A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia

Type facsimile edition

Edward Waterhouse
Dylan Ruediger, editor

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The introduction draws freely on material from the earlier chapters of my in-progress dissertation. Financial support for the larger project, without which this edition would not exist, has been provided by the Virginia Historical Society, Georgia State University, the Association of Historians at Georgia State University, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the NEH, and the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

This edition was made possible by generous support from the Humanities Research Center, VCU Libraries, and the Department of English at Virginia Commonwealth University. For information on individual copies, the general editor thanks Dr. John Boneham (British Library), Dennis C. Marnon (Houghton Library), Stephen Tabor (Huntington Library), Ken Gibb (Lambeth Palace), AnnaLee Pauls (Princeton), Fiona M. Neale (Glasgow), and Thomas M.M. Gordon (Rylands).
Published in the immediate aftermath of “our late vnhappy accident in Virginia,” Edward Waterhouse’s *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* was the official response of the Virginia Company of London to the assault by the Powhatan Indians on the Jamestown settlers on March 22, 1622. The devastating surprise attack, which became known as the “Jamestown Massacre,” killed nearly a quarter of the population of the colony in a single morning of bloodshed. Rushed into publication shortly after news of the “massacre” reached England, Waterhouse’s *Declaration* contains the most detailed surviving account of the attack and thus stands as an essential primary source for Virginia’s early colonial history. Moreover, it has long been recognized by scholars as articulating a new and extremely aggressive ideological justification for colonialism that would shape the Chesapeake for generations to come.

A minor classic in early Virginian literature, both for its vivid accounts of colonial violence and its equally lurid dehumanization of the region’s indigenous inhabitants, parts of the *Declaration* were quickly anthologized by Samuel Purchas in his baroque collection of travel literature in 1625 and, without attribution, by John Smith in his 1624 *Generall Historie of Virginia*. Excerpts of it are still frequently included in documentary readers and anthologies of early colonial literature. However, as originally printed, the *Declaration* is a complex composite text. Printed along with it are a previously unpublished treatise on the Northwest Passage written by the mathematician (and Virginia Company investor) Henry Briggs and an account of religious donations to the colony. Issued with the book was a broadside detailing the items would-be settlers in Virginia should bring with them. These texts, which supplement and extend Waterhouse’s arguments, have not been widely reprinted since their inclusion in Susan Kingsbury’s *Records of the Virginia Company of London* over one hundred years ago.  

An expressly topical work, Waterhouse’s text demands historical contextualization, in particular of English perceptions about the Virginia colony in the years prior to 1622. Less than two decades old, the Jamestown Colony had struggled in its earliest years with starvation, poor leadership, a lack of a clear economic purpose, and
from 1609-1614, a full-scale war against the powerful Powhatan chiefdom, who significantly outnumbered the English and owned the land the English were determined to settle. As the historian Frederick Fausz has estimated, this violence was responsible for the death of over 20% of the total number of immigrants to the colony before 1614, as well as hundreds of fatalities among the Powhatans. In 1614, however, the colony’s prospects had begun to shift dramatically after the negotiation of peace with the Powhatans. Sealed diplomatically by the marriage of John Rolfe to Pocahontas, a daughter of Powhatan who had been held as a hostage by the English for over a year, the peace allowed both sides a respite from the violence that had stained the face of the land the Powhatan’s called Tsenacommacah. A second important development was the discovery, by Rolfe, that the West Indian variety of tobacco flourished in Virginia. This gave the colony a cash crop and an economic purpose, setting the stage for a surge of migration to Virginia. Waterhouse noted the Virginia Company had organized the migration of 3570 colonists to the Chesapeake in the years between 1619-1621, a figure that if anything is too low. Though many of these died from disease soon after arrival, the population of the colony nonetheless quickly quadrupled. The combination of rapid population growth and the demanding nature of tobacco cultivation, which required excellent farmland and rapidly exhausted the soil, created tensions with the Powhatan that would erupt into open war in 1622.

The English, however, only dimly perceived the resentment that their invasion was causing. In fact, in the years after the marriage of Pocahontas, the English frequently voiced the opinion that they were on the cusp of creating a consensual form of colonialism. This idea became an important part of the colony’s ideology, as the English increasingly, and proudly, articulated a sense that rather than acting as conquerors, they were establishing their colony on the firmer basis of what Ralph Hamor referred to as “lenitie and faire vsage.” Printed discussions of Virginia in the years before 1622 frequently revolved around just such a conception of the colonial project. John Rolfe’s True Relation of the State of Virginia Left by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May Last 1616 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), 6.


7 Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia (London, 1615), 2–3; In an important article, Ken Macmillan has explored the influence of the idea of a “benign conquest” on Elizabethan English colonial thought. See Ken Macmillan, “Benign and Benevolent Conquest?: The Ideology of Elizabethan Atlantic Expansion Revisited,” Early American Studies 9, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 32–72. Macmillan suggests that the idea did not survive the establishment of permanent settlements in North America and was largely defunct by 1607. In contrast, I am suggesting that the concept enjoyed a revival in the period between 1614 and 1622.

Similarly, Samuel Purchas told readers of his immensely popular treatise on world religions that the Powhatans had willingly accepted political subordination to the English and freely given the English their land. English mildness, not the “violent Law of Armes,” he argued, was the basis for English possession in the Chesapeake. As John Rolfe, perhaps with his wife in mind, suggested, some of the Indians had already been “won to us,” and others would follow as long as the English governed fairly. The delusional idea that by making peace the Powhatans had consented to their own dispossession was rooted in English beliefs that conquests born of violence were inherently unstable and prone to reversal. As far back as 1612, as war with the Powhatans raged, the London Alderman and Virginia Company member Robert Johnson had warned colonists that if they sought to “gaine this victorie vpon them by strategems of warre, you shall vtterly lose it, and neuer come neere it.” Violence, he suggested, would only lead to hatred of the English and further conflict: the trick to successful colonization was “peace and gentlenesse,” which would “range them in loue to you wards,” securing the success of the colony.

Politically, peace with the Powhatan seemed, as Waterhouse remarked, “the easiest way then thought to pursue and aduance our proiects of buildings, plantings, and effecting their conuersion by peaceable and fayre meanes.” In the years after the marriage of Pocahontas, this prescription seemed possible, and the Virginia Company not only promoted the idea of a peaceful colonialism in print, it also attempted to initiate it as a matter of policy on the ground. Most notably, the Company began making substantial efforts to realize its evangelical aims for the first time. As one of the appendices of Waterhouse’s text makes clear, donations aimed at the conversion of Indians flowed into Virginia in the late 1610’s and early 1620’s. In addition, the Company laid aside 10,000 acres of land to support an “Indian college,” and sent 50 servants to work it. Though actual Indian converts remained exceedingly few, company officials believed that even Opecanchanough, who became paramount chief when Powhatan died in April 1618, was on the verge of accepting Christianity.

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1 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London, 1617), 946.
Perhaps the most powerful evidence of how thoroughly the English had come to believe in their own colonial benevolence was the extent to which the Powhatan’s attack in 1622 took them by surprise. Waterhouse devotes a number of vivid pages to detailing the assault against what he believed was an entirely innocent English population. Drawing on letters sent from the colony, he describes how on the morning of March 22, large numbers of Powhatans arrived unarmed at the homes of the many isolated English settlers scattered along the James River, bearing “Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furres, and other prouisions, to sell, and trucke with vs, for glass, beades, and other trifles.” Some even ate breakfast with the English before picking up whatever implements lay near at hand and bludgeoning them to death, “not sparing eyther age or sex, man, woman or childe.”

By the end of morning, 347 settlers, carefully enumerated by name in Waterhouse’s appendix, lay dead, many having been mutilated as or after they died.

As Waterhouse makes clear, the English were both devastated and infuriated by the attack. On the one hand, this is easy enough to understand, as the sudden violent deaths of a quarter of a community deeply traumatized the survivors, who believed themselves victims of an unprovoked attack intended to annihilate the colony. We need not minimize this trauma, but it is important to understand that the Powhatans had substantive grievances against the English invaders. Perhaps the most obvious was the continual taking of prime farmland by the rapidly-growing and land-hungry English population. The Powhatans seem to have accepted, even desired, a limited population of Europeans in the region as potential allies and trading partners. However, as the tobacco economy boomed, the prospects of a Jamestown remaining a small trading colony were destroyed as waves of new settlers arrived and the English demanded ever larger chunks of Tsenacommacah’s best farmland. The aggressive assertion of rights to native land provoked countless small conflicts and resentments, and put stress on the Powhatans’ ability to grow the corn on which their people depended. To make matters worse, the very English settlers converting farmland to tobacco fields also depended on the Powhatans for food. The lust for tobacco left the colony unable to feed itself. Instead, the

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14 Waterhouse, A Declaration, 13–14.


English expected the Powhatans to provide it for them: when they refused, the English often either forced them to trade away their corn or simply stole what they wanted. To the English, for whom the idea of "faire meanes" included ample room for the coercion of subordinates, the steady taking of Indian land and stealing of Indian food may have seemed compatible with fairness. To the Powhatans it unsurprisingly did not.

The 1622 attack, however, may have been motivated by more than a simple competition for resources. It may also have been intended as a reminder that Opechancanough still claimed ultimate political authority in the tidewater. Firm evidence regarding the motive for the attack does not exist, and scholars have been split on the matter. Some, including the eminent Powhatan ethnographer Helen Rountree, believe the colonists were correct in thinking that the Powhatans intended to kill them all, or at least force them to abandon the colony. Others believe that the attack’s aims were primarily political. As the anthropologist Frederick Fausz has suggested, there is little reason to believe that the Powhatans perceived themselves as subordinated to the English. They believed that the 1614 peace had affirmed their status as the dominant political entity in the tidewater and had granted the English only limited rights of settlement within their territory. While the English, he argued, "perceived the Powhatans as defeated," the "Powhatans themselves consistently acted to maintain their position of superiority in the relationship, and they clearly saw themselves as dominating the English." Even in 1622, the Powhatans still valued an English presence in the region because of the access it provided to European trading goods and were prepared to allow limited settlement in support of a long-term relationship. The motive of the attack, in Fausz’s reading, was not to destroy the colony entirely, but instead to punish the English for innumerable insults, force them to remain within the immediate vicinity of Jamestown, and remind them that their existence in Virginia depended on their willingness to abide by Opechancanough’s terms. If these were the Powhatans’ aims, they badly miscalculated. Powhatan aspirations of a subordinated English trading post came crashing down in the aftermath of the attack on


19 Gleach, Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia, 155.
Jamestown as thoroughly as did English dreams of a colonialism without conquest.

News travelled slowly across the Atlantic in the early seventeenth century, and it was not until July that word of the Powhatan attack reached London. When it did, it threatened future investment in the colony and the already shaky reputation of the Company, compelling an official response. The Virginia Company counted among its members a number of the most prominent intellectuals and public figures of the day, many of whom had or would publish treatises on the Company’s behalf. Why Edward Waterhouse, an otherwise obscure secretary for the Company who never published another book and about whom little is known, was chosen to act as a spokesperson for such an important communication is unknown and, in truth, a bit quizzical. In his dedicatory epistle, Waterhouse claims to have taken it upon himself to draft his *Declaration* out of loyalty to the Company which employed him. More likely, the task fell to him because his position as a secretary gave him ready access to correspondence from Virginia and because he could work quickly. The Declaration was entered into the stationer’s register just one month after reports of the massacre began circulating in England, a fact which makes the clarity of its shift in colonial rhetoric and policy all the more exceptional.

