11, 12, 13, 14
Haberdashers, The Company of.
Member V. C ....................................................... A 13
Hackluyt, Richard (see also "Hackluyt"). Clerk.
Colonization powers to ........................................... A 4-5
First Colony of, and others .................................. 35-6; A 2-3
Grants to, reconciled ........................................... A 8
Invasion to be repelled by ...................................... A Member V. C. 35; A 1, 11
Minister .......................................................... A 11
Necessaries for .................................................. A 4-5, 6
Powers granted ................................................... A 1-8
Prebendary of Westminster ...................................... A 1
Tenure under ...................................................... A 7
Transportation necessaries ..................................... A 4-5, 6
Hackluyt, Rev. Mr. Richard (see also "Hackluyt").
Minister named in Charter ...................................... A 11
Persuades merchants to finance exped. ......................... 32
Prebend of Westminster ......................................... 32, 35; A 1
Was in Va .......................................................... 22
With pictures published by .................................... 16
Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages ................................ 8
Haddiheadocks. Arrohatock corrupted to ....................... 53
Hall. Storm of (1618) ............................................ 147
Ham, Race of. Indians of ................................. 296 (286)

Hamer, Captain (see also names below). Bad faith of, to Indians ........................................... 240
Chrowshaw found alive ........................................ 237-8
Chrowshaw given men ........................................... 238
Corn secured by .................................................. 239
Japazaws released by ........................................... 240
Pountis takes action against ................................ 240
Hamer, Ralph (see also above and below). Buckskin given to ........................................... 136
Liberty of cols. procured by ................................... 136
Massacre participated in by ................................... 213
Member C. of S .................................................... A 33
Member V. C ......................................................... A 12
Mission of .......................................................... 134-5
Powhatan told of Dale, Po., etc. .............................. 134
Rolfe's romance told by ...................................... 129
Signs Declaration by G. A. ................................... 317 (307)
Toys presented by ............................................... 134-5
Vice-Admiral under Argall ................................. 146
Hamer, Mr. Ralph, Esqr. (see also above and below).
Ambassador to Powhatan ........................................ 133-6
Arrives in Va ...................................................... 102
Hamer, Captain Ralph, the Younger (see also names above).
Member V. C ......................................................... A 13
Hamer, Mr. Thomas. Part taken by, in Mas .................. 212-3
Hammersley, Mr. Delivers message from King .............. 230
Hammersley, Hugh. Member V. C .................................. A 12
Hamond, Thomas. Member V. C .................................. A 11
Hampson, William. Member V. C .................................. A 12
Hampton. Smith's Hundred lay above ......................... 172
Hampton River. Colonists captured, liberated ............. 136
Hancock, William. Member V. C .................................. A 11
Handford, Mr. Chosen to go in election for Treas ........ 230
Defends Smith (T.) accounts .................................... 274-5 (264-5)
Candidate for Treasurer ...................................... 230
Sheriff of London ............................................ 274 (264)
Votes received by ............................................... 230
Hanham, Thomas, Esq. Colonization powers to .......... 4-5
Grants to, reconciled ........................................... 8
Invasion to be repelled by ................................... 5
Member V. C. of Plimouth ....................................... 35; A 1
Necessaries for .................................................. A 4-5, 6
Powers granted ................................................... A 1-8
Second Colony of, and others ................................ A 35-6; A 2-3
Tenure under ...................................................... A 7
Transportation necessaries ..................................... A 4-5, 6
Hanno. Voyage of, to America .................................. 1
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Hansford, John. Member V. C. A 12
Hankinson, George. Member V. C. A 14
Hares, Indians send as present... 10
Hariot, Mr. Thomas (see also “Harriot’s Treatise”).
As to Wococon 9
Atheism charges against 20
Atheism of, explained 20
Bible explained by 19
Blames cols. for Ind. troubles. 15
Defended by Corbet 20
Descartes borrowed learning from 20
Learning of 19
Remains with Greenvl cols. 17
Sent to observe country . . . .17
Testimony of, as to atheism. 20
Treatise published by 17
Wococon references 9
Harriot’s Treatise (see also “Harriot, Mr. Thomas”).
De Brye—edition of, used by Stith iv
Raleigh’s presence in Va. discussed in 22
Why published 22-3
Harloe, Peter. Member V. C. A 11
Harness, Lack of 148-9
Harper, John. Member V. C. A 11
Harris, Thomas, Gent. Member V. C. A 12
Harrison, Edward. Member V. C. A 11
Harrison, Harmon. Member V. C. A 12
Harrison, Ralph. Member V. C. A 11
Harrison’s, Mr. Indians scared away from 213
Massacre at 212
Harvey, Sir John, Esq., Gent., Knt. Appointed Commissioner 307 (297)
Arrives as Commr. from E. C. 314 (304)
Promises Sharples tob. for treachery 325 (315)
Reliable in business 307 (297)
Returns from Virginia. 338 (328)
Harwell, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
Harwood, Mr. Member Council of State A 10
Harwood, Mr. Member Council in Va. Chief of Martin’s Hundred 182
Harwood, Capt. Edward. (See name below.) Member V. C. A 10
Harwood, Sir Edward. (See name above.) Laws to be codified by 162
Harwood, Leonard (Mercer). Member V. C. A 13
Hazeling, Francis, Gent. Member V. C. A 13
Haslingina, King. Brother of, injured 71
Negotiates with Eng. 71-2
Haswell, Capt. Company answers pet. of 222-4
Martin’s patent delivered by 219-0
Petition presented by 223
Status of 224
Hat. Given to Indian 9
Hatchets, Canadian, of Susquesahanocks 69
Corn to be given for 131
From Susquesahanocks 67
Germans make for Powhatan 90
Offered to Indians 49
Powhatan satisfied with peace and 87
Provision of, by Eng. for Inds. 73
Smith to make for P. 86
Hatteras. See “Cape Hatteras.”
Hatton, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain. On committee to which R. bill committed 11-2
Hawkins, Charles. Member V. C. A 12
Hawkins, John. Member V. C. A 11
Hawkins, Sir Richard. Member C. of W. agst. Algerines 184
Member C. for Va. 36
Hawley, Captain. Member V. C. A 10
Hayden, Jeremy (Ironmonger). Member V. C. A 12
Haywood, Sir George, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
“Head-Rights.” Lands granted for 139-0
Health (see also “Climate,” “Jamestown,—conditions”). Conditions of (1623) 278 (268)
Improvement in 313 (303)
Of colonists (1586) 18
Heatens (see also “Indians”). Conversion of, first duty of C. of S. A 33
Hebrew. See “Jewish.”
Hebrew References. In Raleigh’s History .137
Hedges. Colonists die under 278 (268)
None in colony 319 (309)
Hecle, Sir Warwick, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
Heiffers. Importation of 166
Helps. Stith uses in writing his History iv
Hemp. Directions given for raising 177
Henrico. Appamattocks close to 124
Burgesses from, to G. A. 160
Butler was never at 321 (311)
Church built at 124
Condition of, when ST. left... 321 (311)
Deserted (1622) 279 (269)
East India School to be connected with college at... 204
Education of Indians at... 163
Lands at, tenanted... 165
Lands given for University at... 163, 165
One of six towns under Smith (T) 316 (306)
Ordnance at... 320 (310)
Origin of name... 124
Quitted by ST... 321 (311)
Ruins of, described 124, 316 (306), 321 (311)
Town under S. T... 316 (306)
University at, provided for... 163, 165
Henricopolis. See "Henrico."

Henry VII, of England. Columbus offers services to... 3

Henry VIII. Criticized by Raleigh... 137
Wriothesly, executor of... 179

Hens (see also "Cock and Hen"). Consumed recklessly... 116
Powhatan promises to come... 84
Smith leaves at Jamestown (1609)... 107
Heraldry. Smith's arms.—Turks' heads on... 109-0
Herald's Office. Smith's arms recorded in... 110

Herbert, Captain. Member V. C., A 10
Herbert, Mr. Nominates Sth. as Treas... 180-1
On Committee to attend Commrs... 301 (291)
Plan of, for curing factions, fails... 185

Herbs. Cultivation of, provided... 331 (321)
Food made from... 98, 116, 117
Used to season horse-flesh for food... 116

Hereditaments (see also "Lands," "Tenements," "Grants").

Distributed under Common Seal... A 15-6
Granted... A 2, 3, 7, 14, 15
Held in Eng. and Wales... A 14
Laws of Eng. to govern... 38
Tenure of,—free and common socage... A 7
Heylen, Dr. Smith assisted by... iv

Hickman, Mr. Clerk in Secretary's office... viii
Records copied by... viii

Hicks, Sir Baptist, Knt. Member Council for Va... A 16
Member V. C... A 10

Hide, John (Grocer). Member V. C... A 13

Hides. See "Horse Hides."

Higgons, Peter (Grocer). Member V. C... A 13

High Marshal of Virginia. Dale... 101
Dale, carries supplies... 122

Hill, Mr. Edward. Defends Elizabeth City... 236

Hill, Robert. Member V. C... A 11

Hill, Tristan. Member V. C... A 13

Hill Top. General Assembly to be held during and title of... A 26

Hinshaw, Thomas. Member V. C... A 12

Hinson, Tobias (Grocer). Member V. C... A 13

Hinton, Griffith. Member V. C... A 11

Hispaniola. Captured by Drake... 15

Historians. Advice to... iv-v, vi-vii
Carelessness of... 182

History of the Reformation. Bennett's, a guide to Stith... A, iii

History of the World. Raleigh's published (1614)... 137

History of Virginia. Smith qualified to write... 192

Hobart, Sir Henry, Knt. Member Council for Va... A 16
Member V. C... A 10

Hodges, Edward (Grocer). Member V. C... A 10

Hodgson, John. Member V. C... A 11

Hoes. Stolen by Newport... 81

Hog Island. Smith decides to visit... 97
Block-house and garrison at... 97
Gates drops down river to... 117
Hogs sent to... 97

Hogs (see also "Swine," "Sows"). Abundance in Berms... 114
Abundance, in colony (1619)... 115
Consumed recklessly... 115
Drewarps sends to Berms... 115
Forfeited,—all at Jamestown... 148
Gates brings... 123
Germans plan to destroy... 99
Hog Island for... 97
Hunting of, only by leave... 148
Imported ones only... 224
Increase of, at Jamestown... 97
King's Forest has plenty of... 223
Left at Jamestown by S... 163 (310)

Hogheads. Of corn given N. by colony... 77
Secured for colony by Nampton... 83-4

Holborn. Records to be brought to... 301 (291)

Holcroft, Captain (see also names below). Arrives in Virginia... 117
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Holcroft, Capt. Thomas (see also names above and below).
   Member V. C. ... A 10

Holcroft, Sir Thomas, Knt. (see also names above). Member
   King’s Council for Va. ... 36
   Member V. C. ... A 10

Holcrofte, Capt. Jeffry. Member V. C. ... A 10

Holidays. Anniversary of Massacre ... 329 (319)
   Observation of, when two together ... 329 (319)

Holland, States of. Representations made to ... 133
   Tobacco ships raise row in ... 270 (260)
   Tobacco trade set up in ... 201

Holles, Captain. Member V. C. ... A 10

Holles, Sir John, Knt. Member V. C. ... A 10

Holman, George. Member V. C. ... A 11

Holt, Christopher. Member V. C. ... A 12

Holt, John. Member V. C. ... A 12

Holy Days. See “Holidays.”

Hominy. Served to colonists by Inds. ... 11

Hooker, George, Gent. Member V. C. ... A 14

Hooker, Richard (Grocer). Member V. C. ... A 13

Hope in Faith and Coxendale. At
   Henrico ... 124

Hopkins, John (Alderman of Bristol). Member V. C. ... A 14

Hore, Christopher. Member V. C. ... A 12

Horse Hides, Food made from ... 315 (305)
   Unlawfully detained by Argall, ... 150

Horses. Food made from ... 118
   Jamestown,—left at ... 107
   Smith leaves at Jamestown (1609) ... 107
   Transportation of, provided for ... A 18-9, 28

Hospitality. See also “Entertaining”
   Noticeable as early as 1624 ... 319 (309)

Hospitals. Indians to be placed in ... 214

Hostages. Exchanged ... 34
   Indians held as ... 14
   King’s son to be ... 72
   Manteo as ... 12, 14
   Menatonon’s son as ... 14
   Manakins give ... 79
   Pocahontas taken as ... 128
   Rappahannocks refuse to surrender ... 72
   Weymouth gives and takes ... 34

Houghton, Lord. Tob. officials to be selected by ... 250
   To notify King of Sth. re-election ... 231

House of Burgesses. See “Burgesses, House of.”

House of Commons. See “Commons, House of.”

House of Lords. See “Lords, House of.”

Houses (see also “Buildings,” “Cabins,” “Huts”).
   Assignment of, by P ... 104-5
   Authority Commrs. over ... 327-8 (317-8)
   Best of, offered ... 328 (318)
   Better than cottages of Eng. ... 320 (310)
   Building of ... 84, 85, 93, 97, 125-4, 124, 125, 312 (302), 324 (312)
   Built at Jamestown ... 97
   Burned ... 94, 95, 120, 313 (303)
   Cape Cod,—none at ... 31
   Charles City,—number in ... 321 (311)
   Commrs.’ authority over ... 327-8 (317-8)
   Compare well with, of Eng. and W. Indies ... 320 (310)
   Conditions of ... 273 (263), 278 (268), 279 (269), 316 (306)
   Copper traded for ... 104-5
   Corn promised for ... 84
   Corn tribute from each ... 105
   Dale builds ... 125
   Description of ... 54, 58
   Destroyed ... 74, 117, 120, 241-2
   Dilapidated, repaired ... 23
   Elizabeth River,—on ... 73
   Fortified agst. Indians ... 320 (310)
   Germans left to finish ... 93
   Good,—few left ... 316 (306)
   Hamer conducted to, of P ... 134
   Henrico,—at ... 123-4, 124, 321 (311)
   Henrico,—remaining at ... 321 (311)
   Increase of ... 319 (309)
   Indians desire to enjoy ... 96
   Indians live in ... 68, 73, 129
   Jamestown,—built at ... 97
   Jamestown,—destroyed at ... 117, 120
   Jamestown,—few inhabited at ... 146
   Left when Smith (T) quit ... 321 (311)

Material for ... 17

Nansamonds ... 104-5

Nansamonds live in ... 73
   “Nonesuch,”—those at ... 105
   Ordered repaired ... 122
   Pallisaded,—all to be ... 331 (321)
   Pascoticans’ burned ... 313 (303)
   Poor quality of ... 316 (306)
   Powhatan lived in ... 54, 58
   Powhatan offers corn for ... 84
   Powhatan’s burned ... 129
   Powhatan’s,—Hamer visits ... 134
BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY. 73

Repair of 23, 122
Removed 27
Roanoke Island 10-1
Robbed 105, 149
Slothful desire to sell 96
Smith entertained in 58
Smith remains in his 61
Smith visits O.'s 90, 91, 92
How, Mr. George. Slain by Indians 23
Howard, John, Clerk. Member V. C. A 12
Howard, Lord. Desires to rescue Greenvil 29
Sent after Plate Fleet 23
Howard, Lord Theophilus. Member C. for Va. 16
Member V. C. A 9
Howe, Mr. (Chronicler). Comes over 229
Howle, Richard. Member V. C. A 13
Hudson, Henry. Discoveries of 75
States-General buys discoveries of 75
Validity of claim of, to Hudson 133
Hudson River. Discovered by Henry Hudson 75
Skin trade on 148
Validity of Dutch claims to 128
Hulls, Arnold. Member V. C. A 12
Humble, Richard. Member V. C. A 11
Humble Petition, Etc. Presented to King 276-7 (266-7)
Hundreds (see name each hundred). Burgess from each, member G. A. 196
Education of Indians by 195
Hungerford, Sir Edward. Member King's C. for Va. 33
Hunt, Mr. (see also name below). Arrives at Jamestown 77
Hunt, Rev. Robert (see also names above and below). Communion celebrated by 47
Discord allayed by, on voyage. 44
Intercedes for Smith 47
Mentioned 45
Persuaded to join Gosnold exp. 35
Quiets quarrels 47
Hunt, Thomas (see also names above). Member V. C. A 12
Hunting. Deer, regulated 148
Huntington, Earl of. Member of Co. and to enjoy privileges. A 25
Huntley, John. Member V. C. A 10
Husband. Office of in charge warehouses 251
Husbandmen. Break contracts to go to colony A 29
Lack of 148-9
Huts (see also "Cabins," "Houses," "Buildings"). Indians use 63
Hutton, Vice-Chamberlain. On committee to which R. bill committed 11
Hyde, Sir Lawrence. Conditions to be reported by 180

I

Ice. Used for drinking water 85
Idolatry (see also "Idols," "Images"). Pocahontas renounces 136
Idols (see also "Idolatry," "Images"). Antimony used to colour 65
Okée of the Indians 49
Ignorance of Europeans. As to rest of the world 2
Images (see also "Idolatry," "Idols"). Indian gods represented by 17
Immigrants (see also "Colonists"). Land grants to 139-0
Immortality of Soul. Indians believe cols. possess 18
Indians believe in 17
Immunities. Confirmed A 22, 24
Denied A, iv, v
Ratified A 22, 27-8, 31-2
Same as in Eng. A 6, 20
Lack of 148-9
Transportation authorized A 18-9, 28
Importations (see also "Imports"). Duties upon A 19
Monopoly of, granted 198-9
Imports (see also "Importations"). Burden of, increases 245
Imprisonment. Punishment by 38-9
Incest. Punishment for 38
Index. Of adventurers, to be published 175
Indian Corn (see also "Malze"). Planted on stubble 102
Indians (see also "Heathens"). Account of country from 11
Aid cols. 14
Alliance awes 141
Ambassadors from 80
Ambuscades 48-7, 62, 65, 69, 74, 95
Ambushes by 69, 74
Amidias entertained by 10-1
Antimony mine worked 65
Antimony,—uses of 65
Argall apportions trade 250
Arms given agst 232-3
Arms restored by 241
Arms traded 34
Arms used by 49
Attacks cease 96-7
Attire of 68
Bad faith to, disciplined 258
Baptized 24
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

B'ashabes ................................ 34
Beads coin of .......................... 198
Beads (blue) valued ..................... 59
Betray cols ................................ 18
Bible explained to ...................... 19
Billing among ............................ 97, 98
Buckler made of .......................... 61
Buried, as food ......................... 116-7
Butler aids in stealing .................. 321 (311)
Captured .................................. 120
Casson killed by ......................... 50
Cattle destroyed ......................... 235
Cattle stolen by .......................... 321 (311)
Caution towards ......................... 43
Chief Lord ................................ 34
Children,—retaining .................... 172
Christianity among ...................... 18, 19, 24, 33, 37, 40, 172, 195
Clergymen on ............................. 233
Coin,—beads for ........................ 198
Colonists billet on ....................... 97, 98
Colonists slain by ....................... 23
Colonists to be killed ................... 79
Colonizing of ............................ 216
Commander of ........................... 39
Complain of West ........................ 105
Commission agst ........................ 313 (303)
Commissioners' prop. as to .......... 328 (318)
                                  (324-5), 335 (325)
Corporations to fall on ................. 322 (323)
Corn about all ......................... 234
Corn carried by ......................... 84
Corn cut off by .......................... 81
Corn destroyed ......................... 226, 313 (303)
Corn forced from ......................... 84, 141, 317 (307)
Corn hidden by .......................... 79
Corn not brought ....................... 116
Corn planted by ......................... 72-3, 238
Corn trade suspended ................... 321 (323)
Customs,—B. on .......................... 17-9
Dale colonizing ........................ 216
Dale explores contra .................... 122
Deserters taken Just. by ............... 98
Disciplined .............................. 12, 49, 61
Dress ...................................... 10
                                  (324-5), 335 (325)
Elders' influence ........................ 233
England,—taken to ...................... 11
English not to be harmed .............. 58
Entertain .................................. 10-1, 57-8, 67
Epidemic attacks ........................ 18
Familiarity forbidden ................. 147
Firearms use first taught ............... 141-2
Food brought by ......................... 97
Fortifications against ................. 320 (310), 331 (321)
French among ............................ 133
Friendly attack ......................... 24
Friendly in N. Eng ....................... 31-2

Friendly relations.9-10, 34, 46, 49
Game brought ............................ 97
Glass-works retarded by Mas-
sac ........................................... 321 (311)
Gold and s. unknown as med. 32
of exchange .............................. 82
Goods destroyed by ..................... 235
Governor,—S. to be .................... 63
Granganameo death gives trouble .... 14
Greenvil disciplines .................... 12
Guides ..................................... 141
Ham ancestor of ......................... 296 (286)
Hamer disciplined for action agst .... 240
Hatchets, etc., of ........................ 67
Hostages ................................. 12, 14
Hostile attitude ......................... 46, 208, 239, 240
Houses burned by ....................... 242
Houses fortified agst ........................ 320 (310), 331 (321)
England,—taken to ...................... 11
Howe slain by ............................ 23
Immortality believed in ............... 17-8
Instruments amaze ....................... 18
Ironworks profits for ................... 215
James City retarded by Mas-
sac ........................................... 319 (309)
Jamestown attack prevent-
ed ........................................ 52-3
Kicquotan attacked ...................... 49
Killed.96-7, 294 (284), 313 (303)
King gives arms agst ................... 223-3
Laws of descent ........................... 54
Leagues confirmed ....................... 204
Maddison disciplined for ac-
tion agst ................................... 240
Manteo baptized ......................... 24
Mare food of ............................. 315-6 (305-6)
Martin assaulted ......................... 104
Massacre by (1622) ...................... 208 —
Massacre retards colony ............... 319 (309)
Merchants best ........................... 63
Metals of ................................. 65, 67
Miracle on ................................ 96
Mortgage lands ........................... 149
Negotiations .............................. 56
Newce attacked ........................... 237
New Eng. and conds. ...................... 51-2
New Eng. submit Eliz. .................. 12
Newport entertained ..................... 57-8
Newport steals trade ..................... 81
Number taken Eng. ...................... 138
Oppression protection ................... 194
Ornaments ................................. 10
Peace offerings from .................... 89
Peace sued for ........................... 47
Penalty teaching use guns .......... 147
Pountis disciplines bad faith ......... 240
Poverty after war with .................. 323 (313)
Powder expl. kills ....................... 96-7
Powhatan,—S. taken to ................. 51-3
Presents before massacre .............. 209
Presents from 10, 11, 14, 31-2, 49, 56, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68-9, 86, 90, 92, 96, 97, 141, 209

Priests’ influence 233

Proposition as to 328 (318)

Provisions from 56, 95, 68-9, 90, 92, 96, 97, 141

Ralegh on customs, etc. 17-9

Rector for 218

Religion,—R. on 17-9

Roanoke (beads) highly praised 63

Roanoke troubles not from. 15

Rules distasteful 92

Runaways taken fast. by 98

Sagamo of 34

Scare caused by 11

Shot frightens 241

Skin trade 198

Slain 120

Smith ambushed 69, 74

Smith attacked 70

Smith absence,—effect on 116

Smith aided by 102

Smith disciplines 51-3

Smith disperses 89

Smith entertained 57-8

Smith esteemed 56-7

Smith Gov. of 68

Smith kindly treated 62

Smith magic powers 96

Smith makes war on 234

Smith negotiations 56

Smith prevents, attack 52-3

Smith respected 61-2

Smith surrounded 91

Smith thinks kindness win. 233

Smith trades with 67

Smith uses, as buckler 51

Smith (T) wars with 295 (285)

Spaniards resisted 102

Starvation prevented by 14, 97, 98

Stealing, disciplined 12

Stockham on conversion 233

Stolen goods returned by 96-7

Subjects of King 312 (302), 317 (307)

Susquesahanock dealings 68-9

Swords given 61

Temple robbed 149

Terrorized 96-7

Theory of, confirmed 144

Thorpe work 211

Ticklish state of 124

Tobacco esteemed by 19

Tools, etc., given 210

Torment of 234

Town described 67

Trade apportioned 150

Trade forbidden 147

Trade pernicious 81

Trade refused by 80

Trade suspended 331 (321)

Trade with colts. 83-4

Traders best 63

Treachery of 34

Treatment to, kind 40, 232

Treaty (educational) 215

Treaty with Eng. 72-3


Tribute paid by 49, 54, 105, 312 (302), 317 (307)

Troops watched 73

Trouble from 61

Turkles from 61

Uprising planned 15

Violence of 63

War causes complaints 300 (290)

War makes poverty 323 (313)

War with Eng. 217

War with, under ST. 295 (285)

Weymouth takes to Eng. 34
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

West complained of ................................................. 105
White attacks ....................................................... 24
World,—idea of ..................................................... 71
Wrongdoers sent by ................................................ 99
Wyanoke,—flee from .............................................. 84
Wyant confirms leagues ............................................ 204
Wyat slays ........................................................... 313 (303)
Yeardley plunders ................................................... 241-2
**Established ......................................................... 207-8**

**Infidel Children** (see also “Infidels,” “Indians”).
Converted ............................................................ 277 (267)
To be properly brought up ......................................... 215

**Infidels** (see also “Infidel Children,” “Indians”).
Conversion of,—Dale solicits for .................................. 132

**Information, Butler’s.** Answer to ................................ 296-7 (286-7)
Conditions of .......................................................... 390 (380)
Copy of, arrives ....................................................... 314 (304)
Ignored by Comms. .................................................. 301 (291)
Investigation of, denied ............................................. 301 (291)
Sent to Co .............................................................. 291 (281)

**Informations.** Against Argall ................................ 149-0
As to Delawarr ....................................................... 151
False, sent to Eng ................................................... 81

**Ingram, Sir Arthur.** Consulted by Sandy ..............................

**Inn (see also “Guest-House”).**
Building at Jamestown .............................................. 319 (309)
None found ............................................................. 278 (268)

**Innholders (Individuals).** Members V. C ........................

**Innholders, The Company of.** Member V. C .................... A 14

**Instructions (see also “Orders,” “Articles”).**
Additional ............................................................ 42
Agreeable, promised ............................................... 174
Argall ignores ....................................................... 301 (291)
Articles of, signed by Davers .................................... 187
Clergy,—as to ........................................................ 194
Colony ................................................................. A 17
Commissioners have no ............................................. 327 (317)

**Delayed ............................................................... 44**
Difficult to comply with .......................................... 324 (314)

**For raising commodities ......................................... 195**
**For reception Governor ......................................... 195**
**Further, provided for ........................................... 41**
**Given to Newport .................................................. 42**
**Governor and Council retort as to ........................... 232**
Ignored by Argall ................................................... 150
King's Council for Va, to be established ...................... 36
King's Council to ordain, for colony .......................... A 17

**King's, suppressed ................................................... 293 (283)**
Letters patent as to government ................................ 162

**Letters patent, enforced ......................................... 282 (272)**
Lost with “Sea Venture” ........................................... 102
No grounds in ....................................................... 327 (317)
None possessed ..................................................... 327 (317)
Religious ............................................................... 194
Sealed ................................................................. 44
Seal of Council on .................................................. A 32
Somers disregards .................................................. 119
To be established ................................................... A 21
To C. in Va ........................................................... 194-5
To Council of State ................................................. 157, 194
To Governor (1621) .................................................. 194

**Instructions (of Company).** Tobacco ................................ 205

**Instructions (of King).** Suppressed ................................ 293 (283)

**Instrument.** Dutch Settlement figures in ........................ 133

**Instruments (for Labour).** Stolen by Newport .................. 81

**Instruments (Mechanical).** Indians amazed at .............. 18

**Insurrections.** Tendency to, relieved by Va ........................ 335 (325)

**International Complications.** To be avoided .................. 195

**Interpretation of the Laws.** To be in favour of Co ........................................ 21-2, 31

**Interpreter.** Haswell, to Polonian lord ........................ 224
Savage used as ...................................................... 133-4
Spilman sentenced to .............................................. 241

**Invasion.** Repelling of ........................................... A 5, 19, 19-0

**Invocations** (see also “Ceremonies,” “Dances,” “War Dances,” “Songs”).
Over boat found .................................................... 241

**Ireland.** Abbot served in ......................................... 123
Cattle brought from ................................................ 205
Colonies to be in league with .................................... 5
Diggos et al. banished from ....................................... 207
Newce served in .................................................... 139
Mentioned ............................................................. A 1, 6, 8, 22, 23
Tobacco monopoly of, offered .................................... 244, 242
Trade of, with Va ................................................... 202
White goes to ....................................................... 24

**Irish Mantle.** Robe of P., as large as ........................... 58

**Irish Wars.** Raleigh rewarded for service in ...................... 25

**Iron.** See also “Ironworks.”
Base,—alleged to be ................................................. 296 (286)
Manufacture of, by Whitsuntide (1622) .......................... 218

**Ironmongers (Individuals) (see also “Ironworkers”).**
Members V. C ........................................................ A 11, 12, 13

**Ironmongers, The Company of.** Member V. C .................. A 13
Ironside, Richard. Member V. C., A 11

Ironworkers (see also "Ironmongers").

Death ........................................ 193
Experienced, sent over ...................... 193

Ironworks (see also "Iron").

Cavendish efforts for ........................ 232
Establishment of ............................. 215
"In so good a forwardness" ................... 218
Master workmen at, dead .................... 193
Operation of by Whitsuntide (1622) ........ 218
Perfection of, shortly ........................ 321 (311)
Poor investment ............................... 281-2 (271-2)
Restoration of ................................. 215-6
Set up .......................................... 177
Wasted in 1622 ................................. 279 (269)

Isaac, Nicholas. Member V. C., A 13

Isle of Devils. Bermudas were called ........ 114

Italian Gentlemen. To aid Smith ............. 108

Italian Workmen. Sent to make needs ...... 198

Italy. Climate same as Va. .................... 81-2

Silkworm seed sent from ....................... 183

Smith goes to .................................. 109

Itopatin. One name fortipchatpan .......... 155

J

Jack of the Feather. Origin of name and virtues of ........ 240

Jackson, Henry. Member V. C., A 11

Jacob, Mr. Petitioners referred to .......... 202-3

Suit against .................................. 189
Tobacco monopoly granted ................. 198-9

Tobacco ordered released by ................ 196
Tobacco tax imposed by, illegal .......... 168-9

Jacobson, Peter (of Antwerp). Member V. C. 13

Jacobson, Philip. Member V. C., A 13

James, Humphrey (Cooper). Member V. C. 11

James, Thomas (Merchant of Bristol). Member King's Coun-

cil of Va. ....................................... 36

James I. Absolute power of,—

Bancroft for .................................. 76

Allegiance to, to be main-
tained ........................................ 37

Alleviation of ................................. 272-3 (262-3)

Angry ........................................... 206-7

Answer to ...................................... 317-26 (307-16)

Appeal to, by Wrote .......................... 250

Arms given by .................................. 232-3

Attempts to defeat Sth ........................ 229-0

Attitude of ..................................... 203-4, 207

Assistance of, appreciated ................. 231

Bancroft for absolute power of .......... 76

Besought to hang cols. ........................ 317 (307)

Butler pet. goes to ............................ 280 (270)

Caesar worse than ............................ vii

Cape Charles named after son of ........... 45

Character of .................................. vi-vii

Charter (First) granted by .................. 35-6, A., 1

Charter (new) to be granted by ............... 303-4 (293-4)

Charter (Second) quoted against .......... 168

Charters granted by ........................... A 1-34

Chickahominies to be subjects of .......... 130-1

Colonial pet. to ................................ 200, 201

Colonists to be hung by ........................ 317 (307)

Commissioners' duties defined by ........... 302 (292)

Commons—details of quarrel with .......... 206

Company Courts suppressed by .............. 338-9 (328-9)

Condescends ................................... 180

Contract—attitude as to ....................... 246

Contract—conditions with .................... 247-52

Council—orders for establish-
ing, given by ................................. 36

"Counter-Blade to Tobacco" by ............... 183

Courts of Co. affected by letter of .......... 302-3 (292-3)

Criticised by Stith ............................ vi-vii

Criticism of Articles of ....................... 41

Criticism of government of ................. vi

Declaration to. 281-90 (271-80)

Discord noticed by 251-2 (251-2)

Discoveries under commis-
sion from ................................. 75-6

Displeased ................................. 336-7 (326-7)

Displeased with P. C. ......................... 170

Dissolve Parliament ........................... 206

Dixon's pet. to ................................. 227

"Dragoon of the Long Robe and Legal Pander to Slav-
ery" ............................................. A iv

Dutch colony submits to ......................... 133

Election controlled by ........................ 314 (294)

Election displeases ........................... 231

Encroachments of, raises Spirit of Liberty . 179-0

Expulsion agst. Algerines sent by .......... 184

Expenses contributed to by .................. 248

Favour of, necessary .......................... 341 (331)

Fisheries dispute appealed to ............... 185

Forbids Co. to bring com-
plaints to Comrs. 302 (292)

