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

Photographic facsimile edition

Edward Waterhouse
Dylan Ruediger, editor

BRITISH
VIRGINIA
Richmond

VCU Libraries
2017

BRITISH VIRGINIA

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ISBN: 978-1-62262-003-6

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like any substantive piece of intellectual work, this is a product of many hands. First and foremost, I appreciate Josh Eckhardt for bringing me onboard the British Virginia Project, and for patiently guiding me through the process of producing a complex digital text. Kyra Felton provided essential graphic design work on the entire text, particularly the type facsimile and broadside. At the Virginia Historical Society, Chief Librarian Frances Pollard was instrumental in securing permission from the VHS to use their beautiful copy of Waterhouse as a source for the digital facsimile and for ensuring the timely digitization of the text. Jamison Davis, Visual Resources Manager at the VHS, produced the digital images, without which there would be no edition. Anna Baumstark, Allyson Tadjer, and Josh Eckhardt all read drafts of the introduction, as did two anonymous reviewers. All of them made helpful suggestions and improved the final version. Chuck Steffen and Jake Selwood provided important encouragement to pursue the project and see it through.

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).

¹Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), sig. A3.

²Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, Or, Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages & Lande-Trauells by Englishmen and Others*, vol. 4 (London, 1625), 1788–91; John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), 144–49. Modern anthologies including extracts from Waterhouse include Myra Jehlen and Michael Warner, eds., *The English Literatures of America: 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1996) and Camilla Townsend, ed., *American Indian History: A Documentary Reader* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

³Susan Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1906), 3: 541–79. Facsimiles of the *Declaration* can be found in EEBO and in the Da Capo reprint, Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia*, *The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*, No. 276 (New York: Da Capo, 1970).

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, 1622.¹ 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.² 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.³

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

⁴ J. Frederick Fausz, "An 'Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides': England's First Indian War, 1609-1614," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 1 (January 1990): 6. For early Jamestown in general, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975).

⁵ Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 69–78; Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

⁶ Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, 310; Alfred Cave, *Lethal Encounters: Englishmen and Indians in Colonial Virginia* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011), 104.

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.

⁸ John Rolfe, *A True Relation of the State of Virginia Lefte by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May Last 1616* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), 6.

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.⁴ 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*.⁵ 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.⁶ 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."⁷ 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* in 1617 described the English as peaceful colonizers who gained "just & lawfull title" to the land by purchasing it from the Indians, rather than conquering by force.⁸

⁹ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London, 1617), 946.

¹⁰ Rolfe, *A True Relation of the State of Virginia*, 12.

¹¹ Robert Johnson, *The New Life of Virginea* (London, 1612), sig. e4v–fr.

¹² Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, 12.

¹³ Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 3: 584; Smith, *Generall Historie*, 140; Rebecca Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), ch. 2; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 97–8. For contrasting assessments of the seriousness of English conversion efforts, see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 53–6; Edward L. Bond, *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000), 116–17. Michael Leroy Oberg’s framework, which emphasizes the distinction between the goals of company officials and of the metropolitan supporters of the colony and the beliefs of most settlers on the frontier, may help account for the differences in scholarly interpretations. See his *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585–1685* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), ch 2.

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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.¹¹ 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.”¹² 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.¹³

¹⁴ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, 13–14.

¹⁵ On 1622 as trauma, see Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 102–5. On colonial trauma more generally, see Kathleen Donegan, *Seasons of Misery: Catastrophe and Colonial Settlement in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

¹⁶ Daniel K. Richter, “Tsenacommacah and the Atlantic World,” in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 29–66; Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 55–6; Frederic Gleach, *Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 120, 158. For an extended argument that Virginia was modeled after trading company colonies for longer than has been assumed, see Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ch. 4.

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, Furrres, 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.”¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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 Tsenacommacahs’ 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

¹⁷ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 101–6; Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 50, 61–2; James D. Rice, *Nature & History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 83–4; Cave, *Lethal Encounters*, 103–4.

¹⁸ Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 75; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 99; Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 31.

¹⁹ Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 155.

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.”¹⁹ 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

²⁰ For early reports, see Robert C. Johnson, “The Indian Massacre of 1622: Some Correspondence of the Reverend Joseph Mead,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 71, no. 4 (October 1963): 408–10; “Chamberlain to Carleton” July 13, 1622, SP 14/132 f.55, State Papers Online (accessed June 5, 2014); “Privy Council Meeting Notes.” July 29, 1622, PC 2/31 f.449, State Papers Online (accessed June 5, 2014); “Sir Thomas Wilson to the Earl of Salisbury” July 14, 1622, SP 14/132 f.60, State Papers Online (accessed June 5, 2014).

²¹ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640 AD*, vol. 4 (London, 1877), 40.

²² For examples, see Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia*, 140; Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 177; Nicholas Canny, “England’s New World and the Old, 1480s-1630s,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 1: The Origins of Empire, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 152; James Horn, “The Conquest of Eden: Possession and Dominion in Early Virginia,” in *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*, ed. Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 46; Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 172, 351; Helen C. Rountree, “The Powhatans and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas,” in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 192.

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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²² The *Declaration* is the first textual fruit of this new era in the history of Virginia. Second, Waterhouse attempted to reassure potential investors in the Virginia Company that this devastating blow to its commercial prospects was in fact a blessing, and that Virginia remained a place teeming with

²³ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, sig. A3v.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

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.”²³ 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 unviolable, 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.²⁴ 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

²⁵ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, 14-15.

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 Mangopeesomon. 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

²⁶ Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 3: 584.