As a work of prose, Waterhouse’s *Declaration* made two major arguments, both of which deserve careful attention. First, and most dramatically, it thoroughly shifted the ideological basis of the colony away from the fantasy of peaceful subordination symbolized so powerfully in the marriage and conversion of Pocahontas. In its place, Waterhouse substituted an enthusiastic defense of conquest as the quickest and most effective means of securing the future of the plantation. As most historians of early Virginia have noted, after 1622 Virginians’ attitudes towards the region’s indigenous peoples turned sharply negative and for decades to come Virginians thought only of destroying and displacing them.


opportunities. In the summer of 1622, as the colony teetered on the edge of collapse, the urgency of this argument was acute. Waterhouse had to redefine the loss of a quarter of the population and the destruction of much of its livestock, buildings, and other forms of capital, as advantageous to the future of the colony. Moreover, he needed to convince his readers that the Powhatans were not the powerful, even existential, military threat they had so clearly revealed themselves to be. To make this difficult argument, Waterhouse relied heavily on the idea that treachery, rather than power, made the attack possible. “It was not,” he argued “the strength of a professed enemy that brought this slaughter on them,” but “the perfidious treachery of a false-hearted people.”

Though he was sharply critical of the colonists for succumbing to overconfidence and easy familiarity with the Indians, Waterhouse’s case for the treachery of the Powhatan revolved around portraying the English as innocent victims of an unprovoked attack. He described Virginians prior to the “massacre” as having good reason to believe they had secured a lasting peace, which the colonists believed “sure and vnuiolable, not onely because it was solemnly ratified and sworne, and at the request of the Natiue King stamped in Brasse, and fixed to one of his Oakes of note,” but because it benefited both sides. The English benefited by gaining freedom to expand, the Powhatans by receiving the protection of the English and increasing their prospects of conversion to Christianity. In Waterhouse’s assessment, the Powhatans not only violated this “league” with the English, but did so through deceit and trickery, lulling the well-meaning English into a false sense of security and friendship before ruthlessly attacking them.

The intensity of the attack, which included the mutilation of bodies and the killing of women and children, and the fact that it violated a ratified treaty without a prior formal announcement, led Waterhouse to conclude that it was “contrary to all lawes of God and men, of Nature & Nations.” In a passage replete with dehumanizing language, Waterhouse compared the Indians unfavorably to wild beasts; even captive lions and dragons, he suggested “haue beene so farre from hurting, as they haue both acknowledged, and gratefully requited their Benefactors.” Instead, the Indians have

23 Waterhouse, A Declaration, sig. A3v.

24 Ibid., 12.
proven even less capable of responding to benevolence than wild animals, reacting to English kindness and protection with a savagery that belied their humanity and revealed their essentially "vnnaturall brutishnesse."²⁵

Though the primary purpose of this introduction is to situate Waterhouse's arguments within a discursive context, it is important to point out that his charge that the Powhatans had violated the laws of nature reveals an important cultural fault line in early Virginia. Among the many cultural differences separating the Powhatans and the English were conceptions of peace and violence, and norms surrounding their practice which are too complex to be understood within the simple and ethnocentric framework of English civility and native savagery which Waterhouse treats them. One obvious example of this is his disdain for warfare by stratagem and deceit, which he believed violated acceptable rules for the use of military force. Within an indigenous framework, however, warfare by surprise and what would come to be called "guerilla tactics" was considered not only acceptable, but normal. Moreover, Opechancanough seems to have made several warnings to the English in the years prior to the attack, which the English, not understanding the nature of the signal, missed. The most important of these occurred in late 1621, when Opechancanough changed his name to Mangopeesomonon. The adoption of a new name, probably a war-name, signified a potential shift in his policy towards the English. Opechancanough himself informed the English of his new name in what may well have been an explicit warning to the English to change their behavior or face the consequences.²⁶ The English, however, did not catch the significance of this event and if it was a warning, it went unheeded.

Interpreting such subtleties were not, however, Waterhouse's intentions. For his purposes, what mattered was that the Indians had turned, inexplicably and without warning, on the English. By emphasizing native treachery, Waterhouse minimized their military strength; but for the element of surprise, he argued, Indians were no real threat to the English. Moreover, their willingness to engage in a surprise attack revealed their moral degeneracy. To frame the contrast between perfidious savagery and well-intentioned civility in its starkest terms, Waterhouse dwelt at length on the story of

²⁵ Waterhouse, A Declaration, 14-15.
the death of George Thorpe. Thorpe, whose job in Virginia was to supervise the “college lands” and build the infrastructure for the conversion of the Powhatans to Christianity, had a well-earned reputation as an advocate for a “gentle” colonial policy. Waterhouse was aware of this reputation, and reminded his readers of Thorpe’s tenderness towards the Indians and tireless efforts to “binde them vnto him by his many courtesies.” He was also a confidant of Opechancanough; it was to Thorpe that Opechancanough revealed his new name and professed an interest in converting to Christianity. Yet Thorpe was not spared during the attack; indeed his body was subjected to “many barbarous despights and foule scornes after to his dead corpes, as are vnbefitting to be heard by any ciuill eare.” For Waterhouse, he became a powerful symbol of the demise of the colony’s most optimistic hopes and a warning about the dangers of trusting the humanity of the Indians. Prior to his murder, Waterhouse recounts, Thorpe was warned about the impending attack but was so “void of all suspition, and so full of confidence,” that he refused to believe he might be subject to violence at native hands. Thorpe served as the paradigmatic example of what Waterhouse called a form of stupidity that had taken root among the English, who refused to believe “any thing that might weaken their hopes of speedy winning the Sauages to Ciuility and Religion, by kind vsage and fayre conuersing amongst them.”

English good intentions and gullibility would all but vanish in Virginia in the 1620’s and 1630’s. Indeed, fear of Indian treachery, already an established trope of English representations about Indians, would become an oft-repeated maxim in the coming years, when the Powhatans were routinely described as “perpetual enemies.” Waterhouse’s Declaration signaled this transition by arguing that one necessary lesson of the attack was that the English should never again trust the Indians. He went even further, though, and announced a dramatic shift in English colonial rhetoric by insisting that the attack had freed the English from the moral obligation to practice what might be called an affective colonialism in favor of a direct conquest of Virginia. Having endured an unprovoked attack, the English could now respond with a devastating counter attack. “Our hands,” he says, “which before

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27 Waterhouse, A Declaration, 15.

28 Ibid., 17-18.

were tied with gentlenesse and faire vsage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Sauages.” “By right of Warre, and law of Nations,” they were now free to invade the country and “destroy them who sought to destroy vs,” to appropriate fields, seize towns, and kill without mercy. Waterhouse’s description of the violence that might be inflicted on the Powhatans is almost giddy in its thoroughness. The English could attack them “by force, by surprize, by famine in burning their Corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, Canoes, and Houses, by breaking their fishing Weares, by assailing them in their huntings,” and “by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and blood-Hounds to draw after them, and Mastiues to teare them.” Those who survived could be “compelled to seruitude and drudgery,” where they could ease the labor shortages that plagued the colony or be sold into slavery in Bermuda. By emphasizing the possibilities of violence, Waterhouse was able to redefine the tragic and stunning attack on the colony as an opportunity. The old project of “ciuilizing them by faire meanes,” he suggested, was by definition a slow and laborious one that could only be achieved by the “effect of long time, and great industry.” In contrast, the conquest of the Powhatans would be simple, and would open up the riches of Virginia to the English at a much quicker pace.30

Those riches, Waterhouse assured his readers, were considerable. In addition to making the case for massive retaliation, Waterhouse needed to convince his readers that colonialism in Virginia was still commercially viable. This was not a simple task. Despite the tobacco boom, the Virginia Company was struggling to attract investors and chronically short of capital even before the Powhatan attack devastated the colony. Throughout his text, Waterhouse took pains to emphasize the commercial possibilities of the colony, arguing that Virginia was well-known as “naturally rich, and exceedingly well watered, very temperate, and healthfull to the Inhabitants.”31 As a guide to potential investors or migrants, Waterhouse included several appendices to his text. The first, a broadside, helpfully provides a detailed catalog of the items would-be colonists needed to bring with them when they came to Virginia. The second, a hauntingly understated list of each person killed by the Powhatans

30 Waterhouse, A Declaration, 22-5.

31 Ibid., 3.
on March 22 may seem an unlikely spur to immigration. But, as Waterhouse explained, its purpose was to notify the heirs of the dead so that they might come forward and claim their inheritance in Virginia. Finally, in line with previous writers on the topic of Virginia’s potential prosperity, Waterhouse emphasized that Virginia was capable of producing the “richest commodities of most parts of the Earth,” and made an optimistic list of items that England currently imported from foreign countries that might be made in Virginia. To further entice investment, he reported hopeful signs that the Northwest Passage, the white whale of early American colonialism, lay within reach. Perhaps aware that his own evidence, based on the “continual constant relations” of the very Indians he had impeached as bestial and untrustworthy, might be unpersuasive, Waterhouse appended to his text a treatise by Henry Briggs on the Northwest Passage. Though it too was based on the optimistic reading of evidence and geographical conjecture, Brigg’s words carried considerable authority: he was among the foremost English mathematicians of his day, and an expert on navigation and cartography.

In the end, Waterhouse’s Declaration could not save the Virginia Company, which failed to weather the political fallout of the massacre and rebuild its tattered finances. The Company was dissolved by Royal Order in 1624, and Virginia became a royal colony. However, the vigorous embrace of conquest he espoused remained hegemonic in Virginia throughout the 1620’s and 1630’s. One month after the publication of the Declaration, the Virginia Company authorized the printing of Christopher Brooke’s Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia, which echoed much of Waterhouse’s prose with verse that argued that attempts to rule Virginia through mildness had resulted only in a false sense of security, an illusion of a “Heaven” that masked a developing hell. Like Waterhouse, Brooke concluded that Virginia must henceforth be conquered by “sterne armes.”

The rhetorical shift evident in Waterhouse and Brooke’s texts was matched by a shift in policy on the ground. As Waterhouse went to press, the Company issued orders that the colonists should pursue “perpetuall warre without peace or truce” against the Powhatans. This would be a total war, designed to destroy towns,
crops, and temples, and kill or enslave an entire people. Although they initially considered abandoning Jamestown and moving all the surviving colonists to the relative safety of Virginia’s eastern shore, by the summer of 1622, the colonists launched a series of counterattacks that would soon turn into just the kind of ceaseless war the Company called for. Violence between the English and Powhatans was endemic throughout the remainder of the 1620’s, a period in which Virginia’s leaders frequently emphasized the perpetual state of the war and the status of Indians as irreconcilable enemies. Fueled by the intense sense of victimization and a rhetoric of dehumanization that Waterhouse had so clearly articulated, the English felt liberated from their own culturally accepted norms of violence. As the great collector of travel literature Samuel Purchas explained, the Powhatans’ attack on the innocent English settlers proved them to be “Barbarians, Borderers and Out-lawes of humanity,” who were “lyable to the punishments of Law,” but “not to the priuiledges.”

Throughout the 1620’s, English battle tactics reflected the discursive permissiveness that Waterhouse had unleashed. In 1624, colonists reported to the Company that they held “nothing unjust (except breach of faith)” against the Powhatans. In fact, they had already crossed even this limited line, having twice launched attacks on Indians during peace negotiations. Only in the late 1640’s, after two decades of fierce warfare, would something approaching a stable peace be made between the English and a much diminished Powhatan chiefdom.
THE EDITION AND SOURCE

This edition of Edward Waterhouse is part of a pair, issued simultaneously. One of the two is a type facsimile. The other is a searchable, photographic facsimile of the copy held at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Whereas the black-and-white photographic facsimiles previously available via Early English Books Online and the De Capo series of print facsimiles feature similar images of individual copies of the original text, the type facsimile offered here features modern and digital type. Although a type facsimile is inherently less faithful than a photographic facsimile, it is in many contexts more useful because of its greater accessibility. Nevertheless, it strives for accuracy, and in keeping with the standards of the British Virginia series, reproduces original spelling, line breaks, page numbers, signatures, measurements, and virtually every feature that I could duplicate using modern typographical and layout tools. It is not, however, an exact reproduction. Most notably, the modern font used for the type facsimile differs from that used by Waterhouse’s printer, G. Eld. It lacks, for instance, the long s, which is reproduced here as a short s. Engravings have been replaced with simple rectangles. Another significant difference is that digital type is regularized. Thus, despite considerable labor spent trying to reproduce the often odd spacing between letters for the type facsimile edition, the computerized font remains more uniform than does the original. Readers with questions about the exact ruling or spacing of the text should consult the photographic rather than the type facsimile.