Free elections granted by ........................ 180

Garbling pet. to, and action thereon .......... 193

Grants Charters ................................. 35-6, 101, A., 1-34
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Haswell's pet. to ..........223
Hudson licensed by ..........133
Humble Petition to ..........276 (266)
Illegal powers of ..........310 (300)
Imposes extraordinary re- 
straints ..................307 (297)
Impressions (erroneous) of ....223 (318)
Imprisons unfavourable ones 207
Injustice of ..........337-8 (327-8)
Injustice of, to Co. .......vii
Instructions of, suppressed .....293 (283)
Interference of,—depreciated, 
229-0 (279-0)
Jealousy of ..........142
Johnson's pet. to ..........290 (280)
Journals of House declared 
void ..........................206
Kemp's pet. to ..........227
King's C. for Va. established 
by ............................36
Lands all held from ..........223-4
Laws to be amended by .....40
Letter from ..........302 (292)
Letter of, effects Courts of 
Co. ..........................302-3 (292-3)
Letters Patent granted by, 
35-6, A 1-34
Liberty spirit raised by en- 
croachment of ..........179-0
Love of, for the colony ..326-7 (316-7)
Loyalty of, to Co.,—uncer-
tain ..........................150
Martin pets, to ..........222, 223, 226
Martin's pet. referred by ....223
Mathews opposed ..........307 (297)
Murkness of, reversed. 333 (328)
Menacing orders from. 314 (304)
Message from, perplexes Co. 180
Monson, Admiral of ..........184
Nominates Treas. for Va. .....178
Nominees of, for Treas. and 
Dep. ..........................230
Notified of re-election of Sth. 
231
Oath of allegiance to, re- 
quired ..........................43
Offer of, rejected ..........170-1
Opposition to, largely from 
Va. Co. ........................207
Oppressions from ..........340 (330)
Order Books taken by, and 
P. C. ..........................64
Order from ..........303-7 (293-7)
Pardon,—power of, in .....33
Parliament breaks with .......334 (324)
Parliament dissolved by ....206
Petition to, 290 (280), 333 (323)
Petition to, suppressed, 286 (276)
Petition (Butler's) goes to ..280 (270)
Petition (colonial) to, 200, 201
Petition (Dixon's) to ..........227
Petition (garbling) to King 
and action thereon ........199
Petition (Haswell's) to ..........223
Petition (Humble) to ..........276 (266)
Petition (Johnson's) to, 290 (280)
Petition (Kemp's) to ..........227
Petition (Martin's) to, 224, 226
Petition (Somers') to ..........227-8
Petition (tobacco) to, sup- 
pressed ........................286 (276)
Picture of, to be given Cks. 131
Privy Council displeases .....170
Privy Council, Intercessors to, 
269 (259)
Puritans hated by Court ........16
Puritans to get consent to 
leave Eng. ........................76
Ralegh,—death of,—insisted 
on ................................156
Ralegh,—not spared ..........155
Regard of, for Sth. ..........179
Reply of, to notification 231-2
Revenues, King deceived as 
to ............................336 (326)
River named after ..........46
Sacrifices subjects to grati-
fy King of Spain ...........246
Settlement named after ..........46
Silk-worm seed given by ....177
Smith hopes for help from ....108
Smith (T) depended on ......339 (329)
Solicitations of, for colony ...306-7 (296-7)
"Solomon of England" ..........183
Somers' pet. to ..........227-8
Southampton,—attempt to re-
ject ..........................230
Southampton,—notified, of 
election of ........................229-0
Southampton,—tries to de-
feat ............................229-0
Spanish Match desired by ..........203
Spirit of Liberty raised by 
encroachments of ..........179-0
Suspicious actions of ....334 (324)
Taxes on Co. increased by ..245
Tobacco attitude of ..........170
Tobacco,—aversion of, for ....244
Tobacco culture discouraged 
by ............................195
Tobacco, frauds in, to be pre-
vented by ........................247
Tobacco,—freight on ..........248
Tobacco monopoly granted by 
247
Tobacco pet. to, suppressed ........286 (276)
Tobacco (Eng.) planting for-
bidden ..........................170
Tobacco profits of ..........247-9
Tobacco reports to be made 
to .............................248
Tobacco suppression attempt- 
ed by ...........................21
Tobacco tax .................................. 244-5, 247-8
Tomocomo wishes to see .................................. 144
Treas. and Dep.—nominees for .................................. 230
Treasurer,—efforts as to .................................. 299 (289)
Treatise written by .................................. 183
Tribute to,—pocones .................................. 105
Tyrannies of .................................. 41-2
Vessels ordered to sail by .................................. 317 (307)
Writings of,—quality of .................................. 137
James IV, of Scotland. Elizabeth succeeded by .................................. 32
Ralegh confined in Tower by .................................. 32
James VI. Succeeded Elizabeth. 32
James City (see also "James-town," "Fort," "Virginia").
Building stopped by Mass. .................................. 319 (309)
Butler not higher up river than .................................. 321 (311)
Commission issued to Lieuts.-Gov. of .................................. 313 (303)
Commodities not sold until arrive at .................................. 331 (321)
Inn building at .................................. 319 (309)
Ordnance at, erroneously stated .................................. 320 (310)
Town under ST .................................. 315 (306)
James River (see also "Falls of James River").
Abandonment of, desired .................................. 235
Block-house at Blunt Point on .................................. 229
Boundary of Powhatan’s domains .................................. 54
Difficulties (alleged) of .................................. 278 (268)
Explored by Dale .................................. 122
Falls of .................................. 46, 53, 61, 71, 122
Formerly called Powhatan River .................................. 34
Manakins live near Falls of .................................. 61, 71
Newport passes Falls of .................................. 71
Origin of name .................................. 46
Powhatan near Falls of .................................. 53
Powhatan River,—once name of .................................. 34
Quiyoughquohanocks located on .................................. 99
Ships in (1621) .................................. 282 (272)
Virtues of .................................. 318 (308)
James-town (see also "Fort," "James City," "Virginia").
Anarchy and confusion at .................................. 103
Argall brings corn to .................................. 113
Argall on conds .................................. 297 (287)
Argall takes capt. supplies. .................................. 133
Arms stolen from .................................. 90
Arms,—Inds. come for .................................. 88
Attack on .................................. 46, 52-3
Betrayal of Smith to Inds. at .................................. 65
Billeting among Inds. near .................................. 98
Block-house built at .................................. 97
Building of, 48; rebuilding. .................................. 60
Burgesses sent to G. A. by .................................. 160
Burned (1607) .................................. 119
Burning of, forbidden .................................. 117
Burning of, planned .................................. 99-0
Butler description of .................................. 278-0 (268-0)
Causes,—inconvenient to bring all to .................................. 207
Chrowshaw goes to .................................. 233
Chrowshaw visit in vain. .................................. 238
Church repaired .................................. 60, 76, 97
Colonists (1608) at .................................. 79
Colonists arrive at .................................. 46, 77
Colonists drowned at. .................................. 92-3, 141
Colonists gathered at .................................. 235
Colonists sent to .................................. 127
Colonists slain .................................. 149
Communion celebrated at .................................. 47
Conditions at (1608) .................................. 62, 74, 76, 83
(1609) .................................. 94-97, 98, 101, 107-8
(1610) .................................. 117-18, 118-19
(1611) .................................. 121, 122
(1612) .................................. 146-7
(1613) .................................. 159-0, 161, 164-5
(1616) .................................. 175, 180, 186
(1622) .................................. 217-8, 218-9, 223, 243
(1623) .................................. 270-1 (260-1), 278-0
(1624) .................................. 281 (271), 281-3 (271-3), 281
(1625) .................................. 289 (279), 289-0
(1626) .................................. 315 (305), 316 (306)
Conditions reformed .................................. 74
Conspiracies at .................................. 123
Corn brought to .................................. 80, 84, 94, 118, 161
Corn destroyed .................................. 97
Culture commodities at .................................. 232
Dale finds idling at .................................. 122
Dale returns to .................................. 129
Dale sails from .................................. 123-4
Desertion of, prevented by S. .................................. 56
Description. .................................. 278-0 (268-0)
Dismal prospects at .................................. 83
Dissatisfaction .................................. 50
Drowning at .................................. 92-3, 141
Escape to, attempted .................................. 90
Fishing weirs planted at .................................. 95
Food arrives at .................................. 94
Food causes sickness at .................................. 47-8
Fort at, pallisaded .................................. 46
Freedom at, condition of .................................. 161
Game brought to .................................. 97
Gates forbids burning of .................................. 117
Germans return to .................................. 100
Germans steal arms from .................................. 90
Gold-fever at .................................. 60
Hogs found at, forfeited .................................. 146
Houses built at .................................. 97
Idling at .................................. 122
Improvements at .................................. 76
Indians bring game to .................................. 97
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Indians give trouble at ........ 61
Indians return stolen goods to ........ 96-7
Indians send wrongdoers to, for punishment ........ 97
James City, another name for ........ 224
Japazaws carried to ........ 239-9
Japazaws come to ........ 161
King's Forest includes ........ 224
Marriage at,—first Christian ........ 84
Martin returns to ........ 104
Massacre at ........ 208-13
Massacre,—effect of, on colony ........ 233-4
"Miracle" performed at ........ 96
Messengers sent to ........ 94-5
Neglect at ........ 94
Nelson leaves, to discover Chesapeake Bay ........ 62
Newport carried back to ........ 76
Newport reports conditions ........ 101
Newport returns to ........ 79
Paulisaded ........ 46
Permission to board ship at ........ 143
Plantations abandoned ........ 235
Plots at ........ 123
Pocahontas hostage at ........ 128
Powl goes to, to warn against massacre ........ 212
Powhatan invited to ........ 78
Quiyoughquioquocks lived near ........ 99
Rebuilding of ........ 60
Records destroyed at viii, 59
Reorganization at ........ 94
Paspakey,—King of, led to ........ 95
Prices at, run up ........ 126
Smith brings food to ........ 66
Smith leaves, to raid P ........ 95
Smith left at ........ 78
Smith performs "miracle" at ........ 96
Smith prepares to rebuild ........ 60
Smith reorganizes ........ 94
Smith returns to ........ 55-6, 66, 78
Smith sails for ........ 62
Smith (T),—conditions under ........ 315 (305)
Smith (T),—one town not in ruins under ........ 316 (306)
Smith's services at ........ 192
"Starving Time" at ........ 116-7
Stolen goods returned to ........ 96-7
Sickness at ........ 47-8, 65
Suffering at ........ 59-0
Suits,—inconvenient to bring all to ........ 207
Supplies left at ........ 59, 107
Tavern (floating) off ........ 59
Thirst and progress at ........ 97
Waried against massacre ........ 212
Ward brings corn to ........ 161
Wells planted at ........ 95
Well sunk at ........ 97
West departs for ........ 105
West starts to ........ 104
Wrongdoers sent to, for punishment ........ 97
Japan, in East Indies, Dale at ........ 297 (287)
Japazaws, See "Japazaws."
Japazaws.
Attacks Ward ........ 161
Brends sent ........ 237
Character and powers of ........ 240
Corn negotiations with ........ 127
Corn,—trade for, offered by ........ 161
Design to make ally of, falls ........ 240
Exile king exasperated at ........ 239
Guides loaned by ........ 65
Kettle promised, to betray Po ........ 128
Opitchapan, a brother of ........ 237
Plot,—declines to enter ........ 237
Plot (alleged) of, with O ........ 239
Plot revealed by ........ 237
Released by Hamer ........ 240
Set and carried to Jast ........ 239-0
Ward attacked by ........ 161
Javelins, Indians use ........ 62
Jefferson, At Courts in Eng ........ 307 (297)
Jefferson, Mr. Testifies against Martin ........ 225
Jefferson, John, Gent. Commissioner ........ 307 (297)
Jefferson's Church. On Farrar's Island ........ 124
Jennings, Thomas (Grocer). Member V. C. ........ A 13
Jesu, See "Religion," "Christ," "Education."
Jewelry. Worn only by certain ones ........ 194
Jewish References. In Raleigh's History ........ 137
Johan, George (Ironmonger). Member V. C. ........ A 13
Johan, Henry, Gent. Member V. C. ........ A 13
John II of Portugal. Columbus offers services to ........ 3
Johnson, Alderman. Answer to ........ 292-7 (282-7)
Answer to Declaration of ........ 315-7 (305-7)
Antagonism of, to Co. denied ........ 280 (270)
Argall reprimanded by ........ 150-1
Argall-Smith Faction,—member of ........ 186-7
Authority exceeded by ........ 220-1
Candidate for Treasurer ........ 185-9
Certificate for M. signed by ........ 220-1
Colony informed as to Declaration of ........ 314 (304)
Commendation of Smith (T) by,—reasons ........ 317 (307)
Comment on presence of ..256
Company advised of pet. of...
289 (270)
Conditions told by letters of...
293 (283)
Criticized,—administ. of...
268-9 (258-9)
Deposition of, attempted...158
Deputy ..
294 (284)
Deputy for Co 219
Director of Magazine
171, 295 (285)
Discord caused by ...
293 (283)
Humble Petition presented by
276-7 (266-7)
Indebted to Co ...
276 (266)
Letters of, tell conditions...
293 (283)
Lord Treas. summons...
266 (256)
Management of, bad ...
178
Nominated for Treasurer..
159
Pension,—none mentioned for...
159
Petition of,—answer to...
293 (283), 295 (285)
Petition of, basis of Commission...
293 (283)
Petition of, endorsed...
293 (283)
Petition of,—what founded on...
293 (283)
Petition presented to P. C. by...
309 (299)
Presents “Humble Petition” etc...
276-7 (266-7)
Privy Council summons...
267 (257)
Reprimands Argall...
150-1
Salaries vote urged by...
264 (254)
Signature of, a surprise...
222
Summoned by Lord Treas...
266 (256)
Summoned by P. C...
267 (257)
Tobacco,—misrepresented as to...
198-9
Tobacco culture by...
222
Tobacco culture favoured by...
296 (285)
Johnson, Edward. Directors nominated by...
265 (255)
Seconds opinion of Mildway...
263-4 (253-4)
Johnson, John. Member V. C...
A 12
Johnson, Richard (Grocer). Member V. C...
A 13
Johnson, Sir Richard, Knt. Member V. C...
A 10
Johnson, Robert. Member V. C...
A 11
Johnson, Thomas (see also name below). Member V. C...
A 11
Johnson, Thomas (see also name above). Member V. C...
A 12
Johnson, William (Vintner). Member V. C...
A 13
Joiners, The Company of. Mem-
ber V. C...
A 14
Jones, Captain. Fails in expedit. agst. French and Dutch...
193
Jones, John (Merchant). Member V. C...
A 14
Jones, Sir William, Knt. Commission issued to...
293 (283)
Company affairs examined by...
293 (283)
Jones, Zachary, Esqr. Member V. C...
A 11
Jordan, Samuel. Defends Jordan’s Point...
235
Jordan’s Point. Colonists gather at...
235
Journals of Company. Bargain to be recorded in...
170
Described...
139
Great Shares mentioned in...
139
Questhouse call for...
301 (291)
Quoted...
161-2
Stith’s History founded on...
Joshua, Dale asks Company to believe...
132
Joshua, John, Gent. Member V. C...
A 12
Judges. Wronged greatly...
240-1 (230-1)
Judicial Proceedings. Record of, to be kept...
39
Subscribed by Pres. of Col...
39
Julian, William. Dispossessed by Yeardley...
237
Julian Age. Virtues of, commended...
7
Jury Trial. King denies...
3
Used for certain offenses...
3
Justice of the Peace. Title of, assumed...
6
Juxon, Thomas (Merchant Taylor). Member V. C...
A 14

K

Keel's Hill. Discovered and origin of name...
63
Keeper of Public Storehouses. Office of, lost...
171
Keightly, Mr. Thomas. Admitted as auditor...
275 (265)
Kelke, Sir Charles, Knt. Member V. C...
A 10
Kemp, William. Complaint presented to King by...
226-7
Kemps. Characteristics of...
95
Deserters taken to fort by...
98
Imprisoned by Smith...
95
Kendal, Mr. Remains with Greenvil cols...
12-3
Kendal, Edwin. Embezzles ambergrise...
127
Kendal, Capt. Miles. Spolied by Butler...
294 (284)
Kendall, George. Disgraced and removed from C...
48
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Escape attempted 49-0
Fort at Jamestown built by 46
Killed when escaping 50
Member C. in Va. 45
Place of, not filled 48

Keneridgeburg, Richard, Gent.
Member V. C. A 13

Kent. Lands held of East Greenwich in County of A 7
Sanctys a gentleman of 159

Kerll, Robert.
Member V. C. A 11

Kedley, Thomas.
Member V. C. A 13

Kettle. Copper traded for corn. 87
Pocahontas’ abduction re­warded with 128

Kettleby, Joint, Gent.
Member V. C. A 14

Kicqnotan, Christmas (1608) spent at 85
Colonists gathered at 235
Commission to Tucker of, to go agst. Inds. 313 (303)
Corn planted at 122
Fort built at 120
Grievances of, presented 227
Sailors not to go ashore at. 148
Smith arrives at 67
Smith explores river to 49
Smith returns to 86
Waters escape to 241

Killed, see “Colonists,—killed.”

Kilgrew, Sir Robert, Knt.
Inves­tigatg. commrs. waited on by... 85
Member C. for Va. 36; A 16
Member V. C. A 10
Privy Council attended by 267 (257)

Killingbeck, Richard.
Slain 149

King Henry VII., see “Henry VII.”

King Henry VIII., see “Henry VIII.”

King James I., see “James I.”

King James VI., see “James VI.”

King John II of Portugal, see “John II of Portugal.”

King, Captain.
Arrives in Va. 102

King, Ralph.
Member V. C. A 12

King, Capt. William.
Member V. C. A 12

Kingsmill, Richard.
Granted release from further duty 158

King’s Bench. Quo Warranto of, served on Farrar 307-8 (297-8)
Somer a prisoner in 227

King’s Council for Virginia, see “Council for Virginia.”

King’s Forest, The.
Dale and Powhatan lay off 223

Name of, fabrication of Mar-
| College, abandoned | ...217 |
| Colonists,—assignments to | ...131-2 |
| Company can purchase in Wales, etc. | ...A 14 |
| Company's laid off | ...165 |
| Conditions of grants | ...282 (272) |
| Confirmation of,—full | ...157 |
| Confirmation of required by Ar. rapines | ...158 |
| Confirmed to Co. of London. | ...A 24 |
| Confirmed to Farrar, | ...299 (289) |
| Confirmed to Treas. and Co. | ...A 24 |
| Copeland,—presented to | ...204 |
| Corn given for | ...139-0 |
| Council of Colony to distribute | ...A 8 |
| Culture of, interrupted. | ...300 (290) |
| Disposition of,—how regulated | ...305 (295) |
| Distributed by C. of Va. | ...A 8 |
| Distributed under Common Seal | ...A 15 |
| Dixon and Berry,—grant to. | ...226 |
| East Greenwich,—tenure to be as of | ...A 7, 15, 25 |
| East India School,—allotment to | ...204 |
| Farrar,—confirmed to. | ...299 (289) |
| Farrar rewarded with | ...133-1 |
| Fencing of, for gardens. | ...331 (321) |
| Fraudulent grants of | ...317, 219, 220-1 |
| Gardens to be fenced off. | ...331 (321) |
| General Assembly to tax | ...329-0 (319-0) |
| Given to Martin. | ...219, 220, 221 |
| Governor's laid off | ...165 |
| Granted Adventurers | ...197 |
| Granted Bohun | ...188 |
| Granted Clayborne | ...190 |
| Granted Dixon and Berry | ...226 |
| Granted for Adventure of the Purse | ...139-0 |
| Granted for merit | ...139 |
| Granted for public uses | ...157 |
| Granted Newce | ...189 |
| Granted Sandys | ...190 |
| Granted Thorpe | ...163 |
| Granted to restrict tob. culture | ...165 |
| Granted Treasurer (Sandys). | ...190 |
| Granted University at Henrico | ...163 |
| Granted Vice-Admiral | ...191 |
| Granting,—methods of | ...139-0, 221-2 |
| Grants by King | ...304 (294) |
| Grants,—conditions | ...282 (272) |
| Grants fraudulent. | ...157, 219, 220-1 |
| Grants of,—forty-four | ...282 (272) |
| Grants provided for | ...169-0 |
| Grants restrain tobacco | ...164-5 |
| Grants to continue | ...304 (294) |
| Gratuity of, to Smith (T) | ...159 |

Great Shares of, defined | ...139

Held from King and not from P. | ...140

Held in free and common socage | ...A 7, 15, 25

Henrico,—grants at | ...163

Henrico,—laid off at | ...165

Indians mortgage, for corn. | ...139-0

Indians promise, to Smith... | ...52

Insufficient to make owners eligible | ...302-3 (292-3)

King to grant | ...304 (294)

King's Forest laid off | ...223

Laid off by Norwood | ...190

Laid off by Surveyor. | ...330 (320)

Laid off for clergy | ...173

Laid off for Gov., Co., and University | ...165

Laid off for University at Henrico | ...165

Letters Patent to pass.. | ...A 7-8

Martin claims | ...225

Martin,—given to... | ...219, 220, 221

Master and Usher of school provided with | ...204

Methods of granting. | ...139-0, 221-2

Mortgaged for corn | ...140

Newce,—granted to | ...189

Norwood lays off | ...190

Passed by Letters Patent. | ...A 7-8

Patents of, granted and conditions of | ...282 (272)

Pembroke to plant | ...193-4

Presented to Copeland | ...204

Pountis,—allowed to | ...191

Powhatan claims | ...78

Public, laid off by Dale. | ...164

Purchase of, by Co.,—in Wales, etc. | ...A 14

Ralegh's, taken from him... | ...125-8

Regulation of disposition of | ...305 (295)

Resettling of | ...295 (285)

Reward of, for Farrar | ...231

Sandys,—granted to | ...190

School,—allotted to | ...204

Secretary,—allowance of, to. | ...174

Security of | ...326-7 (316-7)

Smith (T),—gratuity of, to. | ...159

Surveyor to lay off | ...350 (320)

Taxes on,—G. A. to lay. | ...329-0 (319-0)

Tenanted | ...165

Tenanted at Henrico | ...165

Tenants to acreage | ...193-4

Tenure of, as in Eng. | ...38

Tenure of,—free and common socage | ...A 7, 15, 25

Tenure of, from King,—not from P. | ...223-4

Thorp,—grant for support of | ...163

Titles to,conformation of | ...157

Tobacco restrained by grants of | ...164-5

Treasurer,—granted to | ...190
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University at Henrico,—grant for</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University's laid off</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Admiral,—granted to</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werowances know</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane, Sir Ralph</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conner mine disclosed to</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor of Greenville's colony</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member C. of W</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratuc River discovered by</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl sent to, as present</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plot disclosed to</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief reaches</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sails for England</td>
<td>21-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching parties sent out by</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slain with others,—so reported</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco carried to Eng. by</td>
<td>20-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troubles of, in Amer</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langton, Thomas</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan's, spoken on Eastern Shore</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquesahanock's,—as to</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapworth, Mr. Michael</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member Council of State</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latham, Peter, Gent</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and Equity</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremes of, to favour Co</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawwarr, Lord (see also &quot;Delawarr&quot;)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member C. for Va</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Men of the</td>
<td>279 (269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held in contempt</td>
<td>279 (269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws, Book of, sent over,—not sanctioned</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codified</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of policies by</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enacted by G. A, 1824</td>
<td>328-32 (315-22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enactment of, provided for</td>
<td>5, 40, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English to guide</td>
<td>33-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English policy to control</td>
<td>40, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197, 279 (269), 321 (311), 329 (319)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company's, called &quot;Sandy's&quot; laws</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation of, necessary</td>
<td>196-7; A 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratification of, necessary</td>
<td>196-7; A 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repugnant to Const. of Eng</td>
<td>293 (283)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restricted by letters patent</td>
<td>279 (269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revoked</td>
<td>A 17-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upheld</td>
<td>A 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation of, of Co</td>
<td>254-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written in blood</td>
<td>293 (283)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws of Edwin Sandys, Company's Laws called</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws of England, King deviates from</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawson, Thomas, Gent</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layden, John</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C, Anna Burras, first Christian marriage</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead, Mining of, provided for</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leat, Mr. Chosen from King's nominees</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. Treas,—candidate for</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Votes received by</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather, Indians bring</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pillow of, used by Powhatan</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamped,—substitute for money</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leatherellers, The Company of</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, Henry</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leech, Mr</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member C. in Va</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembroke (Earl of) to be located by</td>
<td>189-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds, Mentioned</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend of Arthur</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend of Friar of Lynne</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend of Madock</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend of Malgo</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester, Earl of</td>
<td>220-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority exceeded by</td>
<td>220-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate for M. signed by</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leighton, Sir Thomas</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member C. of W</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leipsick, Smith arrives at</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemons, Scuvry cured by</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let, Richard</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters, Commissioners to G. A</td>
<td>326 (316), 327 (317)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company from King</td>
<td>326 (316), 327 (316)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company from Wyat</td>
<td>334 (324)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company to G. and C</td>
<td>325-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company recovers from P. C.</td>
<td>304 (304)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company's returned by P. C.</td>
<td>304 (304)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dale from Smith (T)</td>
<td>297 (287)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational, to Co</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General As. from Commrs</td>
<td>326 (316), 327 (317)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor and C. from Co</td>
<td>326-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contracts to go to colony broken by.........A 29
Third supply brings over.........103

Lewellin, Maurice. Member V. C.........A 12

Lewis, Edward (Grocer). Member V. C.........A 12

Liberties. European, mentioned. 26
Right to English.........161
Confirmed.........A 22
General Assembly guarantees,
160-1
Granted too freely.........200
Denied..............A iv, v
Yearden brings from Co..157
Granted.........A 23, 24, 25

Liberty (of General Assembly).
Desire to retain.........324-5 (314-5)

Liberty (of Subject). Conformed
A 22, 31-2

Effort of G. A to establish.
329-0 (319-0)
Expressly provided for.330 (320)
Jeopardized.........11
Laws are destructive of.....
293 (283)
Ratified.........A 23, 31-2
Same in colony as in Eng...
A 6, 20, 27-8
Understanding of, not clear.
310 (300)

Liberty, Party of. Arises.........207

Libertines (see also "Lewd Ones," "Loose Ones," "Dissolute Ones," "Rakes").
Third supply brings over.........103

Libraries (see also "Books").
Byrd's,—best in America.... v
Byrd's described v-vi
Hunt's, best in last, burned. 59

Lieutenancy. Commissioners of.A 21
Lieutenant-Colonel. Sergeant Major next rank to 109
Lieutenant-General. Gates constituted 101

Lieutenant-Governor of James City. Pierce 313 (303)

When elected Governor.......196

Lieutenant of Tower. Member Council for Va....36

Lieutenants of Counties. Martial Law to be used as by A 21

Limbo. Discovered and origin of name
63
Later called Wats's Island 63
Return to 63

Lime. Used for calking 115

Lincoln, Earl of. Member C for Va.
A 16

Smith instructed by rider of 108

Lindesey, Capt. Richard. Member
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

London Company of London. A 10

London Company’s Records. Condition of, confused viii
Contents of vi vi, vii viii
Described v, vi, vii viii
Mentioned in Treatise on Va. 217


London, Lord Mayor of. Member V. C. 102; A 9
Weld 102; A 9

London, Sheriff of. Boll, Esqr., member V. C. A 11

Loose Ones (see also “Lewd Ones,” “Dissolute Ones,” “Rakes,” “Liber­­tines”). Custom of sending to colony 168
Effect on colony 168
Ordered from colony 167-8

Lord Baltimore. See “Baltimore, Lord.”

Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. Member Council for Va. A 16

Lord Chamberlain. Oath to be administered by A 16-7

Lord Chief Justice of England. Dies 75
Infamy of Popham as 75
Of Plimouth Colony 74-5

Lord Chancellor. Oath to be administered by A 16-7

Lord Delawarr. See “Delawarr, Lord.”

Lord High Admiral. Argall steals hides brought from 150

Lord High Treasurer of England. Bing summoned by 265-6 (255-6)
Buckingham’s attitude towards 237 (237)
Cavendish summoned by 265-6 (255-6)
Commends admr. colony 288-9 (258-9)
Committees to treat with 245
Complaints agst. 337 (327)
Contract confirmed 267 (257)
Cranfield 244
Customs collections,—basis of 248

Davers summoned by 265-6 (255-6)
Explains purpose of meeting 267 (257)

Farrars summoned by 265-6 (255-6)
Grievances emanate from 326 (236)
Hardships enforced by 245
Ingram, retainer of 244

Johnson summoned by 265-6 (255-6)
Lotteries commented on by 266 (256)
Meeting explained by 266 (256)
BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.

Question put to Cos. by Sandys summoned by Southampton summoned by
Summons witnesses Tobacco frauds to be prevent­
ed by Tobacco pet. in hands of Tobacco (Spanish),—promise
Tobacco satisfaction to Tobacco tax and duty of Tobacco tax and reply of Cos.
Tobacco treaty prospects given
Tobacco witnesses summoned, Warwick summoned by
Wolstenholme summoned by
Wrote summoned by

Lord Mayor of London. See "Lon­
don, Lord Mayor of."
Lord of Roanoke and Dassamon­peake, Manteo so styled
Lord Viscount Lisle, Member C. for Va.
Lords. Members V. C. A 9, 16, 25, 26
Lords Commissioners of Treasury.
Lords Lieutenant. Martial Law
Lords of Privy Council (see also "Privy Council")
Lords of Privy Council (see also name below).
Lost Colony of Ralegh. Newport
to bring back
Powel and Todkill hear nothing of
Sicklemore search for
Sicklemore without news of
Lotteries (see also "Virginia Lot­tery").

Advantages derived from, at
an end
Authority for, granted
Barber, Manager of
King's indulgence to
Manager of—Barber
Officers, election of
Plantations advanced by
Proceeds spent for public good,
Proclamation as to

Love, Oration of. Susquesahan­
ocks give
Love, Thomas. Member Council of War agst. Algerines
Loveland, Capt. William. Member V. C.
Low Countries. Bohun studied in
Laws, create despotism
Laws, save colony
Martial laws of (translation)
sent over
Smith's training in
Trade with,—whether to
Low, Vincent. Member V. C.
Lowe, John. Evidence agst. B. of­
ered by
Loyd, Capt. Edward. Member V. C.
Lukin, "Per breve de privato si­gillo," signs First Charter
"Per ipsum Regem," signs Second Charter
Lukin, Edward, Gent. Member V. C.
Lynne. Legend of Friar of, men­tioned
Smith bound to merchant at

M

Mace, Samuel. Roanoke Colony
sought by
Machot. Hamer arrives at
Machumps. Namantack slain by,
in Berms.
Mackok, Samuel. Member C. in Va.
Maddison, Captian (see also name below).
Marches agst. Great Wya­

nokes
Madock, Legend of. Referred to
Mardre Des Acqulas. Chesapeake
Bay,—Spanish name
Magazines (see also "Storehouses,"
"Cape Merchant," "Agents"
"Factors").
Abolition
Accounts of, bad
Argall wrongs
Clerk for
Company different from
Dale, Director of
Directors of
Director's goods sold

87
Dissolution of Co. hastened by ................ 186
Distinct from Co. ................ 171
Goods stored in ................ 139
Johnson's goods sold ................ 171
Management ................ 39, 171
Starvation prevented by ................ 164
Maggots. Food spoiled by ........ 315 (305)
Magistrates. Provided for ................ 162
Magnetical Needle. Unknown ................ 2
Mahometan Coast. Smith makes tour of ................ 109
Maid of Honour. Debauched by Raleigh ................ 30
Maids (see also "Wives," "Women").
Concessions to ................ 197
Marriage,—not to servants ................ 197
Number sent ................ 166
Price of (1621) ................ 197
Proclamation agst. contract themselves ................ 322 (322)
Recommendations of, etc........ 197
Scarcity of ................ 322 (322)
Sent as wives ................ 165-6, 166, 197
Transportation of and conditions ................ 166
Maidsstown. Named from maids sent as wives ................ 197
Mail, Coats of. Given colony ................ 233
Maine. Hackluyt's book published at Frankfort on ................ 16
Maize (see also "Indian Corn," "Corn").
Preparation of ................ 11 note
Price of (1622) ................ 278 (268)
Malgo, Legend of. Referred to ........ 1-2
Mallery, Mr. Imprisoned by King ................ 206-7
Mallory, Sir John, Knt. Member V. C. ................ A 10
Manager (of Lotteries). Barber. 216
Manakins, Allied agst. P ................ 71
Corn trade with ................ 87
Distribution of ................ 71
Exploration of ................ 77, 79
Guides to, refused ................ 79
Hostility of, mild ................ 79
Importance in world ................ 71
League against ................ 78
Monacans former name of ................ 61
Newport trades with ................ 77
Newport discovers ................ 83
Newport explores ................ 79
Powhatan can punish ................ 81
Powhatan enemy of ................ 61
Powhatan protected agst ................ 104
Trade with ................ 77, 87
South Sea touches ................ 105
Mand, Josiah. Member V. C. ................ A 13
Mangoags. Characteristics of ................ 99
Journey to ................ 99
Location of ................ 99
Smith sends deputies to ................ 99
Trading by ................ 99
Mangopeoemen. Opechancanough changes name to ................ 155
Manguhian. Great King—Ind. name of ................ 204-5
Meaning of ................ 205
Mannahocks. Allied against P ................ 71
Ceremonies of, on friendship with Eng. ................ 72
Characteristics ................ 71
Location of ................ 71
Manners. See "Customs."
Manslaughter. Punishment ................ 38
Mantee. Aids in search ................ 22
Baptized ................ 24
Hostage,—held as ................ 12, 14
Guides cols. to vengeance on Inds. ................ 24
Greenvil's ships visited ................ 12
Lord of Roanoke and Dassamonpeake ................ 24
Mantee and Wanchese. Natives taken to Eng. ................ 11
Mantles. Powhatan gives to N. ................ 79
Powhatan robe large as Irish. ................ 58
Skins used as ................ 68
Manufactures. Preparations, destroyed ................ 218-9
Manwarring, Arthur. Member C. of W. agst. Algerines ................ 184
Manwood, Sir Peter, Knt. Member C. for Va. ................ A 16
Member V. C. ................ A 9
Mapes, Francis. Member V. C. ................ A 11
Maplesden, Richard. Member V. C. ................ A 11
Mapa. Chesapeake Bay an old. ................ 13
Exactness of,—wonderful ................ 83
New England,—S. to make of ................ 234
Original sources of ................ 83
Smith makes ................ 136
Smith offers ................ 238
Smith promises ................ 234
Smith sends to King ................ 83
Spanish, gives aid ................ 13
March, John. Member V. C. ................ A 12
Mares. Left at Jamestown ................ 107
Transportation of ................ 13-9, 28
Mariners. Appointment of, provided ................ 42
Complain agst. negroes ................ 153-4
Market-Clerk. Smith acts as for Inds. ................ 56-7
Market-Place of Jamestown. Tobacco planted in ................ 146-7
Marriages (see also "Weddings," "Colonists,—married").
Burras, Anna, marries Laydon ................ 84
First Christian at Jast ................ 84
Laydon marries Anna Burras. ................ 84
Maid, not to servants ................ 187
Mars. Minerva recommended to go hand in hand with ................ 233
Marring, Plantation of. Powhatan (town) probably located at 46
Marseilles. Smith embarks from 109
Marshal. When elected Governor 196
Marshal of Virginia. Member C. in Eng. 190
Newce When Governor 196
Marshalsea. Bing committed to 268 (258)
Martha's Vineyard. Origin of name 31
Martial Law. Abolished by est. G. A. 180-1
Agreeable to laws of Eng. 152
Argall invokes 152
Banished 160-1
Brewster's Case injected with 181-2
Brewster wrongly convicted under 152-3
Common Law of the country 145, 153
Enforced by Smith (T) 122, 152-3
Execution of—when to be 152
Illegal in Brewersthe Case. 181-2
Laws might serve as 293 (283)
Lieutenants of Counties,—how used by A 21
Lords Lieutenants to use 152
Permitted,—when A 21
Treas. and Co. have power of A 21
Use of by Lords Lieutenants 152
Martin, John, Gent. (see also name below).
Member V, C A 13
Martin, Capt. John (see also name above).
Aid sought by 223-4
Answer of Co. to pet. of 223-4
Argall complains of patent to 219
Barber named by as anonymous donor 218
Certificate to,—purport of 219-0
Character of 224
Council controlled by 48
Council,—removed from 118, 224
Damage done by 255
Disposition of 62
Extravagant grant to 189
Fraudulent grants,—how secured 221
Fraudulent grant surrendered; new one issued 222, 225
Fraudulent grant to 157
General Assembly defied by 225
Gold-finders headed by 60
Grant (new) offered, when fraudulent one returned 222
Grant (illegal) surrendered and new issued to 222, 225
Grant to, extravagant 189
Grant to, fraudulent 157, 219, 221
Grants to, confirmed 219-0
Grants to, passed in private 219
Indians not controlled by 61
Jamestown,—returns to 104, 116
Jefferson testifies agst 225
King petitioned by 222, 223, 226, 229
King's Forest—fabrication of 224
Land granted to, fraudulent ly 157, 219, 221
Laws defied by 221-2
Master of Ordinance 219
Member C in Va 45
Member V, C A 11
Nansamond settlement to be made by 104
Nansamons attacked by, when friendly 104
Nansamons inflict losses upon 116
Petition of referred to 223
Petitions King 222, 223, 226, 229
Pierce testifies against 224
Plantation of, refuge of criminals 221-2, 224, 224-5
President 104
Presidency resigned by 104
Provisions of old and new patents to 225
Provost Marshal resisted by 224
Refuses to obey G. A 225
Refuses to submit to laws 221-2
Removed from Council 118, 224
Representations of 220-1
Resigns Presidency 104
Resists Provost Marshal 224
Returns to col. 102-3
Sickness (constant) of 49
Ship taken to Eng. by 62
Smith disputes with 62
Steals Co.'s stores 60
Surrenders illegal grant and new one issued 222, 225
Testimony agst 224, 225
Trouble started by 102-3
Martin, Richard. Member V. C A 13
Martin's Brandon. Butler demands 225
Named 219
Patent for, granted 219
What constituted 225
Martin's Hundred. Bequest divided between, and others 215
Example of class of ownership 270 (260)
Harwood, Chief of 182
Massacre's effect at 213
Maryland. Bennet Family seated in 199-0
Powhatan domains border on 54
Referred to 64
Mask. Strange, to entertain
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Smith ........................................ 78
Mason, Captain. Member V. C., A 10
Masons, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14
Massachusetts's Bay. Explored by Weymouth .... 33
Massacre (1622). Advantageous to colony,—why 233-4
Anniversary of, a holiday ... 329 (319)
Bad government causes ... 294 (284)
Blow to colony ... 283 (273)
Building just. stopped by ... 319 (309)
Butler arrives after ... 320-1 (310-1)
Cause of ... 141-2
Cause of,—bad government ... 294 (284)
Cause of complaints ... 300 (290)
Chanco saves colony ... 212
Colonists sent after ... 233
Colonists unprepared ... 210
Colonization,—how effected ... 232-3, 283 (273)
Commodities retarded ... 316-7 (306-7)
Company's zeal clouded by ... 324 (314)
Complaints caused ... 300 (290)
Crops,—effect of, on ... 296 (286)
Disimproved by Opitchapan ... 238
Effects of, cloud Co.'s zeal ... 324 (314)
Effect on colonization ... 232-3, 283 (273)
Effect on crops ... 296 (286)
Effects of ... 208-19, 223-3, 283 (273), 296 (286), 316-7 (306-7), 321 (311), 324 (314)
Governor and Council says, advantageous ... 223-4
Indians quiet prior to ... 295 (285)
Inn at Jamestown retarded by ... 319 (309)
King promises to send colonists ... 233
Mentioned ... 281 (271)
Methods of ... 210
News of, arrives in Eng ... 232
Number killed in ... 211
Opechancanough author of ... 237
Opitchapan disapproves ... 238
Planned carefully ... 208-9
Plans and hopes dashed by ... 218-9
Provisions scarce as result of ... 300 (290)
Smith thinks advantageous,— reasons ... 233-4
Tenants left after ... 295 (285)
Trade interrupted by ... 296 (286)
Massawomecks. Arms given by ... 67
Canada, the home of ... 67
Expedition agst ... 69
Importance as part of world ... 71
Patowmacks urge vengeance on ... 69
Search for ... 62
Senecas,—same tribe ... 67
Six Nations, same tribe ... 67
Smith determined to see ... 64
Smith in expedition agst ... 69
Smith meets, in bay ... 67
Strength of ... 71
Susquesahanocks enemies of ... 67-8
Targets given by ... 70
Vengeance on by Smith ... 68-9
Massawomeck Targets (see also "Targets").
Smith uses ... 74
Structure of ... 70
Massawteck. Town on Rappahanock River ... 70
Master and Usher. Land allotted for, of school ... 204
Master Calker. Appointed ... 226
Master of Arts. Recommended by Dr. Gulstone ... 188
Master of Ordinance. Martin, 219, 220
Master of Requests. Martin pet. referred to ... 223
Master of Rolls. Caesar ... 219
Masters. Obedience to ... 332 (322)
Mastiff Dogs (see also English Mastiffs).
Food made from ... 14, 64
Killed for frightening Inds ... 211
Mastiffs. See "Mastiff Dogs."
Materials. See "Building Materials."
Matchacomoco House. Robbed ... 149
Temple and religious treasury ... 149
Matachanna. Tomocomo marries, daughter of P ... 143
Matches. Cocking of, scares Inds ... 89
Indians beg Eng. to put out ... 90
Matchopeake. Bristol works near (1747) ... 70
Town on Rappahanock River ... 70
Matoax. Pocahontas as ... 295 (285)
Pocahontas,—name of ... 136
Mats. House divided into rooms with ... 11
Indian uses of ... 10, 11, 55, 58
Powhatan uses as covering ... 58
Smith left in woods on ... 55
Mattaponies. Smith conducted to ... 53
Mattapony. Powhatan's hereditary domain ... 53
Mattapony River. Corn searched for on ... 53
Matthews, Samuel (see also names below).
Acts Commrs. joined by 317 (307)
Matthews, Samuel, Gent. (see also names above and below). Commissioner 317 (307)
Matthews, Capt. Samuel (see also names above).
Burgess 317 (307)
Commission issued, to go agst. Taux-Powhatans 313 (303)
Declaration of G. A., signed by 317 (307)
King opposed by 307 (297)
Mayle, Thomas, Gent. Member V. C. 313 (303)
Maynard, Lord. Member Committee Extraordinary 253
Mayo, Mrs. Powhatan (town) located on plantation of 46
Meadows, Dr. Member V. C. A 10
Meal. Allowance of, by Smith 278 (268)
Food reduced to water and 60
Price of (1623) 278 (268)
Price of (1624) 319 (309)
Supply of, at Jamestown 59
Mease, Rev. William. Answer to 331 (321)
Meat. Given to Indians 9
Meppon. Bristol Works (1747) near 70
Town on Rappahanock River 70
Medicine. Orange cure for scurvy 12
Medals, Smith makes tour of 109
Mansel expedition to 184-5
Mediums of Exchange. Indians ignorant of 82
Stith observations on 82
Meherrin River. Branch of the Chowan River 13, 85
Melditch, Count. Smith enters service of 109
Smith finds, again 111
Melons. Opechancanough serves, 11
Sent to Indians 10
Members, see "Adventurers," "Company—members."
Men of the Law. Held in contempt 279 (269)
Menatonon. Copper told of by 13
King of Chawonocks 13
Plot exposed by son of 15
Presents sent to Lane by 14
Son of, a hostage 14
Mercers (Individuals). Members V. C. A 11, 12, 13
Mercers, The Company of. Member V. C. A 13
Merchandizes (see also "Commodities," "Goods," "Wares").
Duty on 168; A 19
Exportation of A 6
Forfeiture of A 21
Transportation of A 18-9, 19
Merchants (Individuals). Best Indian 63
Grantees of Second Charter. 102
Members C. for Va. 36
Merchants (Individuals). Members V. C. A 11, 13, 14
Patriot Party members in Commons 179-0
West Indian 63
Merchant-Taylors (Individuals). Members V. C. A 11, 13, 14
Merchant-Taylors, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14
Merrick, John (Merchant). Member V. C. A 11
Metals (see also "Minerals," "Mines," "Ores").
(See name each metal)
Antimony;
Brass;
Copper;
Gold;
Tin;
Mexico. Colonists think have discovered Bay of 13
Council for Va. intent on 101
Michelborne, Sir Edward, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
Michaelmas. Actions based on, 1621 248
Tobacco tax to commence, 1622 248
Michaelmas Term. Contract not in force until, 1622 248
General Assembly held during and title 1621 248
Tobacco duty reduced until, 1621 248
Middleburg. Factors appointed at by Company 200
Middlesex. Cranfield, the Earl of 244
Middle Temple. Records signed by Gentlemen of 6
Middleton, Mr. Member C. in Va., 182
Middleton, Robert. Member V. C. A 12
Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Mildmay, Sir Henry. King's attitude reported by...261-2 (251-2)
Member Committee Extraordinary.................253
Salary advance opposed by...263-4 (253-4)
Southampton tells King's wishes...262 (252)