²⁷Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, 15.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 17-18.

²⁹The classic study of the trope of “treachery” in early English colonial thought is Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “English Perceptions of Treachery, 1583-1640: The Case of the American ‘Savages,’” *The Historical Journal* 20, no. 2 (June 1977): 263–87.

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.”²⁷ 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 vnbecfitting 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.”²⁸

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.”²⁹ 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

were tied with gentleness 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.

³² Waterhouse, *A Declaration*.

³³ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁴ E.G.R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, 1583-1650 (New York: Oxtagon, 1968).

³⁵ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 101. For a full account of the history of the Virginia Company, see Wesley Frank Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932).

³⁶ Christopher Brooke, "A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 72, no. 3 (July 1964): 269-92.

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.³² 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.³³ 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.³⁴

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.³⁵ 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."³⁶ 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,

³⁷ Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 3: 672. For more examples, see H.R. McIlwaine and John Pendleton Kennedy, eds., *Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, vol. 13 (Richmond, 1905), 1: 26; "Governor Sir Francis Wyatt and Council of Virginia to the Privy Council." May 17, 1626, CO 1/4, No. 10., Colonial State Papers Online (accessed July 18, 2014); William Waller Henings, ed., *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (New York, 1809), 1: 76; "Reply of the General Assembly of Virginia to the Four Propositions of the Commissioners." March 2, 1624, CO 1/3, No. 7., Colonial State Papers Online (accessed July 17, 2014); "Petition of Gov. Sir Fran. Wyatt, the Council and Assembly of Virginia to the King." July 1624, CO 1/3, No. 21., Colonial State Papers Online (accessed July 18, 2014).

³⁸ "Copy, by Edward Collingwood, of an Anonymous Paper, Dated 22 April 1622, Advocating That the Colony in Virginia Move from the James River to the Eastern Shore." April 20, 1622, MS FP 364, Ferrar Papers, Virginia Company Archives (accessed July 3, 2014).

³⁹ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 4: 1811.

⁴⁰ "The Governor and Council of Virginia to the Virginia Company." January 30, 1624, CO 1/3, No. 1|SP 14/156, p. 134., Colonial State Papers Online (accessed July 17, 2014).

crops, and temples, and kill or enslave an entire people.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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."³⁹ 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 "nothings unjust (except breach of faith)" against the Powhatans.⁴⁰ 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
Affaires in VIRGINIA. | WITH | A RELATION OF THE BARBA-
| rous Massacre in the time of peace and League, | treacherously
executed by the Natiue Infidels | vpon 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*
M^r. Henry | Briggs, of the Northwest passage to the South Sea |
through the Continent of *Uirginia*, 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 euery man
that | intends to goe to UIRGINIA. | [rule] | Published by Authoritie. |
[rule] | 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: 4°, 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 *Uirginia*,
vvithout prouisions necessary to sustaine themselues, hath | *greatly*
hindred the Progresse of that noble Plantation: For preuention 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 priuate families or single persons shall haue
cause to furnish themselues with, for their better | support at their
first landing in Virginia;whereby also greater numbers may receiue in
part, | directions how to prouide themselues. | [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 HON^{rable} |
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 | Affaires
in *VIRGINIA.* | With a Relation of the barbarous Massacre in the
| time of peace and League, treacherously executed vpon | *the
English by the natiue 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 Uirginia* are ready to doe
them | all right and fauour., 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,
without error. Broadside unpaginated.

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- (themselues), C2v of
(~), C3r Furses, (~), 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
into (~), 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* (~),
H2r A (~), H2v Toward^s (Towards), H3r There (~).

Press-figures: none.

Explicit: FINIS.

Copies: British Library, General Reference Collection C.32.g.28.

(broadside bound after H3)

British Library, General Reference Collection G.7128.(1.)

(broadside bound after H3 and before other quartos)

Folger Shakespeare Library STC 25104 (broadside wanting)

Harvard University, Houghton Library, STC 25104 (broadside wanting)

Huntington Library, Rare Books 3478 (broadside exchanged with the one from the Halsey copy and bound after A4)

Lambeth Palace Library, Main Collection SR1, [ZZ]1622.2 01

(broadside bound after H3)

Library of Congress, Rare Book/Special Collections, F229 .W32

English Print

New York Historical Society, Main Collection Y 1622 .Water

New York Public Library *KC 1622 (broadside wanting)

Newberry Library, Special Collections, Vault Ayer 150.5 .V7 W3 1622

Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections -

South East (RB) EX 1230.057 (broadside tipped in after G2)

University of Glasgow Library, Sp Coll Hunterian El.3.5(b)

(broadside tipped in after A4)

University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, Special Collections

JRL 6910.4 (broadside tipped in after H3)

University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Rare Book

Room, C 1622 Wa

University of Virginia, Special Collections A 1622 .W37

Virginia Historical Society F229 .W32 1622 (broadside bound in after H3)

Notes: The *English Short Title Catalogue* (estc.bl.uk) includes the “folded leaf” in its entry for the Waterhouse quarto (STC 25104, ESTC S111598), even though it also catalogs the broadside separately (as STC 24844. ESTC S111599).

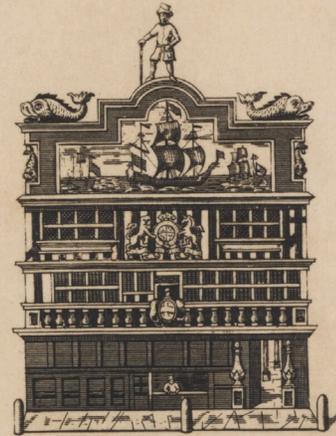
FROM THE LIBRARY OF
PAUL MELLON



VIRGINIA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



Glasgow
Lambeth
Rylands



OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE
EX LIBRIS

Boies Penrose



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
vpon the English, the 22 of *March* last.