Both the type facsimile and photographic facsimile are based on the copy held by the Virginia Historical Society, though I have consulted two other physical copies of the work, held by the Library of Congress and the Folger Shakespeare Library, and a digital surrogate of the copy held by the Huntington Library that is available through EEBO. It remains, however, a single-copy edition rather than a critical edition. The most significant use made of the Folger and LOC copies was to reproduce the relatively few marginal notes in Waterhouse, which are partially cropped in the otherwise beautiful copy owned by the VHS that is the basis for this edition.
The photographic facsimile produced here is a surrogate for the VHS Copy.

The VHS copy (Rare Books F229 .W32 1622), in a modern binding, was donated by Paul Mellon and bears his book plate. Prior to Mellon’s acquisition, the book belonged to Boies Penrose II (1902-1976). Penrose’s bookplate is pasted to the opening flyleaf. The broadside, included in facsimile in the copies of many libraries, is original.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

A | DECLARATION | OF | THE STATE OF THE | Colony and Affairs in VIRGINIA. | WITH | A RELATION OF THE BARBAROUS Massacre in the time of peace and League, | treacherously executed by the Nation Infidels | uppon the English, the 22 of March last. | Together with the names of those that were then massacred; | that their lawfull heyres, by this notice giuen, may take order | for the inheriting of their lands and estates in VIRGINIA. | AND | A TREATISE ANNEXED, | Written by that learned Mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs, of the Northwest passage to the South Sea | through the Continent of Virginia, and | by Fretum Hudson. | Also a Commemoration of such worthy Benefactors as haue con-tributed their Christian Charitie towards the aduancement of the Colony. | And a Note of the charges of necessary prouisions fit for every man that intends to goe to VIRGINIA. | Published by Authoritie. | Imprinted at London by G. Eld, for Robert Mylbourne, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great South doore of Pauls. 1622.

Collation: 4º, A-H⁴ ($3 (-A1, A2, G2) signed), 32 leaves; plus an inserted full-sheet broadside.

Broadside: THE INCONVENIENCIES | THAT HAVE HAPPENED TO SOME PER- | SONS WHICH HAVE TRANSPORTED THEMSELVES | from England to Virginia, without prouisions necessary to sustaine themselues, hath greatly hindered the Progress of that noble Plantation: For prevention of the like disorders | heereafter, that no man suffer, either through ignorance or misinformation; it is thought re-quisite to publish this short declaration: wherein is contained a particular of such
neces- | saries, as either private families or single persons shall have  
cause to furnish themselves with, for their better | support at their  
first landing in Virginia; whereby also greater numbers may receive in 
part, | directions how to provide themselves. | [rule] | [text] | [rule]  
Imprinted at London by FELIX KYNGSTON. 1622.  

Contents: Sigs. A1r blk, A1v [rule] [two woodcut seals] [rule],  
A2r t., A2v blk, A3r-A4r Dedication dh: TO THE HONrable |  
COMPANIE OF | VIRGINIA., A3v-A4r ht: THE EPISTLE., A4v  
Errata dh: Faults in printing are thus to be amended., B1r-F1v text 
dh: A | DECLARATION | of the state of the Colonie and | Affairs 
in VIRGINIA. | With a Relation of the barbarous Massacre in the |  
time of peace and League, treacherously executed upon | the  
English by the native Infidels, 22 March last., F2r-G2r text dh: Here  
following is set downe a true | List of the names of all those that 
were mas- | sacred by the treachery of the Sauages in | VIRGINIA,  
the 22 March last. | To the end that their lawfull heyres may take |  
| speedy order for the inheriting of their lands | and estates there: 
For which the Honourable Com- | pany of Virginia are ready to doe 
them | all right and favour., G2v blk, G3r-H1v text dh: A TREATISE |  
| OF THE NORTHWEST | Passage to the South Sea, through | the 
Continent of VIRGINIA | and by Fretum Hudson., H2r-H3v text dh:  
A MEMORIALL OF | Religious Charitie exercised on | VIRGINIA 
to the glory of God and good | example of men, these three last yeares, |  
1619. 1620. 1621., H4r-v blk.  

Pagination: B1r-G2r paginated 1-43, G3r-H3v paginated 45-54,  
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Catchwords: A3r whose (~), A3v Time (~), B1r and (~), B1v Sir  
(~), B2r that (~), B2v The (~), B3r the (~), B3v each (~), B4r reaped (~),  
B4v his (~), C1r of (~), C1v ing) (~), C2r them- (themselves), C2v of  
(~), C3r Furres, (~), C3v the (~), C4r pleasure (~), C4v this (~), D1r  
there (~), D1v with (~), D2r I (~), D2v died (~), D3r of (~), D3v not  
(~), D4r the (~), D4v Mexico, (~), E1r that (~), E1v owne (~), E2r at (~),  
E2r times (~), E3r story (~), E3v or (~), E4r and (~), E4v their (~), F1r  
to (~), F1v Here (~), F2r At (~), F2v At (~), F3r At (~), F3v At (~), F4r  
At (~), F4v At (~), G1r 3 Seruants (3. Seruants.) G1v Robert (~), G3r  
those (~), G3v Flats (~), G4r stant (~), G4v now (~), H1r Fretum (~),  
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A DECLARATION
OF
THE STATE OF THE
Colony and Affaires in VIRGINIA.

WITH
A RELATION OF THE BARBAROUS Massacre in the time of peace and League, treacherously executed by the Natiue Infidels upon the English, the 22 of March last.

Together with the names of those that were then massacred; that their lawfull heyres, by this notice giuen, may take order for the inheriting of their lands and estates in VIRGINIA.

AND
A TREATISE ANNEXED,
Written by that learned Mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs, of the Northwest passage to the South Sea through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson.

Also a Commemoration of such worthy Benefactors as haue contributed their Christian Charitie towards the aduancement of the Colony. And a Note of the charges of necessary provisions fit for every man that intends to goe to VIRGINIA.

Published by Authoritie.

Imprinted at London by G. Eld, for Robert Mylbourne, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great South doore of Pauls. 1622.
TO THE HONorable
COMPANIE OF
VIRGINIA.

Right Honorable and Worthy:

The fame of our late vn-happy accident in Virginia, hath spread it selfe, I doubt not, into all parts abroad, and as it is talked of of all men, so no question of many, and of most, it cannot but be misreported, some carried away with ouer-weak lightnesse to beleue all they heare, how vntrue soeuer; others out of their disaffection possibly to the Plantation, are desirous to make that, which is ill, worse; and so the truth of the Action, which is only one, is varied and misreported. I haue thought it therefore a part of some acceptable seruice in me towards you, A 3 whose
whose fauors haue preferred me to be a member of your Company, to present you with these my poore labours, the Collection of the truth hereof, drawne from the relation of some of those that were beholders of that Tragedie, and who hardly escaped from tasting of the same cup, as also from the Letters sent you by the Gouernour and other Gentlemen of quality, and of the Councell in that Colonie, read openly here in your Courts: That so the world may see that it was not the strength of a professed enemy that brought this slaughter on them, but contriued by the perfidious treachery of a false-hearted people, that know not God nor faith. No generous Spirit will forbeare to goe on for this accident that hath hapned to the Plantation, but proceed rather cheerfully in this honorable Enterprize, since the discouery of their bruittish falshood will proue (as shall appeare by this Treatise following) many waies aduantageable to vs, and make this forewarning a forearming for euer to preuent a greater mischiefe.

Accept it from me, I most humbly beseech you, as the first fruits of my poore seruice.

Time may happily make me able to yeeld you some other worke whose subiect may bee Ioy, as this is a Theame of Sadnesse: Meanetime, I commit You and the Noble Colony to Gods good blessing, as he that shall alwaies be

A true Votarie for your happinesse,

and seruant to your commands,

Edward Waterhovse.
A DECLARATION of the state of the Colonie and Affaires in VIRGINIA.

With a Relation of the barbarous Massacre in the time of peace and League, treacherously executed upon the English by the native Infidels, 22 March last.

Although there have been many and sundry Treatises writ of Virginia, and the Commodities thereof; whereat malicious men may take occasion to cavil, but godly men will finde good cause to praise the Almighty, whose wonders are seen in the deepe, through the which we have sailed to the discovery of this good Land: Yet I have not thought it amisse (since I am to expresse some late Accidents) before-hand to summe vp the benefits of that Countrey; partly because they daily encrease by new Discoueries made, to the glory of our most gratious King, and euer renowned to all posteritie, for the founding and supporting of this most Royall and blessed work of Plantation, to the great honor, wealth
and happiness of his most famous Kingdomes; and partly, because such is the customary daintiness of Readers, that they seldom take the pains to gather together all that hath beene written of any subject, that so they might take the whole business into their consideration, (which is the onely way to make a true judgement, ) but usuaily content themselves with one or two Bookes set out occasionally, and with reference to some former Treatises, whereby they gaine but a lame and parcell-knowledge, and so oftentimes both preiudice themselves and the truth.

The Countrey called VIRGINIA (so named by the late Virgin-Queene Elizabeth of blessed memory) being the rightfull inheritance of his Maiesty, as being first discouered at the costs and charges of that most prudent Prince of famous memory, King Henry the Seuenth, his Maiesties great Grand-father; The Patent whereof still extant to be seene, was granted to John Cabot and diuers other of his subiects, who went thither with sixe Saile of Ships, and discouered as farre as from Cape Florida to New-found-land, all along the Coast, and tooke possession thereof to the Kings use, about that time when Ferdinando and Isabella discouered the Westerne Indies: (by which title of first discouery the King of Portugal and Spaine hold and enjoy their ample and rich Kingdomes in their Indies East & West :) A coast where King Edward the Sixt after planted his fishing to the New-found-land by publike Act in Parliament, and of which Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow tooke againe possession to the use of the late Queene Elizabeth: and after them, Sir Richard Greenfield, Sir Ralph Lane, and Sir Walter Rawleigh; at what time seuerall Colonies were there placed. And since his Maiesties most happy comming to the Crowne, being an absolute King of three of the most populous Kingdomes (which Charles the Fift was wont to terme Officina gentium, the shop or forge of men,) finding his Subjects to multiply by the blessed peace they enjoy vnder his happy government, did out of his high wisedome and Princely care of the good of his Subjects, grant a most gratious Patent to diuers Honourable persons, and others of his louing Subjects, authorizing them thereby to goe on in the Plantation of this his lawfull and rightfull Kingdome of VIRGINIA, which by the blessing of Almighty God is growne to good perfection.