Milk. Distributed by Newce...237

Mills. Poles and Germans sent to build....77

Mills, Captain. Member V. C. A 10

Mill-Stone. Powhatan presented with...56

Milkmay, Robert (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13

Minerals (see also "Metals," "Mines," "Ores").
Authority to mine...A 4, 15, 24
Granted...94
Grant to Martin...221
Search for, urged...195; A 18

Minerva. Mars to go hand in hand with...233

Mines (see also "Minerals," "Metals," "Ores").
Authority to work...A 4, 15, 24
Antimony, probably worked by Inds...65
Copper, told of by Menatonon 13
Granted...A 4, 15, 24
Grant to Martin...221
Manakin Country searched for...79, 81
Mexican, attract C. for Va...101
Mexican, Treas. and Co. indent...101
Opechancanough to send guide to, at Falls...205
Search for, urged...79, 81; A 18
Use of, explained to Inds...52
Virginia not a country of...81
Worked by Indians...65

Minister of State. Idle story to Southampton, chief...82

Ministers (see also "Clergymen," "Preachers," "Priests").
Bigamy and duties of clergy...332 (322)
Duties of, as to bigamy...332 (322)
Instructions as to...194
Members V. C. A 11, 12
Pocahontas instructed by Whitaker...136
President of C. cannot be...17
Religious exercises by...37
Scarcity of...172-3
Whitaker instructs Po...136

Minor Companies. Represent cols. in London...40
Reside in London...40
"Miracle," Mortality attributed to...62
Resuscitation of Indian...96

Misdemeanors Punishment for...38-9

Money (see also "Coin").
Beads as...198
Coinage of...A 4
Collection of...A 26
Forfeiture of...A 21
Leather as...82
Paper as...82
Payment of, refused by adventurers...293 (283)
Shells used as...82
Silk used as...183
Silkgrass used as...183
Spent at floating tavern off...79, 81
Tallies as...82
Unpaid,—collection of...A 26

Monger, James. Member V. C. A 12

Monopolies (see also "Monopoly, of Tobacco").
Buckingham the author of...205
Company's at end...269 (259)
"Crying grievance"...199
Granted...247
Influence of...243
Massacre's effect upon...323 (313)
Offered...244
Suppressed by Parliament...266
Unrestrained...205

Monopoly of Tobacco (see also "Monopolies").
"Crying grievance of those times"...199
Granted...198-9

Monson, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C. A 10

Monson, Sir William, Knt. Admiral...184
On exped. agst. Algerines...184-5
Patent granted...184

Montagu, Sir Henry, Knt. (see also name below).
Member C. for Va...36

Montague, Sir Henry, Knt. (see also name above).
Member C. for Va...A 16
Member V. C. A 10

Montague, James, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. Member V. C. A 9

Montford, Thomas, Gent. Member...
Montgomery, Earl of. Authority exceeded by. 220-1
Member C. for Va. A 26
Member V. C. A 9

Monthly Court. Powder waste punished by. 332 (322)

Moon. Indians' belief in. 17
Smith explains to Inds. 51

Moore, Andrew. Member V. C. A 9

Moore, John, Esqr. (see also name below).
Member V. C. A 9

Moore, John, Esqr. (see also name above).
Member V. C. A 9

Moratuc River. Discovered. 13
Referred to. 14
Roanoke River name of. 13

More, Sir George, Knt. Member C. for Va. 36

More, Richard. Somers Islands to be settled by. 127

Moreton, Ralph, Gent. Member V. C. A 11

Morgan. Murdered by Nemattanow. 208

Morgan, Sir Charles, Knt. Member V. C. A 10

Moro, Captain. Arrives in Va. 102

Morroco. Smith visits court of. Ill

Morris, Thomas. Member V. C. A 11

Mortgage. Corn given for land. 139-0

Moraughtacunds. King of, chooses woman. 72
Martial order of. 70
Rappahanocks friends of. 72
Smith well received by. 69
Women given up by. 72
Woman stolen by. 69, 72

Mosco. Advises S. agst. Rappahanocks. 69
Ambush discovered by. 70
Attempts to kill Indian, desires to leave. 71
Guide for colonists. 70
Hassinnga, brother of. 71
Smith presents trophies to. 69
Smith's old friend. 72
Utassantasough, name of. 72
Woman chosen by. 72

“Mother of Waters.” Chesapeake
Bay so called by Inds. 13

Mouls, John. Member V. C. A 11
Mounseil, Peter. Member V. C. A 12
Mountaine, James. Member V. C. A 13

Mounteagle, Lord. Member C. for Va. A 16
Member V. C. A 9

Mount Malady. Fort at Henrico. 124

Mount Milady. See Mount Malady.

Mose, Arthur. Member V. C. A 11

Moy-Umps, King of. Powhatan withdraws to. 138-9

Mr. Deputy, see “Deputy,” “Deputy Treasurer,” “Farrar, John,” “Farrar, Nicholas.”

Mr. Deputy Treasurer, see “Deputy,” “Deputy Treasurer,” “Farrar, Nicholas,” “Farrar, John.”

Mulberry Point. Gates drops down to. 117

Mulberry Trees. Abundance of, and silkworms. 177
Bad quality of. 296 (286)
Culture of, encouraged. 183, 218, 321 (311), 331 (321)

Said to be best. 218
Sandsy suggests treatise on. 183
Treatise on, suggested. 183

Mullet. Abundance in Berms. 114

Munitions (see also “Arms”).
Gates brings. 123
Transportation of. A 6, 18-9

Munks, Lawrence (Grocer). Member V. C. A 13

Murder. Punishment for. 38

Murray, James. Marries great, great grand-daughter of Po. 146

Muscovy. Smith travels through. 111

Muscovy Company. Restraint not on. 202

Museum. Tobacco-box of Raleigh preserved in. 21

Musicians, The Company of. Member V. C. A 14

Muskets (see also “Arms”).
Corn promised for. 84
Food offered for. 49
Indians scared by. 49, 65
Jamestown,—left at (1609). 107
Opechancanough has. 51
Powhatan promises corn for. 84
Powhatan returns. 129
Powhatan's desire for. 86
Smith denies to P. 86
Stolen from Jamestown. 90
Used off Azores. 29
Used with good effect. 74

Mutiny (see also “Plots,” “Conspiracies,” “Treachery”).
Colonists resort to. A 29
Heads of, imprisoned. 105
Language, forbidden. 152
Martial Law in time of. 152, A 21

Naboth’s Vineyard. Taken away by Ahab. 137

Nalbrits. Smith sent to Timor Bashaw of. 110

Names. Carving on trees at highest points of rivers. 70
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Namontack. Corn for colonists secured by .................. 83-4
Corn (Eng.) not known to ................................ 144
Delivered back to P ........................................ 78
Guide for Newport ........................................... 79
Ignorance of English corn .................................. 144
Powhatan gives to Newport ................................. 59
Powhatan notes absence of ................................ 134
Powhatan persuaded by, to be crowned ................... 78
Servant given, by P .......................................... 55
Slain in Berms ................................................ 146
Nansamond. Colonists wrecked at ............................ 241
Martin loses men at ........................................... 116
Martin to make settlement at ............................... 104
Yeardley attacks Inds. at .................................... 242
Nansamond River. Dale explores ............................ 122
Fishing weirs at mouth of ................................. 75
Nansamonds. Commission to Tucker to go agst .......... 313 (303)
Corn given by ................................................ 84
Houses of, burned ........................................... 84
Martin kindly used by ...................................... 104
Sue for peace ............................................... 74
Smith ambushed by ........................................ 74
Smith visits .................................................. 78
Tucker makes second expedit. agst .......................... 313 (303)
Waters imprisoned by ..................................... 241
Nanse Indians (of Eastern Shore). Characteristics of .... 63
Nantauquacks (of Eastern Shore). Characteristics of .... 63
Nantauqua. Description of ................................... 55
Powhatan's son .............................................. 55
Services of, to Smith ........................................ 55
Smith to be esteemed even as ................................ 55
Nantaughtacunds. Lived on Rapppahanock River ......... 53
Smith conducted to ......................................... 53
Naples. Referred to .......................................... 2
Naraganset. Explored by Weymouth ......................... 33
Naraganset River. Explored by Weymouth .................. 33
Navy, Commissioner of, Smith (T) ........................... 158
Nawdet, Otho. Member V. C. A 11
Necessaries. Furnishing of, provided for ................... 39
Provided for ................................................. A 4-5, 6
Needle (Magnetical). Power of, unknown ................... 2
Negroes (see also "Slaves" "Slavery").
    Captured from ship "Treasurer" .......................... 153-4
    Complaints of mariners, as to ........................ 153-4
    Dutch ship brings ....................................... 182
    Kendall's, taken from him ................................ 284 (284)
    Placed on Warwick lands in Berms ....................... 154
    "Treasurer" (ship) captured with ....................... 153-4
    Warwick lands stocked with ........................... 154
Nelson, Capt. Francis. Arrives with supplies ............... 60
    First supply commanded by ............................ 57
    Leaves for Eng .......................................... 62
    Ship lost by ............................................. 62
Nemattanow. Death of, news of, reached Eng. .............. 232
    Murders Morgan ........................................... 208
    Shot ...................................................... 203
Nether Hundred. Annexed to Henrico .......................... 125
Netherlands. Abbot had served in ................................ 123
Nets. Fishing, set at Jamestown ............................. 97
    Jamestown, left at, by S ............................. 107
    Made at Jamestown ..................................... 46
Nenc, Sir William. Member C. of S .......................... A 33
Neus River, Secotan situated near ........................... 13
Nevil, Sir Henry, Knt. Member C. for Va ................................ 36; A 16
    Member V. C ........................................... A 9
Nevil. Spaniards attack Bohun ships at ...................... 188
New Amsterdam, Dutch build ................................ 76
New Bermudas. Appamattocks' town .......................... 125
    Corn planted at ........................................ 125
    Dale's favorite seat .................................... 134
    Hamer leaves ............................................ 134
    Name town of Appamattocks ............................ 125
Newbridge, Joseph (Smith). Member V. C. ..................... A 13
Newce, George, Gent. Member V. C. ........................ A 12
Newce, Henry. Member V. C. A 12
Newce, Capt. Thomas. Characteristics ........................ 236
    Crowshaw visited by .................................... 238*
    Conference called by ................................... 236
    Corn offered ............................................ 238*
    Corn planted by ........................................ 236
    Corn supply reported by ............................... 238*
    Defence prepared by .................................... 236
    Deputy for the Company ................................ 33
    Dies ..................................................... 237
    Loses men ................................................ 237
    Member C. in Va ....................................... 182
    Member C. of S ........................................ A 33
    Milk and rice distributed by ........................... 237
    Sick from cares ........................................ 236
    Widow of, pensioned .................................... 237
    Yeardley and C. visits .................................. 236
Newce, Capt. William (see also name below)
    Dies ..................................................... 189
    Land granted ............................................ 189
    Knighted .................................................. 189
    Knight-Marshal of Va .................................... 189
    Marshal of Va .......................................... 189
    Offers to plant colony of 1000 ................................ 189
    Service of, in Ireland .................................. 189
Newce, Sir William (see also name above)
    Knight Marshal of Va ................................... A 33

*Note that he died on p. 237.
New England. Biscayners on coast of 31 Delaware expedit. touches 148
Description of coast of 31
Discovered by Gosnold 136
Drake touches coast of 16
Fish in abundance on Coast of 31
Gosnold leaves 32
Gosnold reaches 31, 136
Map of 31 prom. 234
Named by Smith 136
Saco River in, reached by cols 75
Settled in 1620 137
Smith, Admiral of 137
Smith names 136
Smith prefers to go to 41
Smith promises map of 31 234
Newfoundland. Attempt to run away to 98
Cabot discovers 3
Discovered 3
Gilbert attempts to colonize 3
Seized in name of Queen 6-7
Smith warns cols. against 98
Wives imported via 166
Newgate. Colonists treated like basest from 316
Newhouse, John. Member V. C.A 12
Newport, Capt. Christopher. Antimony sent home by 65
Arrives in Va 44-5
Arrives Old Point 84
Pamunkey visited by 59
Nicholls, Christopher. Member V. C.A 11
Nicholls, Thomas (merchant). Member V. C. 11
Ninias. Ralegh's History, as seen in 137

Member V. C. A 10-1
Obedient to P 88
Old Point—arrives at 84
Opposes Smith's plans 77-8
Orders to explore Manakins brought by 77
Orders brought by reported on 83
Pamunkey visited by 59
Place of, not filled 48
Plots against S 80-1
Powhatan cheats 58
Powhatan entertaining 57-8
Powhatan esteems, a Werowance 58
Powhatan gives shoes, etc. to 79
Powhatan gives turkies to 61
Powhatan obeyed by 88
Powhatan receives presents from 77
Powhatan says, come to him 78
Powhatan swindles 58
Powhatan River explored by 45, 46
Presents to, P. by 77
Products to be transported by 42
Punishment of, remitted 81
Ralegh, N. was under 77
Rascality of 81
Reports on management in Va 101
Second supply brought by 76
Shoes given to, by P 79
Smith estranged from 58-9
Smith exposes 83
Smith gives earnings to 77-8
Smith plotted against by 80-1
Smith's plans opposed by 77-8
Spaniards fought by 42
Steals provisions 59
Steals supplies to trade to Inds 81
Supplies brought by 57
Trades with Indians 77-8
Transportation by 43
Treachery feared by 58
Turkies secured by, for swords 61
Vice-Admiral 101
Newport's News. Colonists gather at 235
Colonists wrecked near 241
Gookin settles at 205
Ordinance at 320 (310)
New Spain. Gondomar fears annoyance to 247
New York. Doctrine of Judge of 75
Hudson discovers 75
Long Island, referred to 75
Nice. Smith escapes to 111
Nicholls, Christopher. Member V. C. A 11
Nicholls, Thomas (merchant). Member V. C. 11
Ninias. Ralegh's History, as seen in 137
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Noblemen, Amongst the Va. colonists ........................................... 42
Nominies, Located on Patowmack River ......................................... 53
Smith conducted to ............................................................................. 53
Nominy Creek, Smith goes to ......................................................... 65
"Nonesuch," Abandoned by West.108 "Powhatan" at Falls so named ...... 105
Norfolk, Smith visits site of .......................................................... 73
Norniet, Thomas (Clothworker), Member V. C. ............................... A 14
Norris, Sir John, Member C. of W. .................................................. 24
North Carolina, Description of coast of ........................................... 32
Secotan in ......................................................................................... 32
Northern Colony (see also "Second Colony") ....................................
Abandonment of .............................................................................. 75
Bounds of .......................................................................................... A2-3, 4
Bristol, etc., to supply ......................................................................... 36
Colonists sail for ................................................................................ 75
Company (minor) to represent ......................................................... 40
Councill for ....................................................................................... A 2-3
Fishing rights of, disputed ............................................................... 185
Suffering of ........................................................................................ 75
Undertaken ....................................................................................... 74-5
North Star, Indians had observed....................................................... 204-5
Northumberland, Earl of, Brother of, settler at Jast ....................... 45
Cloud hanging over .......................................................................... 46
North-West Passage, Colonists to discover ....................................... 43
by R. .................................................................................................. 30
Norton, Captain. Beads to be made Discovery of, contributed to by ......................................................... 198
Norwood, Mr. Richard. Lands laid off by ......................................... A 190
Survey of Va. ..................................................................................... 190
Notes, Ordered produced.................................................................. 391 (291)
Quest-house call for .......................................................................... 301 (291)

Ottoway River, Branch of Chowan .................................................. 13, 85
Mangoags live on branch of ............................................................. 98
Number in Colony, see "Colonists, population".

Oath of Allegiance (see also "Oaths" below).
President to take and administer ...................................................... 43
Oath of Obedience (see also above and below).
All to take .......................................................................................... 40
Oath of Supremacy (see also above and below).
Administered by Treas. A 28-9
Administered for trial A 30
Administered to officers, etc. A 31
Administering of, provided A 22
To be taken ........................................................................................ A 22

Oaths (see also "Oaths" above).
Council in Va. to take ................................................................. A 41
Counsellors to take ........................................................................... A 16-7
Jurors to take .................................................................................... A 38
Lord Chamberlain to administer .................................................... A 16-7
President to take ............................................................................... A 43
Records to have copy ....................................................................... 325 (315)

Oaths (cursing), Smith cures use of .................................................. 50
Smith free from .................................................................................. 112
Oatlands, Silkworms cultivated at .................................................... 153
Envisaged by Pres. ............................................................................ 48
Jamestown, supply at ................................................................. A 59
Punishment for stealing .................................................................... 315 (305)
Stealing of, punished ......................................................................... 315 (305)
Supply of, good ................................................................................ 59
Oats, Grows rapidly ........................................................................... 31

Obedience, Oath of (see "Oath of Obedience").

Ocacock Island, Wococon Island ..................................................... 9
Occam River, Pamptlce Sound ......................................................... 10
Oetan, Opitchapan also called ........................................................ 155

Offenders. Punishment of ............................................................... A 28-9, 30
Sent back to colony .......................................................................... A 30

Officers. Discussion of...254-269 (259)
Continued until dissolution ............................................................. 300 (290)
Election of ....................................................................................... 299-0 (289-0)
Ill feeling of ...................................................................................... 288-9 (278-9)
Nominations, by Co. ........................................................................ 324
Obedience to ..................................................................................... A 302 (322)
Provided for ..................................................................................... A 16
Records brought by .......................................................................... 301 (291)
Tobacco, appointed by King 248

Offley, Mr. (see also name below).
Proposed for Deputy ......................................................................... 230

Offley, Mr. Robert (see also name above).
Candidate Dep. Treas ........................................................................ 230
Member V. C. .................................................................................... A 11

Ogle, Col. Papers referred to ............................................................ 290 (280)

Ogle, Sir John, Knt. Member V. C. .................................................... A 10

Oil (Turtle). Used for calking ........................................................... 115
Oil (of Walnuts). Making of, urged .................................................. 195

Okaning. Discourse by, to S. ............................................................ 96
Okee. Indians bring ............................................................................ 49

Okiisco. King of Weoponeoke ......................................................... 14
Owns sujection to Eliz. .................................................................. 14

Oldmixon's British Empire in America. Badly mixed about Weymouth ......................................................... 33-4

Oldys, Mr. Attelesm R. treated by .................................................... 20
Criticisms of R. History ................................................................. 137
Gondomar criticisms by ................................................................. 246-7
Letters in his Life of R. ................................................................. 126
Life of R. — letters in ....................................................................... 126
Raleigh atheism treated by .............................................................. 20
Tobacco,— opinion on ................................................................. 21
Tobacco tax criticised by ............................................................... 246-7

Olumpagh. Smith in Siege of ......................................................... A 109

Opachisco. Powhatan sends, to represent him at Po. mo—
Opechancanough. Addressed by
Smith 90, 91-2
Affects title,—King of Cks. 155
Alliance with Cks. not made
by 141
Alliance with, keeps Inds. in
awe 141
Ambitions of eclipse Opitcha­
pan 155
Argall complaint to, about
Cks. 141
Arms of, surrendered 92
Attempt collect forces 209
Attempt defeat others 213
Attempt poison colony 232
Attitude to Eng. 204-5
Beads, etc., given 141
Beads sent Japazaws by 237
Beads sold, at high price 59
Challenged by Smith 91-2
Chrowshaw contempt for 237
Chrowshaw design against 240
Colonists killed by 50-1
Company orders treaty with 155
Contempt Chrowshaw for 237
Copper, etc., given 141
Corn of, seized 242
Disaffection of others, at­
tempts by 213
Educational treaty with 215
Entertained Smith and N. 59
Excuses of, for attack on
Smith 92
Forces collected by 209
Government left to 147
Governor unwilling to treat
with 239
Helps Warwick to supplant
Yeardley 193
Heir to Powhatan domains 87
Hoped to be slain 313 (303)
Indians in awe of 141
Insolence of 238
Japazaws,—beads sent to by 237
Japazaws,—brother of 207
Japazaws,—name of 155
King of Chickahominies 141, 155
King of Pamunkey Country 53
Leagues with, confirmed 204
League with Eng. renewed 155
Liberty given, by Smith 93
Location of chief seat of 155
Mangopeeomen,—name of 155
Massacre by (1622) 208-15
Name new Mangopeeomen 155
Negotiations with S. 91-2
Opitchapan eclipsed by 155
Opitchapan to surrender 238
Pamunkey, the seat of 242
Plot of Japazaw, by 239
Plot of Spilman, with 241
Plots against Smith 91-2
Plots of, various 209
Poisoning of colony attempted
by 232
Powhatan fears 139
Powhatan spoken for by 129
Powhatan’s brother 54
Presented given to 51
Presented offered Smith by 92
Proclaimed King of Cks. 141
Promises freely 149
Religious appearances of 204-5
Rolfe child to get country of 150
Smith addresses 90, 91-2
Smith carried to 53
Smith challenges 91-2
Smith entertained by 59
Smith gives his liberty 93
Smith gives presents to 51
Smith negotiates with 91-2
Smith offered presents by 92
Smith pursued by 50-1
Smith sells beads to 59
Smith visits 50
Smith’s life attempted by 92
Speaks for Powhatan 129
Spilman’s plot with 241
Surrender of arms of 92
Surrender of, agreed to 238
Tomocomo sent to 147
Tomocomo sent to Eng. by 144
Treaty with,—Gov. unwilling
make to 239
Treaty with, ordered by Co. 155
Treaty with, recommended 215
Warwick-to-supplant—Yeard­
ley rumor reaches 193
Wyatt confirms leagues with 204
Yeardley recommences treaty
with 215
Yeardley seizes corn of 242
Yeardley-to-be-supplanted ru­
mor reaches 193
Opitchapan. Boyce, Mrs., sent
back naked by 239
Brother of Japazaws 237
Characteristics of 155
Deformed 139
Disapproves Massacre 238
Disapproves by O. 297
Emperor, but only so in name 238
Heir to P. domains 87
Itopatin,—name for 155
Japazaws,—brother of 207
Leagues with, confirmed 204
League with Eng. renewed by 155
Massacre disapproved by 238
Name also Itopatin 155
Name also Oetan 155
Name also Sasawpen 155
Oetan,—another name for 155
Opitchapan eclipses 155
Opitchapan surrendered
by 239
Prisoners surrendered by 239
Powhatan succeeded by 155
Powhatan’s brother 53
Returns Mrs. Boyce naked 239
Sasawpen,—another name for 155
Smith feasted by 53
Succeeds P. 155
Surrender O. agreed to by 239
Surrender prisoners agreed to by ........................................... 238-9
Wyat confirms leagues with ........................................... 204
Oppressions see "Grievances;" "Grievances and Oppressions;"
Oracles, Philippizing of .................................................. 341 (331)
Oracles of Law, Wronged greatly ...................................... 340-1 (330-1)
Oranges, Scurvy cured by .................................................. 12
Orapakes, Powhatan owned ............................................... 51
Powhatan retires to .......................................................... 51
Smith conducted to ........................................................... 51
Oration of Love, Susquesahanocks give .................................. 68
Orations, Chickahominies make .......................................... 131
Delawarr makes .............................................................. 117-8
Indians make ..................................................................... 58
Opechancanough makes ...................................................... 92
Powhatan makes ............................................................... 58
Smith opposed by .............................................................. 45
Susquesahanocks make ....................................................... 68
Orders (see also "Articles," "Instructions"). (Also "Orders" below.)
Codified ............................................................................ 162
College renewal after Massacre ........................................... 295 (285)
Company from P. C ............................................................ 243
Council for Va.,—establishment of ...................................... 36
Customs .............................................................................. 278 (263)
Delegated ........................................................................... 44
Establishing C. for Va. ......................................................... 44
For Govr., read ................................................................. 45
For Govr., sent .................................................................... 44
King gives ............................................................................ 303-7 (293-7)
Manakins,—for exploration .................................................. 77, 81
Newport brings ................................................................. 77, 81
Newport's, sealed ............................................................... 42-3
Powhatan's Coronation provided in ...................................... 77
Privy Council to Co ............................................................ 243
Quest-house calls for .......................................................... 301 (291)
Read .................................................................................... 45
Report on, brought by ......................................................... 83
Scaled to N......................................................................... 42-3
Smith opposed, to C. ........................................................... 77
Smith perplexed by ............................................................ 77
Orders (company) (see also "orders above and below")
Quest-house call for .......................................................... 301 (291)
Smith (T),—passed against .................................................. 29 (289)
Orders (council) (see also "orders above and below")
Company amased at .......................................................... 304-5 (294-5)
Contents of ................................................................. 304-7 (294-7)
Published ............................................................................ 324 (314)
Orders (of court), (see also "orders above and below")
English, not binding on colony ........................................... 197
Ratification of, necessary .................................................... 34
Orders (of Court in Eng.) (see also "orders above and below")
Colony not bound by .......................................................... 197
Orders (of Government), (see also "orders above and below")

Codification of, provided .................................................... 162
Company amased at .......................................................... 204-5 (294-5)
Ordained ............................................................................. A 17
Orders (P. C.), (see also "orders" above)
Court called by ................................................................. 305-6 (295-6)
Effect of, unknown ............................................................ 302 (292)
Published ............................................................................ 325 (316)
Relief of colony provided .................................................... 200 (290)
Orders (Religious). Ministers without ................................... 316 (306)
Ordinance (Cannon). Amount in ........................................ 1622
Amount left by S. .............................................................. 107
Authority to collect ........................................................... A 4-5
Azores,—vessel of heavy, off .............................................. 28
Butler misstates as to ......................................................... 320 (310)
Collection of ........................................................................ A 4-5
Colonists secure ................................................................. 320 (310)
Elizabeth City,—mounted at .............................................. 236
Indians scared off by .......................................................... 241
James City,—amount at .................................................... 320 (310)
Jamestown,—amount at ..................................................... 107
Mounted at Elizabeth City .................................................. 236
Necessary, to be made ....................................................... A 26-7
Plantations to keep ............................................................ 331-2 (321-2)
Provided for ................................................................. A 26-7
Slothful desire to sell ......................................................... 98
Supply of, on plantations .................................................... 331-2 (321-2)
Transportation of .............................................................. A 18-9, 28
Ordinance, Master of, see "Master of Ordinance;"
Ordinances (Laws). And Const. for Treas. Council & Co. in
Eng., etc. ............................................................................. A 32-4
Council for Va. increased by .............................................. 36
Enactment of ................................................................. 5, 40, 41
Enforcement enjoined .......................................................... 43
Establishment of ............................................................... A 21
For C. of S. and G. A ......................................................... A 22-4
For settling Government .................................................... 196
Increasing C. for Va ............................................................ 36
Letters Patent not prejudiced by ........................................... A 31-2
None to prejudice Lets. Pat. ................................................ A 31-2
Ordinances (of General Assembly). Confirmation of, necessary .................................................. 196
Ordinance (Cannon), (see "Ordinance, Cannon")
Ores (see also "Metals," "Mines," "Minerals")
Smith sends, to Eng. ........................................................... 83
Orme, Captain, Member V. C. ........................................... A 10
Ornaments, Church, presented .......................................... 171
Copper, and below ............................................................ 179
Of N. C. Indians ............................................................... 10
Oronoque River. Raleigh's voyage to ..................................... 30
Orwell, Capt. Lewis. Member V. C. ........................................ 10
Osborne, Mr. Elizabeth's Reign observed by .......................... 12
Overseers. Certified regularly...172
Land allotted for an .... 204
Obedience to ........332 (322)
Ovid's Metamorphoses. Dedicated to Charles I ...314 (304)
Translated by Sandys .... 313-4 (303-4)
Oxen. Idleness of, in colony..... 149
Oxenbridge, William, Esqr. Member V. C. ...A 11
Oxford. Christ's Church, referred to ..16
Hachluyt of, referred to ..16
Raleigh (Carew), enters Wadham College ..290 (280)
Wadham College ..290 (280)
Oxford, Earl of. Patriot Party of Lords headed by ..179-0
Sent to Tower..207
Oysters. Colonists gather ...23
Colonists live on ..97, 237
Food ..23, 85, 97, 237
Klquotan,—abundance at ..85
Nansemond,—banks In ..73
Newce and party live on ...237
Ozines. Governor of, snows fight... 141-1
Ozanles. Opechancanough meets Cks. at .....141
Pace. Death of, urged..212
Pace, Richard. Chanco converted by ...238-9
Chanco warns ..212
Massacre alarm spread by ..212
Paget, Lord. Argall-ST. Faction opposed by ..187
Member Committee Extra­dinary ..253
Member C for Va..A 26
Notification of Sth. re-election by ..223
Privy Council,—answer to, by ..272 (262)
Privy Council attended by ..267 (257)
Tobacco officials selected by..250
Treasurership,—nominated for ..299 (289)
Pagman, Captain. Member V. C. ...A 11
Painsplasters, The Company of. Member V. C. ...A 11
Palace. Ratcliffe's,—Smith stops work on .... 70
Palatine of the Rhine, Parliament supports... 205
Vere sent to relieve ..174
Palisades. At Henrico ..121
At Rocksdale ..125
Palmeta. Leaves of, used for cab­ins ..114
Palmer, Sir Anthony, Knt. Member Council for Va. ..36
Palmer, Sir Henry. Member Coun­cil of War agst. Algerines..154
Palmer, Miles. Member V. C...A 12
Palmer, William (Haberdasher). Member V. C. ...A 12
Palus Maceotis. Smith sent to ...110
Pamunkey (Country). Powhatan hereditary domain ..53
Pamunkey (Town). Location of. ..53
Morgan starts to ..208
Newport goes to ..59
Opechancanough seat near ..53
Smith carried to ..53
Smith entertained at ..90
Smith goes to ..59, 93
Smith trades at ..91
Trading at ..91
Wyffin finds S. at ..93
Yeardley goes to ..242
Pamunkey River. Corn sought along ..93
Smith passes ..66
Smith searches for corn ..93
York River ..53, 94
Youghtanund River ..53, 93
Pamunkeys. Japazaw country forbidden to ..237
Panton, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C. ...A 10
Paper. Money of ..82
Papers. Permission necessary for ..325 (315)
Quest-house call for..301 (291)
Pardons. Power of, granted Treas. & Co ..A 20-1
Provided for ..38
Under Great Seal of England ..38
Parishes.. Corn for support ..330-1 (320-1)
Granary (public) to be In each ..330-1 (320-1)
Parker, William, Esqr. Coloniza­tion powers to ..A 4-5
Grants to, reconciled ..A 8
Invasion to be repelled by ..A 5
Member V. C. of Plimouth ..35; A 1
Necessaries for ..A 4-5, 6
Powers granted ..A 1-8
Second Colony of, and others ..35-6; A 2-3
Tenure under ..A 7
Transportation necessaries ..A 4-5, 6
Parkhurst, Robert. Member V. C. ..A 11
Parliament. Attitude of, to King.206
Breaks with King ...324 (314)
Called for different cause than usual ..337 (327)
"Child of the Nation" repre­sented to ..336 (326)
Dissolved ..206
Exclusion of Spanish tob. by ..338 (328)
Fishing rights confirmed by. 185
Government by, abolished in Va. 60
Grievances and oppressions brought to, late. 337-8 (327-8)
Grievances not taken up in. 338 (328)
Journals of, void 206
Money raised Independent of. 241
Spanish tobacco excluded by. 338 (328)
Tobacco (Spanish),—exclusion accomplished. 338 (328)

Parlow, Giles (Grocer), Member V. C.A 13
Partridge, Richard, Member V. C. A 12
Pascoticsons, Revenge on. 313 (303)
Spilman slain by. 241
Pashal, Edward (Grocer), Member V. C. A 13
Pashahey, Colonists gathered at. 235
Pashahey, King of. Ambuscades by. 95
Captive at Jamestown. 95
Characteristics of. 95
Escapes. 95
Great strength of. 95
Overcome by Smith. 95
Smith assaulted by. 96
Pashaheys, Injuries revenged. 120
Passimmons, Abundance of. 50
Patapscoc River (also “Patapscoe”).
Bolus River. 64
Patapscoc River (also “Patapscoe”).
Seconotan near. 13
Patapscoc Sound (also “Patapscoe”).
Occam River,—probably. 10
Patents (see also “Letters Patent,” “Grants,” “Charters”).
Martin old and new. 225
Raleigh’s to be confirmed. 11-2
Surrender, required. 326-7 (316-7)
Patowmac. Argall friendly with
King of. 127
Chrowshaw absence and consequence. 239
Chrowshaw alone at. 211
Chrowshaw fou il at. 237-8
Jamestown,—King goes to. 161

Japazaws exasperate exile. 239
Japazaws hold forces. 240
Pocahontas concealed near. 127-8
Smith finally finds. 64
Smith leaves. 65
Spilman lived at. 240
Patowmac Creek. Quiloughy,—former name. 65
Patowmac River. Argall sent to,
for corn. 118, 127
Boundary Powhatan domains. 54
Chrowshaw trades in. 213
Corn sought in. 118, 127
Discoveries in. 67
Explored. 65
Falls of. 65
Nominies located on. 53
Oldmixon confines. 34
Powhatan domains bounded by. 54
Powhatan withdraws to. 138-9
Provisions secured in. 65
Smith crosses. 67
Smith gets provisions in. 65
Trading in. 213
Wyat at to revenge on Pasco­
ticons. 313 (303)

Patowmacs. Chrowshaw aided by. 237, 238
Defence of, by Maddison. 238
Live with Eng. 72
Maddison defends. 238
Plot with O. 239
Revenge on Nansamonds. 69
Patuxen River. Smith reaches. 64
Tractable people on. 69
Patriot Party. Heads of, in Lords. 179-9
Paupers (see also “Dissolute Ones,” “Lewd Ones,” “Loose Ones,” “Libertines,” “Rakes”).
Bill prepared to send over. 193
Pawlet, Mr. Member C. of S. A 33
Pawlet, Rev. Mr. Robert. Member Council in Va. 193
Payne, Sir Robert, Knt. Member V. C. A 10
Payne, William. Member V. C. A 12
Peace Token. Pearls used as. 134
Pearls. Authority given to fish for. A 15, 24
Chain of, as peace token. 134
Chain of, sent S. 89
Embroidery of. 58
Fishery of, told of. 13
Granted. A 24
Indians bring. 10
Indians offer for armour. 10
Lane presented with. 14
Menatonon tells of fishery. 13
Peace token of. 134
Powhatan sends chain of to S. 89
Spanish control of. 3
Tribute of. 54
Pears, Edmund (Haberdasher).  
Member V. C. .............. A 13

Pearse, Captain. Member V. C., A 10

Pearse. See "Earsye."