Together with the names of those that were then massacred,
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229

W32

1622



TO THE HON^{orable} 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 ma-
ny, and of most, it cannot
but be misreported, some carryed away with
ouer-weak lightnesse to beleue all they heare,
how vntrue soeuer ; others out of their disaffe-
ction possibly to the *Plantation*, are desirous to
make that, which is ill, worse ; and so the truth
of the A^{ct}ion, 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

THE EPISTLE.

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 *Colonic*, 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 forbear to goe on for this accident that hath hapned to the Plantation, but proceed rather chearfully in this honorable Enterprize, since the discouery of their bruitish 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

THE EPISTLE.

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

A true *Notarie* for your happinesse,

and seruant to your commands,

EDWARD WATERHOUSE.



Faults in printing are thus to be amended.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Amend.
10	10.	French Vignerous	French Vignerons.
24	17.	Mastives to teare them	Mastives to seaze them.
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	which take this naked	which take these naked
26	12.	<i>non singa muu</i>	<i>non singanna.</i>
29	4.	with his brothers	with his brother.
<i>ibid.</i>	10.	auaritious quarrels	ambitious quarrels.
40	4.	Shinhow	Swinhow.
<i>ibid.</i>	10.	Weynoack.	Weyanock.
45	5.	by <i>Fretum Hudson.</i>	and by <i>Fretum Hudson.</i>



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 vpon
the English by the native Infidels, 22 March last.



Lthough there haue been many and
sundry Treatises writ of *Virginia*,
and the Commodities thereof;
whereat malicious men may take
occasion to cauill, but godly men
will finde good cause to praise the
Almighty, whose wonders are
scene in the deepe, through the which we haue sailed
to the discouery of this good Land: Yet I haue 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
gracious 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

B and

and happinesse of his most famous Kingdomes; and partly, because such is the customary daintinesse of Readers, that they seldome take the paines to gather together all that hath bene written of any subiect, that so they might take the whole businesse into their consideration, (which is the onely way to make a true iudgement,) but vsually content themselues 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 themselues 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 discovered at the costs and charges of that most prudent Prince of famous memory, *King Henry the Seauenth*, 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 discovered as farre as from *Cape Florida* to *New-found-land*, all along the Coast, and tooke possession thereof to the Kings vse, about that time when *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* discovered the *Westerne Indies*: (by which title of first discouery the King of *Portugal* and *Spaine* hold and enioy 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 vse of the late *Queene Elizabeth*: and after them,

Sir

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 Fifth* was wont to tearme *officina gentium*, the shop or forge of men,) finding his Subiects to multiply by the blessed peace they enioy vnder his happy gouernment, did out of his high wisedome and Princely care of the good of his Subiects, grant a most gracious Patent to diuers Honourable persons, and others of his louing Subiects, 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.

THIS spacious 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 nauigable) as full of excellent fish of diuers sorts, and both water & land yeelding as great variety of fowle, as any Country in the world is knowne to afford. The situation whereof being neere the middest of the world, betweene the extremities 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

B 2

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 adioyning, with ease and safety. And the Masts, Plancks, and Boards, the Pitch and Tarre, the Pot-ashes and Sops-ashes, the Hempe and Flaxe, which now are fetched from *Norway*, *Denmarke*, *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 prooffe hath bene 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 seruice; of sweet Woods, Oyles and Gummes, for pleasure and other vse; 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 vse, the Wheat of *England*.

The

The Cattell which were transported thither (being now growne neere to fiftene 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-found-land*, 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 varietie; So as there went this yeare from diuers parts of this Kingdome, neere thirty Saile thither, who are well returned and richly fished.

To conclude (but out of certaine aduertisements so often reiterated from thence, as well as by the constant relations of many hundreds now yearely coming & 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 Mynes 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

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the

the encountering 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 iourney, which by reason of better knowledge then in former yeares (the fruit of time and obseruation) 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 about 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 attendance in *Guests-houses* prouiding, till those that arriue can prouide for themselves.

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In the three last yeares of 1619. 1620. and 1621. there hath bene prouided and sent for *VIRGINIA* forty two Saile of ships, three thousand five hundred and seauenty men and women for Plantation, with requisite prouisions, besides store of Cattell, and in those ships haue bene about twelue hundred Mariners employed: There hath also bene sent in those yeares nine ships to the *Sommer Islands* with about nine hundred people to inhabite there, in which ships two hundred and forty Mariners were employed. In which space haue bene granted fifty Patents to particular persons, for Plantation in *VIRGINIA*, who with their Associates haue vndertaken 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

each yeare in their particulars, (manifested and approved in our generall and publike Quarter-Courts) and for the fuller satisfaction of all desirous to vnderstand the particularities of such proceedings, hath bene by printing commended to the vnderstanding of all.