His spaitious and fruitful Country of VIRGINIA, is (as is generally knowne to all) naturally rich, and exceedingly well watered, very temperate, and healthfull to the Inhabitants, abounding with as many naturall blessings, and replenished with as goodly Woods, and those full of Deere and sundry other beasts for mans sustenance; and the Seas and Riuers thereof (many therein being exceeding fayre and navigable) as full of excellent fish of diuers sorts, and both water & land yeedling as great variety of fowle, as any Country in the world is knowne to afford. The situation therof being neere the middest of the world, betweene the extremeties of heate and colde, seemes to partake of the benefits of both, and therby becometh capable of the richest commodities of most parts of the Earth. From whence ariseth an assurance that
that (by the assistance and skill of industry) those rich Furres, Cordage, and other Commodities, which with difficulty and danger are now drawn from Russia, will be had in VIRGINIA and the parts adjoyning, with ease and safety. And the Masts, Plancks, and Boards, the Pitch and Tarre, the Pot-ashes and Sopeshes, the Hempe and Flaxe, which now are fetched from Norway, Denmark, Poland, and Germany, will there be had in abundance. The Iron, which hath so wasted our English Woods, (that it selfe in short time must decay together with them) is to be had in VIRGINIA (where wasting of Woods is an ease and benefit to the Planter) for all good conditions answerable to the best Iron of the world, whereof proofe hath beene made. The Wines, Fruits, and Salt of France and Spaine: the Silkes of Persia and Italy, will be had also in VIRGINIA, in no kinde of worth inferiour, where are whole Woods of many miles together of Mulberry trees of the best kindes, the proper food of the Silke-worme, and a multitude of other naturall commodities. Of Woods, Roots and Berries, for excellent Dyes; of Plants and other Drugs for Physicall service; of sweet Woods, Oyles and Gummes, for pleasure and other use; of Cotton-wooll, Silke-grasse and Sugar-Canes, will there be had in abundance, with many other kindes. And for Corne, Cattell, and Fish, (which are the substance of the food of man) in no place better: the Graine also of our owne Country prospering there very well; but their Maize (being the naturall Graine of VIRGINIA) doth farre exceed in pleasantnesse, strength, fertilitie, and generalitie of use, the Wheat of England.

(4)

The Cattell which were transported thither (being now growne neere to fifteene hundred) doe become much bigger of body then the breed from whence they came. The Horses also (through the benefit of the Climate, and nature of their feeding) more beautifull and fuller of courage. And such is the extraordinary fertilitie of that soyle, that the Does of their Deere (a kinde differing from ours in England, yet no way inferiour) yeeld two Fawnes at a fall or birth, and sometimes three. And the Fishings along our Coasts are in plenty of Fish equall to those of New-foundland, and in greatnesse and goodnesse much superiour, and twice in the yeare to be taken, in their going and returne, which is not else-where found in such plenty and varietye; So as there went this yeare from dier parts of this Kingdome, neere thirty Saile thither, who are well returned and richly fished.

To conclude (but out of certaine advertisements so often reiterated from thence, as well as by the constant relations of many hundreds now yearely comming & going) they auow, that it is a Country which nothing but ignorance can thinke ill of, and which no man but of a corrupt minde & ill purpose can defame, which as it paralelleth the most opulent and rich Kingdomes of the world, by lying in the same Latitude with them, so doth it promise richer Mines of the best and most desired mettals with them, when the Colonie shall be of sufficient strength to open and defend them. And for the Passage thither, and Trade there, it is free from all restraint by forren Princes, whereunto most of our other accustomed trades are subiect: there is neyther danger in the way, through...
the encountring of the Enemy or Pyrate, nor meeting with Rockes or Sholes (by reason of the fayre and safe passage thorow the maine Ocean) nor tediousnes of journey, which by reason of better knowledge then in former yeares (the fruit of time and observation) is oftner made and in fewer weekes, then formerly it was wont to be in moneths; which (with the blessing of God) produced in the last Summer this effect, that in the Fleet of nine Saile of ships, transporting aboue seauen hundred Passengers out of England and Ireland, for the Plantation, but one person (in whose roome another at Sea was borne) miscarried by the way. And for them after ariuall, there are convenient lodgings now in building, and carefull atten-dance in Guests-houses prouiding, till those that ariue can prouide for themselues.

In the three last yeares of 1619, 1620, and 1621, there hath beene prouided and sent for VIRGINIA forty two Saile of ships, three thousand fiue hundred and seauity men and women for Plantation, with requisite prouisions, besides store of Cattell, and in those ships haue beene aboue twelue hundred Mariners im-ployed: There hath also beene sent in those yeares nine ships to the Sommer Ilands with about nine hundred people to inhabite there, in which ships two hundred and forty Mariners were employed. In which space haue been granted Patents to particular persons, for Plantation in VIRGINIA, who with their Associates haue undertaken therein to transport great multitudes of people and cattell thither, which for the most part is since performed, and the residue now in preparing, as by the seuerall Declarations of each yeare in their particulars, (manifested and appro-ved in our generall and publike Quarter Courts) and for the fuller satisfaction of all desirous to vnderstand the particularities of such proceedings, hath beene by printing commended to the vnderstanding of all.

The Letters wrtten from the Gouernor and Treasurer in VIRGINIA in the beginning of March last, (which came hither in April,) gaue assurance of over-comming and bringing to perfection in this yeare, the Iron-works, Glasse-works, Salt-works, the plentiful sowing of all sorts of English graine with the Plough, hauing now cleared good quantitie of ground; setting of store of Indian Corne or Maize, sufficient for our selues, and for trucke with the Natiues; restraint of the quantity of Tobacco, and amendment of it in the quality, learned by time and experience; The planting of Vines and Mulberry-trees neere to their houses, Pigg-trees, Pomgranats, Potatoes, and Cotton-wooll seedes, Pocoon, Indico, Sugar-Canes, Madder, Woade, Hempe, Flaxe, and Silke-graffe; and for the erecting of a fayre Inne in James-Citie for the better entertainment of new commers, whereto and to other publike workes, euery old planter there offered freely and liberally to contribute. I write the words of their Letters. And how in a late Discouery made, a few moneths before by some of them to the South-ward, they had past thorow great Forrests of Pines, fifteene or sixteen miles broad, and aboue threescore miles long, very fit for Mastes for shipping, and for Pitch and Tarre, and of other sorts of woods fit for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, and came vnto a most fruitfull Country, blessed with abundance of Corne, reaped
Mr. Hariot in his booke of Virginia, 1585.

reaped twice ayere (within the limits of VIRGINIA) where also they understand of a Copper-mayne, an essay whereof was sent, and vpon tryall here found to be very rich; and met with a great deale of Silk-grasse there growing, which monethly may be cut, of which kindes, and Cotton-wooll, all the Cambaya and Bengala stuffes are made in the East-Indies: and of which kindes of Silke-grasse was heretofore made a piece of Grogeram giuen to Queene Elizabeth. And how that in December last they had planted and cultivatied in VIRGINIA Vines of all sorts, (as well those naturally growing, as those other Plants sent them from these parts of Europe) Orenge and Lemon-trees, Figgetrees, Sugar-Canes, Cotton-wooll, Cassau Rootes, (that make very good bread) Plantanes, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and plants not formerly seen in VIRGINIA, which at that time of their said Letters beganne to prosper very well: as also their Indico-seedes, for the true cure whereof there is lately caused a Treatise to be written.

Furthermore, they write that in a Voyage made by Lieutenant Marmaduke Parkinson, and other English Gentlemen, vp the Riuver of Patomack they saw a China Boxe at one of the Kings houses where they were: Being demanded where he had it, made answer, That it was sent him from a King that dwelt in the West, ouer the great Hills, some tenne dayes iourney, whose Countrey is neare a great Sea, hee hauing that Boxe, from a people as he said, that came thither in ships, that weare cloaths, crooked swords, & somwhat like our men, dwelt in houses, and were called Acanack-China: and he offered our people, that he would send his Brother along with them to that King, which offerto the Gouernor purposed not to refuse; and the rather, by reason of the continual constant relations of all those Sauages in VIRGINIA, of a Sea, and the way to it West, they affirming that the heads of all those seauen goodly Riuers, (the least whereof is greater then the Riuier of Thames, and nauigable aboue an hundred and fifty miles, and not aboue sixe or eight miles one from another) which fall all into one great Bay, have their rising out of a ridge of hills, that runnes all along South and North: whereby they doubt not but to finde a safe, easie, and good passage to the South Sea, part by water, and part by land, esteeming it not aboue an hundred and fifty miles from the head of the Falls, where wee are now planted; the Discovery whereof will bring forth a most rich trade to Cathay, China, Iapan, and those other of the East Indies, to the inestimable benefit of this Kingdome.

But for the further proofe hereof, and of the North-west passage thither by Sea, I referre the Reader to the Treatie annexed at the end of this Booke, written by that learned and famous Mathematician, Mr. Henry Briggs, which I hauing happily attainted vnto, haue published for the common good.

Moreover, the Letters of Mr. John Berkley, sometimes of Beverstone Castle in the County of Glouceter, (a Gentleman of an honorable Familie) likewise certifie, that a more fit place for Iron-workes (whereof he was made Master & ouer-seer) then in VIRGINIA, both for wood, water, mynes, and stone, was not to be found: And that by Whistontide then next (now past) the Company might releye vpon good quantities of
of Iron made by him: which also by Letters from Mr. George Sandis the third of March last, was confirmed, with this farther description of the place (called The falling Creeke) to be so fitting for that purpose, as if Nature had applied her selfe to the wish and direction of the Workeman; where also were great stones hardly seen elsewhere in VIRGINIA, lying on the place, as though they had beene brought thither to advance the erection of those Workes.

The Letters of the French Vignerous or Vine-men, procured out of France & sent over into VIRGINIA, did likewise assertaine, that no Countrey in the world was more proper for Vines, Silke, Rice, Oliues, and other Fruits, then VIRGINIA is: and that it farre excelled their owne Countrey of Languedocke; the Vines of divers sorts being in abundance naturally over all the Countrey: and they having planted some cuttings of Vines at Michaelmas last, in their Letters affirme that these bare Grapes already this Spring, to their great wonder, as being a thing they suppose not heard of in any other Countrey. A taste of Wine made of the wilde grape, they last yeare sent, with hope to send a good quantitie this next Vintage; and that the Mulberry-trees where they abode were in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodnesse and greatness those of their owne Countrey of Languedocke: and that those Silke-wormes they haue, prosper exceeding well, and some Silke they hope to send this yeare, there wanting nothing to set vp that rich Commodity but store of hands where-with England doth abound. Of the fruit of which Mulberry trees (as of a Plum there plentifully growing) they would make wholsome drinkes for the Colony and people there.

The Letters of Mr. Porey (verified also from the Governor and Councell) advertised of a late Discovery by him and others made into the great Bay Northward, (reserving the sounding of the bottome thereof for a second Voyage,) where he left setled very happily neare an hundred English, with hope of a good trade for Furres there to be had. From thence was brought by Lieutenant Perkinson, in his voyage, some of that kind of Earth which is called Terra Lemnia (there to be had in greatabundance) as good as that of Turkey.

By this (though it be but in part) the Reader may understand the great riches and blessings of this excellent Countrey, which even ordinary diligence and care must needs strangely improve. But that all men may see the unpartiall ingenuity of this Discourse, we freely confess, that the Countrey is not so good, as the Natiues are bad, whose barbarous Saguagenses needs more cultiuation then the ground it selfe, being more overspread with inciuilitie and treachery, then that with Bryers. For the land being tilled and vsed well by vs, deceiued not our expectation, but rather exceeded it farre, being so thankfull as to returne an hundred for one. But the Sauages though never Nation vsed so kindly vpon so small desert, haue in stead of that Haruest which our paines merited, returned nothing but Bryers and thornes, pricking euen to death many of their Benefactors: yet doubt wee not, but that as all wickednes is crafty to vndoe it self, so these also, thorow our sides, haue more wounded
themselfes then vs, God Almighty making way for seueritie there, where a fayre gentlenesse would not take place. The occasion whereof thus I relate from thence.

The last May there came Letters from Sir Francis Wiat Gouernor in VIRGINIA, which did aduer-tise that when in November last he arriued in VIRGinia, and entred vpon his Gouernment, he found the Country setled in a peace (as all men there thought) sure and vnuiolable, not onely because it was solemnly ratified and sworne, and at the request of the Natiue King stamped in Brasse, and fixed to one of his Oakes of note, but as being aduantagious to both parts; to the Sauages as the weaker, vnder which they were safely shelterd and defended; to vs, as being the easiest way then thought to pursue and advance our proiects of buildings, plantings, and effecting their converson by peaceable and fayre meanes. And such was the conceit of firme peace and amitie, as that there was seldome or neuer a sword borne, and a Pece seldomer, except for a Deere or Fowle. By which assurance of securitie, the Plantations of particular Adventurers and Planters were placed scatteringly and straglingly as a choyce veyne of rich ground inuited them, and the further from neighbors held the better. The houses generally set open to the Sauages, who were alwaies friendly entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers. The old planters (as they thought now come to reape the benefit of their long trauels) placed with wonderfull content vpon their priuate diuidents, and the planting of particular Hundreds and Colonies pursued with an hopefull alacrity, all our proiects (saith he) in a faire way, and their familiarity with the Natiues, seeming to open a faire gate for their converson to Chri-stianitie.