Pease. Abundance ............ 50  
Food supply of .............. 50  
Grow wonderfully .......... 10, 31, 33  
Indians send as present .... 10  
Ration of, under Smith (T).  
315 (305)

Peate, Peter. Member V. C., A 13

Peirsey, Abraham, Gent. See "Piersey."

Pembroke, Earl of. Authority exceeded .................. 220-1  
Estate for, elected by Leech. 193-4  
Leech to select estate .......... 193-4  
Martin certificate signed. 220-1  
Member C. for Va. ............ A 16  
Member V. C. ................ A 9  
Raleigh (C.) looks to. 290 (280)  
Second Charter,—grantee. 102

Penman. Wlngina’s adopted name ................. 14

Penal Colony. Virginia used as .................. 168

Peper, Robert. Member V. C, . A 12

Pensions. Injured ones granted.  
332 (322)

Percy, Mr. Of Gunpowder Plot. 46

Percy, Capt. George (see also "Percy, Capt. George").  
Burns Indian houses .......... 120  
Corn sought by .......... 80  
Discipline not enforced .... 95  
Governor ........ 107  
Health bad ........ 107  
Houses burned by .......... 120  
Indians not disciplined .... 95  
Indians punished .......... 120  
Jamestown,—colonist at .... 45  
Manakin Country explored ... 79  
Newport takes to, Jast ...... 76  
Northumberland brother of . 45  
Powhatan raided .......... 85  
Provisions not secured ...... 84  
Second Charter,—grantee of 102  
Sickness incapacitates .... 115-6  
Slays Indians .......... 120

Starvation prevented by .......... 97-8  
Trades at Pamunkey .......... 90  
Trading in charge of .......... 70  
Volunteers cut throats .......... 400

Perkin, Edward. Member V. C., A 11

Perkin, Thomas (Cooper). Member V. C. .............. A 11

Perkins, Aden (Grocer). Member V. C. .............. A 12

Perkins, Sir Christopher, Knt. (see also name below).  
Member V. C. ................ A 10

Perkins, Sir Christopher (see also name above).  
Martin pet. referred to ....... 223

Perrot, Sir James. Banished to Ireland .................. 207

Perry. Fraud in pets, confessed.  
333 (323)

Marked for slaughter ........ 212

Petro. Council for Va. and mines of .............. 101

Perspective Glasses. Indians amazed at .............. 18

Pets. Berry to King ............ 226  
Butler agst. Co. 260-1 (270-1)  
Butler, demanded by Co. ........ 260 (270)  
Colony to King 200, 201

330 (320)

Presented privately to King.  
276-7 (268-7)

Petitions. Berry to King ........ 226  
Butler agst. Co. 260-1 (270-1)  
Butler, demanded by Co. ........ 260 (270)  
Cavendish for colonists. 283 (273)  
Colonists pleaded for in. 283 (273)  
Colony to King ............ 200, 201  
Committed to Deputy .......... 337 (327)

Commons from Co. ............. 334-7 (324-7)

Commons, not act on Co. .......... 206

Company assailed by B. ........ 263 E 270-1)  
Company agst. M. ............ 222  
Company concurs in. 296 (286)  
Company demands B. 280 (270)  
Company from Johnson ......... 291 (281)  
Company from P. C. 308 (298)  
Company from S. 192, 226, 303 (298)

Company, not acted on .......... 206  
Company suppressed .......... 286 (276)  
Company to Commons .......... 534-7 (324-7)  
Company to King, suppressed .... 286 (276)

Company to Martin .......... 222  
Company to P. C. 308 (298)  
Contents, to King. 322-3 (312-3)  
Deputy to H. Commons. 337 (327)
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Dixon to King...226, 227
Fraudulent agst. Co. 333 (323)
Garbling, offered H. of Comms. 199-0
Garbling, to King...199
General As. to King...317 (307)
Haswell to King...223
H. of Commons from Co...334-7 (324-7)
House Comms. from Dep...337 (327)
Humble, etc., to King...276-7 (266-7)
Johnson...290 (280), 291 (281), 293 (283), 298 (288), 307 (297)
Johnson,—answer to...293 (283), 295 (285), 296-6 (285-6)
Johnson,—basis Commn...298 (288)
Johnson,—Co. advised of...280 (270)
Johnson endorsed...291 (281), 296 (285), 295-6 (285-6)
Johnson to Co...291 (281)
Johnson to King...290 (280)
Johnson to P. C...309 (299)
Johnson,—what founded on...293 (283)
Kemp to King...227
King from Berry...226
King from Butler...280 (270)
King from colony...200, 201
King from Dixon...226, 227
King from G. A...317 (307)
King from Haswell...223
King from Johnson...290 (280)
King from Kemp...227
King from Martin...222, 223, 226
King from Somers...227-8
King gets garbling...199
King gets Humble, etc...276-7 (266-7)
King refers M...223
Lord H. Treas in...337 (327)
Martin from Co...222
Martin, referred by King...223
Martin to King...222, 223, 226
Perry confesses fraud in...322 (323)
Pocahontas befriended...142-3
Poundis to present, to King...223 (313)
Privy Council from Co...303 (298)
Privy Council from Johnson.
Privy Council to Co...303 (298)
Presented to King...322 (312), 333 (323)
Queen from S...142-3
Right of, forbidden...A 1
Smith to Po...142-3
Smith to Co...192, 226, 308 (298)
Smith to Queen for Po...142-3
Somers, to King...227-3
Suppressed...288 (276)
Takes course in H. of Comms...337 (327)
Tobacco culture...200-1
Tobacco, in hands Lord High
Treasurer...286 (276)
Tobacco, suppressed...286 (276)
To House of Commons...334-7 (324-7)
To King...198, 200, 201, 222, 223, 226
227, 227-8, 276-7 (266-7), 280 (270), 290 (280), 317 (307)
Treasurer and Co. get...201
Virginia to King...200, 201
Wyatt joins, to King...325 (315)
Peyton, Sir Henry, Kn. Member
V. C...A 10
Pewterers, The Company of. Mem-
er V. C...A 14
Petre, Lord. Member V. C...A 9
Philips, Sir Robert. Imprisoned
by King...206-7
"Phillipizing." Oracles given to...341 (331)
Philpot Lane. Privy Council to
meet in...339 (329)
Smith house in...339 (329)
Phips, Robert (Grocer). Member
V. C...A 13
Phittiplace, Michael, Gent. Mem-
er V. C...A 11
Phittiplace, William. Member V.
C...A 11
Powhatan raided by...85
Physic, Doctor of. Arrives...62
Rusell, Doctor of...62
Physician-General of Colony. Ar-
rives in Va...194
Bohun...189
Pot...188
Physicians (see also "Russell,
Walter").
Ignorance of Indian...18-9
Pots, to the Co...A 33
Piankatanke River. Smith explores 74
Smith passes...66
Piankantans. Smith conducted
to...53
Pierce, Cape Merchant...224
Testifies agst. Smith (T)...224
Pierce, Capt. William. Burgess...317 (307)
Captain of Guard and Lieut.
Gov. of James City...313 (303)
Commission agst. Cks...313 (303)
Declaration signed by...317 (307)
Piercey, Abraham, Gen. Cape-
Merchant...174
Commissioner...307 (297)
Vice-Admiralty void...174
Pick-Axes. Stolen by Newport...81
Pickfords, Christopher. Member
Bulletin of Virginia State Library.

Pictures of Picts. With lends to Beverley .......... A 12
Pigot, Capt., Member V. C. A 10
Pigs. See “Hogs.”
Pike-Heads. Stolen by Newport . . . 81
Stolen from Jamestown .......... 90
Pilchars. Abundance in Berm. 114
Pilgrims. Argall action on hearing of ......... 148-9
“Multitudes preparing in Eng. to be sent” . . . 148
Pillory. Sharples sentenced .......... 325 (315)

Pillow (of Leather). Powhatan uses .......... 58
Pines. Largest yet seen ........ 73
North Carolina, noted .......... 82
Pinnaces (see also “Vessels”).
Built in colony .......... 312 (302)
Pipe. Ornamented, described ... 68
Tobacco, offered Hamer by P. 134
Pipe Staves. Commodity of Va. . . 271 (261)

Pirates. Authority repel, granted A 19, 19-
Treasurer (ship) .......... 153-4
Pisacack. Bristol Works (1747) near . . . 70
Town on Rappahanock River . . . 70
Town by King of ......... 72
Pistol. Signal from 78
Smith to have been murdered With 106
Pit, George. Member V. C. . A 11
Pit, Sir William. Cambden men-
tions .......... 298 (288)
Examination affairs by. 298 (288)
Pitch. Calking,—used for ..... 115
Colonists make, under £ . . . 79
Manufacture of .......... 77, 79, 177
Poles and Germans to make .... 77
Quantity of ........ 82
Trial made .......... 97
Trials sent home .......... 82

Raisterers, The Company of, Mem-
ber V. C. .......... A 14

Plantation of Marring. See “Marr-
ing, Plantation of.”

Plantations. Ammunition kept on
Burying grounds provided by . . . 329 (319)
Churches provided by .......... 329 (319)
Clergy salaries collected by . . . 329 (319)
Commissioners transported to
Comms. to .......... 328 (318)
Corn and cattle draw .......... 164
General A. to transport
Ring desires exclusive control
Lotteries for advancement A 30-1
Ordnance kept by each . . . 351-2 (321-2)
Parliament considers tob. from .... 334-7 (324-7)
Seating of . 278 (268), 318 (308)
Tobacco censured by . . . 331 (321)
Tobacco from, considered . . . 334-7 (324-7)

Plate (Communion). Given Rob-
inson church .......... 171
Plate Fleet. See “Spanish Plate Fleet.”
Plates. Copper, to be used .......... 16
Polo. Fable of, referred to .... 2
Platters of Bread .......... 56
Pleydall, Thomas. Member V. C. . A 12

Plymouth. Company (minor) to reside in
Dale’s party arrives at .......... 138
Greenvil exped. leaves .... 2
Greenvil returns to .......... 12
Mentioned .......... A 9
Referred to .......... 36
Relief exped. sails from .... 26
Relief exped. sails to .......... 7
Hoife, Thos., left at .......... 148

Second Col. controlled by
36, 74-5; A 1, 2-3
Second Col. settlers leave . . . 75
Tobacco taxed at .... 169
Tomoco arrives at .......... 143-4
Yeardley held at .... 157

Plymouth, Virginia Company of.
See “Virginia Company of Ply-
mouth.”

Plots (see also “Conspiracies,”
“Mutiny,” “Treachery”).
Against Eng. .......... 239
Colonists object of .......... 239
Jamestown .......... 123
Japazaw’s .......... 239
Lane hears of .......... 15
Menatonon’s .......... 15
Opechancanough’s .......... 209, 241
Skico discloses .......... 15
Smith object of .......... 80-1, 91-2
Spillman’s .......... 241
Testimony as to .......... 142
Webb’s .......... 123

Plough-Shares. Lack of .......... 148-9
Plow-Shares, See “Plough-Shares.”

Plumbers, The Company of, Mem-
ber V. C. .......... A 14

Pocahontas. Abduction P., at-
tempted with .......... 129
Abduction planned .......... 128
Absconds from Werowocomo-
co .......... 127-8
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Age of .................................. 146
Arbarg to take, home ................. 146-6
Brentford,—removed to .......... 147-8
Buckskins sent P. by ............... 136
Child (son) born to .......... 142-3
Christianty effect on .......... 136
Christianty taught .......... 138-9, 142
Company provides for .......... 142
Concealed near Patowmack .... 127
Confesses Faith of Christ .......... 136
Conversion, only one under ...... 128
Smith (T) administration converts .......... 295 (285)
Son born to .......... 142
Spilman saved by .......... 116, 118, 240-1
Wereowocomoco left by .......... 127-8
Wyffin befriended .......... 93
Pocones. Dye of Indians .......... 84
Given to King .................. 105
Poe, Dr. Member V. C .......... A 10
Point Comfort. Boundary in .. Charters .............. A 15, 23
Colonists taken to .......... 97-8
Fishery attempted at .......... 97
Newport meets Scrivener .......... 84
Return to perilous .......... 73-4
Scrivener at .......... 84
Spanish ship appears off .......... 138
Starvation prevented by scattering to .......... 97-8
Point Ployer. Discovered .......... 63
Poison. Opechancanough tries, on whole colony .......... 232
Opechancanough used .......... 209
Used on Smith .......... 93-4
Pokomoke Bay. Origin of name .......... 63
Pokomoke River. Cuscarawock, late name .......... 63
Wighcococomoco, former name .......... 63
Pole, Sir Stephen, Kn. (see also "Pole, Sir Stephen, Kn."). Member V. C .......... A 10
Poles. Manufacture commenced .......... 122
Poles (Persons). Burdensome .......... 77
Pitch made by .......... 77
Policies. Controlled by laws of Eng. .......... A 21
Political Economy. Stith observations on .......... 82
Polonian Lord. Haswell the interpreter of .......... 224
Pomet, Richard (Merchant). Member V. C .......... A 11
Pond of Fresh Water. Discovered .......... 62
Poole, Robert. Testifies as to Ind. treachery .......... 142
Poole, Sir Stephen, Kn. (see also "Pole, Sir Stephen, Kn.") . Member C. for Va .......... A 16
Poor (see also "Dissolute Ones," "Lewd Ones," "Loose Ones," "Libertines," "Rakes," etc.). To be sent to Va .......... 13
Poor Paper Edition of Stith. Referred to ....... B. N., ill
Popham, Sir Francis, Kn. Member C. for Va .......... A 16
Popham, George, Gent. Coloniza tion powers to .......... A 4-5
Grants to reconciled .......... A 8
Invasion to be repelled by .......... A 5
Member V. C. of Plimouth ....... 3 A 1
According to the estimates and censuses taken prior to the first Federal Census on 1790, the population of the colony of Virginia at different periods was as follows: 1616 (estimate), 351; 1620 (estimate), 2,400; 1628 (estimate), 3,000; 1635 (census), 5,119; 1640 (estimate), 7,467; 1648 (estimate), 15,000; 1659 (estimate), 3,000; 1671 (estimate), 40,000; 1717 (estimate), 100,000; 1754 (estimate), 284,000; 1772 (estimate), 475,000; 1775 (estimate), 550,000; 1782 (census), 567,614.

Supply of 331-2 (321-2)
Transportation A 18-9, 28
Wasting of,—punishment ...
Werowocomoco,—Inds. at,
killed by explosion 96

Powel, Captain Nathaniel. Char-
acteristics 157, 212
Colonists (lost) not located
by 99
Deputy Gov. under Ar 157
Governor 212
Guides conduct 99
Jamestown,—colonist at ...
Killed 212
Mangoags visited by 99
Member Council 158
Member C. of S. A 33
Trades at Pamunkey 90
White not located 99

Powel, William, Gent, (see also
name below).
Member V. C. A 13

Powel, Capt. William (see also
name above).
Indians punished by 212
Massacre warning given by 212
Warned 212

Powhatan (Emperor). Addresses,
to S. 86, 88
Age of 55, 87
Alliance feared by Cks. 130-1
Ambassador sent 133-6
Answer of Eng. to 128-9
Answer to Dale 135
Answer of, to invitation 73
Appearance (physical) 53, 55-58
Attacks S. 88-9
Attacks West settlement 105
Authority weak 223-4
Beads (blue) bought 59
Beads offered, for daughter 135
Betrayal cols. ordered 65
Betrayal to Eng. feared 139
Boasts his age 87
Boats cols. cut off 116
Boundary domains of 54
Bounty of 56
Boy given, by N. 59
Brothers of 53, 54
Capahowsick given S. 55-6
Census of Eng. sought by ...

Characteristics 55, 154-5
Cheats N. 58
Chickahominies fear alliance. 130-1
Concubines 58
Corn given by 97
Corn given for kettle 87
Corn,—has none 86
Corn overvalued 86
Corn promised 84, 123
Corn taken from 84

Coronation 78-9
Craftiness 87
Crown brought by N. 77
Cruelty of 55
Dale “brothered” by 134
Dale compounds with 225
Dale negotiations with 129
Daughter sold for Roanoke 135
Denies S. sent for 86
Deserters killed before 100
Deserters not detained 100
Designs of, warned agst 85
Dies (1618) 154
Divine right 142
Domains (hereditary) 53, 54
English to protect 104, 131
Entertains S. and N. 57-8
Fears betrayal 139
Fears O. 139
Firearms only desired 86
Forbids cols. to use riv. 84
Germans desert to 95
Germans importune, to join them 99-0
Germans remain with 100
Germans sent to Jast 90
God,—explanation of demanded by 144
God,—revered as 54-5
Great Werowance 54
Guides refused by 79
Hamner ambassador to 133-6
Hatchets for,—S. to make 55
Importuned to join Germans 99-0

Invited to Jast 77
Invites S. to him 84
Kettle given, for corn 87
King’s Forest laid off by 223
Jamestown,—Germans sent to 90
Jamestown,—Invited to 77
Jamestown,—wrong-doers sent to by 97
Jus divinum of 142
Language of, on East. Sho. 62
Manakin’s allied agst 71
Manakin’s not to harm 104
Mangoags not subject to 59
Mannahocks allied agst 71
Manner of living 54, 55
Marriage of Po. approved. 130
Monacans hostile to 61
Morals of 54, 55
Moy-umps, refuge of 138-9
Murder of S. planned 93
Name (proper) of 53
Namontack given Newport 59
Negotiations 129
Newport brings crown, etc 77
Newport entertained by 57-8
Newport esteemed Werowance 58
Newport fails to trade with 77
Newport given servant 59
Newport gives, boy .............. 59
Newport gives, swords .......... 61
Newport obeys ................ 88
Newport receives shoes of ... 79
Newport swindled ............. 58
Objects to bending knee .. 78-9
Opechancanough and rites over . 209

Opechancanough assumes govt. . 147

Opechancanough, brother of . 50
Opechancanough feared by .. 139
Opitchapan succeeds .... 155
Orapakes owned by ........... 65
Orders Inds. betray cols. .... 66
Peace token demanded by .. 134
Pocahontas and ransom by . 128
Pocahontas protects Spilman from .............. 118

Presents brought, by N. ..... 77
Presents sent by ............. 97
Presents sent by Po .................. 61
Presents sent to ............... 56
Presents to,—effect of, bad .. 77
Philosophises with S. .......... 87
Plans murder S. ................... 89, 93
Population Eng. sought by ... 143, 143-4

Provisions secured from ....... 85-6
Raid on, planned .......... 84
Ransom of Po,—what ........... 128
Reception of, to Smith .... 55
Reply to, by S. ................ 88
Reply to Volday ............... 103
Repulse by S. .................. 88-9
Response, to Hamer .......... 135
Revered as God ............... 54-5
Rights arise from .......... 54
Rites over,—pretext ........ 209

River forbidden cols. by ...... 84
Robes of, made by ........... 55
Roanoke buys daughter of ...... 135
Rolfe sent to ................... 129
Rolfe son of interest to ...... 147

Savage given, by N. .......... 59
Savage recognized by ........ 134
Seat (chief) of ............... 46, 53
Servant given Newport ...... 59
Shoes of, given N. .......... 79
Smith addressed by ........... 86, 88
Smith always denies .......... 88
Smith asks provs. of ........ 85-6
Smith attacked .................. 88-9
Smith conducted to .......... 51-3
Smith death of interest to .... 143
Smith entertained .............. 57-8
Smith feared more than .. 100
Smith freed by ................ 55-6
Smith given Capahowsick .... 55-6
Smith head desired by ...... 89
Smith invited come to .......... 84
Smith murder planned by ... 89, 93
Smith not sent for .......... 86
Smith plans raid on .......... 84

Smith received ................... 55
Smith reply to ............... 88
Smith secures provisions from ... 85-6
Smith sent to death-place .. 55
Smith spared by ............... 55
Smith terrorizes ............. 96-7
Smith to be killed ............ 93
Smith to make hatchets for .. 55
Smith tries to entrap ........ 93
Smith warned agst. ........... 89
Spillman protected from .... 118
Starvation colony tried by .... 80
Subtlety of, in address ...... 86
Succeeded by Opitchapan .... 155
Succession in kingdom ....... 87
Susquehannocks not know .... 69
Swords given, for turkies .... 61
Terrorized by Smith powers 96-7

Throne of ................ 55
Tomocomo sent to Eng. for data .......... 143, 143-4
Tomocomo to see if S. dead .... 143
Tools desired ............... 136
Toys desired ............... 136
Treachery of ............... 128
Turkies given N. for swords ... 61

Tyranny of ................ 71
Visits sundry parts ........ 147
Volday flees to ............... 103
Volday replied to ............ 103
Werowocomoco, chief seat of .... 53
West attacked ............... 105
West's men complained of .. 105
Why called ............... 53
Withdraws to Moy-umps ... 138-9
Wrong-doers sent to Jast .... 97

Powhatan (Town). Chief seat of P. 46
Located near Falls ........ 53
"Nonesuch," name of .......... 105
Powhatan's hereditary domain . 105
Smith tries to buy,—terms 104-5

Powhatan River. Explored .... 45, 46
James River .................. 46

Powhatans. Importance in world ... 71
Prat, John. Member V. C. ... A 11
Preachers (see also "Clergymen," "Priests," "Ministers").
Member V. C. .................. A 12
Whitaker at Henrico ...... 124

Prebend of Westminster. Rev. Mr. Richard Hacklayt .... 32, 35

Prebeminences. Granted .......... A 23, 24, 25

"Prentices. See "Apprentices.""
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Royal,—raiding of ... 341 (331)
Southampton opposed to ... 230

Presents (see also “Gifts,” “Bequests”).
Conies .................................. 10
Coral ornaments ........................ 10
Cucumbers ............................... 10
Deer ...................................... 10, 65, 97
Deer,—a day before Mas. ... 209
Dyes ..................................... 10
English goods ............................ 10
Fish ...................................... 9, 10
Fruit brought ... 11, 49, 67, 209
Hares sent ............................... 10
Indians bring ... 9, 10, 11, 14, 31-2, 49, 56, 56-7, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68-9, 86, 90, 92, 96, 97, 141, 209
Menatonon sends Lane ... 14
Newport brings to P .... 77
Offered by Indians ........... 92, 97
Opechancanough given .... 51
Opechancanough offers S ... 92
Opechancanough receives ... 147, 172
Pearl sent to Lane ... 14, 31-2
Pease sent as ......................... 10
Pocahontas carries, to S ... 56, 61
Powhatan effected badly by ... 77
Powhatan receives .......... 56
Powhatan sends ................. 97
Powhatan sends by Po. .... 61
Roots sent as ....................... 10
Smith gives to O. ............... 51
Smith offered ................. 92
Smith to P. ... 56-7, 59
Smith’s kindness gains ......... 111
Squirrels brought as ......... 97
Turkies ......................... 97, 209
Venison ... 11, 49, 88, 90
Walnuts sent by Inds .......... 10

President and Council. Assign men for discovery ... 43
Oath to Pres. by selection of ... 43
Powers abrogated .......... 101
Powers cease,—when ... A 17-8
Smith enjoined by .... 57

President of Second Colony. Pop­
ham sent as ...................... 75

Presidents of the Colony.*
Arms display forbidden by ... 46
Assessed for accusing S ... 47
Duties of ...................... 37
Election ............... 37, 42-3
Excessive power allowed .... 41
Fort ordered palisaded by ... 46
Incumbents,—
Martin (1609) ................. 104
Ratcliffe (1607) ............... 48
Scrivener (Act., 1608) .... 67

Smith (1608) ...................... 66, 75
Smith (1609) ...................... 113
Wingfield (1607) ............... 45

Judicial proceedings subscribed
by .................................. 39
Jury trials to be provided by ... 35
Martin ................................ 104
Oath Allegiance administered
by .................................. 43
Oath Allegiance taken by .... 43
Ordinance,—mounting of,—or­
dered by .... 46
Powers .......................... 38-41, 42-3
Ratcliffe ......................... 48
Scrivener ......................... 67
Smith ........................... 66, 67, 113
Smith falsely accused by ... 47
Smith rules overridden by ... 57
Wingfield ......................... 45

Presidents of the Council, see
“Council in Virginia—Presi­
dents.”

Preston, Sir Amias, Knt. Member
C. for Va. ......................... A 16
Member V. C. ....................... A 9
Ralegh quarrels with ... 125
Pretty, George, Gent. Member V.
C. .................................. A 11
Price. Plots agst. Government ... 123
Price, Henry. Member V. C. ... A 12
Prideaux, Mr. Food sought by ... 15
Priests (see also “Clergymen,”
“Ministers”).
Peace for Inds. sought for ... 49
Priests (of Indians). Influence of ... 233
Religion impresses .................. 18
Prince Charles. Confirms name
given New England ... 136
Smith favoured by .................. 142
Prince Henry. Ralegh alluded to
by .................................. 125
Ralegh interceded for by ... 155
Town named after .................. 124
Prince Henry of Portugual. Sends
out fleet ......................... 2

Pring, Martin. Captain of Bristol
exped. ......................... 32-3

Printer. Wechelius .................. 16
Prison. Indians kept in ........... 105
Prisoners. Indians restore .... 239
Indian promise to restore ... 241
Restored ...................... 239
Smith accusers sent, to Eng. 56
General Assembly grants ... 160-1
Granted. 200; A 22, 23, 24, 25,
27-8, 31-2
More ample, in Second Char-

*The text is oftentimes so confusing that one cannot tell whether the
“President” referred to is the President of the Colony or of the
Council in Virginia; hence, some of the references to “President of
the Colony” may have found their way to the proper place under
“Council in Virginia,” or vice versa.
Privy Chamber. Thorpe, gentleman of

Privy Council. Action of, amazes Co. 304-5 (294-5)
Advice of lord of 169
Answer to, delivered. 272 (262)
Answer to King's proposals. 305-6 (295-6)
Answer to order of 271 (261)
Answer to, returned 328 (318)
Appeal to, by Co. 304-5 (294-5)
Appointment Commissioners 307 (297)
Assumes illegal powers. 310 (300)
Books sequestered by. 298 (288)
Butler rebuked by. 243
Charters in Office A iii
Clerk of 36
Commission, based on Johnson pet. 298 (288)
Commissioners appointed. 307 (297)
Commissioners arrive.. 314 (304)
Commissioners return to Eng. 338-9 (328-9)
Commissioners urged to report to 310 (300)
Company amazed by. 304-5 (294-5)
Company appeals to 310 (300)
Company desires reference to. 281 (271)
Company gets orders from. 314 (304)
Company's letters returned by 314 (304)
Company's records taken by. 340-1 (330-1)
Complaints referred to. 290 (280)
Deputies released by. 298 (288)
Deputy Farrar summoned by. 300 (290), 303 (293)
Duties of 310 (300)
Farrar, J., summoned by. 267 (257)
Farrar, N. summoned by. 267 (257), 303 (293)
Illegal powers assumed. 310 (300)
Insistence of 272-3 (262-3)
Johnson pet. basis Commission 298 (288)
Johnson presents pet. to. 309 (299)
Johnson summoned by. 267 (257)
King displeased with 170
King to give order to 289-0 (279-0)

BULLETIN OF VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY.
Letters Patent not prejudiced by .................. A 31-2
Lottery ............................................. A 22
Marriage, provided for ........................... 322
Piracy, provided for ................................. A 6-7
Provided for ........................................... 5, A 6-7
Powhatan’s, protecting Eng. ..................... 58
Production, ordered ................................. 301 (291)
Puritans leaving Eng. ................................ 76
Quest-house call for ................................ 301 (291)
Ratified .................................................. 331 (321)
Referred to .............................................. 200
Revocation sought ................................... 201
Ratified by G. A ................................. 331 (321)
Suppressed ............................................ 338-9 (328-9)
Tobacco importations ............................... 247, 273-4 (263-4)
Tobacco monopoly .................................... 198-9
Tobacco revoked ....................................... 201-2

Proctor, Mrs. Refuses to obey orders and defends her estate. .235-6

Proctor, George (Minister). Member V. C ................. A 12

Proctor, Mr. John, Answer to B. Infrm. by ................... 291’ (281)

Providence. See “Cursing.”

Prohibitions. Confirmed A 22, 23, 25

Projector. Definition of ............................. 244

Proprietors. Bad for colony .......................... 339-0 (329-0)

Providence, Capt. William. Member V. C ................. A 10

Provisions (see also “Corn,” Victuals,” “Food,” Rations”).

Abundance among Cks .............................. 131
Abundant, promised ................................. 140
Argall applies for .................................... 148
Argall secures ......................................... 118, 117
Arrive ...................................................... 57, 76, 102, 103, 123, 127, 140, 205
Bermudas source of .................................. 115, 118
Burned at Jast ......................................... 57
Captured from French ............................... 122-3
Chickahominies have plenty ........................ 131
Collection restricted ................................. 106-7
Complaints as to ..................................... 300 (290)
Consumed by crew .................................... 59
Corn (ship-load) secured by Argall ................. 118
Corruption as to ...................................... 57
Dale promises .......................................... 140
Dale sent with ......................................... 122, 140
Damaged by rain ...................................... 74
Delawarr leaves supply of ........................... 121
Delawarr seeks ........................................ 117, 118
Destitute of ............................................ 316 (306)
Dogs ample ............................................. 64
Exhausted ............................................... 48
First supply arrives ................................... 57

Gates brings ......................................... 102, 123
Gookin brings ......................................... 105
Horse-flesh used as .................................. 116
Indian (buried) used as ............................. 116
Indians bring ......................................... 56, 65, 68-3, 90, 92, 96, 97, 141
Jamestown—burned at ............................. 59
Laid in ..................................................... 115
Lane considers ample ................................ 64
Pocahontas brings .................................... 55
Powhatan asked for ................................... 38-5
Powhatan boasts can hide .......................... 87
Powhatan gives ......................................... 38-5
Newport brings second supply .......................... 61
Newport brings third supply ........................ 102, 103
Newport fails to get .................................. 77
Price advanced ......................................... 59
Public, wasted .......................................... 164
Ratcliffe steals ......................................... 66
Scarce and cols, sent to New Eng ......................... 76
Scarcity and cause ................................. 300 (290)
Scarcity of .............................................. 48, 75, 300 (290)
Scarcity of, sends cols. home ........................ 75
Scriveners seeks ........................................ 53, 84
Second supply arrives ............................... 76
Sent to colony ........................................... 57, 76, 102, 103, 122, 197, 232
Smith asks of P ........................................ 85-6
Smith secures from P .................................. 85-6
Smith strives for ....................................... 77
Smith’s (T) corruption as to ........................ 57
Somers brings .......................................... 102
Sought by S ............................................... 50, 116
Spent, S. returns ........................................ 66
Stolen by Ratcliffe ..................................... 66
Supply in Somers Islands ............................ 127
Supply, left by D ........................................ 121
Third supply arrives ................................... 102, 103
Wasted ..................................................... 116, 164
Water in fort good ..................................... 97

Provost Marshal. Martin resists.224

Prusey, Ambrose, Gent. Member V. C ................. A 11

Pumplons. Abundance of ............................. 224

Punishments (see also “Death Penalties”).

Conspirators escape .................................... 106
Provided ................................................. 38, 38-9, 41-2
Purchases. Dale tells, O, sent Tomocomo to Eng ............................... 144
Stith uses ................................................ iv

Puritans. Bancroft requires, to conform ........................... 76
Conform to Ch. of Eng ............................... 76
Consent of King for, to leave country ................. 76
Hated by Court of James ............................ 76

Purse, Mr. Imprisoned by King ........................ 206-7

Pym, Mr. Imprisoned by King ........................ 206-7
Quarles, John. Member V. C.A 12
Quarter Courts (see also "Great and General Quarter Courts").
Action of, on charter surrender .......... 304-236 (294-5)
Action of, on Smith's (T) accounts .......... 275 (265)
Appeals to. .258, 258 (248), 258 (249), 260 (250)
Attendance at. .260 (250), 282 (272)
Censures Wrote ...262 (252)
Charges agst. Wrote reported to .......... 258 (248)
Confirmation laws by .......... 196-7; A 34
Confirms grants. .219
Confirms Pountis grant .......... 191
Contract confirmed by.267 (257)
Contract to be referred to. 285 (275)
Decision of, not to be questioned .......... 256
Duties of .......... 305 (295)
Election adjourned to next.180
Freedom of speech permitted by .......... 282-3 (252-3)
General Assembly's acts ratified by .......... 196-7; A 34
Grants confirmed by ..191, 219
Laws to be ratified by .......... 196-7; A 34
Letters patent on duties .......... 305 (295)
Members present .......... 260 (250), 282 (272)
Officers elected by.290-0 (289-0)
Pountis grant confirmed by. 191
Quo Warranto proceedings rejected .......... 303 (298)
Patification of laws by .......... 196-7; A 34
Refuses to enter Quo Warranto proceedings .......... 308 (298)
Refuses surrender charters .......... 303 (298)
Smith's (T) accounts acted on by .......... 227 (217)
Surrender charters demanded of .......... 304-5 (294-5)
Surrender charters resisted .......... 308 (298)
Tobacco contract confirmed by .......... 267 (257)
Wrote appeals to .......... 256, 259 (249)
Wrote censured by .......... 262 (252)
Wrote—charges agst. reported to .......... 258 (248)
Wrote to submit to .......... 261 (251)
Wrote tries to reverse .......... 254

Queen Elizabeth. See “Elizabeth.”
Queens. Powhatan's, kept near him .......... 134
Queens's Creek. Werowocomoco opposite .......... 53
Quarries. Authority to work A 15, 24
For Courts King's C. A 26
Quest-House. Records (all) ordered to .......... 301 (291)
Warrants for appearance at. 301 (291)
Quick, William (Grocer). Member V. C. A 12
Quiver. Ceremony with .......... 72
Wolf skin .......... 68
Quiyoughquohanocks. God's superiority conceded by .......... 99
Guides obtained from .......... 99
Location of .......... 99
Rain-prayer sought by .......... 99
Smith to pray for rain for .......... 99
Quiyough River. Patowmack Creek .......... 65
Quorum. For suits .......... 330 (320)
Quo Warranto. Attorney General prosecutes agst. Co. 303 (298)
Company prosecuted with .......... 308 (298)
Determined of, not final .......... 309 (329-0)
Farrar served with .......... 307-8 (297-8)
Issued before many in country .......... 310 (300)
Salaries defended by defendants of .......... 309 (299)
R.
Rabbits. See “Hares.”
Race of Ham. See “Ham, Race of.”
Raccoon Skins. Powhatan uses robe of .......... 55
Rain. Manufacture of, begun .......... 122
Indians ask S. to pray for .......... 99
Rakes (see also “Lewd Ones,” “Loose Ones,” “Paupers,” “Poor,” “Dissolute Ones,” “Libertines”).
Third supply brings .......... 103
Ralegh, Carew. Company confers freedom on .......... 290 (280)
Court attended by. 290-1 (280-1)
Observations on death of father .......... 156
Oxford attended by 290-1 (280-1)
Son of R. .......... 156
Travels .......... 290-1 (280-1)
Ralegh, City of. Assigned by Ralegh .......... 23, 28
Failure of—why .......... 23, 32
Incorporation of .......... 23
Seat of, advantageous .......... 32
Ralegh, Lady. Appeals for Sir Walter's lands and reply to .......... 126
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Paid by King for Raleigh lands ........................................... 126

Ralegh, Sir Walter, Kn. Account of country by ................................ 30
Adventurer (principal) in Va. ........................................... 29
Antipathy of King for ....................................................... 291 (281)
Assignment to S. et al. ..................................................... 25-6
Atheism charge explained .................................................. 20
Azores Battle, account of .................................................. 29
Bark fitted out by ............................................................. 7
Bristol gets permission from ................................................ 32
Brother to Gilbert .............................................................