The Letters written from the *Gouernor* and *Treasurer* in *VIRGINIA* in the beginning of *March* last, (which came hither in *April*,) gaue assurance of ouercomming and bringing to perfection in this yeare, the Iron-works, Glasse-works, Salt-works, the plentifull 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, Figg-trees, Pomgranats, Potatoes, and Cottonwooll feedes, Poccoon, Indico, Sugar-Canes, Madder, Woade, Hempe, Flaxe, and Silke-grasse; 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 Southward, they had past thorow great Forrests of Pines, fiftene or sixteene miles broad, and about 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

reaped twice ayere (within the limits of VIRGINIA) where also they vnderstand of a Copper-myne, 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* stufes are made in the *East-Indies*: and of which kindes of Silke-grasse was heretofore made a peece of Grogeram giuen to *Queene Elizabeth*. And how that in *December* last they had planted and cultiuated 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, Figg-trees, Sugar-Canes, Cotton-wooll, Cassau Rootes, (that make very good bread) Plantanes, Potatoes, and fundry other *Indian* fruits and plants not formerly seene in VIRGINIA, which at the 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 Riuer 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, & somewhat like our men, dwelt in houses, and were called *Acanack-China*: and he offered our people, that he would send
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his Brother along with them to that King, which offer the Gouvernor 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 wherof is greater then the Riuer 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, haue 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 Discouery 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 prooffe 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 attained vnto, haue published for the common good.

Moreouer, the Letters of *Mr. John Berkley*, sometimes of *Benerstone Castle* in the County of *Glocester*, (a Gentleman of an honorable Familie) likewise certifie, that a more fit place for Iron-workes (whereof he was made Master & over-seer) then in VIRGINIA, both for wood, water, mynes, and stone, was not to be found: And that by *Whitsontide* then next (now past) the Company might relye vpon good quantities

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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 applyed her selfe to the wish and direction of the Workeman ; where also were great stones hardly seene else-where in VIRGINIA, lying on the place, as though they had beene brought thither to aduance the erection of those Workes.

The Letters of the *French Vignerous* or *Vine-men*, procured out of *France* & sent ouer 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 diuers sorts being in abundance naturally ouer all the Countrey : and they hauing planted some cuttings of Vines at *Michaclmas* 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 greatnesse 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)

ing) they would make wholsome drinckes for the Colony and people there.

The Letters of Mr. *Porey* (verified also from the *Gouernor* and *Councell*) aduertised of a late Discouery by him and others made into the great Bay Northward, (reseruing the sounding of the bottome thereof for a second Voyage,) where hee left settled 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 vnderstand the great riches and blessings of this excellent Countrey, which euen ordinary diligence and care must needes strangely improue. But that all men may see the vnpartiall ingenuity of this Discourse, we freely confesse, that the Countrey is not so good, as the *Natives* are bad, whose barbarous Sa-uagenesse needs more cultiuation then the ground it selfe, being more ouerspread 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 neuer Nation vsed so kindly vpon so small desert, haue instead 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 selfe, so these also, thorow our sides, haue more wounded

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themselves then vs, God Almighty making way for
feueritie there, where a fayre gentleness would not
take place. The occasion whereof thus I relate from
thence.

THE last *May* there came Letters from *Sir Francis*
Wiat Governour in *VIRGINIA*, which did aduer-
tise that when in *November* last he arived in *VIRGE-*
NIA, and entred vpon his Government, he found the
Country settled in a peace (as all men there thought)
sure and vniolable, 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 aduantageous to both parts; to
the Sauages as the weaker, vnder which they were
safely sheltred and defended; to vs, as being the easiest
way then thought to pursue and aduance our proiects
of buildings, plantings, and effecting their conuersion
by peaceable and fayre meanes. And such was the
conceit of firme peace and amitie, as that there was
seldome or neuer a sword worne, and a Peece seldom-
er, except for a Deere or Fowle. By which assurance
of securitie, the Plantations of particular Aduenturers
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 hou-
ses generally set open to the Sauages, who were al-
waies 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
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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 conuersion 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 in-
creasing our former confidence, then any wise in the
world ministring the least suspicion of the breach of
the peace, or of what instantly ensued; yea, they bor-
rowed our owne Boates to conuey themselves crosse
the Riuer (on the bankes of both sides whereof all our
Plantations were) to consult of the diuellish murder
that ensued, and of our viter extirpation, which God
of his mercy (by the meanes of some of themselves
conuerted to Christianitie) preuented: 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, Turkeys, Fish,
Fures,

Furres, and other prouisions, 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 immediatly with their owne tooles and weapons, eyther laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing eyther age or sexe, man, woman or childe; so sodaine in their cruell execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. 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 conuersion. 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
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the rest well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits and fauours, but spitefully also massacred them, without remorse or pittie, 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 vnnaturall 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 conuersion, and was so tender ouer them, that whosoever vnder his authority had giuen them but the least displeasure or discontent, he punished them seuerely. He thought nothing too deare for them, and as being desirous to binde them vnto him by his many courtesies, hee neuer denyed them any thing that they asked him, insomuch that when these *Sauages* complained vnto him of the fiercenesse of our Mastiues, most implacable and terrible vnto them, (knowing them by instinct it seemes, to be but treacherous and false-hearted friends to vs, better then our selues) 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 displeasure

pleasure of the owners, and would haue had all the rest gueil (had he not beene hindered) to make them the gentler and the milder to them. Hee was not onely too kinde and beneficiall to the common sort, but also to their King, to whom hee oft resorted, and gaue many presents which hee knew to be highly pleasing to him. And whereas this king before dwelt onely in a cottage, or rather a denne or hog-stye, made with a few poles and sticke, and couered 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 vnlocking his doore an hundred times aday, hee thought no deuce in all the world was comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe to this King for his religious 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 about 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
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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 vnbesitting 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 perceiued some treachery intended to them by these hell-hounds) to looke to himselfe, and withall 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 suspition, 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 finnes of these wicked Infidels, haue made them vnworthy of enioying him, and the eternall good that he most zealously alwayes 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 iudgements: 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