The Country being in this estate, an occasion was ministred of sending to Opachankano the King of these Sauages, about the middle of March last, what time the Messenger returned backe with these words from him, That he held the peace concluded so firme, as the Skie should sooner fall then it dissolue: yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people who then had contriued our destruction, that euen two dayes before the Massacre, some of our men were gui ded thorow the woods by them in safety: and one Browne, who then to learne the language liued among the Warrascoyacks (a Prouince of that King) was in friendly manner sent backe by them to Captaine Ha mor his Master, and many the like passages, rather increasing our former confidence, then any wise in the world ministring the least suspition of the breach of the peace, or of what instantly ensued; yea, they borrowed our owne Boates to conuey themselues crosse the Rvier (on the bankes of both sides whereof all our Plantations were) to consult of the diuellish murder that ensued, and of our vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of some of themselues converted to Christianitie) prevented: and as well on the Friday morning (the fatal day) the 22 of March, as also in the euening, as in other dayes before, they came vnarmed into our houses, without Bowes or ar rowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turckies, Fish, Furres,
Furres, and other provisions, to sell, and trucke with vs, for glasse, beades, and other trifles: yea in some places, sate downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, eyther laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murthered, not sparing eyther age or sexe, man, woman or childe; so sodaine in their cruel execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to desstuctio. In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their seuerall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houses, some in planting Corne and Tobacco, some in gardening, some in making Bricke, building, sawing, and other kindes of husbandry, they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to vs for trading and other negotiations, which the more willingly was by vs continued and cherished for the desire we had of effecting that great master-peece of workes, their conversion. And by this meanes that fatall Friday morning, there fell vnder the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all lawes of God and men, of Nature & Nations, three hundred forty seuen men, women, and children, most by their owne weapons; and not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after againe vpon the dead, making as well as they could, a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carkasses into many pieces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits and fauours, but spitefully also massacred them, without remorse or pitty, being in this more fell then Lyons and Dragons, which (as Histories record) haue beene so farre from hurting, as they haue both acknowledged, and gratefully requited their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, as to make them put off the very nature of beasts, and to put on humanity vpon them. But these miscreants, contrariwise in this kinde, put not off onely all humanity, but put on a worse and more then unnatural brutishnesse. One instance of it, amongst too many, shall serue for all.

That worthy religious Gentleman, Master George Thorpe Esquire, Deputie of the Colledge lands, sometimes one of his Maiesties Pentioners, and in one of the principall places of command in Virginia, did so truly and earnestly affect their conversion, and was so tender ouer them, that whosoeuer vnder his autho- rity had giuen them but the least displeasure or discontent, he punished them severely. He thought nothing too deare for them, and as being desirous to binde them vnto him by his many courtesies, hee never de- nyed them any thing that they asked him, insomuch that when these Sauages complained vnto him of the fiercenesse of our Mastiues, most implacable and terri- ble vnto them, (knowing them by instinct it seems, to be but treacherous and false-hearted friends to vs, bet- ter then ourselues) he to gratifie them in all things, for the winning of them by degrees, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great dis- pleasure.
pleasure of the owners, and would have had all the rest guilty (had he not been hindered) to make them the gentler and the milder to them. He was not only too kind and beneficial to the common sort, but also to their King, to whom hee oft resorted, and gave many presents which he knew to be highly pleasing to him. And whereas this king before dwelt only in a cottage, or rather a denne or hog-stye, made with a few poles and sticks, and covered with mats after their wyld manner, to ciuilize him, he first, built him a fayre house according to the English fashion, in which hee tooke such ioy, especially in his locke and key, which hee so admired, as locking and unlocking his doore an hundred times a day, hee thought no deuice in all the world was comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe to this King for his religi-ous purposes, he conferred after with him oft, and intimated to him matters of our Religion; and thus far the Pagan confessed, moued by naturall Principles, that our God was a good God, and better much then theirs, in that he had with so many good things aboue them endowed vs. Hee told him, if hee would serue our God, hee should bee partaker of all those good things wee had, and of farre greater then sense or reason euer could imagine. Hee wonne vpon him, as hee thought in many things, so as hee gaue him fayre hearing and good answer, and seemed to be much pleased with his discourse and in his company. And both hee and his people for the daily courtesies this good Gentleman did to one or other of them, did professe such outward loue and respect vnto him, as nothing could seeme more: but all was little regarded after by this Viperous brood, as the sequell shewed: for they not only wilfully murdered him, but cruelly and felly, out of deuillish malice, did so many barbarous despights and foule scornes after to his dead corpes, as are vnbefitting to be heard by any ciuill eare. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman vpon his fatall hower, was warned by his man (who percieued some treachery intended to them by these hell-hounds) to looke to himselfe, and withal ranne away for feare of the mischiefe he strongly apprehended, and so saued his owne life; yet his Master, out of the conscience of his owne good meaning, and faire deserts euer towards them, was so void of all suspicion, and so full of confidence, that they had sooner killed him, then hee could or would beleue they meant any ill against him. Thus the sinnes of these wicked Infidels, haue made them vnworthy of enjoying him, and the eternall good that he most zealously always intended to them.

And thus these miserable wretches, not hee, hath lost by it, who to the comfort of vs all, hath gayned a Crowne of endlesse blisse, and is assuredly become a glorious Martyr, in which thrice-happy and blessed state we leaue him. But these miscreants, who haue thus despised Gods great mercies so freely offered to them, must needs in time therefore be corrected by his iustice: So as those who by the way of mercies would not be drawne vnto him, shall some of them at length (no doubt) be brought vnto him by his way of judgements: to which leauing them, I will knit againe together now the thred of my Discourse, and proceed to tell you, That at the time of this Massacre there
there were three or foure of our ships in Iames-Riuer, and one in the next Riuer, and daily more to come in, as three did within fourteene dayes after; one of which they endeuored to haue surprised, but in vaine, as had also bee their whole attempt, had any the least fore-knowledge bee in those places where the Massacre was committed: yet were the hearts of the English euer stupid, and auerted from beleeuing any thing that might weaken their hopes of speedy winning the Sauages to Civilitie and Religion, by kinde vsage and fayre conuersing amongst them. Hee, and the whole Councell write further, That Almighty God (they doubt not) hath his great worke to doe in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honor and glory to his great Name; safety, and a more flourishing estate to themselues, and the whole Plantation there; and the more speedy conuersion of the Children of those Sauages to himselfe, since hee so miraculously preserued so many of the English (there being, God be praysed, about eleuen parts of twelue still remayning) whose desire to draw those people to Religion by the careless neglected of their owne safeties, seemes to haue bee the greatest cause of their own ensuing destruction. Yet it pleased God to use some of them as instruments to saue many of their liues, whose soules they had formerly saued, as at Iames-Citte, and other places, and the Pinnace trading in Pamounkey Riuer, all whose liues were saued by a converted Indian, disclosing the plot in the instant (wherof though our sinnes (say they) made vs vnworthy to be instruments of so glorious a conuersion in generall, yet his infinite wisedome canuertheless bring it to passe with some more of them, and with other Prouinces there in his good time, and by such means as wee thinke most unlikely. For euen in the deliuery of vs that now suruiue, no mans particular carefulnesse saued any one person, but the meere goodnesse of himselfe, freely and miraculously preserued whom it pleased him.

The Letters of Mr. George Sandis a worthy Gentleman and Treasurer there, likewise haue auertised (as many others from many particular persons of note and worth) besides the Relations of many returned in the Sea-flower (the ship that brought vs this vnwelcome newes) haue bee heard at large in the publike Courts, that whilst all their affayres were full of successe, and such intercourse of familiaritie, as if the Indians and themselues had bee of one Nation, those treacherous Natiues, after fiue yeares peace, by a generall combination in one day plotted to subuer their whole Colony, and at one instant of time, though our seuerall Plantations were an hundred and forty miles vp one Riuer on both sides.

But before I goe any further, for the better vnderstanding of all things, you shall know that these wylde naked Natiues liue not in great numbers together, but dispersed, and in small companies; and where most together, not aboue two hundred, and that very rare, in other places fifty or forty, or thereabouts, and many miles distant from one another, in such places among the Woods where they either found, or might easiliest make some cleared plots of ground, which they imploie wholly in setting of Corne, whereby to sustaine their liues. These small and scattered Companies (as

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I haue said) had warning giuen from one another in all their habitations to meete at the day and houre appointed for our destruction, at all our seuerall Townes and places seated vpon the Riuier ; some were directed to goe to one place, some to another, all to be done at the same day and time, which they did accordingly: some entring their Houses vnder colour of trucking, and so taking aduantage, others drawing our men abroad vpon faire pretences, and the rest suddenly falling vpon those that were at their labours.

They certifie further, that besides Master George Thorpe, before mentioned, Master Iohn Berkeley, Captaine Nathanael Powel, and his wife, (daughter of Master William Tracy, and great with childe) and Captaine Maycock, all Gentlemen of birth, vertue, and industry, and of the Councell there, suffered vnder this their cruelty and treason.

That the slaughter had beene vniuersall, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian belonging to one Perry, to disclose it, who liuing in the house of one Pace, was vrged by another Indian his Brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill Pace, (so commanded by their King as he declared) as hee would kill Perry: telling further that by such an houre in the morning a number would come from diuers places to finish the Execution, who failed not at the time: Perries Indian rose out of his bed and reveales it to Pace, that vsed him as a Sonne: And thus the rest of the Colony that had warning giuen them, by this meanes was saued. Such was (God bee thanked for it) the good fruit of an Infidell converted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these Pagan Infidels, yet thousands of ours were saued by the means of one of them alone which was made a Christian; Blessed be God for euermore, whose mercy endureth for euermore; Blessed bee God whose mercy is aboue his iustice, and farre aboue all his workes: who wrought this deliuerance whereby their soules escaped euen as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler.

Pace vpon this discouery,securing his house, before day rowed ouer the Riuier to James-City (in that place neere three miles in brewdth) and gaue notice thereof to the Gouernor, by which meanes they were preuened there, and at such other Plantations as was possible for a timely intelligence to be giuen; for where they saw vs standing vpon our Guard, at the sight of a Pееce they all ranne away. In other places that could haue no notice, some Pееces with munition (the vse whereof they know not) were there carried away, and some few Cattell also were destroyed by them. And as Fame diuulgeth (not without probable grounds) their King hath since caused the most part of the Gunpowder by him surprized, to bee sowne, to draw therefrom the like increase, as of his Maize or Corne, in Haruest next. And that it is since discouered, that the last Summer Opachankano practi-sed with a King of the Eastern shore (no well-willer of his) to furnish him with store of poison (naturally growing in his country) for our destruction, which he absolutely refused, though he sent him great store of Beades, and other presents to winne him thereunto: which he, with fiue or sixe of his great men, offered to be ready to iustifie against him. That the true cause

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of this surprize was most by the instigation of the Deuill, (enemy to their saluation) and the dayly feare that possesse them, that in time we by our growing continually upon them, would dispossesse them of this Country, as they had beene formerly of the West Indies by the Spaniard; produced this bloody act. That neuer griefe and shame possessed any people more then themselues, to be thus butchered by so nacked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presentment of a staffe in manner of a Pceee, nor an vncharged Pceee in the hands of a woman, from which they flye as so many Hares; much faster then from their tormenting Deuill, whom they worship for feare, though they acknowledge they loue him not.