 Characteristics of ............................................................. 155-6
Charter granted White by .................................................... 23
Christianity aided by ........................................................ 26
Coke's bitterness to .......................................................... 126
Colonizes his lands ........................................................... 25
Colony of, N. to seek ......................................................... 77, 81
Confined in tower ............................................................. 32
Cornwall, troops under, at ............................................... 25
Criticizes royalty .............................................................. 137
Criticism of history of ...................................................... 137
Customs described by ........................................................ 17
Death of .............................................................. 156-7 (156)
Death of, observations on ................................................... 156
Debauched Maid of Honour ................................................ 30
Describes religion, etc ....................................................... 17
Dies on scaffold ............................................................... 155
Discoveries by ................................................................. 30
Elizabeth's favour lost by .................................................. 30
Esteem of Co. for ............................................................ 291 (280)
Exploits of, to be recorded ................................................ 191
Exploration funds raised by ................................................ 8
"Founder and Father of Country" ........................................ 32
Freedom of Co. to son of ................................................... 290 (280)

Greenvil defended by ........................................................ 29
Hariot observations for ...................................................... 17
History of the World by .................................................... 137
Howe's attitude approved by ............................................. 29
Incorporates City of R. ...................................................... 23
Infamy in trial of ............................................................. 75
Irish services of ............................................................. 25
King's antipathy for ......................................................... 291 (281)
King's reply to wife of ..................................................... 126
Knighted ................................................................. 12
Knighted, elected ............................................................

 Lands of, settled in family ............................................... 125
Lands taken from ............................................................ 126
Letters Patent to ............................................................. 8
Letters to, in Hackluyt ...................................................... 8
Lieutenant of County ........................................................ 25
Lord of Roanoke, etc., under ............................................. 24
Maid of Honour debauched by ............................................ 30
Manteo, Lord of, etc., under ............................................. 24
Marries ................................................................. 30
Member C. of W. .............................................................
Newport to seek .......................................................... 77, 81
Observations made for ...................................................... 17
Parliaments confirms, patent ............................................ 11-2

Pictures made for ........................................................... 17
Pipes of, extent ............................................................. 21
Plymouth, returns to ........................................................ 7
Popham in trial of ........................................................... 75
Powell without news of ..................................................... 99
Preston's quarrel with ..................................................... 125
Prison life of ............................................................... 155-6 (156)
Quarrels with Preston ...................................................... 125
Relief delayed and vexes .................................................. 25
Relief for Roanoke sent by ............................................... 21, 25

Religious gift from .......................................................... 26
Reply of King to wife of ................................................... 126
Roanoke relief sent by .................................................... 21, 25
Roanoke, searchers sent to ................................................. 21
Royalty criticized by ....................................................... 137
Searchers sent to Roanoke by ............................................ 39
Search for ................................................................. 77, 81, 85, 99
Sicklemore to seek ........................................................ 99
Sicklemore without news of ............................................... 99
Son's observations on death of ........................................... 156
Spaniards attitude to death of .......................................... 156
Spaniards fought by ........................................................ 25, 26
Stories of, and tob ........................................................ 21
Tobacco-box of, extent ..................................................... 21
Tobacco smoking introduced by .......................................... 21
Todkill without news of ................................................... 99
Tower, confined in ........................................................ 32
Treatise by ................................................................. 17
Trial of ................................................................. 75
Troops mustered under .................................................... 25
Virginia, probably not in ................................................ 22, 32
Wine-vending patent to .................................................... 8
With pictures for ........................................................... 17

Randolph, Sir John. Charter in papers of ................................ A 12

Randolph, Col. Richard. Marries great, great granddaughter of Po. ......................................................... 146

Randolph, Col. William. Henrico ruins on lands of ........................................... 146

Ransom. Corn taken as ..................................................... 124

Rape. Punishment for ...................................................... 38
Rappahanock Creek. Smith ambushed in ................................ 59
Rappahanock River. Explored. 69, 70
Falls of ........................................ 71
Mannahocks dwelt near ......................... 71
Nantaughtacunds live on ...................... 71
Smith sails by ................................. 65
Tappahanock, also name of .................... 65
Towns on ........................................ 70, 71
Rappahans. Ambush Smith ...................... 69
King of, and treaty terms ....................... 72
King of, chooses woman .................... 72
Moraughtacunds friends of .................. 72
Peace with—terms of ........................ 72
Smith attacked by ............................. 69, 70
Smith makes peace with ....................... 72
Women stolen by ................................ 69
Rasberries. On New Eng. Coast .............. 31
Ratcliffe, Alias of Capt. Sicklemore ........ 11
Ratcliffe, Capt. John. Abandonment of Va. intended by . 50
Blamed by ....................................... S3
Chesapeake explored by ...................... 69
Conspiracy of agst. S ......................... 56
Council controlled by ......................... 48
Cruelty of ....................................... 66
Deposed as Pres ................................. 66
Desires to return home ....................... 44
Disheartened .................................. 44
Explorations by ................................ 69
Imprisoned ....................................... 74, 104
Indians not controlled by ................. 61
Instructions given .............................. 61
Letter of, to Salisbury ....................... 82
Manakins sought under ...................... 61
Member C. in Va ............................... 45
Member V. C .................................... A 9
Mutiny of ....................................... 74
Palace of,—work stopped ..................... 76
Plots agst. S .................................. 50-1, 106
Presidency taken from ...................... 66
President of Colony ............................ 48
Pride of ........................................... 66
Sallisbury written to by ................. 82
Sicklemore his real name ................... 83, 102
Sicklemore's trusty servant .............. 56
Smith blamed ................................... 83
Smith conspired agst. by .................... 56
Smith ignored by ................................ 60
Smith plotted agst. by ....................... 80-1
Smith sent by, to Manakins ................. 61
Smith's murder plotted by ................. 106
Steals stores .................................... 60
Trade sought by .................................. 116
Treatment by .................................... 129
Trouble by, upon return ..................... 102-3
Weakness of .................................... 49
Rations (see also "Food," "Supplies," "Provisions").
Barley at Jast ................................. 47
Bran at Jast .................................... 47-8
Meal, at Jast ................................... 315 (305)
Pease under Smith (T) ....................... 315 (305)
Wheat, at Jast .................................. 47-8
Rats.
Food destroyed by ............................ 94, 97
Food made from ............................... 315 (305)
Increase and source of ....................... 97
Raven, Mr. Lost with crew .................. 115
Rawhunt. Powhatan's trusty servant ..... 56
Reals of Eight. See "Rials of Eight."
Rear Admiral. Button as ..................... 184
Rebecca. Christian name of Po. ........... 136
Rebellion. Martial Law in time of .......... 152
Martial law to suppress ......................... A 21
Punishment for ................................ 38, 41
Receivers. Lotteries to have ................. A 31
Recorder. Title of, assumed ................ 60
Recorder of City of London. Member C. for Va. .... 26
Aргall exped. not mentioned in ............ 154
Audit false according to ..................... 275 (265)
Book of .......................................... A III
Book of adventurers in ......................... A 22
Burgesses order copies ........................ vii
Burned at Jast,—probably ..................... viii
Byrd purchases ................................... vi
Charters among oldest ......................... A III
Company ........................................ 257
Company clearly depicted in ................ vi
Company, mention treatise by R. .............. 217
Company, show audit false ................. 275 (265)
Companies, mention many things .......... A III
Condition of ................................... A VI
Contents of .................................... A VI
Copies, ordered ................................... vii
Defaced ......................................... A III
Defects in,—omissions ........................ 154, 160
Description of ................................ A IV
Duty,—order as to ............................... 273 (263)
Entries of, not recovered from P. C ............ 308 (298)
General Court, reprove S ...................... 141-2
Gift entered In ................................... 231
Great shares mentioned in .................. 139
House of Burgesses orders, preserved ........ vii
Laws in ......................................... 328 (318)
Matters passed not mentioned in .......... 160
Members V. C. referred to in ................. 349 (330)
Oath,—copy of, in ................................ 325 (315)
Oldest, in Secretary Office .................... A III
Original, taken .................................. 341 (331)
Papers (lost) mentioned in .................. A III
Ploughs mentioned in ........................... 149
Preservation, ordered ........................ viii
Privy Council not return entries of ........... 308 (298)
Production ordered ............................. 301 (291)
Quest-house call for ............................. 301 (291)
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Searching of, careless .......................... 185
Secretary's .................................. A iii
Sequestered .................................... 298 (288)
Smith reproved by, of Gen. Court ................. 141-2
Southampton approval entered in .................. 230
Stith uses, B. N., v; iv-v, vi-vi; A iii-v
"Tomakin" for Tomocomo in 147
Tomocomo called "Tomakin" in .......................... 147
Records of Assembly. Smith (T) in bad light in .... 57
Records of London Company. See "London Company's Records."
Rector of College. For conversion of Inds. ............ 218
Reeds. Roof thatching with .......................... 59
Refiner. Manakin exped. carries .......................... 79
Reformation, History of. Bennet's, a guide to Stith . . A., iii
Relations. Of Berms. by Somers. ....................... 126-7
Of grievances, given .. 336 (326)
Of Grievances,—none in Va. ... 338 (328)
Of quarrel of King and Commons ....................... 206-7
Of Va., by Hamer .................................. 133
Rolfe's aids S., iv
Slanderous ...................................... 324 (314)
Smith sends to Eng. .................................. 83
Smith sends to King .................................. 83
Smith uses Rolfe's iv
Smith, of Berms. 126-7
Virginia good matter for ................................ 191
Relief. Delayed ..................................... 26
Disaster comes to .................................. 27-8
Drake's ships sighted ............................... 15
Planned (1583) ...................................... 300 (290)
Ralegh sends to Roanoke .............................. 21-2
Roanoke gets, from Drake ............................ 15
Roanoke.—sent to ... 15, 21-2, 25
Relief Expeditions. Reaches Cape Hatteras .......... 26
Sails for Cape Lookout .............................. 27
Sails for Croatan .................................... 26, 27-8
Religion (see also "Christianity," "Education")
Advance in, great .................................. 295 (285)
Aid for, increased .................................. 283 (272)
Baptism of Ind. ..................................... 24
Bequest for Cks. .................................... 171-2, 172
Bible taught Inds .................................... 19
Boyle benefaction for ............................... 217
Charter purpose. A 1-2, 22, 23, 33
Christian blood basis of churches .................... 316 (306)
Christian Gods superiority conceded ................... 99
Christianity,—propagation of. ....................... 26, 34, 334-5 (324-5)
Churches founded on Christian blood .................. 316 (306)
Church-going under penalty .......................... 148
Clergymen enough .................................. 312 (302)
Clergymen scarce .................................... 172-3
Colonies for propagation of ........................... 289 (279)
Communin at Jast .................................... 47
Conversion, impossible ............................... 296 (286)
Conversion of Inds. 19, 24, 26, 34, 37, 40-1, 194, 195, 214, 215-6, 217, 218, 233, 282 (272), 294 (284), 295 (285), 296 (286), 334-5 (324-5)
Conversion of Inds. recounted .......................... 335 (325)
Education of Inds. .................................. 214, 215-6
Education provided for ................................ A 20
Effect on Inds ....................................... 68
Effect on Po ......................................... 136, 143
Exercises among cols .................................. 68
Foundation of, destroyed ............................. 217
God,—sight of requested ............................. 144
Hariot teaches Inds. .................................. 19
Indian ............................................ 17-9, 99
Indians seem to take to ................................ 204
Indians taught ....................................... 19, 194, 185
Instructions as to .................................... 194
Kind of, to be taught .................................. 37
King provides for .. 37, 40-1, 204
Manteo baptized ...................................... 24
Marriage (first) at Jast ............................... 84
Mars and Minerva in ................................. 233
Minerva and Mars in .................................. 233
Minister not be Pres. of C. ............................. 37
Penalty for not going to church ......................... 148
Pocahontas first Christian Ind. ......................... 136, 143
Pocahontas only convert of ST .......................... 295 (285)
Pocahontas taught ..................................... 136
Pocahontas well instructed ............................. 142
Preaching of, provided for ............................. 37, 40-1, 294
President of C. not be minister ........................ 37
Prevalence of, with Inds ............................... 99
Progress of, retarded ............................... 217
Propogation of, in Va ................................ 26, 34, 334-5 (324-5)
Provided for ......................................... A 20
Provisions for ....................................... 37, 40-1, 204
Purpose of Charters ................................. A 1-2, 22, 23, 33
Ralegh benefaction for ............................... 217
Ralegh's gift for ..................................... 26
Ralegh's orthodoxy .................................... 20
Rector for Inds ....................................... 218
Revival of not probable ............................... 217
Stockham tells of .................................... 233
Thorpe teachers Inds. .................................. 211
Tomocomo asks to see God ............................. 144
Representative Government. Gen
eral Assembly called .............. 160
King violates ..................... 41
Power to have, brought by Y. 158
Smith (T.) Gov't. cause of ... 182
Tyranny of in Va. ............... 293 (283)
Yeardley's intention to hold 158
G. A. ............................... 158
Reprieve. Provided for .......... 38
Republican Form of Government.
Chickahominies use ............ 130
Requests, Master of. See "Master of
Requests."
Restraint. Letters Patent not suf
fer from A 31-2
Restoration. Mentioned .......... 41
"Revenge" (Ship). Founders .... 30
Revenue (see also "Tobacco;
"Duty")
Reverends (see "Ministers," "Cler
gymen," "Hunt," "Hackluyt,
etc.").
Rewards. Benet gets .......... 199
Farrar gets ....................... 231
Reynolds (Brewer) (first name
omitted). Member V. C. .... 14
Reynolds, Henry, Esqr. Member
V. C. ............................... 11
Reynolds, Richard. Member V.
C. .................................. 10
Rhine, Palatine of. See "Palatine
of Rhine."
Rhode Island. Explored by Wey
mouth ................................ 33
Rights of Eight. Taken from Span
iards ................................. 320 (310)
Ricard's Cliffs. Smith discovers
and names ......................... 64
Rice, Distributed by Newce .... 237
Rich, Lord (see also "Warwick,
Earl of")
Argall combines with .......... 145
Brother of, in Ar. Faction 186-7
Clare, Earl of,—why not made 153
Control attempted by .......... 145
Designing member of Co. .... 145
Warwick. Earl of ............... 153
Rich, Mr. Nathaniel. Argall-Smith
Faction,—member ............... 186-7
Banked to Ireland ............... 207
College estab,—member com. 163
Fortifications advised by ...... 174
Lord Treas. summons 266 (256)
Member Ar.-S. faction ......... 186-7
Nominated Director 265 (255)
Patriot Party member of Lords
179-0
Privy Council summons ......... 267 (257)
Summoned by Ld. Treas. .... 265 (256)

*Punctuation seems to make name doubtful.
Robins, George (Vintner). Member V. C. A. 12

Robinson, Arthur. Member V. C. A. 12

Robinson, Henry. Member V. C. A. 12

Robinson, Jehu. Member V. C. A. 11

Robinson, John. Member V. C. A. 12

Robinson, Mrs. Mary. Bequest by. Gifts to church of. Plate for church of. 171

Robinson, Robert. Member V. C. A. 12

Robinson and Emry. Killed. Smith charged with death of. 51

Rockdale (also Rocksdale). Hundred. Annexed to Henrico. 125

Rockdale Hundred. Hog and cattle ranges at. 125

Rockets. Indians terrified by. 67

Rockfish. Abundance in Bermas. 114

Rock-Hall. Whitaker's parsonage. 124

Rocksdale (see also "Rockdale"). Annexed to Henrico. 125

Rockdale Hundred. See "Rockdale Hundred."

Roe, Henry. Member V. C. A. 12


Member C for Va. 36, A 16

Member A r C. A. 10

Nominated Treas. 178

Tobacco monopoly granted. 198-9

Rogers, Edward. Member C. for for Va. 36-7

Rogers, Richard, Gent. Member V. C. A. 12

Rofe, Relation by, adds S. iv

Rofe, John. Argall takes home. 145-6

Argall's influence on. 157

Christianity taught Po. by. 136

King jealous of. 149

Marriage to Po.—effects. 130

Member Council. 158

Member C of S. A. 33

Pocahontas marries. 130

Pocahontas taken to Eng. by. 138

Pocahontas' romance with. 129-0

Powhatan sends skins to. 126

Powhatan visited by. 129

Recorder-General of Va. 146

Secretary of Va. 146

Secretaryship of Va. taken from. 157

Rolfe, Thomas. Daughter left by. 146

Educated in London. 148

Opechancanough to give coun-

try to. 159

Pilgrim left by. 148

Pocahontas' son. 148

Rolls. General use of. 229

Money raised by. 197, 198, 229

Provisions of 1st. 197

Provisions of 2nd. 197

Provisions of 3rd. 198

Provisions of 4th. 193

Subscribed in full. 197

Subscription, prepared. 300 (290)

Rolls for Subscriptions. Provisions of. 197

Rolls, Master of. See "Master of Rolls."

Rome, Church of. Superstitions of. 122

Romney, Captain. Member V. C. A. 10

Romney, Sir William. Member C. for Va. 36, A 16

Member V. C. A. 10

Roots. Needs used for. 59

Rookwood, Captain. Member V. C. A. 10

Roots. Colonists sent to live on. 15

Cultivation of. 331-321

Food in "Starving Time". 117

Food of Indians. 11, 87

Food seasoned with. 116

Indians send as present. 10

Rottenton, Battle of. Smith left for dead at. 110

Royal Government. Proprietors worse than. 339-329 (329-0)

Royal James (Ship). Copeland chaplain of. 204

Royal Prerogative. See "Preroga-

tive."

Ruggles, Mr. George. Characteristics of. 217

Educational bequest of. 216-7

Fellow of Clare Hall. 216-7

Runaways. Indians return to Jast. 93

Rushworth. Extracts from, on death of R. 155-6

Russel, James. Member V. C. A. 11

Russel, John (see also name below).

Arrives at Jast. 77

Member V. C. A. 12

Powhatan force defeated by. 88-9

Raid on P., joined by. 85

Trades at Pamunkey. 90

Woodman of ability. 79-0

Russel, Mr. John (see also name above).

Fights under S. 89

Plot discovered by. 91

Russel, Walter, Doctor of Physick (see also "Physicians").

Arrives. 62

Chesapeake Bay visited by. 62
Islands named after .......... 62-3
Smith cured by .............. 66
Russel, William (Merchant) (see also name below).
Member V. C. .................. A 11
Russel, Sir William (see also name above).

Canadldate for Treas ........ 230
Russel's Islands. Discovered 62
Origin of name ............... 62
Tangier Islands called ..... 63
Water scarce on .............. 63
Russia. Smith (ST) ambassador to. 42
Sack. Embezzled by Pres. of Col. 48
Sackville, Sir Edward. Absence of, makes ST. Gov. SIC. 339 (329)
Answer delvd. to P. C. by, 272 (262)
Appointed wait on Invest. Comrs. ........ 301 (291)
Argall-ST. Faction opposed by ........... 87
Auditing ST. accts. not pushed by .......... 275 (265)
Bruce duel with ......... 187
Contribution urged by. 300 (290)
Criticises Smith (T) ........ 274 (264)
Dorset, Earl of ............. 187
Duel with Bruce .......... 187
Friend to Va. throughout. 187
Johnson pet. heard of by. 280 (270)
Member Committee Extraordinary ........ 253
Opposes Argall-ST. Faction. 187
Papers referred to ........ 290 (280)
Petition made public by ........ 280-1 (270-1)
Privy Council attended by ...... 267 (257)
Protests .......... 267 (257)
Smith (T) accts. not pushed by ........ 275 (265)
Smith (T) criticised by .... 274 (264)
Tobacco officials paid by........ 253

Saco River. Sagahadock same as. 75
Sacrifice. Tobacco used as to Ind. gods .......... 19
Sadlers (individuals). Members V. C. .......... A, 12
Sadlers, the company of. Member V. C. .......... A, 14
Sagahadock River. Colonists arrive at .... 75
Saco or St. Juan River. .... 75
Sagamo, Indian commander. 34
Sailors (see also "Troops").
Breaks contracts to go to Va. . A, 29
To be sent ................ 234
St. Andrew's Church. Records at Quest-House next .... 301 (291)
St. Anthony. Burned by Drake. 15
St. Croix. Argall sent to .......... 132-3

Beverley tells of exped. to .......... 154
St. Helena. Burned by Drake ...... 15
St. John, John. Member V. C. A. .......... 18
St. John, Lord (of Basing). Arms given by ........ 253
Privy Council attended by A 267 (257)

St. John, Sir William, Knt. Member V. C. .......... A, 10
St. John's Harbour. Seized by Gilbert .......... 6, 7
St. Juan River (Arcadia). Sagahadock probably same ... 75
St. Philip (ship). Spanish vessel of Azores .......... 28
St. Paul's. Dean of, attends Q. C. .......... 280 (280)
Sackvillle, Sir Edward. Absence of, makes ST. Gov. SIC. 339 (329)
Answer delvd. to P. C. by, 272 (262)
Appointed wait on Invest. Comrs. ........ 301 (291)
Argall-ST. Faction opposed by ........... 87
Auditing ST. accts. not pushed by .......... 275 (265)
Bruce duel with ......... 187
Contribution urged by. 300 (290)
Criticises Smith (T) ........ 274 (264)
Dorset, Earl of ............. 187
Duel with Bruce .......... 187
Friend to Va. throughout. 187
Johnson pet. heard of by. 280 (270)
Member Committee Extraordinary ........ 253
Opposes Argall-ST. Faction. 187
Papers referred to ........ 290 (280)
Petition made public by ........ 280-1 (270-1)
Privy Council attended by ...... 267 (257)
Protests .......... 267 (257)
Smith (T) accts. not pushed by ........ 275 (265)
Smith (T) criticised by .... 274 (264)
Tobacco officials paid by........ 253
Salmon, Christopher. Member V. C. .......... A, 12
Salt. Commodity .......... 271 (261)
Manufacture,—poor Invest­ment .......... 281-2 (271-2)
Salter, Nicholas. Member V. C. .......... A, 11
Saltern, Robert. Pilot Bristol ex­ped. .......... 33
Salters (individuals). Members V. C. .......... A, 13
Salters, the company of. Member V. C. .......... A, 13
Salt-Pans. Poor investment .......... 281-2 (271-2)
Salt Works. Decay of .......... 177
Poor investment .......... 281-2 (271-2)
Sambourne, William. Member V. C. .......... A, 11
Sanderson, Mr. William. Aids R. in fitting exped. .......... 8
Commissioner for Span Prizes 8
Sands, see "Sandys.")
Sandys. Sir Edwin, Knt. Accounts approved .......... 177
Accused by Wrote .......... 262 (252)
Acquittance sued for .......... 290 (280)
Administration of .......... vi
Administration commended ....... 268-9 (258-9)
Admonishes Co. on manage­ment .......... 163-7
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Answers Wrote .......................... 256
Apprentices proposed by .................. 165-6
Argall not offended by .................... 165
Articles of Instruction of .................. 194
Argall-ST. Faction opposed by ............. 187
Auditors approve Accts. .................... 177
Audit ST. accts. 274-5 (264-5)
Bequests paid to ........................... 172
Bishop of Litchfield confers with .......... 162-3
Book to be published by .................... 175
Boys and girls proposed by 185-6
Character of ................................ 159
College considered in conference .......... 162-3
College lands arranged for ................ 163
College recommended by .................... 163
Commended on administration ............... 265-9 (258-9)
Company admonished by ................... 163-7
Company gets suggestions from .......... 163
Codification laws due to .................... 163
Conditions bettered by ..................... 160
Conditions,—opinion on ................... 270-1 (260-1)
Contract drawn by .......................... 249
Contract grievance of 337 (327)
Credit (much) due ........................... 338 (328)
Critiques ST. accts. 275-6 (265-6)
Director ..................................... 253
Director,—resignation 263 (253)
Director,—resignation withdrawn .......... 265 (255)
Education of Inds. ......................... 216
Educational bequests recounted .......... 215
“Faithful Treasurer” ......................... 171
Fidelity of ................................... 171
Fishing rights not given ..................... 185
General As. Records inaccurate .......... 160
Gift to ....................................... 171
Gratitude to ................................. 338 (328)
Grievance on Cont. 337 (327)
Imprisoned ................................... 206
Improvement due to ......................... 161
Ingram consulted by ......................... 244
Land granted ................................ 281
Lands for college arranged for .......... 163
Last service of .............................. 338 (328)
Laws codified by ............................ 162
Laws,—“Edwin Sandys Laws” .............. 255
Privy C. to be answered by ................ 272 (262)
Recommends college to Co. ................ 163
Records mention ............................ 266 VI
Reprimanded ................................. 269 (260)
Resignation as Director ...................... 263 (253)
Resignation withdrawn ....................... 265 (255)
Richard, son, member V. C. A 11
Servants proposed by ....................... 165-6
Service (last) of ............................ 338 (328)
Signs for Treas. ............................. 181
Silk treatise suggested ....................... 183
Slanders to be refuted by ................... 175
Smith accts. to be audited by 274-5 (264-5)
Smith treatises mentioned by ............... 217
Smith (T) accts. criticised by 275-6 (265-6)
Smith (T) pension moved by 159
Subscribes liberally ........................ 198
Suggestions acted on ........................ 167, 183
Suggestions for good of Co. ................ 184
Summoned by Lord H. Treas. 265-6 (255-6)
Summoned by P. C. 267 (257)
Tax proposal communicated by ............... 245
Task too great for ........................... 162
Tenants proposed by ......................... 165
Term expires ................................. 176-7
Tobacco advice to ........................... 169
Tobacco contract drawn by 249
Tobacco offers. selected by ................. 250
Tobacco tax ................................. 245
Tobacco tax incr. suggested 244
Tobacco to happy issue ....................... 338 (328)
Tobacco treatise reward ........................ 193
Treasurer ..................................... 158-9
Treasurer,—“faithful,” ....................... 171
Treasurer,—renews ......................... 176-7
Treasurer,—retires ........................... 176-8
Treasurer,—temporary ....................... 180
Treatises by S. mention ...................... 217
Treatise on silk suggested by ............... 183
Wronged greatly ............................. 159
Wrote accusations against .................. 262 (252)
Wrote answered .............................. 256
Wrote motives questioned by ................. 260-1 (250-1)
Sandys, Mr. Geo., Gent. Declaration of G. A. signed by 317 (307)
Dedicates book to Chas I. by 314 (304)
Lands allotted to ............................ 190
Member V. C. ................................ 12
Member C. of S. .............................. 32
Ovid translated by 313-4 (303-4)
Treasurer ..................................... 190; A 33

Lord Treas. summons 265-6 (255-6)
Member C. for Va. ................................ 36; A 16
Member V. C. .................................. A 10 and n
Mentioned in Records ........................ vi
Opposed Ar.-Smith (T) Faction .............. 187
Privy C. summons 267 (257)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Henry, Esqr.</td>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Sir Michael, Knt.</td>
<td>Member C. for Va.</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Richard, Esqr. (son of Sir Edwin)</td>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Sir Samuel, C.</td>
<td>Opposes Smith (T) - Ag. Faction</td>
<td>A 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, Sir Michael, Knt.</td>
<td>Member C. for Va.</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys's Laws.</td>
<td>Laws of Sandys</td>
<td>called</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarapinaugh, Indians of East Shore</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasawpen. Opitchapan changes name to</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sassafras, Commodity of value.</td>
<td>281 (271), 285 (285)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export in 1619</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food seasoned with</td>
<td>14, 164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina Coast has</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sassafras River.</td>
<td>Discovered by S. 67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savage, Thomas (boy).</td>
<td>Escape attempted by</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport given, to P.</td>
<td>59, 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan given, by N.</td>
<td>59, 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan recognizes Smith</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savot. Smith escapes to</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savoy, Duke of</td>
<td>—ship under colors of</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Mills. Erected</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Investment. 281-2</td>
<td>281-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scaffolds. Fortifications made of 67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarlet Cloak. Powhatan presented with</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoure, John, Gent.</td>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars at College. Provided for</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools (see also “Education,” “Religion,” etc.</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles City,—to be built</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-racial, provided for</td>
<td>214-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free, to be built</td>
<td>214-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed, provided for</td>
<td>214-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be at Charles City</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scot, George, Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scot, Sir John, Knt.</td>
<td>Member C. for Va.</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member C.</td>
<td>A 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scot, Thomas, Gent.</td>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch Parliament.</td>
<td>Beverley comments on</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgesses (H) like</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland. James IV of, succeeds Eliz.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>1, 8, 22, 23, 32, 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith goes to</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Gentlemen. Smith aided by</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrivener, Mr. Matthew, Gent.</td>
<td>Abuses resisted by</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives</td>
<td>57-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church repaired by</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn planted by</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drowned</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estranged from S.</td>
<td>84, 92-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explores Manakin country</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortifications erected</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hog Island visit given up</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamestown,—improvements at, by</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamestown left in charge of</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamestown reformed by</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management of, good</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manakins explored by</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nansamonds,—effect to trade with Newport met by, at Point Comfort</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposes raid by S.</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan visited by</td>
<td>57-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reforms things at last</td>
<td>54, 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship-mates of Smith</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplies sought by</td>
<td>83-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-President</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scriveners, the Company of.</td>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delawarr has</td>
<td>120-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seabright, William, Esqr.</td>
<td>Member C.</td>
<td>A 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal, Common, see “Common Seal”. Seal (of Council). Instructions under</td>
<td>A 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seals (see also “Great Seal of Eng.,” “Lesser Seal of Eng”)</td>
<td>A 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws of G. A. to pass under</td>
<td>A 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seals of the Colonies. Description of</td>
<td>A 3-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamer, Thomas, Esquire.</td>
<td>Member C. for a.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Seasoning,” Acclimation of colonists</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sea Vulture” (ship). Founders in Berms.</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gates, etc. sail in</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wreckage of, used</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secobeck. Town on Rappahanock River</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Charter (see also “Charters”).</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants (additional) of, from London</td>
<td>A 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantees of</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power of C. in Va. abrogated</td>
<td>A 9-14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Colonists eager for \ldots\ldots\ldots 183
Commissioners' authority over \ldots\ldots\ldots 327-8 (317-8)

Disobedience punished \ldots\ldots\ldots 332 (322)
Dissolute ones sent as \ldots\ldots\ldots 167
East India School gets \ldots\ldots\ldots 204
Encouraged \ldots\ldots\ldots 183
Exemption of \ldots\ldots\ldots 330 (320)
Few sent by Y. \ldots\ldots\ldots 204
King forces shipping of \ldots\ldots\ldots 167
Land allotted to \ldots\ldots\ldots 204
Lands tenanted \ldots\ldots\ldots 164
Maids sent not to marry \ldots\ldots\ldots 197
Marriage of \ldots\ldots\ldots 137
Providing for, expensive \ldots\ldots\ldots 191
Punishment for disobedience \ldots\ldots\ldots 332 (322)
Sending of, provided \ldots\ldots\ldots 242
Yeardley gives use of his \ldots\ldots\ldots 242
Yeardley sends few \ldots\ldots\ldots 204

Services (Religious). Church of \ldots\ldots\ldots 27
Service to Colony. Planters discharged from \ldots\ldots\ldots 157
Settlers, see "Colonists".

Seyer, Thomas, Gent. Member V. C. \ldots\ldots\ldots 292 (282)
Shakespear. Southampton patron of \ldots\ldots\ldots 179
Shallops (see also "Vessels"). Built in colony \ldots\ldots\ldots 312 (302)
Shares (see also below and "Great Shares").

Assessed for relief of colony \ldots\ldots\ldots 300 (290)
Martin demands \ldots\ldots\ldots 225
Size of \ldots\ldots\ldots 172
Smith (T) and W. sell \ldots\ldots\ldots 225
Shares of Old Adventure (see also above and "Great Shares").

Adventures of Purse basis of \ldots\ldots\ldots 139-0

Altered \ldots\ldots\ldots 139
Carter claims for \ldots\ldots\ldots 225
Great Shares same as \ldots\ldots\ldots 139
Limited \ldots\ldots\ldots 139-0
Martin claims for \ldots\ldots\ldots 225
Merit basis of \ldots\ldots\ldots 139-0
Owners restricted.302-3 (292-3)
Provisions for \ldots\ldots\ldots 225
Purpose of \ldots\ldots\ldots 139
Tenanted \ldots\ldots\ldots 302-3 (292-3)

Sharpe, William. Member V. C. \ldots\ldots\ldots A 13
Sharples, Edward. Bribed. 325 (315)
Clerk of C. ......... 325 (315)
Pilloried .......... 325 (315)
Sheep. Indians destroy... 116
Jamestown,—left at .... 107
Sheffield, Lord. Auditors reported on by .......... 180
Martin certificate criticized by ........... 220
Member C. for Va. .......... A 16
Member V. C. .......... A 9
Opposed Argall-Smith Faction ........... 187
Shelley, Henry. Member V. C. A 13
Shells. Used as money ....... 82
Shelton, Captain. Member V. C. A 10
Shelton, James. Member V. C. A 13
Shepherd, Matthew (grocer). Member V. C. A 13
Shepherd, Richard. Preacher. Member V. C. A 12
Shelley's (T) defended by .......... 274 (264)
"Shipbuilding," First on James River ........... 77
Shipley, Hugh. Gent. Member V. C. .......... A 13
Shipton, Thomas (see also name below). Member V. C. A 11
Shipton, Thomas (see also name above). Member V. C. A 12
Ships (see also "Vessels").
Arrival noted at Hog Island. 97
Ashore .......... 105
Fish for .......... 9
Forfeiture of .......... A 12
James River,—those in (1621) 282 (272)
Jamestown,—left at .... 107
Jamestown left by and improvement .. 83
Rats come from .......... 97
Smith sends for masters of .......... 106
Transportation of, authorized .......... 296 (286)
A 18-9
Shipwrights. Master, and others sent .......... 229
Shirley Hundred. Annexed to Henrico .......... 125
Colonists gathered at .......... 235
Ruins of .......... 316 (306)
Town under S. T. .......... 316 (306)
Shirts. Indian presented with .......... 9
Used for sails .......... 63
Shoemakers (Individuals). Members V. C. A 12
Shoes. Powhatan gives to N .......... 79
Powhatan makes his .......... 55
Shot. Newport steals .......... 81
Stolen .......... 81, 89
Transportation of, authorized
A, 18-9, 28
Siberia. Smith travels through...... 111
Virginia likened to .......... 168
Sicilian Sycophant. Sword not fall on .......... 311 (301)
Sicy, Climate of, same as Va. .......... 81-2
Gold and silver in .......... 62
Sickness. Jamestown .......... 47-8
Violent and causes .......... 47-8
Sick Ones. Food for, gathered. .......... 98
Smith gives his allowance to. .......... 98
Sicklemore, Capt. John, alias Ratcliffe. Member V. C. A 11
Ratcliffe's real name .......... 63, 102; A. 11
Sicklemore, Michael. Raleigh's
cols. sought by .......... 55
Search of, futile .......... 99
Silkgrass sought by .......... 55
to which R. bill committed. .......... 11-2
King uses .......... 36
Silk. Apparel, worn only by certain ones .......... 194
Company to pay in .......... 188
Culture of, encouraged ........... 183, 195, 218, 222
Poor investment. 281-2 (271-2)
Produced by Nature .......... 177
Sandys interested in .......... 188
Treatise on, suggested .......... 188
Silkgrass. Company to pay in .......... 183
Culture of, ordered .......... 177
Manufacture,—directions for. .......... 177
Sicklemore gets none .......... 99
Sicklemore sent for .......... 85
Targets made of .......... 70
Silkworms. Culture of, attempted. 183
Culture of, encouraged. 177, 183
Destroyed .......... 296 (286)
Silkworm Seed. France source of .......... 188
King gives .......... 177
Mulberries destroy .......... 296 (286)
Silver. Lack of, disappoints C. for Va. .......... 81, 82
Mining of, authorized A, 4, 18
Proportion, granted .......... A 21
Singlesby, Captain. Member V. C. A 10
Singleton, Robert. Member V. C. A 11
Six Nations. Massawomecks part of .......... 67
Skico. Plot disclosed by .......... 15
Prisoner .......... 15
Skinner, the Company of. Member V. C. .......... A 12
Skins. Argall forbids others to trade for. .......... 159
Argall to be seized .......... 159
Bear, for clothes .......... 88
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Clothes of bear .......... 68
Fish traded for .......... 99
Indians trade for .......... 198
Mantles of .......... 68
Painted bear, given S. .......... 58
Powhatan’s robe of .......... 58
Traded for fish .......... 99
Tribute of .......... 54
Wolf .......... 68

Slender of Colony. Referred to. A 29
Slavery (see also “Negroes,” “Slaves”).
Colonists held in .......... 226
Egyptian not as bad as in Va. ........ 321-2 (311-2)
Newport gives boy to P. .......... 59
Penalty for not going to church .......... 148
Penalty for more ammunition .......... 148
Penalty for violating price of tob. .......... 147
Tobacco-price violation punished by .......... 147

Slaves (see also “Negroes,” “Slavery”).
Captured by “Treasurer”. .153-4
Dutch ship brings .......... 182
Egyptian, worse off .......... 321-2 (311-2)
Warwick lands tenanted with .......... 154

Smith, Mr. (see also “Smith, Capt. John”).
Fishing rights to be secured by .......... 185
History of colony proposed by .......... 191
Suggestions of, persuade S. to write his History until .......... 192