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there were three or foure of our ships in *James-Riuer*, and one in the next Riuer, and daily more to come in, as three did within fourteene dayes after; one of which they endeouored to haue surpris'd, but in vaine, as had also beene their whole attempt, had any the least fore-knowledge beene in those places where the Mafacre 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 Ciuilitie 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 preferued so many of the English (there being, God be prayd, about eleuen parts of twelue still remaining) whose desire to draw those people to Religion by the carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to haue beene the greatest cause of their own ensuing destruction. Yet it pleas'd God to vse some of them as instruments to saue many of their liues, whose soules they had formerly saued, as at *James-Citie*, and other places, and the Pinnace trading in *Pamounkey* Riuer, all whose liues were saued by a conuerted *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 wisdome can neuertheless bring it to passe with

with some more of them, and with other Prouinces there in his good time; and by such meanes as wee thinke most vnlikely. For euen in the deliury of vs that now suruiue, no mans particular carefulnesse saued any one person, but the meere goodnesse of himselfe, freely and miraculously preferued whom it pleas'd him.

The Letters of Mr. *George Sandis* a worthy Gentleman and Treasurer there, likewise haue aduertised (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 beene 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 beene of one Nation, those treacherous Natiues, after five yeares peace, by a generall combination in one day plotted to subuert their whole Colony, and at one instant of time, though our feuerall Plantations were an hundred and forty miles vpon one Riuer on both sides.

But before I goe any further, for the better vnderstanding of all things, you shall know that these wyld 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 easilist make some cleared plots of ground, which they employ wholly in setting of Corne, whereby to sustaine their liues. These small and scattered Companies (as

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 severall Townes and places seated vpon the Riuer; 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 *John 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 reueales 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 conuerted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours

died

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 euer, whose mercy endureth for euer; Blessed bee God whose mercy is about his iustice, and farre about 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 Riuer to *James-City* (in that place neere three miles in bredth) and gaue notice thereof to the Gouvernor, by which meanes they were preuented 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 Peece they all ranne away. In other places that could haue no notice, some Peeces 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 discovered, that the last Summer *Opachankano* practised 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 fise or sixe of his great men, offered to be ready to iustifie against him. That the true cause

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 vpon them, would dispossesse them of this Country, as they had bene formerly of the West Indies by the Spaniard; produced this bloody act. That neuer grieffe and shame possessed any people more then themselues, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presentment of a staffe in manner of a Peece, nor an vncharged Peece 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 *Agésilau*, when his enemies (vpon whose oath of being faithfull hee rested) had deceiued him, he sent them thanks, 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,

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not vntying 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, inuade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy vs: whereby wee shall enioy their cultivated 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 fruitfulest 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 enioyed 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 infinitely increase, which heretofore not onely in the generall huntings of the King (whereat foure or fise hundred Deere were vsually slaine) 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 Turkie, 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
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the world will so plentifully abound in victuall.

Fourthly, Because the way of conquering them is much more easie then of ciuilizing them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victorie, but hinderances to Ciuilitie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but ciuility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry. Moreouer, victorie of them may be 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 huntings, 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 teare 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 Devils then their owne. By these and sundry other wayes, 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 enities that were amongst the Indians, as throughly vnderstanding and following that Maxime of the Politician, *Diuide & impera*, Make diuisions and take Kingdomes: For thus he got two of the greatest Kingdomes of the West Indies, *Peru* and *Mexico*,

Mexico, by the Princes diuisions, and the peoples differences. After the death of *Guainacapa* king of *Peru*, his sonnes *Atabalippa* and *Gaspar* falling to war about the kingdom, & each of the struing to make the *Spaniard* to his friend, *Francis Pizarro* 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 *Motexuma*, and gained the Kingdome of *Mexico* from him, by the aid and furtherance of the neighboring 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 bene 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 aduantage to ouercome this Iland of *Great Britayne*, of which *Tacitus* sayes, *Ita dum singuli pugnant vniuersi vincuntur*. And *Iustin* hath the like saying of the cause of vanquishing the *Grecian* Cities.

Fifthly, Because the *Indians*, who before were vsed as friends, may now most iustly be compelled to seruitude and drudgery, and supply the roome of men

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that labour, whereby euen the meanest of the Plantation may imploy themselues more entirely in their Arts and Occupations, which are more generous, whilst Sauages performe their inferiour workes of digging in mynes, and the like, of whom also some may be sent for the seruice of the *Sommer Islands*.

Sixtly, This will for euer hereafter make vs more cautelous and circumspect, as neuer to bee deceiued 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 Deceit*, and to learne them that of the *Italian*, *Chi non fida, non s'ingamua*, Hee that trusts not is not deceiued: and make them know that kindneses are misspent vpon rude natures, so long as they continue rude; as also, that Sauages and Pagans are aboue all other for matter of Iustice euer to be suspected. Thus vpon this Anvile shall wee now beate out to our selues an armour of prooffe, which shall for euer after defend vs from barbarous Incurfions, and from greater dangers that otherwise might happen. And so we may truly say according to the *French Prouerb*, *Aquelq, chose malheur est bon*, Ill lucke is good for something.