Thus haue you seene the particulars of this massacre, out of Letters from thence written, wherein treachery and cruelty haue done their worst to vs, or rather to themselues; for whose vnderstanding is so shallow, as not to perceiue that this must needs bee for the good of the Plantation after, and the losse of this blood to make the body more healthfull, as by these reasons may be manifest.

First, Because betraying of innocency neuer rests vnpunished: And therefore Agesilaus, when his enemies (vpon whose oath of being faithfull hee rested) had deceived him, he sent them thankes, for that by their periury, they had made God his friend, and their enemy.

Secondly, Because our hands which before were tied with gentlenesse and faire vsage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Sauages, not untiedy the Knot, but cutting it: So that we, who hitherto haue had possession of no more ground then their waste, and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their owne contentment, gained; may now by right of Warre, and law of Nations, invade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy vs: whereby wee shall enjoy their cultiuated places, turning the laborious Mattocke into the victorious Sword (wherein there is more both ease, benefit, and glory) and possessing the fruits of others labours. Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfullest places of the land) shall be inhabited by vs, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labour.

Thirdly, Because those commodities which the Indians enjoyed as much or rather more then we, shall now also be entirely possessed by vs. The Deere and other beasts will be in safety, and infinitly increase, which heretofore not onely in the generall huntings of the King (whereat foure or fife hundred Deere were vsually slain) but by each particular Indian were destroyed at all times of the yeare, without any difference of Male, Damme, or Young. The like may be said of our owne Swine and Goats, whereof they haue vsed to kill eight in tenne more then the English haue done. There will be also a great increase of wild Turkies, and other waighty Fowle, for the Indians neuer put difference of destroying the Hen, but kill them whether in season or not, whether in breeding time, or sitting on their egges, or hauing new hatched, it is all one to them: whereby, as also by the orderly vsing of their fishing Weares, no knowne Country in te
the world will so plentifully abound in victual.

Fourthly, Because the way of conquering them is much more easie then of civilizing them by faire means, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victoria, but hinderances to Civilitie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but civility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry. Moreover, victorie of them may bee gained many waies; by force, by surprize, by famine in burning their Corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, Canoes, and Houses, by breaking their fishing Weares, by assailing them in their huntinges, whereby they get the greatest part of their sustenance in Winter, by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and blood- Hounds to draw after them, and Mastiues to tear them, which take this naked, tanned, deformed Sauages, for no other then wild beasts, and are so fierce and fell vpon them, that they feare them worse then their old Deuill which they worship, supposing them to be a new and worse kinde of Deuils then their owne. By these and sundry other waies, as by driuing them ( when they flye) vpon their enemies, who are round about them, and by animating and abetting their enemies against them, may their ruine or subiection be soone effected.

So the Spaniard made great vse for his owne turne of the quarrels and enmities that were amongst the Indians, as throughly understanding and following that Maxime of the Politian, Divide & impera, Make diuisions and take Kingdomes: For thus he got two of the greatest Kingdomes of the West Indies, Peru and Mexico, by the Princes diuisions, and the peoples differences. After the death of Guainacapa king of Peru, his sonnes Attabalippa and Gascar falling to war about the kingdom, & each of the struing to make the Spaniard to his friend, Francis Pizzarro managing those their diuisions onely to his owne ends, easily stripped them both of that rich Kingdome, and became Master of Peru. And so likewise Ferdinando Cortez vanquished King Motezuma, and gained the Kingdome of Mexico from him, by the aid and furtherance of the neiboring people of the Prouince of Tascala, being deadly enemies to the Mexicans; for which seruice they of Tascala are freed by the Spaniards from all Tributes to this time. In VIRGINIA the many diuers Princes and people there are at this day opposite in infinite factions one vnto another, and many of them beare a mortall hatred to these our barbarous Sauages, that haue beene likely as false and perfidious heretofore to them, as vnto vs of late. So as the quarrels, and the causes of them, and the different humours of these people being well vnderstood, it will be an easie matter to ouerthrow those that now are, or may bee our enemies hereafter, by ayding and setting on their enemies against them. And by these factions and differences of petty Princes, the Romans tooke their greatest adventage to ouercome this Island of Great Britayne, of which Tacitus sayes, Ita dum singuli pugnant vniusi vincuntur. And Iustin hath the like saying of the cause of vanquishing the Grecian Cities.

Fiftly, Because the Indians, who before were vsed as friends, may now most justly be compelled to seruitude and drudgery, and supply the roome of men that
that labour, whereby even the meanest of the Planta-
tion may employ themselves more entirely in their
Arts and Occupations, which are more generous, whilst
Sauages performe their inferior works of dig-
ning in mynes, and the like, of whom also some may
besent for the service of the *SommerIlands*.

Sixthly, This will for ever hereafter make vs vs more
cautelous and circumspect, as neuer to be deceived
more by any other treacheries, but will serue for a
great instruction to all posteritie there, to teach them
that *Trust is the mother of Deceipt*, and to learnethem
that of the *Italian, Chinonsida, nons’ingamu*, Hee
that trusts not is not deceived: and make them know
that kindnesses are misspent vpon rude natures, solong
as they continue rude; as also, that Sauages and Pa-
gans are aboue all other for matter of Jusitce euer to
be suspected. Thus vpon this Anvil shall wee now
beate out to our selues an armour of proofe, which
shall for euer after defend vs from barbarous Incursi-
ons, and from greater dangers that otherwise might
happen. And so we may truly say according to the
French Proverb, *Aquelq chose malheur est bon*, Ill lucke
is good for something.

Lastly, We have this benefit more to our comfort
because all good men doe now take much more care
of vs then before, since the fault is on their sides, not
on ours, who haue vsed so fayre a cariage, euen to our
owne destruction. Especially his *Maiesties* most gra-
tious, tender and paternall care is manifest herein, who
by his Royall bounty and goodnesse, hath continued
his many fauors vnto vs, with a new, large, & Princely
supply of Munitions and Armes, out of his *Maiesties*
owne store in the Tower, being gratiously bestowed
for the safety and aduancement of the Plantation. As
also his Royall fauor is amply extended in a large sup-
ply of men and other necessaries throughout the whole
Kingdome, which are very shortly to bee sent to VIRGINIA.

Neyther must wee omit the Honourable City of
*London*, who to shew their zeal at this time (as they
haue alwayes done vpon all Honourable occasions to
their endless praise) are now setting forth one hun-
dred persons, at their owne charges, for the aduance-
ment of the Plantations. In the furtherance of which
action, as the whole graue Senate of Aldermen haue
shewed much piety and wisedome, so in particular,
the Right Honourable *Sir Edward Barkham* Knight,
the now Lord Mayor, hath demonstrated a most wor-
thy mind. Besides many worthy Persons of birth and
quality, and diuers others at their owne costs are now
preparing for VIRGINIA. Neyther is any man to
be deiected because of some such disasters as these
that may seeme to thwart the businesse.

What growing State was there euer in the world
which had not the like? *Rome* grew by opposition,
and rose vpon the backe of her enemies. Marke but
the *Spaniard* who is in the same Continent with VIR-
GINIA, and hath now perfected his worke; Marke
and tell mee, if hee hath not had more counterbuffes
farre then wee, as out of their owne histories at large
may be proued.

* Columbus* vpon his returne from the *WestIndies* in-
to *Spaine*, hauing left his people with the *Indian* in
peace, and promise of fayre vsage towards them, yet
at his comming backe againe, hee found no one man alieue of them, but all bythe Natuues treacherously slaine.

After this againe, when the Spanish Colony was increased in great numbers, the Indians (from whom the Spaniards for trucking stuffe vsed to haue all their corn)generallyconspiretogether to plant no corne at all,intendingtherbytoamishthem,themselfesliuing in the meantime vpon Cassaui (a root to make bread) onely then knowne to themselues: This plot of theirs by the Spaniards ouer-sight (that foolishly depended vpon Strangers for their bread) tooke such effect, and brought them to such misery by the rage of famine, that they spared no vnclene, no loathsome beast, no not the poysonas and hideous Serpents, but eate them vp also, deuouring one death to saue them from another: And by this meanes the whole Colony well-neare surfetted, sickned, and dyed miserably.

After againe, vpon fresh and great supplyes new made, an infinite company of them by their incontinency dyed of the Indian disease, that hath now got a French name, which at first (as being a strange and vnknowne malady) was deadly vpon whomsoever it lighted. Besides (before they knew the cause and remedy) very many lost diuers parts of their body, feet and hands principally, by a little vermine lesse then a Flea, and skipping like it, called Nigua, which got between the skinne and the flesh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplyed, making swellings and putrefactions, to the decay and losse of their bodily members.

What should I tell you that the Plantations diuers times were neare vndone, by the ambition, factions, and malice of the Commaners one vnto another, Columbus, to whomthewere beholding for all, with his brothers, were sent home from the West Indies into Spaine bound with chains: and some other great Commanders killed and murthered one another. Pizarro was killed by Almagros sonne, and him Vasco beheaded, which Vasco was taken by Blasco, and this Blasco was likewise taken by Pizzarroes brother. Thus by their owne spightfull and auritious quarrels did they well-neare shake the mayne pillars of that Plantation.

These and many other calamities and mischieves, too long to relate now, hapned vnto them more then euer did to vs. And at one time their plantation was euen at the last gaspe, all their Colony being resolued desperately to leaue it, had not two ships vndesired come in with new supplyes: yet wee see for all these miseries, that they haue attained to their ends at last, Honor, power, and wealth; In so much as that Country, which (when they were dishartned with disasters) they beganne to be so weary of, that they were about to forsake it all, in short time after (seeing all storms blowne ouer, and fayre weather shining vpon them) they were so in loue with their great fortunes, that they grew so iealous of them, as made them shut them vp from the sight of any but themselues. And then they petitioned their King, by an inuiolable Decree to annexe and vnite the West Indies inseperably for euer to the Crowne of Spaine; which (for their bettersecurityand satisfaction) was accordinglyperformed and ratified, as it is to be seene in Hereras Hi-
story of the *West Indies*. And whereas before few could be hired to go to inhabit there, now with great suite they must obtaine it.

Thus have they in time by industry, patience, and constancy effected this great worke of theirs, notwithstanding to encrease their difficulties also, they were to deale with a most populous & numerous nation, which they overcame at last: So as Ouiedo in his third Booke of the first Part of his *West Indie* History saith, that of a million of Indians at least, that were in Hispaniola, there were not (in little more then forty yeares space after the first beginning of the Plantation) five hundred of the & all their children liuing: for the Indians that liued there, after were brought out of the Continent into that Iland, or out of one Iland to be planted in another. On the other side, the Natuues in VIRGINIA are nothing populous, but thin and scattered Nations, as is knowne to all.

Hereby the way to make a little Digression, since I haue mentioned Ouiedo who liued aboue twenty two yeares in the West Indies, I will acquaint you with his observation and judgement of the nature and disposition of the Indians there, that you may compare and see in what, and how farre, it agrees with that of the Natuues of VIRGINIA.

They are (saith hee) by nature sloathfull and idle, vittuous, melancholy, slouenly, of bad conditions, lyers, of small memory, of no constancy or trust. In another place he saith, The Indian is by nature of all people the most lying and most inconstant in the world, sottish and sodaine: neuer looking what dangers may happen afterwards, lesse capable then children of sixe or seauen yeares old, and lesse apt and ingenious. This is the generall disposition of most of them, though there be some (sayes he) that be wise and subtill. And indeed it should seeme so, when they could overreach and goe beyond the Spaniard so much, to put that tricke of staruing them (as aforesaid) vpon them, to their so great and almost totall destruction.