Smith, Cleophas. Member V. C. A 11

Smith, D. P. Stith’s History criticized by, N. B. vi

Smith, Edmond. Member V. C. A 12

Smith, Ezekiel. Member V. C. A 14

Smith, Captain John (see also names below and “Smith’s History,” “Smith, Mr.”)
Abandonment of colony prevented by .......... 50
Accomacks treat, well .......... 62
Accuracy of, questioned .......... 57, 82
Accused falsely .......... 47
Accused under Levitical Law .......... 56
Accusers sent to Eng. by .......... 66
Addresses cols. on consds. .......... 94
Addresses O. .......... 91, 91-2
Admiral of New Eng. .......... 137
Admitted in C. .......... 47
Age of .......... 110
Aid sent M. by .......... 104
Aims of .......... 108

Ambushed .......... 74
Ambushed by Rappahannocks. .......... 69, 70
Answer to P. .......... 88
Appamattocks discovered .......... 84
Appeased Inds. .......... 106
Arms (heraldic) of .......... 109-0
Arms,—sale of .......... 98
Attacked by West .......... 105
Attitude of Scrivener to .......... 92-3
Authority of, suspicious. .......... 141-2
Barret,—error as to .......... 229
Betrayal of, attempted .......... 65
Betrayed to Inds. .......... 98
Birth of .......... 108
Building by .......... 60
Building Jast, begun by .......... 48
Capahowstick to belong to .......... 56
Cape Henry,—arrives at .......... 62
Captured by, O. .......... 51-3
Captured by French .......... 137
Captures “two most exquisite villains”, .......... 95
Cedar loaded on ship by .......... 62
Character of .......... 108, 111-2
Chart made by .......... 136
Chesapeake Bay explored by .......... 62
Chesapeake,—returns to .......... 66
Chesapeake River explored by .......... 74
Chickahominy discovered by .......... 49
Chickahominy explored by .......... 50
Chickahominy give corn .......... 80
Church repaired by .......... 60
Colonists addressed on consds. .......... 94
Colonists cheered by .......... 56
Colonists sent,—report on.203-4
Colonists warned against stealing .......... 98
Colonists worked by .......... 70
Colony saved by care of .......... 48
Command of, sole .......... 94
Commends Spanish .......... 233
Commends ST .......... 340 (330)
Commission of, permitted stolen .......... 107
Commissioners,—error as to .......... 307 (297)
Company not get offer of ........ 234-5
Company offered services of .......... 234
Company opposed .......... 340 (330)
Company petitioned by .......... 192
Company’s dissolution erroneously explained by .......... lv-v
Complaints to, as to West .......... 105
Conditions explained to C. in Eng. .......... 82-3
Confinement for .......... 50-1
Conquers Mannanocks .......... 72
Conspiracy apprehended .......... 95
Conspirators reveal plot to .......... 99-0
Corn carried to Jast. .......... 59
Corn,—cost of .......... 242
Corn from Cks. .......... 80
Corn planted by .......... 60
Food provided for .......... 83
Food tasted by messengers first .......... 90
French capture .......... 137
German on ship mutiny .......... 95
Gold-fever warned agst .......... 60
Government assumed by .......... 66
Governor devolves on .......... 97
Governor condemns .......... 107
Hatchets to be made for Po .......... 55
Heraldic arms,—source of .......... 109-0
History commends ST.340 (330)
History of, criticised by Stith iii, iv
History of Va,—why written .......... 192
Hostile to Co. .......... 340 (330)
House for P. built .......... 84-5
Imprisoned by ship-mates .......... 44
Imprisons mutineers .......... 104
Indians active in absence of .......... 116
Indians admire .......... 68
Indians appealed by .......... 106
Indians ask, for rain .......... 99
Indians,—betrayed to .......... 90
Indians bring presents to .......... 56-7, 59
Indians complain of West .......... 105
Indians disciplined by .......... 61, 74
Indians,—effect departure of, on .......... 123
Indian expend,—desire to join .......... 69
Indians esteem greatly .......... 57
Indians fear .......... 87
Indians fight with .......... 92
Indians give, trouble .......... 49
Injured by explosion .......... 106
Indians not to be won by kindness .......... 233
Indians receive, kindly .......... 50
Indians taught use firearms by .......... 142
Indians terrified by .......... 96-7
Indians,—to make war on .......... 234
Indians trained to shoot by Y .......... 141
Indians treat, well .......... 62
Indians discovered by .......... 62
James R., explored by .......... 46, 49
James R,—voyage up .......... 84
Jamestown attack prevented by .......... 52-3
Jamestown building begun .......... 48
Jamestown,—food carried to .......... 94
Jamestown,—left at .......... 79
Jamestown,—neglect at .......... 94
Jamestown,—Po. visits at .......... 123
Jamestown rebuilt by .......... 60
Jamestown reformed .......... 82
Jamestown,—returns to .......... 59, 66, 74, 106
Jamestown,—S. sent to .......... 55-6
Journey of .......... 74
Killing of, attempted .......... 92
Labourer, as others .......... 80
Levittican Law used agst .......... 56

Corn promised .......... 84
Corn secured .......... 54, 87
Corn secured with copper .......... 84
Criticised on treatment Inds .......... 107
Cotton asks Relation of .......... 108
Council envies .......... 57
Council forbids, to go agst.
Inds .......... 69
Damages agst., he gives col-
ony .......... 47
Dead,—supposedly .......... 110
Death of, prepared for .......... 55
Declines risk volunteers .......... 100
Denies P. requests .......... 88
Departure,—effect on Inds .......... 128
Departure lamented .......... 116
Desertions prevented by .......... 49
Discovers by .......... 62-4
Discovers Appamatocks .......... 84
Discovers islands .......... 62
Discovers Patowmack R. .......... 64-5
Discipline increases food .......... 98
Disciplines Inds .......... 61, 74
Disputes with M .......... 62
Dissatisfaction with .......... 64
Drowning reported to .......... 93
Eastern Shore explored .......... 62
Embaroks for Va. .......... 111
Encourages men .......... 91
England,—prepares to go to, 142
England,—to get treatment in .......... 106-7
Entertained at Pamunkey .......... 90
Entertained by P .......... 67-8
Entertained by Ps .......... 78
Error as to Barret .......... 229
Error as to Commers. 307 (297)
Error as to Y. conduct 236-7, 242
Escapes death .......... 52
Escape in bark prevented by .......... 56
Expedition to Mangoags. .......... 35
Explores Chesapeake Bay .......... 62
Explores Chesapeake Riv. .......... 74
Explores Chickahominy .......... 50
Explores Eastern Shores .......... 62
Explores James R. .......... 46, 84
Explores James R. to Kic-
quotan .......... 49
Explores Manakins .......... 60-1
Explores Rappahannock .......... 69
Explosion injures .......... 106
Extra food for sick .......... 99
Falsely accused .......... 47
Falls,—Smith goes to .......... 104
Falls,—West sent to .......... 104
"Father."—Po. calls .......... 143
Feared more than P .......... 100
Firearms' use taught Inds. by .......... 141-2
Food carried to Jast .......... 94
Food increased by .......... 98
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Member V. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Member C. in Va.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Messengers taste food first.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Miracle performed by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>Misrepresentation of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Murder of, plotted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Neglect found at Jast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>New England named by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58-9</td>
<td>Newport estranged from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77-8</td>
<td>Newport opposed by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Newport punishment remitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>No work, no food’ policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234-5</td>
<td>Offer of, not get to Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Okaing addresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-1, 91-2</td>
<td>Opechancanough adressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-3</td>
<td>Opechancanough captured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Opechancanough liberated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Opechancanough tries to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Opposed for C. in Va.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77-8</td>
<td>Orders perplex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Ore sent to King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Organization by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Pamunkey,—entertainment at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-0</td>
<td>Pamunkey,—trade at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Pashahey, King of, assaults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Pashahey, King of, defeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Pashahey, King of,—friend to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Passed issued by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-5</td>
<td>Patowmack discovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Peace with Rappahanocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Petitions Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142-3</td>
<td>Petitions Court for Po.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102-3</td>
<td>Plots agst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Plot of P. agst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 89-0</td>
<td>Plot revealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99-0</td>
<td>Plot to murder, fails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Poisoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66, 92-4</td>
<td>Pocahontas entertains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Pocahontas gets prisoners from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Pocahontas visits Jast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89-0</td>
<td>Pocahontas warns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Powhatan answered by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-6</td>
<td>Powhatan asked for provs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88-9</td>
<td>Powhatan attacked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Powhatan elevates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-8</td>
<td>Powhatan entertains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Powhatan gets presents from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-5</td>
<td>Powhatan house built by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Powhatan invited by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Powhatan invites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Powhatan’s men to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Powhatan not feared as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104-5</td>
<td>“Powhatan,—offer of, to purchase”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 89-0</td>
<td>Powhatan plots agst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Powhatan receives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Powhatan refused swords by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-3</td>
<td>Powhatan,—S. taken to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Powhatan,—S. tries to trap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-5</td>
<td>Powhatan to be raided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Prevents escape in bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Prisoners given Po. by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Provisions of col. taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-6</td>
<td>Provisions sought by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Punishment remitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104-5</td>
<td>Purchase “P” sought by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38-4</td>
<td>Raid on P. planned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Rain asked from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69, 70</td>
<td>Rappahanocks ambush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Rappahanock explored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Rappahanocks,—peace with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Ratcliffe sent home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Rebukey by Po.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Reception by P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Reforms Jast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Relation of, requested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Relation sent to King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Remits punishment N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Repairing by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-7</td>
<td>Resolves to go home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Results of, good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103-4</td>
<td>Results to leave, but remains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92-3</td>
<td>Scrivener changes attitude to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Services offered Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Scrivener estranged from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ship loaded by ........................................... 62
Sick allowed extra ........................................ 99
Sicklemore sent home ........................................ 83
Slouthful to sell arms ......................................... 98
Smith (T) commended by ..................................... 340 (330)
Soldier of Fortune ........................................... 112
Solo command in .............................................. 94
Spaniards commended by .................................... 233
Spaniards thought coming .................................... 102
Statement improbable ........................................ 242
Stealing of comm. permitted ................................. 107
Stealing warned agst .......................................... 93
Stith criticises and comments ill. iv
Stith criticises his acct. Ar.
government iv
Stith uses materials of ....................................... iv
Storehouse repaired by ....................................... 60
Successes do not help ......................................... 80-1
Superhuman powers of ....................................... 96-7
Supplies left by .............................................. 107
Surrender of comm. refused by .............................. 107
Suspensions on statement of ................................ 141-2
Susquesahanocks make offer to ................................ 68-9
Swords refused P. by ......................................... 32
Trades at Pamunkey ............................................ 90-1
Travels of ........................................................ 108-9
Terms for sale "Powhatan" .................................... 105
Tomocomo called Uttamoccomack by ....................... 143
Treatment of Inds. criticises ............................... 100
Treaty with Inds. .............................................. 72-3
Turkish combat of ............................................. 109-0
Uttamoccomack, name for Tomocomo by .................. 143
Visits Po. in London .......................................... 143
Voyage to northern coast .................................... 136
Warned agst. P. ............................................... 85
Warned by Po ................................................... 89-0
Warns agst. gold-iver ........................................ 60
Warns cols. agst. stealing ..................................... 98
Warns N. agst. P ................................................ 58-9
Warrasqueakes discovered by ............................... 49
Water needed by .............................................. 63
Werowance ........................................................ 88
Werowocomoco,—negotiations at ............................ 88-96
Werowocomoco reached ....................................... 85
West followed to Falls ....................................... 134
West left at Nonesuch ......................................... 106
West party attacks .......................................... 105
West sent to Falls ............................................. 104
Works as labourer ............................................. 80
Wounds to be treated in Eng ................................ 106-7
Wyfflin tells, of drowning ................................... 93
Wynn's death,—effect on ..................................... 97
Yeardeley misrepresented by ................................ 236-7, 242
Yeardeley story ................................................. 236-7
Yeardeley taught Inds. to shoot ............................ 141

Smith, Mr. John (see also above and below).

Dale corroborated by ........................................ 297 (287)
Member Committee Extraordinary ................................ 256

Smith, Sir John, Knt. (see also names above).

Member V. C. ..................................................... A 10

Smith, Othowell, Member V. C. A 11

Smith, Richard. Member V. C. A 12

Smith, Mr. Robert (see also name below).

Contract discussed by ........................................ 252
Member Committee Extraordinary ................................ 253

Smith, Capt. Roger, Esqr. Declaration by G. A. signed by. 317 (307)
Member C. in Va .............................................. 193
Member C. of S ............................................... A 33

Smith, Samuel. Member V. C. A 13

Smith (T)—Argall Faction. Members of ........................ 186-7

Opposition to .................................................... 187

Smith, Sir Thomas, Knt. Accounts badly kept ................ 175
Account cause dissol. of Co. ................................. 186
Accounts criticised ........................................... 275-6 (265-6)
Accounts never audited ........................................ 276 (265)
Accounts to be audited ....................................... 274-5 (264-5)
Accounts to be examined .................................... 277 (267)
Accounts to be reported on .................................. 277 (267)
Accounts urged agst ......................................... 303 (293)
Accounts unsettled ............................................ 274 (264)
Administration commended .................................. 232
Administration,—comparison of ............................ 281 (271)
Administration, foundation of Johnson pet. .............. 293 (283)
Affairs directed by 12 years .................................. 312 (302)

Allegations of, as to Va ..................................... 314 (304)
Ambassador to Russia .......................................... 42
Amount handled by ............................................ 186
Answer to prayers of .......................................... 316-7 (395-7)

Argall and, retard Va ........................................ 186
Argall kinsman of ............................................. 100, 145
Argall troubles and .......................................... 150
Argall written to by .......................................... 150-1
Auditing accts. asked by ..................................... 275 (265)
Authority exceeded by ........................................ 220-1

Bad government by, why G. A. granted ...................... 182
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Berblock reads letter of 297 (287)

Blamed wrongly 297 (287)

Books,—condition of 159-0, 186

Brewster appeals to 158

Cavendish succeeded by 187

Clerk of P. C 36

Colonists pet. not to have again 232 (313)

Colonists wish to see, boiled 315-6 (305-6)

Colonel hears allegations of 314 (304)

Colonel retarded by 186

Colonel triumphed over by 329 (329)

Commission by Johnson 317 (307)

Commissioned for 252

Commissioned by S. History 340 (330)

Commissioner of Navy 158

Commissioners to report on accts 277 (267)

Company triumphed over by 339 (329)

Company urges against accts of 303 (293)

Company’s dissolution as accts of 186

Conditions, accts. of 159-0, 186

Conditions left by 159-0, 312 (302)

Conditions reported on by G. A 315-7 (305-7)

Conditions since time of 222

Conditions told by letter of 293 (283)

Conditions Treas. under 159-0, 186, 316 (306)

Conditions under 159-0, 186, 312 (302), 315-7 (305-7)

Corrupt 67

Cruelty charges against 47-8

Cruelty of 322 (312)

Curses breathed on 316 (306)

Dale writes, as to Va 222

Dale written to 297 (287)

Debt left discharged 281 (271)

“Declaration etc., Term of Government” 311 (301)

Defends record 274 (264)

Delawarr death frustrates 154

Director Magazine 171

Disbursements by 311-2 (301-2)

Dissolution Co. as accts. of bad 186

Dixon and Berry grant 226

“Edwin Sandys Laws” 255

Election of, regular 339 (329)

Error of, as to Treas 159-9

Form of, used in 1624, 328 (318)

Fraudulent grants by 219

General A. report on lands under 315-7 (305-7)

General Assembly, result of bad government by 182

Government by, bad, so G. A. granted 182

Governor East India Co. 158

Governor East Indies 42

Governor S. I. C. again 339 (329)

Governor,—successes as 211-2 (301-2)

Grants (fraudulent) by 219

Grant to Dixon and Berry 226

Henchen only at meetings of 329 (329)

Henrico,—how left 321 (311)

Hundred named after 172

Ill reput. of 178

Integrity unquestioned 121

Jamestown,—consequences of 159-0, 312 (302), 316 (306)

Jamestown errors not due to 116

Johnson commends 317 (307)

Johnson’s petition based on admr. of 293 (283)

King nominates for Treas. 178

Laws dedicated to 293 (283)

Laws sent by 122, 152-3

Letter of, tells conditions 293 (283)

Letter of to Ar. severe 150-1

Letter to Dale 279 (269)

Magazine Director 171

Management bad 175, 178

Martial Law sent by 153

Martin certifies, signed by 220-1

Martin gets fraud, grant under 219

Martin’s house at of 222

Meetings at house, only Humphry 329 (329)

Member C. for Va. 36; A. 16

Member V. C. 9

Misrepresented as to tobacco 198-9

Negligent 57

Pension for 159

Pocahontas sole convert under 295 (285)

Praises of, answered 315-7 (305-7)

Privy Council meet at house of 329 (329)

Privy Council summons 267 (257)

Ralegh assigns to 25-6

Refuses accts. of Treas. 228

Resigns as Treas. 158

Result administration of 299 (289)

Roe’s friend 179

Sackville asks auditing accts. 275 (265)

Sackville reproved by 274 (264)

Sandys asks pension for 159

Sandys associated with 159

Sandys criticises accts 275-6 (265-6)

Signature of a surprise 222

Slavery under, to freedom 224 (314)

Smith depends on 14
Smith's friend .................. 57
Smith's History commends ..... 340 (330)
Somers Is. Co.—Gov. again. .. 239 (329)
Somers Is. Co. official ........ 187
Suggestion as to Ar. troubles. 150
Summoned by P. C. ........... 287 (257)
Term as Treas ................. 186
Tobacco culture by .. .......... 232
Tobacco misrepresentations agst. 198-9
Towns under .................. 316 (306)
Treasurer,—Powers ........... A 16
Treasurer,—successes as ....... 311-2 (301-2)
Treasurer S. I. C ............. 127
Treasurer Va. .................. 42
Treasurer's term of .......... 186
Treasury act. refused by .. .. 228
Treasurership resigned by ..... 158
Treasurership under ......... 159-0, 186, 316 (306)
Treatise on Va. mentioned by. 217
Triumphs over Co. and col. .. 329 (329)
Warwick tries to depose .......... 168
Smithies, William. Colonist at Jast .................. 46
Smithfield. Origin of name..... 76
Smiths (Individuals). Members V. C ...... A 13
Smith's History (see also "Smith, Capt. John")
Accuracy of, questioned .... iv, 57, 301 (291)
Commended and criticised ... 311-3 (301-3)
Criticized as to Ar. acts .... iv
Error cf. as to Commrs. ...... 201 (291)
Smith (T) commended by .... 340 (330)
Stith draws on materials ..... iv
Smith's Hundred. Bequest divided with ... 215
Charity committed to manag. of .... 172
Location of .................. 172
Origin of name ............... 172
Southampton Hundred later on ... 172
Smith's Islands. Discovered .. 62
Origin of name ............... 62
Snakes. Food made from . . . 315 (306)
Snead, Thomas. Member V. C. A 12
Soame, Sir Stephen, Knt. Mem­ber V. C. ................. A 9
Soane, Joseph. Member V. C. A 12
Soap Ashes. Colonist make, un­der S. .......... 79
Germans and Poles to make .... 77
Manufacture ................. 77, 79, 82, 97, 157, 177
Poles and Germans to make . . 77
Quality ........................ 97
Trial made ........................ 97
Trials sent home .............. 82
Socage, see "Free and Common Socage"
Soldiers (see also "Troops")
Appointment of, provided for. 42
Break contracts to go to Va. ... A 29
Jamestown,—left at .......... 107
Sending of, provided ...... 234
To be sent ........................ 234
Solicitor. Tobacco dealings under. 251-2
Solicitor-General. Member C. for Va. .................. 36
Solomon of England. James called 185, 239 (329)
Somers, Sir George, Knt. Ad­miral ................................101
Associates to be First Col. . . A 2
Authority to colonize, .......... A 4
Age of .......................... 119
Body of, carried to Eng. ...... 119, 227
Colonists embarked by .......... 117
Colonists start with .......... 102, 113
Colonization powers to ....... A 4-5
Cross erected over .......... 119
Dies, exhorting crew to go to Va. . . . . 118-9, 227-3
Exploits of, to be recorded. .. 191
First Colony of, and others. .. 35-6, A 2-3
Food sought by ................. 114, 118-9, 227-3
Founders on Berms. ........... 102, 113
Free and common socage un­der .........................................A 7
Grants to, reconciled .......... A 8
Heir of .......................... 227-8
Invasion to be repelled by. .. A 5
Martin Solicitor of ........... 254
Member V. C. ................. 35; A 1, 10
Memorial erected over .......... 119
Necessaries for .......... 4-5, 5
Powers granted ............... A 2-8
Services (eminent) In Berms. 115
Supplies sought by .......... 118-9
Tenure under ................. A 7
Transportation necessaries ... A 4-5, 6
Somers, Capt. Matthew. Bailie
Solictor of ..................... 255
Body of uncle taken home by. 227
Instructions disregarded by. . 119
King's Bench holds .......... 227
Petition of, as heir .......... 227-8
Prisoner in King's Bench. . . . 227-8
Somers I, C. replies to ....... 228
Somers Islands (see also "Somers Islands Co.")
Ambergrease found on .......... 119
Answer of, to Ld. H. Treas. ... 214-9
Colonists left on .............. 119, 127
Conditions on 127
Description of 119-0
Governor 127
Governor (in Eng.) 127
Governor (in islands) 127
Grant offered 243
Humble Pet. presented
King 276-7 (266-7)
Imports from, increased 200
Imports, from, limited 198, 200
King receives Humble Pet. of
276-7 (266-7)
Massacre's effect on tob. supply
of 323 (313)
More Governor 127
More sent to settle 127
Officers' evidence considered
323 (313)
Origin of name 119
Rich tries to control 145
Smith (T) Gov. in Eng. 127
Sold 119
Tobacco imports, from, increased 200
Tobacco imports, from, limited 198, 200
Tobacco monopoly on tob. acct. Massacre 323 (313)
Tobacco of, taxed 169
Tobacco proposals sent to 245
Tobacco tax replied to by 246-9
Treasurer (in Eng.) 127
Vindication of 280-7 (270-7)

Somers Islands Company (see also "Somers Islands").
Answer of, to Somers 228
Bermudas sold to 127
Cavendish head of 187
Cavendish vindicates 280-7 (270-7)
Courts of, suppressed 339 (329)
Declarations of, recommended 302 (292)
Governor (in Eng.) 127
Governor (in islands) 127
Governor of 339 (329)
Majority of, agst. ST. 339 (329)
More Gov. in islands 127
Privy Council summons 267 (257)
Quarter Court summons 260 (250)
Rich tries to control 145
Scandals agst. — why 288-0 (278-0)
Secretary of v
Smith (T) Gov. again 339 (329)
Smith (T) Gov. in Eng. 127
Smith (T) opposed by majority 339 (329)
Smith (T) Treas. of 127
Somers answered by 228
Summoned by P. C. 267 (257)
Summoned by Quarter Court 260 (250)
Tobacco monopoly offered 244, 247
Tobacco tax proposed to 249
Treasurer of 127
Vindication of 270-7 (260-7)
Virginia Co. sells Berms. to 127
Wrote to give up stock in 255
Songs (see also "Ceremonies," "Invocations," "War Dances," "Dances").
Sung over boat 241
Welcome 67
Sorcery. Smith to cure dying Ind. 52
Sturgeon seasoned with 98
Soul. Immortality of, believed by Inds. 17
South America. Raleigh's voyage to 30
Southerne, William, Member V. C. A 14
Southampton, Duke of. In reigns Chas. I and II 179
Mentioned vi
Southampton, Earl of. Accused by Wrote 249 (249)
Accused of owing Co. 266 (256)
Acquittance of, full 239 (239)
Administration in Records v
Administration satisfactory 229-0
Advice to Co. on tob. 249
Argall-Smith Faction opposed 187
Articles of Justice of 194
Begs Co. to talk freely 250, 252
Bing attacked by 268 (258)
Cavendish writes 256
Company besought by, to talk freely 250, 252
Condemned 179
Conditions reported by 180
Conditions to be reported 281 (271)
Council for Va. called by 256
Court called by, for Wrote 260 (250)
Dies 341 (331)
Director 253
Elected in spite King 230
Hundred named after 172
Ill repute at Court 290 (280)
King notified of election 231
King's message as to 230
King's opposition to 230
King's wishes — opinion on 262 (252)
Lord H. Treas. summons 265-6 (255-6)
Member C for Va. A 16
Member V. C. 102, A 9
Mentioned vi
Opposes Ar-S. T. Faction 187
Pardoned 173
Patriot Party, head of 179-0
Privy C. — admitted to 179
Qualifications for Treas. 179
Salaries vote of, urged 264 (254)
Sandys to sign for 181
Sentenced to Tower .......................... 207
Shakespeare helped by ......................... 179
Subscribes liberally ................................ 188
Suit costs lightened by .......................... 239
Tax proposals reach ............................. 243
Term as Treasurer expires .......................... 239
Tobacco advice to Co .............................. 249
Tobacco offers, selected by ....................... 259
Tobacco offers voted on ............................ 252-3
Tobacco pet,—opinion on .......................... 267 (257)
Tower sentence of ................................. 207
Treasurer ........................................ 179
Treasurer,—a favorite .............................. 179
Treasurer of Co ................................... 259
Treasurership returned by ......................... 157
Treasurer,—term .................................. 229 (229)
Treasurer until dissol ............................... 300 (290)
Votes received by .................................. 230
Weymouth sent by ................................ 33
Wrote accuses ...................................... 259 (249)
Wrote behavior to .................................. 256-7 (256-7)
Wrote in tilt with ................................ 259-0 (249-0)
Wrote reproved by ................................ 257-8 (247-8)
Wyatt nominated by ................................ 187-8
Southampton Hundred. Bequest divided with ................................ 215
Captain of ........................................ 215
Colonists gather at ................................. 235
Colonists of, to meet ............................... 215
Free school to be in ................................ 214
Origin of name .................................... 172
Ownership illustrated by ......................... 270 (260)
Smith's Hundred formerly ......................... 187
Southampton River. Forts located on........ 120
South Sea. Chesapeake Bay reaches ........... 66
Colonists to discover .............................. 43
Discovered,—so cols. think. ....................... 13
Exploration of, by barge ......................... 77, 81
Manakin's reach .................................. 105
Newport to bring certainty of .................. 77
Pashage to, hoped for .............................. 335 (325)
Southwick, John. Member V. C. .................. A 13
Sows (see also "Hogs," "Pigs," "Swine"). ... 22
Hog Island used for ................................ 97
Jamestown,—increase at ......................... 97
Spades. Used as weapons .......................... 213
Spain (see also "Spaniards," "Spanish Prizes").
Armada of, delays relief exped. ................. 25
Clarke carried to ................................ 138
Climate same as Va. ................................ 81-2
Colonial policy of, liberal ....................... 271-2 (281-2)
Colours of, over "Treasurer ......................... 153-4
Cottington at Court of ......................... 156
Court of .......................................... 156
England not to stoop to ......................... 338 (328)
Gold and silver In ................................ 82
Imports to,—policy for .......................... 271 (261)
James I desires to please ......................... 203
James I plays in hands of ......................... 244-50
James I sacrifices subjects to .................. 246
King of, influences James I ...................... 203, 246
Silkworm seed sent from .......................... 183
Smith travels through ............................. 111
Tobacco,—price of, in ........................... 274 (264)
Tobacco tax not to be raised by .................. 248
Tobacco to be brought in ......................... 249
Treasurer (ship) under colours .................. 274 (264)
War declared on ................................. 338 (328)
Spaniards (see also "Spain," "Spanish Prizes").
Ambassador of, compounds with Ar .................. 150
American lands acquired by ..................... 3
Argall compounds with ambassador of .......... 150
Attitude on death of R ............................ 156
Azores surprised by .............................. 28-9
Bohun attacked by ............................... 188
Butler spoils, in Berms ............................ 220 (210)
Chickahominies to fight .......................... 13
Colonization of, compares well ................. 19
Duke exped. agst ................................. 1, 19
Drowned on "Revenge" ............................ 30
English claim whole continent like .......... 133
Greenville belittled by .......................... 29
Gold greed of ................................. 50
Jamestown approached by ......................... 123
Newport exped. agst ............................. 42
Pilot sent, stolen ............................... 138
Point Comfort,—Ship appears off .............. 138
Ralegh's death and attitude of, on .......... 156
Ralegh's entire effort agst ...................... 26
Rich finds of early .............................. 81
Ship of, off Point Comfort ........................ 138
Ships of, sent to colony .......................... 138
Smith commends example of ..................... 233
Smith mistakes supply fleet for .................. 102
West Ind. strength of, a danger ............... 154
Spanish Armada. England fearful of ............ 24
Pilot an Englishman ............................. 138
Pilot, sailed ................................. 138
Relief delayed by ............................... 25
Spanish Buffoon. Gondomar .......................... 246-7
Spanish Colonies. Founded..............272 (262)
   King's policy to..............271-2 (262-2)
   Policy for importations..........271 (261)
   Policy of King to..............271-2 (261-3)
Spanish Frigate. Greenville
   hemmed in by................23
   Smith vessel taken for.........66
Spanish Invasion, (see "Spanish
   Armada").
Spanish Match. Broken off..............338 (328)
   King's fondness for............233
   Tobacco tax influenced by.......246
Spanish Plate Fleet. Howard sent
to intercept........................28
Spanish Prizes (see also "Spain,
   'Spaniards'").
   Commissioner of...................8
   Greenvill takes................12
   Newport takes..................28
   Relief exped. goes to plunder...28
   Sanderson, Commissioner of......8
Spanish Tobacco (see also "Tobac-
   co'").
   Amount imported................245-6, 248, 249
   Amount of, excessive............246
   Duty not to be raised on.........248
   Exclusion of....................338 (328)
   Exclusion, to reduce fraud.......246
   Fraud reduced by exclusion......246
   Importation of..................249, 273-4 (263-4)
   Importation of, free................203
   Importation of, protected.........203
   King protects....................203
   Lost, not to be restored.........248
   Price of......................170, 250
   Prohibition of...................338 (328)
   Rate on..........................168
   Restoration of lost...............248
   Spain not to raise duty on.......248
   Treatise on, rewarded............199
   Value (relative), 170, 250, 251
Spanish West Indies. Assault on, 
   advantageous .........335 (325)
   "Sparks." Come in 3rd Supply...103
   Sith names disgruntled ones. 50
Sparks, Captain (see also name be-
   low).
   Member V. C .....................A 10
Sparks, Mr. (see also name above).
   Powhatan.—sent to .............129
Sparrow, Stephen. Member V. C....A 14
Speech. Freedom of, see "Freedom
   of Speech".
Spencer, Vrian. Member V. C..........A 13
Spicer, Captain. Drowning of .......27
Spices. Search for, to garble ......199
Spilman, Captain (see also names
   below).
   Dies ..................240-1
   Massacre heard of by ...........213
   Servant,—sentenced to be.......240-1
   Wighcomoco,—goes to ..........213
Spilman, Henry (see also names
   above and below).
   Argall finds, on Patowmack.118
   Corn sought by..................240-1
   Death of, revenged ............313 (303)
   Family of .....................241
   Interpreter as sentence ........241
   Plotting by.....................241
   Pocahontas saves ..............116, 240
   Slain ..................241
   Wyat revenges .................313 (303)
Spilman, Sir Henry (see also names
   above).
   Company affairs examined by ....298 (288)
Spranger, Henry. Member V. C......A 13
Springham, Matthew. Member V.  
   C ..................42
Sprinison, Hildebrand* (see also 
   name below).
   Member V. C .....................A 12
Sprinison, Robert Hildebrand* (see 
   also name above).
   Member V. C .....................A 11
Spry, Captain Henry. Member V.  
   C ..................A 10
Squirls, Indians bring..............97
Stacken. John. Member V. C........A 13
Stacy, Mr. Indians punished by......120
   Prisoners maltreated by........120
Stafford, Captain. Aid announced
   by ..........................15
   Croatan sought by, for aid.....15
   Expedition saved by ..........23
   Greenvill leaves ..............12-3
   Greenvill men sought by.......23
   Indians wrongly attacked by....24
   Searches for Greenvill men......23
   Member V. C ....................A 12
   Member C. for Va ............A 16
Stallenge, William, Gent. Member 
   V. C ..................A 11
Stalling, Captain. Killed in duel.161
   Ship of cast away ............161
Stanhope, Lord. Member V. C........A 9
Stannard, William (Innholder).
   Member V. C ....................A 13
Staper, Richard (Merchant).
   Member V. C ....................A 11
Staple Commodities, see "Com-
   modities".
   Staplers. Culture of ............232
Star Chamber. Northumberland 
   (Earl of) fined by ..............46
Starrington, Sir John, Knt. Mem-
   ber C. for Va .................A 26
Stars. Indians believe in ..........17
   Smith explains, to Inds........51
Starvation. Indians prevent .........97, 98
Starving Time (see also "Fam-
   ine").

*Punctuation seems to make name doubtful.
Jamestown .................. 116-7
No immediate danger of ....... 94
Stationers (Individuals). Mem-
bers V. C. .................. A 12
Stationers, the Company of. Mem-
ber V. C. .................. A 14
State (the). Bancroft stickler for relation of Govrnt. to .... 75
States-General. Hudson sells dis-
coveries to .................. 75
States of Holland, see "Holland,
states of". .......................... 75
State Trials. Bayard in ....... A iv
Statutes. Enactment of, provided
for .......................... 5
Letters Pat. not to prejudice. A 31-2
Martial Law to be agreeable
to .................................. 152
Policies controlled by ....... A 21, 22
Stekley, Sir Lewis. Bad repute
of .............................. 146
Pocahontas' son to be edu-
cated by .......................... 146
Vice-Admiral of Devon. A 146
Stile. Humphrey (grocer). Mem-
der V. C. .......................... A 13
Stiles, Mr. Candidate for Dep.
Treas. ............................. 250
Stingray Island. Discovered .... 66
Origin of name .......................... 66
Smith returns to .................. 67
Stingrays (fish). Smith poisoned
by .............................. 66
Swords used to catch .......................... 66
Stith, William (see also "Stith's
History"). .......................... 57, 82
Accuracy S. questioned by ........ 57, 82
Articles of King criticised by ...... 41
Atheism charges explained
by .............................. 20
Beverley acct. Ar. expedi-
cised .............................. 154
Butler pamphlet comments
on .............................. 280 (270)
Byrd and library commended
by .............................. v
Commends Byrd and library. v
Commends S's History, III, iv
Comments on B. pamphlet. 280 (270)
Criticises Bev. acct. Ar. ex-
ped. .............................. 154
Criticises King .......... vi-vii, 41
Criticises Oldmixon .......... 33-4, 112-3
Criticises Seneca .......... 2
Criticises S's acct. of Ar. .... iv
Criticises S's action .......... 107
Criticises S's History ....... III, iv
Decides to write History of
Va. ....... III, iv
Deprecates historical errors. III
Describes Records London
Co. .......................... v-vi, viii
Documents printed,—why .... 283-4 (273-4)
Explains atheism charges .... 20
Explains Raleigh-in-Va. er-
ror .............................. 22
General Assembly (first). no particular of, found .... 160
Helps of, in his History ......... iv
Historian's duty,—opinion as
to History of, based on Record
and Journals .......................... v
King criticised by .......... vi-vi, 41
Mediums exchange observed
on .............................. 82
Oldmixon criticised .......... 33-4, 112-3
Raleigh-not-in-Va.,—explained. 22
Records London Co. described
by .............................. v-vi, viii
Records preserved at request
of .............................. viii
Seneca criticised .......................... 2
Smith action criticised .... 107
Smith's accuracy questioned. 57, 82
Smith's acct. Ar. criticised .... iv
William and Mary left, B. N.
Vii Stith's History (see also "Stith,
William").
Based on Records and Jour-
nals, ..................... B. N. v
Book I ............................. 1
II ............................. 35
III ............................. 101
IV ............................. 176
V ............................. 254
Appendix.
Documents printed,—why .... 283-4 (273-4)
Editions,—differences in ..... B. N. vii, viii
Expense curtails size .... A III-iv
Fine Paper Williamsburg
Edition .......................... B. N. vii
Helps in writing ................. iv
London Edition ............. B. N. viii
Poor Paper Williamsburg
Edition .......................... B. N. viii
Stock (see also "Cattle," "Hogs," etc.).
Basis of power of nation .... 82
Destroyed by Inds. ... 300 (290)
Stockham, Mr.
Opinion of, as to conversion
Inds. ............................. 233
Stock Subscriptions. Enforce-
ment of .......................... A 27
Stoke, John (merchant). Member
V. C. ............................. A 11
Stokeley, John (merchant-taylor).
Member V. C. .......................... A 13
Stores (see also "Food," "Sup-
plies").
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Jamestown.—commodities in........ 107
Stolen by Ratcliffe................. 66

Storehouses (see also "Agents," "Magazines," "Cape Merchant," "Factors").

Built .................. 312 (302)
Company procures........... 200
Henrico,—built at .......123-4, 124
Jamestown, burned ....... 59
Jamestown, repaired....... 60, 76
Provisions in, damaged .... 74
Robbed by Ratcliffe........ 86

Streachey, William, Gent. Member V. C. A 13

Stranger, Moso changes name to, — "why" .............. 72

Strawberries. On Coast of New Eng.................. 31

Street, John. Member V. C. A 13

Streets of Jamestown. Tobacco planted in ...........146-7

Strongarm, Richard (ihmonger). Member V. C. A 11

Studley, Thomas. Treasurer of Colony ............. 46

Sturgeon. Abundance ................. 98
Argall to fish for .............. 100
Food of colony ................. 48

Subject. Liberty of, see "Liberty of Subject".