Lastly, We haue 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 gracious, 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 Munition and Armes, out of his *Maiesties*
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owne store in the Tower, being gratioously bestowed for the safety and aduancement of the Plantation. As also his Royall fauor is amply extended in a large supply 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 zeale at this time (as they haue alwayes done vpon all Honourable occasions to their endlesse praise) are now setting forth one hundred persons, at their owne charges, for the aduancement of the Plantations. In the furtherance of which action, as the whole graue Senate of Aldermen haue shewed much piety and wisdome, so in particular, the Right Honourable *Sir Edward Barkham* Knight, the now Lord Mayor, hath demonstrated a most worthy 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 VIRGINIA, 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 *West Indies* into *Spain*, 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 aliue of them, but all by the Natiues treacherously slaine.

After this againe, when the *Spanish Colony* was increased in great numbers, the *Indians* (from whom the *Spaniards* for trucking stufte vsed to haue all their corn) generally conspired together to plant no corne at all, intending therby to famish them, themselues liuing in the meane time vpon *Cassau* (a root to make bread) onely then knowne to themselues: This plot of theirs by the *Spaniards* ouer-fight (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 vncleane, no loathsome beast, no not the poysonous and hideous Serpents, but ate 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 whomsoeuer 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

times were neare vndone, by the ambition, factions, and malice of the Commanders one vnto another. *Columbus*, to whom they were beholding for all, with his brothers, were sent home from the *West Indies* into *Spaine* bound with chaines: and some other great Commanders killed and murdered 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 *Pizarros* brother. Thus by their owne spightfull and auaritious quarrels did they well-neare shake the mayne pillars of that Plantation.

These and many other calamities and mischiefes, 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 v unexpected 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 Countrey, 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 stormes blowne ouer, and fayre weather shining vpon them) they were so in loue with their great fortunes, that they grew so ialous 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* inseparably for euer to the Crowne of *Spaine*; which (for their better securitie and satisfaction) was accordingly performed and ratified, as it is to be seene in *Herer*s Hi-

story of the *West Indies*. And whereas before, few could be hired to go to inhabite there, now with great suite they must obtaine it.

Thus haue 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 ouercame 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 Natiues 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 aboute twenty two yeares in the *West Indies*, I will acquaint you with his obseruation and iudgement 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 Natiues of *VIRGINIA*.

They are (saith hee) by nature sloathfull and idle, vitious, 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, sortish and sodaine: neuer looking what dangers may happen afterwards, lesse capable then children of fixe

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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 subtrill. And indeede it should seeme so, when they could ouerreach and goe beyond the *Spaniard* so much, to put that trick of staruing them (as aforesaid) vpon them, to their so great and almost totall destruction.

But to come againe to that which I first intended: 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 bene 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 plentiful 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 spoyling many men of their liues, which are deprived 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 fodinis noxius admodum; neq; tamen prohibuit aeris corruptissimi violentia Hispanos, ne in alio orbe nouum moriendi locum quarerent.* 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 *Aduenturers* 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 *Aduenturers*, 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 natiue, 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

their *Quick-siluer*, and *Allom*, *Woad*, and *Brasill-wood*, &c. And their many other *Dyes*, *Paints*, *Petacayana*, *Tobacco*, *Gummes*, *Balmes*, *Oyles* medecinall, and *Perfumes*, their *Sarsaparillia*, and many other physicall drugs, (for which, learned *Physitians* and skilfull *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 *Aduenturers*, by which they are enabled to enrich themselues, and to sustaine the mighty charge of drawing out the *Gold* and *Siluer*, to the great and cleare reueneue 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 beneficiall to the *Plantation* then impaire it, let all men take courage, and put to their helping hands, since now the time is most seasonable and aduantageous for the reaping of those benefits which the *Plantation* hath long promised: and for their 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 *Aduenturers* and *Planters*. And for old *Aduenturers*, there is due vnto them and their heyres (according to the *Orders* of the *Company*) for each twelue pounds ten shillings formerly paid
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into the treasury, one hundred Acres of Land, vpon a first diuision, and as much vpon a second, the first being planted. And wholocuer transports himselfe or any other, at his charge into VIRGINIA, shall for himselfe and each person so transported, before Midsummer, 1625. haue to him and his heyres for euer, fifty Acres of land vpon a first Diuision, and as much more vpon a second: the first fifty being cultiuated or manured; if such person continue there three yeares, eyther at once or feuerall times, or dye after hee bee shipped for that Voyage.

Lastly, it is to be wished, that euery 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 Reuenues, the imploiment of his Subjects 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

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 fauour.

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

John Berkley Esquire.	Philip Barnes.
Thomas Brasington.	William Swandal.
John Sawyer.	Robert Williams,
Roger Daud.	his Wife,
Francis Gowsh.	and Childe.
Bartholmew Peram.	Giles Bradshawe,
Giles Peram.	his Wife,
John Dowler.	and Childe.
Laurence Dowler.	John Howlet,
Lewis Williams.	and his sonne.
Richard Boscough.	Thomas Wood, and
Thomas Holland.	Collins his man.
John Hunt.	Ioseph Fitch Apothecary
Robert Horner Mason.	to Doctor Pots.

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

M After Th: Sheffield,	Mathew ———
and Rachel his wife.	Iudeth Howard.
John Reeue.	Thomas Poole
William Tyler a boy.	Methusalem ———
Samuel Reeue.	Thomas Taylor.
John Ellen.	William Tyler.
Robert Tyler a boy.	

At Henrico Iland about two miles from Sheffields Plantation.

—— Atkins.	William Perigo.
—— Weston.	Owen Iones, one of
Philip Shatford.	Capt. Berkleys people.