But to come againe to that which I first intende: Since the Spaniard (as we see) in his Plantations hath gone thorow farre more hazards, and greater difficulties then euer wee haue had, we therefore in looking to what is past, vpon great reason ought likewise not to be deterred, but so much the rather inuited to proceede with constancy and courage. And if besides wee looke (as most men doe)after the riches of a Countrey to inuite vs on, aske those that haue beene there, and haue trauelled farre and neare, and they will tell you, that no Countrey in the world doth naturally abound with more Commodities then VIRGINIA doth. The Clymate is knowne to be more temperate, and the soyle more rich then that of the West Indies is: neyther doth it want mynes of all sorts, no not of the richest, as is knowne to some now liuing, and shall be manifested when fit time shall serue. And yet to thinke that Gold and Siluer mynes are in a Countrey (otherwise most rich and fruitfull) the greatest wealth of a Plantation, is but a popular error, as is that opinion likewise, That the Gold and Siluer is the greatest wealth of the West Indies now at this present time. True it is indeed, that in the first Conquest the Spaniards got great and mighty treasure from the Indians, which they in long space had heaped vp together and
and in those times the Indians shewed them entyre and plentifull rich mynes, which by length of time (as is well known and published to the world by those that haue beene there) are wasted and exhausted since, so as now the charge of getting those mettals is growne most excessiue, besides the consuming and spoiling many men of their liues, which are depruied of them by the vapors that come out of the Gold and Siluer mynes, which are most pestilent and deadly, as diuers authors auerre. Amongst others, a late Geographer speaking of the West Indies, and of those mynes there, saith, Odor ex auri & argenti sodinis noxius admodum; neq tamen prohibuit aeris corruptissimi violentia Hispanos, ne in alio orbe nouum moriendi locum quærerent. So as all things considered by these mynes, what by the liues of many men lost in them, and what with the great charge otherwise in getting them, the cleare gaine to the Adventurers from these mettals (the Kings part defrayed) is but small to them, nothing neere so much I am sure, as is imagined. And were it not for other rich Commodities there that enable and enrich the Adventurers, those of the Contractation house were neuer able to subsist by this. For the greatest part of their gaine and profit I say consists not in these mynes, but in their other Commodities partly native, and partly translated from other parts of the world, and planted in the West Indies: As in their mighty wealth of Sugars (the Sugar Canes being transported first from the Canaries,) and in Ginger, and some other commodities deriued from the East Indies thither: in their Cochanile, their Indico, their Cotton, their infinite store of Hydes and Skins, their Quick-siluer, and Allom, Woad, and Brasillwood, &c. And their many other Dyes, Paints, Petacaraua, Tobacco, Gummes, Balmes, Oyles medi- cinall, and Perfumes, their Sarsaparillia, and many other physicall drugs, (for which, learned Physitians and skillfull Simplers were sent to take a suruey, and make an exquisite draught of all the Plants in colours.) These I say and other the like commodities are the West Indies indeed vnto the Adventurers, by which they are inabled to enrich themselves, and to sustaine the mighty charge of drawing out the Gold and Siluer, to the great and cleare reuuenew of their King.

I had many things of importance to say more, but I will detain the Reader no longer now. To conclude then, seeing that Virginia is most abundantly fruitfull, and that this Massacre must rather be beneficall to the Plantation then impair it, let all men take courage, and put to their helping hands, since now the time is most seasonable and aduantagious for the reaping of those benefits which the Plantation hath long promised: and for owne good let them doe it speedily, that so by taking the prioritie of time, they may haue also the prioritie of place, in choosing the best Seats of the Country, which now by vanquishing of the Indians, is like to offer a more ample and faire choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentlenesse and faire comportment to the Sauages could attaine vnto. Wherein no doubt but all the fauour that may be, shall be shewed to Adventurers and Planters. And for old Adventurers, there is due vnto them and their heyres (according to the Orders of the Company) for each twelve pounds ten shillings formerly paid into
into the treasury, one hundred Acres of Land, upon a first division, and as much upon a second, the first being planted. And whosoever transports himself or any other, at his charge into VIRGINIA, shall for himselfe and each person so transported, before Midsummer, 1625. have to him and his heires for euer, fifty Acres of land upon a first Diviision, and as much more upon a second: the first fifty being cultivated or manured, if such person continue there three yeares, eyther at once or seuerall times, or dye after hee bee shipped for that Voyage.

Lastly, it is to be wished, that every good Patriot will take these things seriously into his thoughts, and consider how deeply the prosecution of this noble Enterprise concerneth the honor of his Maiestie and the whole Nation, the propagation of Christian Religion, the enlargement, strength, and safety of his Maiesties Dominions, the rich augmenting of his Reuennues, the imployement of his Subiects idle at home, the increase of men, Mariners and shipping, and the raising of such necessary commoditie, for the importation of which from forren Countries so great and incredible summes are continually issued and expended. Some may helpe with their purses, some with their persons, some with their fauour, some with their counsell: especially amongst others, let Ministers in their publike and priuate prayers commend these Plantations to the blessing of Almighty God:

To whom be all honor and glory, for euer and euer,
Amen.

Here following is set downe a true List of the names of all those that were massacred by the treachery of the Sauages in VIRGINIA, the 22 March last.

To the end that their lawfull heires may take speedy order for the inheriting of their lands and estates there: For which the Honourable Company of Virginia are ready to doe them all right and fauour.

At Captaine Berckleys Plantation seated at the Falling Creeke, some 66. miles from Iames-Citie in VIRGINIA.

John Berkley Esquire
Thomas Brasington.
Iohn Sawyer.
Roger Dauid.
Francis Gowsh.
Bartholmew Peram.
Giles Peram.
Iohn Dowler.
Laurence Dowler.
Lewis Williams.
Richard Boscough.
Thomas Holland.
Iohn Hunt.
Robert Horner Mason.

Philip Barnes.
William Swandal.
Robert Williams,
his Wife,
and Childe.
Giles Bradshawe,
his Wife,
and Childe.
John Howlet,
and his sonne.
Thomas Wood, and
Collins his man.
Joseph Fitch Apothecary
to Doctor Pots.

F 2

At
At Master Thomas Sheffeilds Plantation, some three miles from the Falling Creeke.

Aster Th: Sheffeild, and Rachel his wife.
John Reeue.
William Tyler a boy.
Samuel Reeue.
John Ellen.
Robert Tyler a boy.

At Henrico Iland about two miles from Sheffeilds Plantation.

Atkins.
Weston.
Philip Shatford

At Master Thomas Sheffeilds Plantation, some three miles from the Falling Creeke.

Mathew
Iudeth Howard.
Thomas Poole
Methusalem
Thomas Taylor.
William Tyler.

Mathew
Iudeth Howard.
Thomas Poole
Methusalem
Thomas Taylor.
William Tyler.

At Charles-Citie and about the Precincts.
of Capt. Smiths Company.

R
Oger Royal.
Thomas Iones.
Robert Maruel.

At other Plantations next adioyning.

R
Ichard Prat, and his Childe, and his Brother.
Henry Milward, his Wife,
Richard a boy.
Goodwife Redhead.

At Mr. William Farrars House.

M
Aster Iohn England and his Man.
John Bel.
Henricke Peterson, and Alice his Wife, and
William her sonne.
Thomas his Man.
James Woodshaw.
Mary, and Elizabeth Maidseruats

At Apo-mattucke River at Master Abraham Pierce his Plantation some five miles off the Colledge People.

William Charte.
Iohn Barker a boy.
Ioh: Waterhows.
Robert Yeoman.

Oger Royal.
Edward Heydon.
Henry Bushel.

At

At

At

At

At
At Berkley-Hundred some five miles from Charles-Citie.

Apt. George Thorpe Esq. one of his Majesties Pensioners.
John Rowles.
Richard Rowles, his Wife, and Childe.

Giles Wilkins.
Giles Bradway.
Richard Fereby.
Thomas Thorpe.
Robert Jordan.
Edward Painter.

At Westouer, about a mile from Berkley-Hundred:

And first, at Cap. Fr. Wests Plantation.
James English.
Richard Dash.

At Master Iohn Wests Plantation.
Christopher Turner.
David Owen.

At Capt. Nathanael Wests.
Michael Aleworth.
Iohn Wright.

An Lieutenant Gibs his Dividend.

John Paly.
Thomas Ratcliffe.
Michael Booker.
John Higglet.
Nathanael Earle.
Iohn Gibbes.
William Parker.

Richard Wainham.
Benomy Reyman.
Thomas Gay.
James Vpsall.
Daniel Mr. Dombe-Iowes man.

At Mr. Richard Owens house.

Richard Owen.
Stephen Dubo.
Francis, an Irishman.
Thomas Paine.

One old Maid called blinde Margaret.
William Reeue.

At Master Owen Macars house.

Owen Macar.
Garret Farrel.

Richard Yeaw.
One Boy.

At Master Macocks Dividend.

Edward Lister.

At Flowerdieu-Hundred Sir George Yeardleys Plantation.

John Philips.
Thomas Nuson.
Iohn Braford.

Robert Taylor.
Samuel Jarret.
Elizabeth Bennet.

At the other side of the River opposite to Flowerdieu-Hundred.

Aster Hobson, and his Wife.
Richard Storks.
Iohn Slaughter.

Thomas Philips.
Richard Campion.
Anne Greene.

At
At Mr. Swinhowe his House.
Mistris Swinhoe, & Thomas and George Shinhow her sonnes.
Richard Mosse.
John Larkin.
William Blyth.
Thomas Grindal.

At Mr. William Bikars house.
William Bykar.
Math: Hawthorn and his Wife.
Edward Peirce.
Nicholas Howsdon.

At Weynoack of Sir George Yeardley his people.
Athanael Elie.
John Flores.
Henry Gape.
Buckingham.
William Puffet.
William Walker.
John Gray.
James Boate.
John Suersby.
Thomas Euans.
Henry Haynes.
John Blewet.
Henry Rice.
--- Hurt.
Jonas Alport.
Thomas Stephens.
Samuel Goodwine.
John Snow, and his Boy.
Margery Blewet.

At Powle-brooke.
Apt. Nath: Powle, Esq. and his Wife, Daughter to Mr. Tracy.
Mistris Bray.
Adam Rayners Wife.
Barbara Burges.
William Head.
Thomas Woolcher.
William Meakins.
Robert ---
Peter Iordan.
Nathanael Leydon.
Peter Goodale.

At Southampton-Hundred.
Obert Goffe, and his Wife.
William Larkum.

At Martin Brandons.
Lieutenant Sanders.
Ensigne Sherley.
John Taylor, and
2 Boyes.
Mathew a Polander.

At Captaine Spilmans house.
Ohn Basingthwayte.
Walter Shawe.

At Ensigne Spence his house.
William Richmond.
John Fowler.
Alexander Bale.

Persons slaine at Martins- Hundred some seauen miles from Iames-Citie.
Lieutenant Rich:Kean.
Master Tho: Boise, & Mistris Boise his wife, & a sucking Childe.
4 of his men.
A Maide.
2 Children.
Nathanael Iefferies wife.
Margaret Dauiuies.
Richard Staples, his wife, and Childe.
2 Maides.
6 Men and Boyes.
Walter Dauiues, & his brother.
Christopher Guilleam.
Thomas Combar.
G 3 Servants.
Master Iohn Boise
his Wife.
A Maide.
4 Men-seruants.
Laurence Wats,
his Wife.
2 Men-seruants.
Timothy Moise,
his Man.
Henry Bromage,
his Wife,
his Daughter,
his Man.
Edward How,
his Wife,
his Childe.
A child of Iohn Iacksons.
4 Men-seruants.
Josua Dary,
his Wife.

At Mr. Thomas Peirce his house ouer against Mulberry Iland.

M aster Tho: Peirce, his Wife,
and Childe.

At Mr. Edward Bennets Plantation.

M aster Th: Brewood his Wife,
his Childe,

M aster Edw: Walters his Wife,
a Childe,

The whole number is 347.
The noble Plantation of Virginia hath some very excellent Prerogatiues aboue many other famous Kingdomes, namely, the temperature of the ayre, the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and the commodiousnesse of situation.