Subjects of the King. Admitted to Co. and enjoy privileges ...A 27-8
Immunities same as Eng........... 6, 20
Indians become .............. 317 (307)
Indians not voluntary.317 (307)
Letters patent to, to colon... Newfoundlan Id........... 3-4
Liberties, etc., confirmed to........... A 22
Liberties same as Eng... A 6, 20
Protected from others ... A 6-7
Rights of, destroyed by laws 293 (283)

Subscriptions. Adventurers refuse to pay ........... 294 (284)

Subscriptions, Rolls of. Prepared 300 (290)

Subscriptions to Company. Enforcement of ........ A 27

Subsidy (see also "Customs," "Duty," "Taxes").
Amount of for 20 years ....... A 19
None on necessities ....... A 19

Suet. Deer, carried to Jamaica .... 94

Sutonius. Commended ......... vii

Suffolk, Earl of. Member V. C. 102; A 9

Suits. Defense of, planned ...... 308-9 (298-9)
Jurisdiction of .............. 320 (320)
King's Bench .............. 308 (298)
Moneys recovered by ...... A 27
Southampton (Earl of) In... vi

Summer. (1618) ................. 149
(1620) (?) ................. 215-6

Sun. Indians belief in ............. 17
Smith explains to Inds ........ 51
Popoguffo setting-place of ... 17

Superintendent of Co. Lands.
Newce .................. 236

Supernatural. With to paint ....... 16

Supplies (fleets). Arrive .57, 76, 102, 103
First, arrives .............. 57
Lewd ones come over in Third 103
Second, arrives .......... 76
Second, brought by N........ 76
Third, brings footmen..... 102
Third,—D. to send. 100, 102, 103
Third,—make up of .... 102, 103

Supplies (food). (see also "Food, "Supplies," "Stores").
Argall takes captured ........ 133
Cape Merchant receives ... 94

Council and Co. send 122, 148, 300 (290)

Dale dispatched with ........ 122
Delawarr leaves .............. 121
Delawarr sends .......... 102
Delawarr starts with (1618) 148
Delawarr to send .......... 100
Dispute as to who go for ... 24
England's, precarious ....... 236
Expected from England 76
Gates arrives with (1611) 123
Left at Jamestown. 69, 107
Nelson arrives with .... 60
New Eng. gets .............. 75
Newport brings .............. 57, 76
Newport steals .......... 81
Reception of, provided for .... 76
Roanoke Is. provided with .... 22
Scriveners seeks ........... 85-4
Sent by C. and Co. 122, 148, 300 (290)

Sent by C. in Eng .............. 57
Sent by C. for Va .......... 57
Sent for by C. of Twelve ... 24
Sent to Jamestown .......... 127
Speedy sent ......... 300 (290)
Smith leaves, at Jamestown. 107
West Indies furnish ........ 66
Werowocomoco source of .... 83
Wingfield embezzles ....... 48

Supremacy, Oath of, see "Oath of Supremacy".

Supreme Councils. Duties and powers of .... A 32-3

Members ................. A 33
Ordinance, etc., establishing .... A 33-4

Surgeon-General. Wotton ......... 48

Surgeons (see also Barber-Chirurgeons").
Bagnall, has narrow escape ... 74

Surgery, see "Chirurgery".

Survey and Distribution. Commission of, lands allotted by .... A 15-6
Surveyor (see also "Surveyor of Virginia").
Appeal from, to G. & C.  320 (320)
Land disputes settled by  330 (320)

Surveyor of Virginia (see also "Surveyor")
Arrives in Va. (1621)  194
Clayborne elected (1621?)  194
Duties and pay  320 (322)
Norwood elected (1621)  190

Surveyors (Lottery). Election of  A 31

Susquesahanock River, Discovered  67
Susquesahanocks. Attire of, described  68
Fighting strength of  67
Hatchets, etc., of, from Canada  69
Living habits of  67-8
Massawomeck enemies of  67-8
Metals, etc., from  69
Offers made S. by  68-9
Physical characteristics of  68
Powhatan not known to  68
Religious effects on  67
Smith invites  67

Sutcliffe, Matthew, D. D. Dean of Exeter  37
Member C. for Va.  37
Member V. C.  102; A 10

Sutton, Sir Richard, Knt. Camden mentions  298 (288)
Company affairs examined by  298 (288)
Member V. C.  A 13

Swans. Abundance, on rivers  59
Swearing. Proclamation agst  331 (321)

Swifte, James. Member V. C.  A 12
Swine (see also "Hogs," "Pigs," "Sows").
Destitute of, under S. T  316 (306)
Plentiful when S. T. left  312 (302)

Swinhoe, John (stationer). Member V. C.  12

Swords. Fish caught on  68
Food offered for  49
Indians steal  90, 106
Indians use on S.  92
Newport gives to P.  88
Opechancanough gets  61
Powhatan objects to S.'s  87, 88
Powhatan to return  129
Slothful desire to sell  98
Smith declines to give P.  86
Stolen at Jast.  90, 105
Traded to Inds.  116
Turkies given for  61

Tacitus. Commended  vii

Tallow-Chandlers, The Co. of.
Member V. C.  A 14

Tangier Islands. Russel's Is. once  63
Water lacking on  63

Tanner, John (grocer). Member V. C.  A 13

Tappahannock River. Rappahannock sometimes  65
Smith sails for  65

Tar. Colonists make, under S.  79
Manufacture urged  177
Poles and Germans to make  77
Substitute for, in calking  115
Trials made  97
Trials sent home  82

Targets (see also "Massawomeck Targets").
Indians use  49, 70, 74
Massawomeck, described  70
Smith uses Massawomeck  74

Tartarian Lady. Smith enamoured of  110

Tartary. Smith sent to  110

Tassautessus. Chickahominies called  130

Tate, Lewis. Member V. C.  A 12

Taxation (see also "Customs," "Duty," "Subsidy," "Taxes").
Amounts levied  A 19
General A. say why laid  329-0 (319-0)
Illegal  169, 170, 244, 245
Import  A 19
Projector devises  244
Tobacco  169, 170, 245
Indians authorized  A 15
Taxes (see also "Taxation," "Duty," "Customs," "Subsidy").
General As. to lay  A iv
Increasing order of  245
Powers of  A 28-9

Taux-Powhatans. Matthews to go against  313 (303)

Taux-Wyanokes. West to go against  313 (303)

Tavern. Business of, big 59, 81
Floating, off Jast.  59
Commodities spent at floating  59, 81
Jamestown,—burden to col.  60

Tavener, John, Gent. Member V. C.  A 11

Taylor. William (haberdasher). Member V. C.  A 12-3

Tedder, Edward Allen (see also name below)*
Member V. C.  A 11

Tedder, Robert (see also name above)*
Member V. C.  A 11

Temples, Indian, for gods  17

Terror, John, Gent. Member V. C.  A 11

Teme P. 149

Teme P. 149

*Punctuation seems to make name doubtful.
Tenants (see also "Colonists").

- Allotted to ........................................ 193-4
- Argall uses Co.'s .................................. 150
- Argall uses D's ........................................ 151
- Bohun allowed .......................................... 188
- Delawarr's used by Ar ................................ 151
- Expensive providing .................................... 191
- Glebe ................................................. 173
- Increase proposed ...................................... 165
- Land to ................................................. 193-4
- Maids sent to marry .................................... 165-6, 197
- Marriage of ............................................. 165-6, 197
- Marshall of Va's ........................................ 189
- Massacre left sixty ..................................... 295 (285)
- Newce gets .............................................. 189
- Physician-General's .................................... 188
- Pounts allowed .......................................... 191
- Profits of ................................................ 218
- Secretary's .............................................. 174
- Thorpe provided with ................................... 163
- Treasurer's ................................................ 191
- Wyat fails to get ....................................... 204
- Wyat given full quota ................................... 334 (324)
- Yearley breaks word as to ......................... 204

Tenements (see also "Hereditaments", "Lands", "Grants").

- Tenure by Eng. laws .................................. A 7
- Tenure of Lands. Free and common socage .......... A 7, 15, 25
- Terra Sigillata. River named from ...................... 64
- Thanksgiving. Ordered (1622) ......................... 218
- Thatching. Reeds used for .............................. 59
- Thieves. Block-house to stop ................. 97
- Powhatan to punish .................................. 104-5
- Punishment of, by P .................................. 104-5
- Stealings returned ..................................... 97
- Work of .................................................. 90

Third Charter. Copy,—only one. .................. A 311

- King grants ......................................... 127
- Text of ................................................... A 23-32
- Why applied for ....................................... 126-7

Third Supply. Delawarr to send .................. 100, 102, 103

- Thomas. — (blank in text) .................. A 12
- Thoresby, Mr. Ralph. Has tob.- 21
- box of R .................................................. 21
- Thornback. Smith poisoned by ................. 66
- Thorne (also "Thorpe"). Member C. of S. .......... A 33, note
- Thorne, Octavian. Member V. C. ................ A 12
- Thornton, Robert. Member V. C. ................. A 12
- Thorpe, George. Dale's kinsman .............. 163
- Death of ................................................. 211, 217
- Deputy for College .................................. 182; A 33
- Indian leagues confirmed by ..................... 204-5
- Land granted ............................................ 163
- Massacred ................................................. 211, 217

- Member C. in Va ...................................... 182
- Member C. of S ........................................ A 33
- Prisoners taken before ................................ 208
- Privy Chamber. —gentleman of ................... 163
- Superintendent of College .......................... 163
- Throgmorton, Kellam. Colonist at Jast .......... 46
- Throne. Powhatan sits on ......................... 55
- Timber. Dale orders, felled ..................... 122
- Manufacture of ........................................ 192, 177
- Scarce in Europe ...................................... 325 (325)
- Ship, plentiful .......................................... 335 (325)
- Tin. Mining of ............................................ A 18
- Tithables. Clergy pay determined by .......... 173
- Pount's pay from ..................................... 322 (312)
- Tobacco, levied ........................................ 322 (312)
- Titles. Gold and silver .............................. A, 4, 18
- Titles. Confirmed by Co ................................ 157
- Toaststools. Food made from ..................... 315 (305)
- Tobacco (see also "Contract"
- Tobacco Monopoly, "Weed"
- Spanish Tobacco"
- Abundant in Va ....................................... 310 (300)
- Amount imported ...................................... 245-6
- Argall's seized ......................................... 147
- Arrest Sandys caused by ......................... 206
- Box of R. extant ....................................... 21
- Carribbes ................................................ 18
- Cattle traded .......................................... 202
- Censuring of ............................................ 331 (321)
- Clergy get ................................................. 173
- Clergy paid before, sold ............................ 229 (319)
- Clergy's collected ..................................... 329 (319)
- Commodities 1618 (t. one of two) ................ 281 (271)
- Commodities compared with price of ............ 319 (309)
- Commodities, only (1622) ......................... 232
- Commodities (other) ruined by ............... 295 (285)
- Commodities sold for ................................ 171
- Company consents to tax ........................... 247
- Company's reply on .................................. 246
- "Contemptible weed" .................................. 321 (311), 323 (313)
- Contract,—destruction attempted ................. 265 (255)
- Contract dissolution .................................. 266 (256)
- Contract,—merits for ................................. 260-0 (259-0)
- Contract void ........................................... 269 (259)
- Corn not subordinated to ......................... 140
- Corn precedence over .............................. 160
- Corn value compared with ......................... 319 (309)
- "Counter-Blast to" .................................... 183
- Courts for, cases,—jurisdiction ..................... 330 (320)
- Culture creeps in ..................................... 143
- Culture discouraged ................................. 143
- 164-5, 177, 183, 195, 198, 340 (330), 381-2 (371-2)
Culture encouraged... 201, 203, 278 (263)
Culture forbidden in Eng... 170
Culture limited... 195
Culture restricted... 164-5
Curing improved... 147
Damaged by hail... 147
Deceivable weed... 244
Delawarr seizes Ar... 147
Duty reduced... 273 (263)
Edicts set price of... 147
Elizabeth encouraged use... 21
England,—first in... 20
England,—sent to... 292-3
Export... 1619
Exportation expected... 265 (275)
Food excluded by... 164-5
Garbling... 199
Goods sold for... 171
Grievance of case of... 337 (327)
Hail damages... 147
Harvey promises, as reward... 223 (315)
Holland gets by error... 270 (260)
Holland trade in... 201
Howe demands... 229
Importation for good of colony... 338 (328)
Importations (amount)... 245-6
Importations from S. I. limited... 198
Importation from Va limited... 198
Imported free... 203
Indian esteem for... 19
Indian name of... 19
Indigenous growth... 19
Ingram on tax... 244-5
Jacobs orders tax restored... 169
Jacobs's tax on... 168-9
Jamestown planted with... 146-7
King envious of... 340 (320)
King opposes use... 21, 340 (333)
King's attitude... 21, 170
King's profits from... 247-9
King's treatise on... 183
Land grants restrain... 164-5
Levy for pensions... 322 (322)
Levy for pensions... 322 (322)
Lane first carried to Eng... 20-1
Lord Treas. witnesses on... 265-6 (255-6)
Losses on... 169-0
Mails equivalent in... 197
Market, conditions... 198
Market-place planted with... 146-7
Massacre causes monopoly... 223 (315)
Monopoly offered... 244
Monopoly restrained... 205
Monopoly,—thanks for... 323 (313)
Not taken for commodities... 183
Observations on... 152-3
"Odd commodity"... 152-3
Officials... 250-1, 252-3, 254,
264 (254)
Officials discussed... 254
Officials elected... 252-3
Origin name... 19
Parliament considers case of... 334 (324)
Parliament releases... 256-7
Penalty,—disparing clergy... 299 (319)
Penalty,—not going church... 329 (319)
Penalty,—not making garden... 331 (321)
Penalty,—powder waste... 332 (322)
Petition carry all to Eng... 255 (276)
Petition concealed... 266-7 (256-7)
Petition for culture... 260-1
Petition suppressed... 326 (276)
Pipes described... 21, 68
Pountis expenses from... 332 (322)
Poverty after mean prices... 222 (313)
Price declines... 198
Price mean,—poverty after... 323 (313)
Price of (1622)... 250, 319 (309)
Price of (1623)... 274 (264), 295 (285)
Price of (1624)... 295 (285), 319 (309), 338 (328), 340 (330)
Price of, in commodities... 219 (309)
Price of, in Spain... 274 (264)
Price set by edict... 147
Price regulated... 248
Privy C. orders, from Va... 270 (260), 272-3 (262-3)
Proclamation revoked... 201-2
Profits of King from... 247-9
Regulations... 205
Restrained by grants... 164-5
Restricted culture... 164-5
Revenue from... 264-5 (254-5)
Sacrificial use of... 19
Salaries,—debate on... 264 (254)
Salaries,—raising of... 263 (253)
sandys arrest caused by... 206
Scramble to raise... 149
Sent to Eng... 202-3
Sole business (1622)... 279 (269)
"Sinking commodity"... 198
Slavery penalty for violation... 147
Smith culture of... 232
Somers Is. Co. to Ld. H. Treas. .......... 246-
Somers Is. supported by .......... 200
Spanish imported .......... 245-6
Spanish Match and tax on .......... 246
Staple,—only (1622) .......... 232
States of Holland trade in .......... 201
Stories concerning .......... 21
Streets planted with .......... 146-7
Surveyor,—amount paid .......... 320 (320)
Tax and Spanish Match .......... 245-6
Tax consent to by Co .......... 247
Tax discussed .......... 244-5
Tax illegal .......... 168-9
Tax increased .......... 243-51
Tax lowered .......... 200
Tax on .......... 199
Tax ordered restored .......... 169
Tax raised .......... 168
Tax rates on .......... 245, 247-8
Tax regular .......... 254-5
Tax remitted .......... 323 (313)
Taxes,—summary new .......... 247-9
Tithes for Pontius .......... 322 (312)
Trade with States of Holland .......... 201
Treachery rewarded with .......... 325 (315)
Treatise of King .......... 183
Treatise on .......... 199
Treaty (new) for .......... 275-4 (263-4)
Uncertain crop .......... 204, 244
Use,—pro and con .......... 21
Value (comparative) .......... 319 (309)
Value for maids .......... 197
"Very sinking commodity" .......... 198
Vice of .......... 112
Virginia ordered by P. C. .......... 270 (260), 272-3 (262-3)
Warehouses .......... 250-1, 264 (254)
Witnesses as to .......... 265-6 (255-6)
Wrote on tax .......... 254-5
Yeardley urges culture .......... 201
Yeardley scramble for .......... 140
Tobacco Monopoly (see also "Tobacco").
"Crying grievance" .......... 199
Granted .......... 198-9
Tobacco Pipe. Susquesahanock has .......... 68
Tobago, Island of. Tobacco (name) from .......... 19
Tockwogh. Smith goes to .......... 67
Susquesahanocks come to .......... 67
Tockwogh River. Discovered .......... 67
Explored .......... 67
Sassafras Riv. now .......... 67
Smith leaves Inds. at .......... 69
Tockwoghs. Smith taken to town of .......... 67
Susquesahanocks invited by .......... 67
Toddill, Anas. Mangoags visited by .......... 99
White not found by .......... 99
Tomakin. Tomocomo called, in

Records .......... 147
Tomahawks. Germans make for P. .......... 90
Tomlins (also "Tomlyns"), Mr. Committee to attend Commrs. .......... 301 (291)

Towill, Charles. Member V. C. A 12

Towns (see also "Cities," "Corporations").

Accomack .......... 62
Bermudas .......... 134
Bible taught in .......... 19
Burgesses from .......... 160, 195
Charles Hundred .......... 316 (306)
Chesapeakes' .......... 13
Creatan .......... 27
Dale to build .......... 122, 123
Description of .......... 67
Diggers's Hundred .......... 125
Education Inds. by .......... 195
Entrance to, announced .......... 130-1
General A. representation of .......... 160
Greenvil discovers .......... 12

Torrid Zone. Ralegh in error as to .......... 29
Towel. Feathers used as .......... 55
Tower of London. Arms sent from .......... 232-3
Earls sent to .......... 207
Lieutenant of, member C. for .......... 35
Va. Northumberland in .......... 46
Ralegh in .......... 30, 32

Tobacco Monopoly (see also "Tobacco").
"Crying grievance" .......... 199
Granted .......... 198-9
Tobacco Pipe. Susquesahanock has .......... 68
Tobago, Island of. Tobacco (name) from .......... 19
Tockwogh. Smith goes to .......... 67
Susquesahanocks come to .......... 67
Tockwogh River. Discovered .......... 67
Explored .......... 67
Sassafras Riv. now .......... 67
Smith leaves Inds. at .......... 69
Tockwoghs. Smith taken to town of .......... 67
Susquesahanocks invited by .......... 67
Toddill, Anas. Mangoags visited by .......... 99
White not found by .......... 99
Tomakin. Tomocomo called, in

Records .......... 147
Tomahawks. Germans make for P. .......... 90
Tomlins (also "Tomlyns"), Mr. Committee to attend Commrs. .......... 301 (291)

Towill, Charles. Member V. C. A 12

Towns (see also "Cities," "Corporations").

Accomack .......... 62
Bermudas .......... 134
Bible taught in .......... 19
Burgesses from .......... 160, 195
Charles Hundred .......... 316 (306)
Chesapeakes' .......... 13
Creatan .......... 27
Dale to build .......... 122, 123
Description of .......... 67
Diggers's Hundred .......... 125
Education Inds. by .......... 195
Entrance to, announced .......... 130-1
General A. representation of .......... 160
Greenvil discovers .......... 12
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henrico at Varina Neck</td>
<td>122, 316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, described</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, in N. C.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James City</td>
<td>316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamestown</td>
<td>316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicquotan</td>
<td>316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maidstown</td>
<td>197-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massawomecks',—S. taken to.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massawteck</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matchopeake</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecuppen</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nether Hundred</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Amsterdam</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bermudas</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now, laid off</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number on Jas. Riv. to Manakins</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number under ST. (1624)</td>
<td>316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamunkey</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisacck</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rappahanock River</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke Island has one</td>
<td>10-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochdale Hundred</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secbeck</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secotan discovered</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirley Hundred</td>
<td>125, 316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquesahanocks'</td>
<td>67-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tockwoghs'</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Hundred</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Hundred</td>
<td>316 (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wighcocoomoco</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wococon</td>
<td>10-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsend, Sir John, Knt. Member V. C.</td>
<td>A 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys. Indians given by S.</td>
<td>52, 56, 57, 63, 71, 73, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport brings to P.</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan asks for</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan gets</td>
<td>77, 78, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan receives from Hamer</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilized as excuse</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tracy, Mr. Member C. for Va.</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade (includes &quot;Trade,&quot; &quot;Trading,&quot; &quot;Trade Relations&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apportioned</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argall apportions</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argall monopolizes</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argall seeks</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms to Indians</td>
<td>94, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At expense commodities</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads coin of Inds.</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behethland, at Pamunkey</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block-house for</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickahominies stop</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrowshaw at Pamunkey</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrowshaw in Patomack Riv.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrowshaw seeks</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle for tobacco</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonists and Inds.</td>
<td>83-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodities for supplies</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodities sacrificed to</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaints of</td>
<td>338 (328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Eng.</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition unworthy</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>236, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper for corn</td>
<td>34, 87, 91-2, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper for fort</td>
<td>104-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper for houses</td>
<td>104-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper values for, depreciate</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn for copper</td>
<td>84, 87, 91-2, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn for hatchets</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn for kettle</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn for land</td>
<td>139-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn for skins</td>
<td>93, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn, suspended</td>
<td>321 (311)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn, traded for</td>
<td>93, 118, 127, 147, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English increase</td>
<td>335 (325)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish (dried) for skins</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish (dried) traded for</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food for muskets</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food for swords</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbidden</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort for copper</td>
<td>104-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furs for supplies</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furs traded for</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert with West Inds.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods for tob</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grievances on</td>
<td>338 (328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatches for corn</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses for supplies</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses for tobacco</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses for copper</td>
<td>104-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase of</td>
<td>335 (325)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, 58, 81, 83-4, 90, 331 (321)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, forbidden</td>
<td>331 (321)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, pernicious</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, sought</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians and cols.</td>
<td>83-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians get best and</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians get arms</td>
<td>94, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians refuse</td>
<td>80, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland’s</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japazaws invites</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kettle for corn</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land for corn</td>
<td>139-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manakin</td>
<td>77, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoags, staples</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskets for food</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nansamond sought</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nansamonds deny all</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport and P.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport steals goods for</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamunkey.—Behethland at.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamunkey.—Chrowshaw at.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamunkey.—Percy at.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamunkey.—Powel at.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamunkey.—S. at</td>
<td>90-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patowmack River,—Chrowshaw at</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patowmack River,—West at.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy at Pamunkey</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Percy in charge of .......... 76
Pernicious .......... 81
Powel at Pamunkey .......... 90
Powhatan and Newport ...... 77
Private, forbidden .......... 147
Refused by Inds .......... 38, 84
Regulations for .......... 39
Regulations, relaxed .......... 57
Results from .......... 48, 49
Robbery veiled by .......... 195
Rules of, overthrown by N... .......... 57
Skin, provided .......... 198
Skins for corn .......... 99, 140
Skins for fish (dried) .......... 99
Skins traded for .......... 99
Smith at Pamunkey .......... 90-1
Smith rules for overridden .......... 57
Smith with Indians .......... 50
Smith's .......... 67
Sought ... 49, 84, 116, 161, 213, 217
Spilman seeks .......... 217
Supplies for commodities .......... 81
Supplies for horses .......... 81
Supplies for furs .......... 81
Suspected .......... 331 (321)
Swords for food .......... 49
Swords for turkeys .......... 61
Swords to Inds .......... 116
Tobacco for cattle .......... 202
Tobacco for goods .......... 171
Tobacco for horses .......... 202
Tools .......... 34
Turkeys for swords .......... 61
West in Patowmack Riv. .......... 90
West Indian .......... 33
West seeks .......... 116
Wine, in Ar. hands .......... 100
Word seeks .......... 161

Tradesmen. Broken, come over .......... 103
Tragabigzanda, Charatza, Smith
sends present to .......... 110
Smith treated badly .......... 111
Transylvania. Smith travels
through .......... 111
Transylvania, Duke of. Meldritch
serves with .......... 109
Possession taken from .......... 110
Sigismund Bathori .......... 109
Treachery (see also "Plots," "Conspiracies," "Mutiny")
German conspiracy .......... 94
Indian .......... 34
Kendall's prevented by S .......... 49
Newport fears .......... 58
Plot agst. S .......... 107
Plot revealed to S .......... 99-0
Plot to murder S .......... 106
Poole testifies as to .......... 142

Reported by G. and C. .......... 325-6 (315-6)
Smith prevents .......... 49
Tobacco reward for .......... 325 (315)
Wingfield's prevented by S. .......... 49

*As in the cases of "Presidents of the Colony" and "Secretaries" (see notes above), the text is oftimes so confusing that one is unable to tell which "Treasurer" is referred to.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Record of advisers kept by</td>
<td>A 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion encouraged</td>
<td>A 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (T) Treasurer</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplies sought from</td>
<td>148-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer of</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer and Company of Adventurers, etc. (see also “Treasurers” above and below).*</td>
<td>A 9-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appeal to</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewer appeals to</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company’s official name</td>
<td>A 14, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn letter of Y.</td>
<td>A 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lands confirmed to</td>
<td>A 24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Treas. summons</td>
<td>265-6 (255-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members</td>
<td>A 32-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinance for</td>
<td>Yeardley writes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer and Council (see also “Treasurers” above and below).*</td>
<td>Argall appeals to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer for Tobacco Dealings (see also “Treasurers” above and below).*</td>
<td>Farrar, agst. his will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided for</td>
<td>250-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer of Colony (see also “Treasurer” above)*</td>
<td>Arrives in Va.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts held by</td>
<td>A 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy,—powers</td>
<td>A 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duties of</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election of</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold and silver,—lack of,—disappoints</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor,—when</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King nominates candidates</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lands distributed by</td>
<td>A 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations on, after ST. rule,</td>
<td>299 (289)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member C. in Eng.</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members admitted by</td>
<td>A 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessity of, apparent</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oath administered by,</td>
<td>22, 28-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office,—perpetuation of</td>
<td>A 16-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys elected</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (T) elected</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (T),—limitations after,</td>
<td>299 (289)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (T) ordained</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith (T),—powers</td>
<td>A 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton elected</td>
<td>181, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studley elected</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes paid to</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer Somers Is. Co. Smith (T)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury. Depleted</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See note under “Treasurer,” above.
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Truston, Thomas. Member V. C. A 12
Tuckahoe. Randolph home ...124
Tuckahoe Root. Bread made of.. 98
Tucker, Captain (see also names below).
Prisoners rescued by... 239
Tucker, Daniel. Arrives at Just... 77
Member V. C. A 11
Tucker, Capt. William (see also names above and below).
Commission agst. Nansamonds issued to... 313 (303)
Kicquotan commander... 313 (303)
Nansamond exped. under, 313 (303), 317 (307)
Tucker, William (see also names above).
Burgess 317 (307)
Declaration signed by... 317 (307)
Tuffore. Character of 95
Colonists returned by... 95
Indian prisoner... 95
Tufton, Sir Nicholas. Conditions reported by 180
Tenants. Punishment for... 38
Turkies. Indians send... 49, 86, 97, 209
Massacre preceded by gift of... 209
Newport gives swords for... 61
Powhatan sends... 61
Swords given for... 61
Tribute of... 54
Turks. Smith to go agst... 109
Turner, Dr. Member V. C. A 10
Turner, Richard. Member V. C. A 11
Turners, the Company of. Member V. C. A 14
Tutors. Certified regularly... 172
Names of, certified... 172
Tylers and Bricklayers, the Co. of.
Member V. C. A 14
Tyrrel, Francis. Member V. C. A 11

U
United Provinces. Hudson sells discoveries to... 75
Martial Laws of... 293 (283)
University (at Henrico), (see also “College,” “Education”).
Land granted for... 163
Land laid off for... 165
Lands of, tenanted... 165
Provided for... 163
“Unmasked Face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the Winter, 1622.” Answer of G. A. to... 317-22 (307-12)
Butler’s... 278-9 (269-0)
Commissions seek investigation of... 391 (291)
Upholsterers, the Company of.
Member V. C. A 14
Upper Hundred. Annexed to Hen-
rico... 125

Uppowoc. Tobacco—Ind. name of... 19
Usher, see “Master and Usher”
Utensils. Indians given... 210
Provided for... 197
Ututmacomack, Tomocomo called... 143
Utasantasough. Meaning of... 72
Mosco changes name to... 72

V
Vagabons. Martin encouraged... 224
Vanbrance. Ceremony with king’s 92
Varina. Stith dates Hist. at... viii
Varina Neck. Farrar’s Island in... 122
Town site... 122
Varinas. Imported... 249
Vassal, John, Gent. Member V. C. A 13
Vaughan, Edward. Member V. C. A 13
Venetian Ship. Smith gets share of... 109
Vegetation. North Carolina... 31
Venn, Arthur, Gent. Member V. C. A 11
Venn, Richard (haberdasher). Member V. C. A 14
Vere, Sir Francis. Elizabeth not make baron... 12
Military career for... 12
Vere, Sir Horatio. Aid to colony... 174
Fortifications referred to... 174
Member C. for Va... 16
Member V. C. A 9
Vertue, Christopher (vintner). Member V. C. A 13
Vessels (see also “Barks,” “Barges,” “Boats,” “Pinnaces,” “Ships,” “Shallops”).
Arrive... 22, 23, 123, 127, 194
Argall captures... 132-3
Argall uses C... 150
Bristol furnishes... 32-3
Built... 115, 312 (302)
Captured... 132-3
Company used by Ar... 150
Drake’s rescue cols... 15
English return to... 11
English surprised... 28-9
Fish for... 9
Gates brings... 123
Gilbert’s sail... 6
Greenvil brings... 22
Greenvil captures... 12
Indian... 31
Instructions opened to arrival... 42
Jamestown,—left at... 197
London furnishes... 33
Massacre causes sending... 232
Master-Calker of... 226
Materials for... 17
Newport gets... 43
Number in colony ... 317 (307)
Number in Jas. R., ... 282 (272)
Number for colony ... 282 (272), 320 (310)
Number sent to Va ... 122, 282, 283, 286, 289 (284)
Number for colony ... 282 (272), 320 (310)
Number under ST ... 317 (307)
Proclamations posted on ... 331 (321)
Proclamations posted on ... 331 (321)
Procuring, difficult ... 167
Provided for ... A 28
Relief wrecked ... 27-8
Smith left at Jast ... 107
Smith (T)'s ... 317 (307)
Somers' ... 113
Spanish Armada ... 24-6
Timber for ... 335 (325)
Trading ... 282, 283, 286, 289 (284)
White brings ... 23
Wrecked ... 15-6, 27-8, 114
Veto. Governor gets power ... 196
Vice-Admiral of Virginia. Complains agst. guilty ... 240
Hammer under Ar ... 214
Hawkins agst. Algerines ... 184
Newport ... 101
Office committed to G. and C ... 174
Pierce to be ... 174
Pountis ... 191
Steakley ... 146
Vice-President. Scrivener ... 66
Victuals (see also "Food," "Provisions," "Corn," "Supplies," etc.)
Indians bring ... 90
Newport fails to get ... 77
Transportation of ... A 4-5, 18-9, 23
Vienna. Smith goes to ... 109
Vignerons. Encouraged ... 218
Sent over ... 177
Wine hoped for by ... 218
Vincent, Henry. Member V. C ... A 13
Vinegar. Smith uses for "miracle ... 96
Vines. Culture encouraged ... 183, 321 (311), 331 (321)
Fit place for ... 120-1
French to grow ... 117
Planting provided ... 331 (321)
Sent over ... 177
Vignerons to cultivate ... 183
Vine Slips. Sent over ... 177
Vinters (individuals). Members V. C ... A 12
Vintners, the Company of. Member V. C ... A 14
Virginia (see also "Jamestown," "James City," "Fort")
Abandoned for while ... 30-1
Abandonment threatened ... 82
Acts published in ... 307 (297)
Area (original) ... 81
Bancroft forces cols. to ... 76
Bland on conditions ... 174-5
Boundaries ... 36
Butler describes ... 276-9 (266-9)
Butler flees to ... 276 (267)
Censored ... 314 (304)
Charges agst. G. and C ... 333 (323)
Charter to Treas. and Co ... A 9-14
College to be built ... 124
Colonists break contracts to ... A 29
Colo- nists carried to ... 26
Colonists slander ... A 29
Colonization under two Cos. ... 1 A
Commissioners in ... 333 (323)
Commissioners investigate ... 298 (288), 301 (291), 307 (297)
Commissioners on conditions ... 174-5, 299 (289)
Commissioners return from ... 338 (328)
Commodities of ... 270 (260)
Conditions (1620) ... 175-6 (265-6)
(1623), 271-90 (261-90), 291 (281), 293 (283), 299 (289), 301 (291), 303-4 (293-4), 307 (297), 311-2 (301-2), 312 (302), 313 (303), 315-7 (305-7), 317-22 (307-12)
Constitution erroneous ... 310 (300)
Council for ... 36, 37, 102; A 16, 26
Council for, threatens abandon ... 82
"Declaration etc., of" ... 311-2 (301-2)
Delaware leaves ... 120-1
Deputy pleads for ... 203-4
Description ... 45, 81-2, 278-0
(268-0)
Dissolute ordered out ... 167
Distressed state of ... 303-4 (293-4)
Divided by 1st. Charter ... 36
Drake ordered to ... 15
English moves known in ... 314 (304)
English popul. relieved by ... 335 (325)
Europe same size as ... 132
Expenditures in ... 202
Favour not expected ... 310 (300)
Fishing rights ... 185
General As. on B. Infirm ... 317-22 (307-12)
Gondomar opposes ... 247
Goods sent to ... 172
Gosnold visits ... 35
Government formation left to 162
| Governor and Assts. reside in. | 304 (294) |
| Governor and C,—charges agst. | 333 (323) |
| Huckleyt never in | 22 |
| Hedges,—none in | 319 (309) |
| Hudson River part | 133 |
| Humble Petition of | 276-7 (266-7) |
| Imperial family,—progeny | 146 |
| Improved affairs | 313 (303) |
| Interest in | 102 |
| Investigation | 298 (233), 301 (291), 307 (297) |
| Jefferson in | 307 (297) |
| King of | 44 |
| King on consds. | 303-4 (293-4) |
| King's C. for | 36, 37, 102; A, 16, 28 |
| Letters from | 300 (290) |
| Limits of | 198 |
| Loose ones sent to | 168 |
| Map offered | 234 |
| Marshal of | 189 |
| Mentioned | 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24 |
| | 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 |
| Named after Elizabeth | 11 |
| Newce, Marshal of | 189 |
| Newport report on | 101 |
| Origin of name | 11 |
| Owners of,—classes | 270 (260) |
| Parliament's love for | 304 (294) |
| Penal colony | 168 |
| Petitions King | 300, 333 (323) |
| Planters pet. King | 333 (323) |
| Poor to be sent | 193 |
| *Population (1621) | 202 |
| Pory publish acts in | 307 (297) |
| Pountls solicits for | 322 (312) |
| Proceedings get to | 208 |
| Provisions sent | 197 |
| Raleigh assigns interests | 25-6 |
| Raleigh chief advr. of | 29 |
| Raleigh eased of | 30 |
| Raleigh never in | 16, 22, 23, 32 |
| Raleigh permission to discover | 32-3 |
| Ratcliffe lies about | 82 |
| Raven seeks aid in | 115 |
| Relief for | 300 (290) |
| Religion provided for | 37 |
| Rich tries control | 145 |
| Sackville friend of | 187 |
| Sandys, Treas. | 313 (303) |
| Ships proceed to | 307 (297) |
| Siberia like | 168 |
| Slanded by cols. | A 29 |
| Smith embarks for | 111 |
| Smith offers map | 234 |
| Smith starts to | 111 |
| Smith (T),—conditions under | 312 (302), 315-7 (305-7) |
| Smith (T) directs affairs | 312 (302) |
| Smith (T) on | 159 |
| Smith (T) triumphs over | 339 (329) |
| Somers returns to | 119 |
| Spaniards to seize | 138 |
| Tenants to Weymouth | 334 (324) |
| Tobacco imports. agst. | 333 (323) |
| Tobacco ordered from | 370 (360) |
| Tobacco pet. as to | 286 (276) |
| Treasurer | 313 (303) |
| Treasurer and Co. get Charter | A 9-14 |
| Treatise on govt. in | 217 |
| Tyranny in | 293 (283) |
| "Unmasked Face of," | 301 (291) |
| Weymouth gets tenants | 334 (324) |
| Weymouth to explore | 34 |
| Virginia Company of London. | Abandonment colony desired by | 312-2 |
| Accounts, examined | 299 (289) |
| Activities pleasing | 209 |
| Answer demanded from | 305-6 (295-6) |
| Answer of, to P. C. | 340-5 (294-5) |
| Answers P. C. | 272 (262) |
| Appeals to P. C. | 169 |
| Applies for Charters | 101, 126-7 |
| Appoint H. of C members to report on Va | 336 (326) |
| Apprentices encouraged by | 133 |
| Argall actions enrage | 149-0 |
| Argall prosecuted by | 186 |
| Argall restitution to | 151 |
| Argall uses tenants, etc. of | 150 |
| Assessed for relief | 300 (290) |
| Attribute to S. offer | 234-5 |
| Audit shown false by Records | 275 (265) |
| Bequests divided by | 215 |
| Bermudas confiscated by | 227-8 |
| Bermudas sold to own mem­bers | 227-8 |
| Bohun, Physician-Gen. to | 127 |
| Books delivered to | 274 (264) |
| Books sent by | 321 (311) |
| Butler affairs urged by | 303 (293) |
| Butler pet. agst. | 280-1 (270-1) |
| Butler pet. demanded by | 280 (270) |
| Byrd buys Records of | B. N. vi |
| Cape Merchant factor of | 171 |
| Causes entered in Journals of | 170 |
| Cavendish vindicat. and an­swers | 234-5 (224-8) |
| Charter and Const. for | A. III. 32-4 |
| Charter applied for | 101 |
| Charter (new) applied for | 126-7 |
| Charters limited | 221 |