Slaine of the Colledge People, about two miles from Henrico-Citie.

S Amuel Stringer.	Thomas Cooke.
George Soldan.	John Clements.
William Basser.	James Faulkoner.
John Perry.	Christopher Henley.
Edward Ember.	William Iordan.
Iarrat Moore.	Robert Daus.
Thomas Xerles.	Thomas Hobson.
Thomas Freeman.	William Baily.
John Allen.	

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

W illiam Charte.	John Barker a boy.
Io: Waterhowse.	Robert Yeoman.

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

R oger Royal.	Edward Heydon.
Thomas Iones.	Henry Bushel.
Robert Maruel.	

At other Plantations next adioyning.

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

At Mr. William Farrars House.

M After Iohn England and his Man.	William her sonne. Thomas his Man.
Iohn Bel.	James Woodshaw.
Henricke Peterfon, and Alice his Wife, and	Mary, and Elizabeth } Maidseruants

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

C apt. George Thorpe Esq. one of his Ma- iesties Pentioners. John Rowles. Richard Rowles, his Wife, and Childe.	Giles Wilkins. Giles Bradway. Richard Fereby. Thomas Thorpe. Robert Iordan. Edward Painter.
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At Westouer, about a mile from Berkley-Hundred:

And first, at Cap. Fr: Wests Plantation.

James English.
Richard Dasha.

At Master John Wests Plantation.

Christopher Turner.
David Owen.

At Capt. Nathanael Wests.

Michael Aleworth.
John Wright.

An Lieutenant Gibs his Diuidend.

I ohn Paly. Thomas Ratcliffe. Michael Booker. Iohn Higgle. Nathanael Earle. Iohn Gibbes. William Parker.	Richard Wainham. Benomy Reyman. Thomas Gay. James Vpfall. Daniel — Mr. Dombc- lowes man.
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At Mr. Richard Owens house.

R ichard Owen. Stephen Dubo. Francis, an Irishman. Thomas Paine.	One old Maid called blinde Margaret. William Recue.
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At Master Owen Macars house.

O wen Macar. Garret Farrel.	Richard Yeaw, One Boy.
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At Master Macocks Diuidend.

C apt. Samuel Macock Esquire. Edward Lister.	Thomas Browne. Iohn Downes.
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At Flowerdieu-Hundred Sir George Yeardeleys Plantation.

I ohn Philips. Thomas Nuson. Iohn Braford.	Robert Taylor. Samuel Jarret. Elizabeth Bennet.
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At the other side of the River opposite to Flowerdieu-Hundred.

M aster Hobson, and his Wife. Richard Storks. Iohn Slaughter.	Thomas Philips. Richard Campion. Anne Greene.
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At Mr. Swinhowe his House.

M istris Swinhow, & Thomas and George Shinhow her sonnes.	Richard Mosse. John Larkin. William Blyth. Thomas Grindal.
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At Mr. William Bikars house.

W illiam Bykar. Math: Hawthorn and his Wife.	Edward Peirce. Nicholas Howfdon.
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At Weynoack of Sir George Yeardley his people.

N athanael Elie. John Flores. Henry Gape. —— Buckingham. William Puffet. William Walker. John Gray. James Boate. John Suersby. Thomas Euans. Thomas Ap-Richard.	Henry Haynes. John Blewet. Henry Rice. —— Hurt. Jonas Alport. Thomas Stephens. Samuel Goodwine. John Snow, and his Boy. Margery Blewet.
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At Powle-brooke.

C 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.
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At

At Southampton-Hundred.

R obert Goffe, and his Wife, William Larkum.	John Dauies. William Mountfort.
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At Martin Brandons.

L ieutenant Sanders. Ensigne Sherley. John Taylor, and	his Wife. 2 Boyes. Mathew a Polander.
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At Captaine Spilmans house.

Iohn Basingthwayte.
Walter Shawe.

At Ensigne Spence his house.

W illiam Richmond John Fowler. Alexander Bale.	William Fierfax. The Tinker.
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*Persons slaine at Martins-Hundred some seauen
miles from James-Citie.*

L ieutenant Rich: Kean. Master Tho: Boife, & Mistris Boife his wife, & a sucking Childe. 4 of his men. A Maide. 2 Children. Nathanael Iefferies wife. Margaret Dauies.	Richard Staples, his wife, and Childe. 2 Maides. 6 Men and Boyes. Walter Dauies, & his brother. Christopher Guillam. Thomas Combar.
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3 Seruants

3. Seruants.
Master Iohn Boife
his Wife.

A Maide.

4 Men-seruants.
Laurence Wats,
his Wife.

2 Men-seruants.
Timothy Moife,
his Man.

Henry Bromage,
his Wife,
his Daughter,
his Man.

Edward How,
his Wife,
his Childe.

A child of Iohn Iackfons.

4 Men-seruants.
Iofua Dary,
his Wife,

A Man.
Ralphe Digginfon,
his Wife.

Richard Cholfer.

George Iones.

Cifly Cooke,
his Wife.

Dauid Bons,

Iohn Benner.

Iohn Mafon.

William Pawmet.

Thomas Bats.

Peter Lighborrow.

James Thorley.

Robert Walden.

Thomas Tolling.

Iohn Butler.

Edward Rogers.

Maximilian Ruffel.

Henry a Welchman.

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

MAfter Tho: Peirce, Iohn Hopkins.
his Wife, Iohn Samon.
and Childe. A French boy.