The ayre is healthfull and free both from immoderate heate, and from extreame cold; so that both the inhabitants and their cattell doe prosper exceedingly in stature and strength, and all Plants brought from any other remote climate, doe there grow and fructifie in as good or better manner, then in the soyle from whence they came. Which though it doe manifestly proue the fruitfulnesse of the soile, yeeding all kinds of graine or plants committed vnto it, with a rich and plentifull encrease, yet cannot the fatnesse of the earth alone produce such excellent effects, vnlesse the temperature of the Ayre bee likewise so fauourable, that those
those tender sprouts which the earth doth abundantly bring forth, may be cherished with moderate heate and seasonable moisture, and freed both from scorching drought, and nipping frost.

These blessings are so much the more to bee esteemed, because they are bestowed vpon a place situated so conueniently, and at so good a distance both from Europe, and the West Indies, that for the mutuall commerce betwixt these great and most rich parts of the habitable world, there cannot bee devised any place more conuenient for the succour and refreshing of those that trade thence to this place: whether they be of our owne nation, or of our neighbours and friends; the multitude of great and navigable Riuers, and of safe and spacious harbours, as it were inviting all Nations to entertaine mutuall friendship, and to participate of those blessings which God out of the abundance of his rich Treasures, hath so gratiously bestowed some vpon these parts of Europe, and others no lesse desired vpon those poor people: which might still haue remained in their old barbarous ignorance, without knowledge of their owne misery, or of Gods infinite goodness and mercy; if it had not pleased God thus gratiously both to draw vs thither with desire of such wealth as those fruitfull Countries afford, and also to grant vs so easie, certaine, and safe a meanes to goe vnto them: which passage is in mine opinion made much more secure and easie by the commodious harbours and refreshing which VIRGINIA doth reach out vnto vs. The coasts of Florida to the West, being not so harborous; and of New England to the East, somewhat more out of the way, amongst so many Flats and small Ilands not so safe. Neither is the commodiousnesse of VIRGINIAs situation onely in respect of this west Atlanticke Ocean, but also in respect of the Indian Ocean, which wee commonly call the South Sea, which lyeth on the West and North west side of VIRGINIA, on the other side of the Mountains beyond our Fals, and openeth a free and faire passage, not onely to China, Japan, and the Moluccaes; but also to New Spaine, Peru, Chila, and those rich Countries of Terra Australis, not as yet fully discouered. For the Sea wherein Master Hudson did winter, which was first discovered by him, and is therefore now called Fretum Hudson, doth stretch so farre towards the west, that itlieth as farre westward as the Cape of Florida: So that from the Fals aboue Henrico City, if we shape our journey towards the Northwest following the Riuers towards the head, we shall undoubtedly come to the Mountaines, which as they send divers great Riuers Southward into our Bay of Chesepiock, so likewise doe they send others from their further side Northwestward into that Bay where Hudson did winter. For so wee see in our owne Country, from the ridge of Mountaines continued from Derbyshire into Scotland, doe issue many great Riuers on both sides into the East Germane Ocean, and into the Western Irish Seas: in like sort from the Alpes of Switzerland and the Grizons, do runne the Danubie Eastward into Pontus Euxinus, the Rhene into the North Germane Ocean, the Rhosne west into the Mediterrane Sea, and the Po South into the Adriatike Sea. This Bay where Hudson did winter, strecheth it selfe Southward into 49. degrees, and cannot be in probability so farre distant.
now are found to be all turned into a maine icie Sea. One demonstration of the crafty falshood of these usual Maps is this, that Cape Mendocino is set in them West Northwest, distant from the South Cape of California, about sevanteene hundred Leagues, whereas Francis Gaule that was imployed in those discoueries by the Viseroy of New Spaine; doth in Hugo Linscotten his booke set downe their distance to bee onely fiue hundred Leagues.

Besides this, in the place where Sir Thomas Button did winter, lying more Westerly then Master Hudsons Bay by190. Leagues in the same Sea, doth extend it selfe very neerer as farre towards the west as the Cape of California, which is now found to be an Iland stretching it selfe from 22. degrees to 42. and lying almost directly North & South; as may appeare in a Map of that Iland which I haue seen here in London, brought out of Holland; where the Sea upon the Northwest part may very probably come much nearer then some do imagine: who giuing too much credit to our vsuall Globes and Maps, doe dreame of a large Continent extending it selfe farre Westward to the imagined Straight of Anian, where are seated (as they fable) the large Kingdomes of Cebola and Quiuira, hauing great and populous Cities of ciuill people; whose houses are said to bee fiue stories high, and to haue some pillars of Turgesses. Which relations are cunningly set downe by some vpon set purpose to put vs out of the right way, and to discourage such as otherwise might bee desirous to search a passage by the way aforesaid into those Seas.

Gerardus Mercator, a very industrious and excellent Geographer, was abused by a Map sent vnto him, of foure Euripi meeting about the North Pole; which
Fretum Hudson, to all those rich Countries bordering upon the South Sea, in the East and West Indies. And this hope that the South Sea may easily from VIRGINIA be discovered over Land, is much confirmed by the constant report of the Sauages, not only of VIRGINIA, but also of Florida and Canada; which dwelling so remote one from another, and all agreeing in the report of a large Sea to the Westwards, where they describe great Ships not unlike to ours, with other circumstances, doe give vs very great probability (if not full assurance) that our endeavours this way shall by Gods blessing have a prosperous and happy success, to the encrease of his Kingdom and glory amongst these poore ignorant Heathen people, the publique good of all the Christian world, the neuer-dying honour of our most gracious Soueraigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedy increase and advancement of that most noble and hopefull Plantation of VIRGINIA; for the good success whereof all good men with me, I doubt not, will pour out their prayers to Almighty GOD.

H. B.

A MEMORIAL OF
Religious Charitie exercised on Virginia to the glory of God and good example of men, these three last yeares, 1619. 1620. 1621.

Mary Robinson by her Will gaue towards the building of a Church in VIRGINIA, £  S.  D.

Anno 1619
200.  0.  0.

A Person vnknowne gaue for that Church a Communion-cup with a Cover, and a Plate for the bread of siluer guilt: a silke damaske Carpet, a linnen damaske Table-cloth, and other Ornaments, all valued at

£  S.  D.
20.  0.  0.

A person vnknowne gaue for the vse of the Colledge, a Communion-cup with a Cover, and a Plate for the bread, of Siluer guilt: a crimsonvelvet Carpet with gold lace and fringe, and a linnen damaske Table-cloth: all valued at

£  S.  D.
30.  0.  0.
A person unknown sent a Letter, the Copy whereof is registred; directed thus, To Sir Edvin Sandys, the faithfull Treasure of VIRGINIA: and subscribed, Dust and Ashes: And afterwards by an unknowne person sent a box to the house of Sir Edvin Sandys with the same direction: which being opened in Court, therein was found in gold 550. pounds, to be disposed of for the education of children of the Infidels, in Christian religion and civility.

Anno 1620

Master Nicholas Farrar of London, deceased, hath by his Will giuen 300 li. to the Colledge in VIRGINIA, to bee paid when there shall be ten of the Infidels children placed in it: and in the meane time 24. pounds by the yeare to bee disbursed vnto three discreet and godly men in the Colonie, which shall honestly bring three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion, and some good course to liue by.

A person refusing to be named, hath giuen to the benefit of the Plantation

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the Royall-Iames from the East Indies, being at Cape Bona-Speranza, homeward bound, gaue towards the building of a Free Schoole in Virginia, to be called the East Indie Schoole,

Towards the furtherance of the East Indie schoole, an unknowne person hath added the summe of

A person refusing to be named, hath giuen the summe of 40. shillings per annum for euer, for a Sermon, to be preached before the Virginia Company.

At the Quarter Court held the 30. of January 1621. by a person not willing as yet to be knowne, was sent in gold 25 li. to helpe forward the East Indie Schoole.

At the same Quarter Court a small Bible with a Couer richly wrought, a great Church-Bible, the Booke of common Prayere, and other books were presented to be sent to VIRGINIA, in the name of a person who had the yeere before sent for the use of the Colledge at Henrico; S. Augustine De ciuitate Dei, Master Perkins his workes, and an exact Map of America: the giuer is not known, but the books are valued at

Giuen by Master Thomas Bargraue, a Minister in VIRGINIA deceased, for the use of the Colledge, a Library valued at

H 3

There
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>£.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
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</table>

There is a Contribution made by the Inhabitants in Virginia for the building of a house of entertainment for new commers, at James-Citie: amounting to the value of—

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came lately home from the East Indies, in the two Ships called the Hart and RoeBuck, being at the Cape of Bona Spe-ranza, homeward bound, gave towards the building of the aforesaid Freeschoole in Virginia the summe of—

The Honourable Citie of London in the Maioraltie of Sr George Bowles 1618. In Sir William Cockaines 1620. And in Sir Edward Barkhams 1622. Have given 1500. li. towards the transportation of 300. Youths to Virginia—

Master George Ruggell deceased, late fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, hath given 100. li. towards the bringing vp in Christian Religion, some of the Infidels Children in Virginia, An. 1622.

FINIS.
THE INCONVENIENCIES
THAT HAVE HAPPENED TO SOME PERSONS WHICH HAVE TRANSPORTED THEMSELVES
from England to Virginia, without provisions necessary to sustain themselves, hath greatly hindered the Progress of that noble Plantation: For prevention of the like disorders hereafter, that no man suffer, either through ignorance or misinformation; it is thought requisite to publish this short declaration: wherein is contained a particular of such necessities, as either private families or single persons shall have cause to furnish themselves with, for their better support at their first landing in Virginia, whereby also greater numbers may receive in part, directions how to provide themselves.

Tooles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>li</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Five broad howes at 2s. a piece</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five narrow howes at 16d. a piece</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two broad Axes at 3s. 8d. a piece</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five felling Axes at 18d. a piece</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two steele hand sawes at 16d. a piece</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two hand-sawes at 5s. a piece</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One whip-saw, set and filled with box, file, and wrest</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two hammers 12d. a piece</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three shovels 18d. a piece</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two spades at 18d. a piece</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two augers 6d. a piece</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six chissels 6d. a piece</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two pencers stocked 4d. a piece</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three gimlets 2d. a piece</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two hatchets 21d. a piece</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two froues to cleave pale 18d.</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two hand-bills 20d. a piece</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One grindlestone 4s.</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails of all sorts to the value of</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Pickaxes</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
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Apparrell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>li</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Monmouth Cap</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three falling bands</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three shirts</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One waste-coate</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One suite of Canvas</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One suite of Frize</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One suite of Cloth</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three pair of Irish stockings</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four pair of shoes</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One pair of garters</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One dozen of points</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One pair of Canvas sheets</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven ells of Canvas, to make a bed and bolster, to be filled in Virginia 8s.</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Rug for a bed 8s. with the bed serving for two men, half is</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five ells coarse Canvas, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw 15d.</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One coarse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost vj. s. for one</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
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Victuall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>li</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eight bushels of Meale</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two bushels of pease at 3s.</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two bushels of Oratemeale 4s. 6d.</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One gallon of Apparrell</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One gallon of Oyle</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two gallons of Vineger 1s.</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Armes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>li</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Armour compleat, light</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One long Piece, flue foot or flue and halfe, neere Musket bore</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One sword</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One belt</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One bandleere</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty pound of powder</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixty pound of shot or lead, Pistol and Goose shot</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a family of 6. persons and so after the rate for more.

Household Implements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>li</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Iron Pot</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One kettle</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One large frying-pan</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One gridiron</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two skillets</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One spit</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platters, dishes, spoones of wood</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Sugr, Spice, and fruit, and at Sea for 6. men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>li</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>So the full charge of Apparrell, Victuall, Armes, Tooles, and household stuffe, and after this rate for each person, will amount unto about the summe of</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The passage of each man is</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The straight of these provisions for a man, will bee about half a Tun, which is</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So the whole charge will amount to about</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whosoever transports himselfe or any other at his owne charge vnto Virginia, shall for each person so transported before Midsummer 1625, haue to him and his heires for euer fifty Acres of Land vpon a first, and fifty Acres vpon a second division.

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