*See note under "Population."
Charters ordered surrendered
by .......................... 304 (294)
Charters surrender resisted by
 306 (296)
Charters to .................... A 1-34
Clergy provided for by .... 173
Collingswood gets warrant
 301 (291)
Commissioners' acts not
 313 (303)
known to .......................... 303 (303)
Commissioners not hear com­
plaints ........................ 302 (292)
Commissioners urged to in­
quiry by ........................ 301-2 (291-2)
Commodities encouraged by. 183
Commodities prospects .......... 193
Commons not act on pet. of .. 206
Complaints of, forbidden .... 302 (292)
Composition of ............ 286-7 (276-7), A 1
Consent of, ignored .......... 293 (283)
Condition of, before Parliam­
t 383 (326)
Conditions reported by .... 281-3 (271-3)
Contract plan rejected by .. 250 (250)
Contract construed in favour. 247
Contract control of .......... 249-9
Corporate name of ............ A 23
Costs of suits on ............ 308 (298), 309 (299)
Council members to be from
 16
Council of State Const. passed
by ............................. A 32-4
Court records of ............ 257
Credit due ...................... 161
Debts of............... 275 (265), 276 (266)
Decision agst ................ 281 (271)
Declaration of King to ... 
 278-99 (268-80)
Declines to enter matters . 308 (298)
Defamed ....................... 333 (323)
Deputation void ............. 174
Deputy for, member C. of S.
 33
Deputy of ..................... 163
Deputy, reprimanded 270 (260)
Different from other com­
panies .......................... 326 (326)
Dissentions increase ....... 185-6
Dissolute ones ordered trans­
ported by .......................... 167
Dissolution ............. 276 (266), 334 (324), 340 (330)
Dissolution,—causes .......... 185-6
Dissolution draws on .. 284 (274)
Dissolution,—errors as to ... B. N., iv-v
Dissolution hastened by maga­
zine ............................... 186
Dissolution silently submitted
 ................................. 341 (331)
Dissolution stops trials. 340 (330)
Dissolution submitted to .... 341 (331)
Dixon answered by .... 226
Drain on treasury ...... 191
Educational letter to ...... 214
"Edwin Sandys's Laws" of. 255
Efforts of, reviewed ........ 176, 178-7
End of 339-0 (329-0)
Expense great .............. 191
Factor of .......................... 171
Farrar stay until dissolution 
 300 (290)
First Charter to ............ A 1-3
Fishing rights at Cape Cod .. 135
"Fourth Charter" to .... A 22-4
Freedom of, for Raleigh (C). 290 (280)
Freedom of speech enjoyed by
 262-3 (252-3)
Garbling pet. offered by .... 199
General A. Ordinance passed
by ............................. A 22-4
Gifts from ...................... 313 (303)
Government of,—how consti­
tuated ........................ 287 (277)
Governor to take charge of 
 303-4 (293-4)
Grand Committee urged on
by ............................. 312 (302)
Grants offered .............. 244
Grants to, violated .......... 245
Great and General Courts of... 219
Halot treatise on rumors of. 17
Healthy situation of.. 334 (324)
House of Commons—pet. to 
 334-7 (324-7)
Howe demands tob. of. .. 329
Illegal grants stopped by. . 159
Imposition not on .......... 169
Ingram, member of .......... 344, 247
Inquiries presented to ... 303 (293)
Inquiry urged by ... 301-2 (291-2)
Instructions as to tob. ... 295
Investigation "Unmasked
Face" ........................ 301 (291)
Jefferson a friend of. 307 (297)
Johnson pet. endorsed by...... 
 281 (271)
Journals of, described ..... 
 321 (311)
Journals of, more elaborate. 170
Journals on Great Shares. 139
Journals quoted .......... 161-2
Kemp answered by .... 227
King perplexes ............ 180
King places restraint on. .. 302-3 (292-3)
King's attitude to ...... .B. N. vii
King's Declaration to .... 
 278-90 (268-80)
King's letter to ........ 302 (292)
King's proposals,—answer to 
 305-6 (295-6)
INDEX TO STITH'S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

King's proposals rejected by .................................. 306 (296)
Lands allotted school by ........................................ 304
Lands of, ruined .............................................. 159-0
Lands of, tenanted ............................................... 165
Lands to be purchased in Eng. etc. ........................................ A 14
Last service of .................................................. 338 (328)
Laws, etc., construed in favour ........................................ A 21-2, 31
Laws of, "Edwin Sandys's Laws" ........................................ 255
Laws of G. A. ratified by ........................................ A 34
Laws of, violated .................................................... 254-5
Letter to, on education ............................................ 214
Letters of, returned by P. C. ........................................ 314 (304)
Letters pat. sustain ............................................... 185
Letters to .......................................................... 201
Letters to, from King ............................................. 302 (292)
Letters to, from Wyat ............................................. 334 (324)
Letters fill treat. of .............................................. 191
Lord Treas. encouraged ............................................ 269 (259)
Lord Treas. replied to .............................................. 246
Magazine distinct from ............................................. 171
Magazine hastens dissol ........................................... 186
Malice to,—causes of .............................................. 283-9 (278-9)
Martin answer to ..................................................... 223-4
Martin gets privileges from ........................................ 220
Martin, pet. agst .................................................... 222
Martin reconciled to .............................................. 225-6
Martin scandalizes ................................................... 225
Massacre clouds zeal of ........................................... 324 (314)
Members ............................................................. 35, 36, 101, 102, A 1, 9-14
Members admitted,—how ........................................... A 18
Members,—all equal standing ....................................... A 22
Members, in Patriot Party .......................................... 179-0
Monopoly, ended .................................................... 289 (259)
Monopoly granted .................................................... 247
Money badly needed by ............................................ 313 (303)
Money-raising concessions of ....................................... 197-8
Newce Dep. for ....................................................... A 33
Newce Supt. of Lands of ........................................... 236
Number adventurers in ............................................. 236
Obligation of, great ............................................... 266 (256)
Officers summoned ................................................... 266 (256)
Opechancanough treaty ............................................. 172-3
Ordinance and Const etc., passed by ................................ 32-4
Ordinance sent by ................................................... 196
Papers sent to ....................................................... 291 (281)
Parliament consider condition ...................................... 336 (326)
Parliament members in ............................................. 292 (282)
Patents protected for .............................................. 326-7 (316-7)
Patriot Party members in ........................................... 179-0
Petitions agst ....................................................... 333 (323)
Petitions agst. Martin ............................................... 222
Petitions H. of Commons ........................................... 334-7 (324-7)
Petitions, not acted on ............................................ 306
Petitions P. C ....................................................... 308 (298)
Petitions seconded by letters to ................................... 201
Petitions supported by ............................................. 296 (286)
Petitions suppressed by ........................................... 286 (276)
Physician to, member C. of S. ...................................... A 33
Physician-Gen. to ................................................... 23, 188
Pory treach. reported to ........................................... 325-8 (315-6)
Pot, Physician-Gen. to ............................................. A 33
Privy Council appealed to by ..................................... 169
Privy Council opposed by .......................................... 310 (300)
Privy Council returns letters to ................................... 314 (304)
Privy C. sends orders to ........................................... 243
Privy Council summons ............................................. 267 (257)
Privy Council takes Records from ................................ 340-1 (330-1)
Proclamation for dissolu .......................................... 340 (330)
Profits of,—source ................................................. 297 (287)
Prohibition agst ..................................................... 302 (292)
Proposals for betterment ............................................ 184
Proposition to ....................................................... 273-4 (263-4)
Quarter Ct. of to ratify laws G. A. ................................. A 34
Quo Warranto approved by ......................................... 301 (291)
Quo Warranto Good opinion of .................................... 308 (298)
Records bought by Byrd ............................................ 291 (281)
Records, extant ..................................................... 273 (263)
Records of Courts of .............................................. 257
Records (all) ordered produced by ................................ 301 (291)
Records preserved,—how ............................................ 257 (247)
Records produced by .............................................. 301 (291)
Records, sequestered .............................................. 298 (288)
Records show audit false ........................................... 275 (265)
Records taken by P. C. ............................................. 340-1 (330-1)
Records tell life of ................................................... B. N. vi
Relief assessed from .............................................. 300 (290)
Relief Va. by, ordered ............................................. 300 (290)
Reports of Va. sent to ............................................. 291 (281)
Restrained by King ................................................... 302-3 (292-3)
Rolfe Sec. resigns ................................................... 157
Royal Domain in Va. agreeable to ................................ 224
Ruggles Treatise in Records of ................................... 216-7
Sandys projects for .................................................. 184
Sandle, Treasurer of Virginia State Library
Scandals against Virginia State Library
Scores against Virginia State Library
Second Charter to Virginia State Library
Secretary resigns
Servants encouraged by Virginia State Library
Sharples treachery reported to Virginia State Library
Silkworm treatise of Virginia State Library
Smith delivers books to Virginia State Library
Smith error as to dissolution
Smith keeps stock in Virginia State Library
Smith not a seaman of Virginia State Library
Smith not think well of Virginia State Library
Smith (T) accts. urged against by Virginia State Library
Smith (T) Treas. of Virginia State Library
Smith (T) triumphs over Virginia State Library
Southampton begs, talk freely
Southamton stay until dissolution
Stith History based on Journals of Virginia State Library
Stock of, liable for costs
Stock of, retained by Virginia State Library
Subscriptions to, enforced
Suits defended by Virginia State Library
Superintendent of Lands of Virginia State Library
Supreme Cs. established
Surrender Charters,—conditions
Surrender Charters resisted
Sustained by letters patent
Taxation (illegal) of Virginia State Library
Tobacco not pay
Tobacco of,—Howe demands
Tobacco proposals to Virginia State Library
Tobacco tax replied to
Treasurer reported to
Treasurer to preside at meetings
Treasurer, depleted
Treatise of, on silkworms
Treaty ordered by Virginia State Library
Trial stopped by dissolution
Tyranny of, in Va
"Unmasked Face" investigation
Urges against Virginia State Library
Vindication and answers
Winter only time to send cols.
Wrongdoers menaced by Virginia State Library
Wrote compliments to
Wrote plan rejected by
Wyat gets tenants of
Wyat letter to
Yearday brings papers from
Yearday not contracted with
Virginia Company of Plimouth
Virginia Hospital, Indians placed in
Virginia Lottery (see also "Lotteries")
Virginia Magazine
Virginia School or Hospital, Indians placed in
Virginia Tobacco, see "Tobacco"
Volley, Warning
Wade, Nicholas, Member V. C
Wade, Sir William, Member C for Va
Wadham College
Wahunsonacock
Wainman, Sir Ferdinando, Arrives in Va
Wainman, Sir Ferdinando's name
Wade, Nicholas, Member V. C
Wade, Nicholas, Member V. C
Wadham College
Wade, Sir William, Member C for Va
Wade, Sir William, Member C for Va
Virginia School or Hospital, Indians placed in
Virginia Tobacco, see "Tobacco"
Volley, Warning
Wade, Nicholas, Member V. C
Wade, Nicholas, Member V. C
Wadham College
Wade, Sir William, Member C for Va
Wade, Sir William, Member C for Va
Wainscot. Hog Is., garrison makes. 97
Sent home and Ind. belief confirmed. 144
Sent to Eng. 83

Walden. Lord Howard of A 11

Waldoe. See also names below.
Drowned 93
Explores river 79, 84
Management of 80
Manakin explored by 79
Powhatan visited by 78
Scrivener exped. opposed by 93
Smith rai.d aided by 84
Waldoe, Captain (see also names above and below).
Member C. in Va. 77
Member V. C. A 11

Waldos, Captain Richard (see also names above).
Arrives at Jast. 77

Wales. Lands to be held in A 14

Wales, Prince of. Cape Henry named after 43

Walker, George (sadler). Member V. C. A 12

Walker, Thomas, Esqr. Member V. C. A 11

Waller, John, Esqr. Member V. C. A 11

Wal lis, Dr. Harriot preferred to Descartes 20

Walnuts. Food made from 117
Indians sent 10
Oil of—manufacture 193

Walsingham. Secretary com. to wch. R. bill committed 11-2

Wanchese and Manteo. Natives taken to Eng. 11
War. Exemptions from service 320 (320)
Treas. and Co. have power of A 19

War-Captains. Slain by cols. 313 (303)

War Dances (see also "Ceremonies," "Dances," "Invocations," "Songs").
Over Smith 52

Warder. Arundel of, sends out Weymouth 33

Warehouses. Tobacco 251

Wares (see also "Commodities," "Goods," "Merchandises").
Duty on A 18
Exportation controlled A 6
Provision for A 28
Spent at floating tavern 81
Transportation of A 18-9, 28

Warr, Thomas, Esq. Member C. for Va. 36

Warrants. Collingswood gets 301 (291)
General A. summoned by 314 (304)
Martin resists 224

Quest-house call for 301 (291)

Warrasqueake. Castle at 332 (322)

Colonists spend night at 85
King of, warns S. 85
Massacre at 212
Smith discovers 49
Smith goes to 66

Warrasqueakes. Commission to go 313 (303)

Warwick, Smith’s Hundred in 172

Warwick, Earl of (see also "Rich, Lord," "Warwickian Faction").
Argall incenses 158
Argall posted by 154
Argall,—proofs against 190
Argall protection not full 157
Argall,—St. Faction member 186-7

Argall to be saved 157
Authority exceeded by 220-1
Butler creature of 277 (267)
Butler made Gov. of Berms. 243
Certificate signed by 320
Change does not benefit 159
Charges against 302 (292)
Clare (Earl of)—why not 153
Company goods taken by 154
Conspires with Ar. 157
Deposing ST. et als. tried by 158
Dissolution Cont. alarms, Faction 273 (263)
Facton alarmed at disso.
Contract 273 (263)
Facton approves Ld. Treas. 266 (256)
Facton,—strength of 269 (259)
Governor-to-be 193
Illegal practice charged 302 (292)
Johnson deposing tried by 158
King influenced badly by 269 (259)

Lands of, tenanted 154
Lord Treas. action approved by, Faction 266 (256)
Lord Treas. summons 266 (256)
Martin certif. signed by 220-1
Meeting at home 181
Opechancanough told of 241
Pory conspires with 157
Pory made Sec. of Co 157
Pory takes proofs to 190
Privy Council summons 267 (257)

Proceedings exposed 297 (287)
Shares held on to 172
Smith (T) deposing tried by 158
Spilman tells O. of 241
Treasurer (ship) sent 153
Wroth brother-in-law 182
Yeardley offended 193

"Warwickian Faction" (see also "Warwick, Earl of").
Contract dissolut. alarms .... 273 (263)
Lord Treas. approved by .... 226 (268)
Proceedings exposed ... 297 (287)
Strength of .... 269 (259)
Watch (guard) Order of, renewed .... 76
Watch Towers. Henrico ... 123-4, 124
Water (see also "Well").
Colonists reduced to meal and 60
Discovered ..... 63
Easton Shores has little. 63
Nelson seeks in W. Indies. 57
Russel's Islands short of ... 63
Scarce on Tangier Is. 63
Tangier (Russel) Is. without ... 63
Well sunk ..... 97, 236
Water-Fowl. Abundant in N. C. 9
Waterhouse, Edward. Clerk of Co.
v-vi
Member V. C. ..... A 10
Records attested by .... v-vi
Waters (see also name below). Escapes during ceremonies. 241
Waters, Edward (see also name above). Commonwealth erected by ... 119-0
Watkin's Point. Discovered,— origin name ..... 63
Watson, Thomas, Esqr. Member V. C. .... A 11
Wat's Island. Limbo formerly. 63
Wattey, William, Member V. C. A 12
Watts, Sir John, Knt. Land confirmed to . A 24
Member C. for Va. ..... 16
Member V. C. ..... A 10
Wax-Chandlers, the Company of. Member V. C. A 14
Wayman, Sir Thomas, Knt. Member V. C. ..... A 10
Wayman, see "Walmam," "Weynman."
Weapons. Indians offered choice of . 92
Transportation of A 18-9, 28
Weavers, the Company of. Member V. C. ..... A 14
Web, Thomas. Member V. C. A 12
Webb, Conspiracy of ..... 123
Webb, Edward, Member V. C. A 12
Webb, George, Gent. Member V. C. ..... A 13
Webb, Richard. Member V. C. A 13
Webb, Thomas. Member V. C. A 11
Webbe, Captain, Arrives in Va. 102
Webbe, Sandys, Gent. Member V. C. 
C. 
Webster, William. Member V. C. A 12
Wochelins, John. Hacklyfyt's With printed by .... 16
With pictures printed by .... 16
Weddings (see also "Marriages").
In Berms. (1610). 115
Jamestown (1608). 84
Weed (see also "Tobacco," "Spanish Tobacco").
King's aversion for 244
Tobacco contemptible 321 (311), 233 (313)
Tobacco deceivable 244
Tobacco nauseous 182-3
Tobacco stinking 182-3
Tobacco unpalatable 182-3
Weights and Measures. Official only used .... 331 (321)
Weirs. Indians deprived of 95
Indians leave .... 73
Indians make for cols. 14
Jamestown,—made at 97
Welby, William (stationer). Member V. C. A 12
Welch, Edward. Member V. C. A 12
Weld, Sir Humphrey. Grantee Sec. Char. 102
Lord May. London, 102; A 16
Member C. for Va. A 16
Member V. C. A 102; A 9
Well (see also "Water"). Elizabeth City 236
Jamestown 97
Wells, Lord Bishop of Bath and. Member C. for Va. A 16
Member V. C. 9, 16
Wells, Thomas (grocer). Member V. C. A 13
Weopomeokes. Own subjection to Eliz. 14
Weroances, see "Werowances" Weorwances. Accomack habitation of 62
Chickahomines without. 130
Great 54
Newport esteemed 58
Powers of 54
Powhatan esteem N. 58
Powhatan sells Po. to 125
Powhatan the Great 54
Religious impression on 18
Werowocomoco. Chrowshaw sent just from 94-5
Corn not gotten at .... 77
Dale takes Po. to 129
Deserters to be killed. 100
Food sought at 83
Indians killed at 96-7
Located in Gloucester Co. 53
Negotiations at 85-90, 129
INDEX TO STITH’S HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

Newport entertained at .......... 57-8
Pocahontas absconds from — why .......... 127-8
Pocahontas befriends cols. at .......... 92
Pocahontas taken to ............... 129
Powder explosion at .......... 96-7
Powhatan entertains at .......... 57-8
Powhatan’s chief seat .......... 53
Powhatan’s hereditary domain .......... 53
Scrivener sent to .......... 83
Smith arrives at .......... 85
Smith conducted to .......... 53
Smith leaves .......... 59
Smith visits P. at .......... 78
Supplies sought at .......... 83
Wyllin misses S. at .......... 93

West, Capt. Francis. Arrives at Jast .......... 77
Delawarr’s brother .......... 77
England,—returns to .......... 116
Falls,—return from .......... 116
Falls,—settlement at .......... 104
Falls visited by .......... 97-8
Grante Sec. Charter .......... 102
Manakin explored by .......... 79
Member C. in Va .......... 153
Member C. of S .......... 32
Member V. C .......... 9
“Nonesuch” trouble caused .......... 106
Poisoned .......... 93-4
Powhatan raided by .......... 85
Powhatan treated badly by men of .......... 105
Smith attacked by men of .......... 104
Starvation prevented by .......... 97-8
Subscribes answer B. Infrm .......... 322 (312)
Trade sought by .......... 90, 118
West, John. Member V. C .......... A 12
West, Katherine. Member V. C .......... A 12
West, Capt. Nathaniel. Commis-

West, Sir Thomas. Captain-General of Va .......... 100, 101
Lord Delawarr .......... 100, 101

Western Islands. Delawarr blown to .......... 121
Delawarr dies at .......... 148
Relief exped. goes to .......... 28
West Hundred. Town under S. T .......... 316 (306)

West India Company. Amsterdam interested in .......... 133
Hudson Riv. colony interests .......... 133

West Indies. Advantageous agst. Spanis .......... 335 (325)
Bohun attacked in .......... 183
Delawarr sails to .......... 120-1
Drake pillages .......... 15
Gilbert trades in .......... 33
Gondomar opposes voyages to .......... 247
Greenvil exped. passes .......... 12

Hogs on .......... 114
Houses compare well with those of .......... 320 (310)
Nelson blown to .......... 57
Nelson victuals at .......... 66
Newport exped. agst .......... 42, 44
Newport in .......... 42
Pillaged .......... 15, 153-4
Ralegh exped. passes .......... 8
Referred to .......... 23
Roanoke exped. returns to .......... 28
Smith commends Spanis. in .......... 233
Spaniards in, commended by S .......... 233
Spanish story of .......... 154
Spoiling, forbidden .......... 195
Tobacco from .......... 23
Treasurer (ship) damages .......... 153-4
White plundered .......... 26

West’s Fort. West returns to .......... 106
Westminster. Charters sealed at A 8, 22, 32
Courts at, favour Co .......... A 27
Hackluyt Prebend of .......... 32, 35; A 1
Prebend, member V. C .......... A 1

Westminster Hall. Appeal to Courts in .......... 310-1 (300-1)
Westrow, John. Member V. C .......... A 12
Westwood, Humfrey. Member V. C .......... A 11
Westwood, Randal. Member V. C .......... A 12

Weymouth (Eng.). Mace of, goes after cols .......... 30
Referred to .......... 30

Weymouth, Capt. George. Explo-

Weymyn, Sir Ferdinando, Knt. Member V. C .......... A 10
Wharton, Sir George, Knt. Mem-

Wharton, Sir Ferdinando, Knt. Member V. C .......... A 10
Wharton, Sir George, Knt. Member V. C .......... A 9
Grows rapidly .......... 31
Ration of .......... 47-8

Wheeler, Thomas (draper). Mem-

Whistler, Francis, Gent. Member V. C .......... A 13
Whiter, Thomas (draper). Mem-

Whitaker, Lieutt. Jabez. Guest-

Whitaker, Mr. (preacher). Bur-

White, James, Gent. Member V. C .......... A 12
White, Leonard, Gent. Member V. C .......... A 12
White, Mr. Member com, wait on Commrs. 301 (291)

White, Mr. John. Biddeford left by 23

Colonists found by 27-8

Colonists not found by 99

Dassamonpeakes disciplined 23-4

Governor Roanoke Is 25

Indians killed in error 24

Raleigh assigns to 25-6

Relief exped, under 26

Spaniards plundered by 26

Supplies sought by 24

White, Thomas. Member V. C. A 11

Whitebakers, the company of. Member V. C. A 14

Whitechurch. Somers' body taken to 119

Whitgift. Arch-Bishop Canterbury 76

Character of 76

Dies 76

Whitley, Thomas. Member V. C. A 11

Whitmore, George (haberdasher). Member V. C A 14

Whittingham, Robert (grocer). Member V. C A 13

Whittingham, Thomas. Member V. C. A 13

Wickham, William. Member C. A 158

Widdowes, Richard (goldsmith). Member V. C. A 12

Widow. Member V. C. A 12

Ramden, member V. C A 12

Wiflin, Richard, Gent. Member V. C. A 11

Wighcomoco. Indians defeated at 213

Town on Patowmack Riv. 69

Wighcomoco River, Cuscarawock River 62

Pokomoke River 63

Wigmore, Sir Richard, Knt. Member V. C A 10

Wigsel. Culpepper of A 10

Wild Beasts. Abundant 64

Food from 50, 97

Indians bring 65, 97

Tribute 54

Wild Fowl (see also "Fowl," "Water Fowl"). Abundant 8, 85, 148

Food from 50

Wilkes, Edward, Member V. C. A 12

William (King). Chief aim of 26

Liberties of Europe engross. 26

Williams, Sir Roger, Member of W. A 24

Williamsburg. Cheesecake near. 54-5

Referrred to 54

Williamsburg Editions, Stith's History B. N. vii

Williamson, Sir Richard, Knt. Member C. for Va. A 16

Member V. C. A 10

Williston, Hugh. Member V. C A 11

Willoughby (Lincolnshire). Smith born in 108

Smith returns to 108

Willoughby, Lord. Berty son of. 108

Wilmer, Andrew. Member V. C. A 12

Wilmer, Clement, Gent. Member V. C. A 12

Wilmer, George. Member V. C. A 12

Wilmot, Sir Charles, Knt. Member V. C. A 9

Wilson (historian). Coke tendencies related by 126

Wilson, Felix. Member V. C. A 12

Wilson, Thomas, Esqr. Member V. C. A 11

Winch, Sam (grocer). Member V. C. A 13

Wine. Argall brings 100

Argall controls trade in 100

Climate bad for 296 (286)

Culture urged 177, 195, 218

Indians given 9

License to vend 8

Poor investment 251-2 (271-2)

Raleigh raises funds by vend- ing 8

Smith free from vice of 112

Trade in, by Argall connived at 100

Trade in, forbidden 100

Vignerons sent over 177

Wingandacoa, Wingina's domain 9

Wingfield, Capt. Edward-Maria, Esqr. Assessed on accus S. 47

Colonization powers to 4-5

Deposed.—place not filled 48

Embezzles supplies 48

Escape attempted 49-0

First Charter to A 1

First Colony of, and others. 35-6; A 2-3

Gosnold joined by 35

Grants to, reconciled A 8

Invasion to be repelled by 4-5

Member C in Va. 45

Member V. C. 35; A, 1, 10

Necessaries for A 4-5, 6

Powers granted A 1-8

President of Colony 45

Sent home 60

Smith charged by 44

Tax license given A 4

Tenure under A 7

Titles assumed 60
Transportation necessaries .......................... A 4-5, 6

Wingina. Colonists aided by ......................... 14
Colonists trusted by ................................ 19
Greenvill seeks aid from ......................... 12
Howe slain by men of .............................. 23
North Carolina king .................................. 9
Pemissahan name of ................................ 14
Prayers attended by ................................ 18
Slain ...................................................... 15
Troublesome ............................................. 14, 15

Winstone, Dr. Slanders refuted by ............. 175

Winter (see also "Climate").
1507, extremely cold .......... 51
1624 arduous ............... 319 (309)

Winter, Capt. William. Member V. C. ...... A 9-10

Wirral, Sir Hugh, Knt. Member V. C. .... A 10

With. Opinion on N. C. Coast .......... 9
With, Mr. John. Hackluyt sees pictures of .... 16
Pictures to be painted by ............. 16
Shows Eng. once wild as Inds. ......... 16-7

With and Hariot Plan. Roanoke not Wococan 9

Withers, Mr. Wrote accuses .......... 259 (249)

With Maps and Cuts. Scale miles on ........ 10
Stith uses iv

Wives (see also "Women," "Concubines," "Maids").
Concessions as to ...................... 197
Imported via Newfoundland. 166
Price of ............................. 197
Provisions for ................... 165-6, 197
Recommendations as to ................. 197
Transportation of ..................... 166

Wococan. Discoveries near ............. 12
Greenvill exp. near ................. 12
Island of N. C. ......................... 9
Ocacock same as ....................... 9
Relief arrives at ................. 26
Roanoke,—distance to .......... 10
Roanoke not ......................... 9

Wolley, Sir Francis, Knt. Member V. C. ...... A 10

Wolstenholme, Sir John. Argall—
ST. Faction member ......................... 186-7
College estab,—on com. to ......... 153
King's cand. for Treas. ............... 230
Lord Treas. summons ................. 286 (256)
Member C. for Va. ...................... A 16
Member V. C. .......................... A 11
Sandys opposed by .................. 167
Treasurership sought by ........... 158-9, 230

Wolves. Abundant ......................... 64
Skins used .............................. 68

Women (see also "Concubines," "Maids," "Wives").

Indians promise to S ................... 52
Indians think cols. not born of ...... 18
Indians think, first created ........ 17
Masco chooses ...................... 72
Members V. C. .......................... A 12
Moraughtacuné King gives up .... 72
Moraughtacuns choose .......... 72
Powhatan keeps ..................... 54, 58
Powhatan prefers, to war .......... 87
Powhatan uses as blind .......... 88
Proclamation on scarcity .......... 332 (322)
Ramsden, Millcent .................. A 12
Rappahannock King chooses .... 72
Rappahannock King loses ........ 69
Rappahannocks steal ............. 69
Scarcity of ....................... 332 (322)
Stolen .............................. 69, 72
West, Katherine .................. A 12

Wood, Captain (see also names below)
Arrives in Va ......................... 102

Wood, Capt. Thomas (see also names above and below)
Member V. C. ......................... A 11

Wood, Thomas (see also names above)
Member V. C. ......................... A 12

Woodal, John. Member V. C. ........ A 11

Woodcliffe, John, Gent. Member V. C. .... A 13

Woodhouse, Captain (see also name below)
Member V. C. ......................... A 10

Woodhouse, Capt. Henry (see also name above)
Member V. C. ......................... A 10

Woodhouse, David, Esqr. Member V. C. ........ A 11

Woodmongers, the Company of.
Member V. C. ......................... A 14

Wooler, Edward. Member V. C. ........ A 12

Woollen, the Company of.
Member V. C. ......................... A 14

Word, Captain. Corn secured by .161
Workmen. Employment of .......... 319 (309)

Massacred ......................... 218
Master, dead .......................... 193
Number furnished ................... 215
Tobacco effects supply .......... 216

Worms. Food destroyed by .......... 94

Wotton, Thomas. Colony saves by care of .......... 48

Surgeon-General .................... 48

Wright, John (Mercer). Member V. C. ......... A 12

Wriothesley, Lord. Dies ... 341 (331)
Southampton grandson of .......... 179

Writings. Permission for ........... 225 (215)
Quest-house call for .......... 301 (291)

Wrongdoers. Indians restore ...... 99

Wrote, Mr. Samuel. Accuser, not accused ........ 260-1 (250-1)
Action scandalizes Court...256
Appeals to King....259 (249)
Appeals to Q. C. 256
Behavior ......256-7 (256-247)
Cavendish reprimands 255
Censured ......252
Charges agst. ....253 (248)
Contract (new) proposed ...250
Council for Va. acts 256
Council,—suspended from ...258 (258)
Defends position ......255-6
Discussion of..254-269 (254-259)
Deputy accused by .....311 (301)
“Edwin Sandys’s Laws” 256
Excluded from C. 261 (251)
Farrar threatened by .....259 (249)
Johnson pet. subscribed by...311 (301)
King influenced badly.269 (259)
Lord Treas. summons..266 (256)
Member Com. Extraordinary.253
Mildway supports 263-4 (253-4)
Quarter Court,—appeals to..256
Quarter Court,—withdraws from ...260 (250)
Records not questioned by ...257 (247)
Sandys on, accusations .....262 (252)
Sentence of, printed..259 (249)
Somers I. Co. stock given up 255
Southampton accused by ...259 (249), 262 (252)
Southampton overawed Co. ...266 (256)
Southampton reproves 257-8 (247-8), 269 (249)
Southampton tilt with ...259-0 (249-0)
Statements answered .....256
Suspended,—why .....265 (275)
Suspended from Courts ...261 (251)
Time given affair of.256 (275)
Tobacco officials selected by 250
Tobacco tax irregular...254-5
Trouble by .....258-9 (248-9)
Virtues of .....269 (259)
Warwickian Fact. accusation. 269 (259)

Wroth, Sir John. Auditor ... 
Wroth, Sir Robert, Knt. Mem-
ber V. C. ..........A 10
Wroth, Sir Thomas, Knt. Brew-
ter verdict, dissented from by 182

Member Argall—ST. Faction 186-7
Midway seconded by ...263-4 (253-4)
Nominated Director...265 (255)
Wyman. Indians flee from...84
Wyatt, Lady. Comes over 229
Wyatt, Sir Francis, Knt. Arrives in Va. .....194
Wyatt entertained by...243
Chanco sent to Opichapan by 233-9
Charges agst. ....333-4 (323-4)
Commission of, expires 344 (324)
Company in debt to...334 (324)
Declaration signed by.317 (307)
Government entered on by...204
Governor .....187-8
Governor again ....344 (324)
Leagues confirmed by ...204
Member C. for Va. 188
Member C. of S. A 33
Ordinance and Charter brought by ......196
Pascoticons,—vengeance on...313 (303)
Patowmac Riv. visited by...313 (303)
Power not desired by.325 (315)
Wyatt, Capt. Thomas. Member V. C. A 10
Wyssin, Richard. Drowning re-
ported by .....93
Pocahontas befriends ...93
Smith sought by .....93
Volunteers but fails .....100
Warlike preparations seen by 93
Wyne, Edmond. Member V. C. A 12

Wyne, Captain Peter. Arrives at Jast. .....77
Command fails on 94
Diss 97
Indians not disciplined by...95
Management of .....80
Manakens explored by ...79
Member C. in Va. 77
Member V. C. A 11
Nansamond trade sought by. 84
Paspahey’s enemy 86
Smith raid opposed by .....84
Thinks S. asks arms .....90

Yeardley, Sir George, Knt. Acts contra. character 237
Alliance confirmed by 141
Argall corrected 154, 157
Argall not found in Va. 157
Argall,—Y. attitude to 242
Arrives in Va. .....157
Attitude to Ar. Govt. 243
Berry disposed of 226
Butler Infrm. subscribed ...318 (312)
| Charges,—cleared of             | 142 |
| Charges disp. not made          | 226 |
| Charters for G. and C. brought  | 157 |
| Chickahominies attacked         | 140-
| Chickahominies under control    | 141 |
| Clergy provided for             | 173 |
| Colonists (number) found        | 316 (306) |
| Commission expires              | 190 |
| Conditions found by             | 164 |
| Corn given precedence           | 160 |
| Corn neglected by               | 140 |
| Corn scarcity found             | 160 |
| Corn seized                     | 242 |
| Corn sought from Cks            | 140 |
| Corn wasted                     | 236-7 |
| Council unwieldy                | 193 |
| Counsellors recommended         | 132 |
| Dale's man                      | 140 |
| Dep. Gov. under Dale            | 138 |
| Dispossesses tenants            | 226, 227 |
| Dixon dispossessed              | 226 |
| Education befriended            | 215 |
| General A. to be held           | 158 |
| Government assumed by           | 157-8 |
| Governor                        | 138 |
| Governor and C. on conduct      | 242 |
| Grants releases from duty       | 158 |
| Hunting                         | 141 |
| Kicquotan dispossessed          | 227 |
| Member C. of S.                 | A 33 |
| Member V. C.                    | A 13 |
| Newce visited                   | 236 |
| Opechancanough gets presents    | 172 |
| Opechancanough suspicioned      | 208 |
| Opechancanough under consent of | 141 |
| Ordinances for G. and C. brought| 157 |
| Pamunkeys visited               | 241-2 |
| Powers (full) given             | 154 |
| Proposals of                    | 165-6 |
| Sick over rumors                | 193 |
| Southampton Plantation under    | 215 |
| Successor of                    | 187 |
| Tenants refused by              | 201 |
| Tobacco restrained              | 160 |
| Tobacco scrambled for           | 140 |
| Tobacco urged by                | 201 |
| Treaty recommended              | 215 |
| Warwick offended at             | 193 |
| Warwick to supplant             | 193 |
| Yelverton, Sir Heny             | Buckingham |
| Yeomans, Simon                 | (fishmonger) |
| Member V. C.                   | A 14 |
| York (town). Cheesecake near     | 53-4 |
| York, Duke of. Cape Charles     | named after | 45 |
| York River. Gosnoid Bay near    | 73 |
| Machot on                       | 134 |
| Pamunkey formerly              | 53, 94 |
| Smith searches                  | 93 |
| Werowocomoco on                 | 53 |
| Yorkshire. Mentioned            | 21 |
| Youghtanund River. Corn sought  | 93 |
| Pamunkey formerly              | 93 |
| Youghtanunds. Smith conducted to| 53 |
| Young, William. Member V. C.    | A 11 |
| Zouche. Member C. for Va.       | A 16 |
| Zouche, Lord. Member V. C.      | A 9 |
| Zweiter. Dies an Impostor       | 103 |
| Escapes to Eng. but returns     | 99 |
| To reclaim Germans              | 99 |