At Mr. Edward Bennets Plantation.

MAfter Th: Brewood 2 Seruants.
his Wife, Thomas Ferris.
his Childe, George Cole.

Robert

Robert Gray.
Iohn Griffin.
Enſigne Harrifon.
Iohn Coftard.
Dauid Barry.
Thomas Sheppard.
Henry Price.
Robert —
Edward Iolly.
Richard —
Alice Iones.
Thomas Cooke.
Philip Worth.
Mathew a maid.
Francis Winder.
Thomas Couly.
Richard Woodward.
Humfrey Copen.
Thomas Bacon.
Euan Watkins.
Richard Lewis.
Edward Towfe.

Remember Michel.
— Bullocke.
Richard Chandler.
Henry Moore.
Nicholas Hunt.
Iohn Corderoy.
Richard Cockwell.
Iohn Howard.
Miſtris Harrifon.
Mary Dawks
Anne Engliſh.
Rebecca —
Maſter Prowſe.
Hugh —
Iohn —
Edward —
Miſtris Chamberlen.
Parnel a maid.
Humfrey Sherbrooke.
Iohn Wilkins.
Iohn Burton.

Iohn Scotchmore }
Edward Turner. } Mr. Iohn Pountis his men.
Edward Brewſter, Lieutenant Peirce his man.
Thomas Holland, Capt. Whittakers man.

At Maſter Walters his houſe.

MAfter Edw: Walters a Maid.
his Wife, a Boy.
a Childe,

The whole number is 347.



A TREATISE
OF THE NORTHWEST
Passage to the South Sea, through
the Continent of *VIRGINIA*
and by *Fretum Hudson.*

THe noble Plantation of *VIRGINIA* hath some very excellent Prerogatiues about many other famous Kingdomes, namely, the temperature of the ayre, the fruitfulnessse 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 fruitfulnessse of the soile, yeelding 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

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those

those tender sprouts which the earth doth abundantly bring forth, may bee 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 deuised any place more conuenient for the succour and refreshing of those that trade from hence thither: whether they be of our owne nation, or of our neighbours and friends; the multitude of great and nauigable Riuers, and of safe and spacious harbours, as it were inuiting all Nations to entertaine mutuall friendship, and to participate of those blessings which God out of the abundance of his rich Treasures, hath so graciously bestowed some vpon these parts of *Europe*, and others no lesse desired vpon those poore people: which might still haue remained in their old barbarous ignorance, without knowledge of their owne misery, or of Gods infinite goodnesse and mercy; if it had not pleased God thus graciously 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

Flats and small Ilands not so safe. Neither is the commodiousnesse of *VIRGINIA*s 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*, *Iapan*, and the *Moluccaes*; but also to *New Spaine*, *Peru*, *Chila*, and those rich Countries of *Terra Australis*, not as yet fully discovered. 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 it lieth as farre westward as the Cape of *Florida*: So that from the Fals about *Henrico* City, if we shape our iourney towards the Northwest following the Riuers towards the head, we shall vndoubtedly come to the Mountaines, which as they send diuers 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 *Derbeshire* into *Scotland*, doe issue many great Riuers on both sides into the East *Germane* Ocean, and into the Westerne *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, stretcheth it selfe Southward into 49. degrees, and cannot be in probabillity so farre distant.

stant from the Falls as 200. Leagues; part of the way lying by the Rivers side towards the mountaines from whence it springeth: and the other part on the other side cannot want Rivers likewise, which will conduct vs all the way, and I hope carry vs and our provisions a good part of it. Besides that Bay, it is not vnlikely that the Westerne Sea in some other Creeke or Riuer commeth much neerer then that place: For the place where Sir *Thomas Button* did winter, lying more Westerly then Master *Hudsons* Bay by 190. Leagues in the same Sea, doth extend it selfe very neere 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 seene here in *London*, brought out of *Holland*; where the Sea vpon the Northwest part may very probably come much neerer 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 *Quinira*, hauing great and populous Cities of ciuill people; whose houses are said to bee fiue stories high, and to haue some pillars of *Turquesses*. 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
now

now are found to be all turned into a maine icie Sea. One demonstration of the crafty falshood of these vsuall Maps is this, that *Cape Mendocino* is set in them West Northwest, distant from the South Cape of *California*, about seuentene hundred Leagues, whereas *Francis Gaule* that was imployed in those discoueries by the Viseroy of *New Spaine*; doth in *Hugo Linscottens* his booke set downe their distance to bee onely fiue hundred Leagues.

Besides this, in the place where Sir *Thomas Button* did winter in 57. degrees of latitude, the constant great tides euery twelue houres, and the increase of those tides whensoever any strong westerne wind did blow, doe strongly perswade vs that the maine Westerne Ocean is not farre from thence; which was much confirmed vnto them the Summer following; when sayling directly North from that place where they wintered, about the Latitude of 60. degrees, they were crossed by a strong Currant running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward: So that if wee finde either *Hudsons Bay*, or any Sea more neere vnto the West, wee may assure our selues that from thence wee may with great ease passe to any part of the *East Indies*: And that as the world is very much beholding to that famous *Columbus* for that hee first discovered vnto vs the *West Indies*; and to the *Portingall* for the finding out the ordinary and as yet the best way that is knowne to the *East Indies*, by *Cape Bona-Speranza*. So may they and all the world be in this beholding to vs in opening a new and large passage, both much neerer, safer, and farre more wholesome and temperate through the Continent of *VIRGINIA*, and by

H

Fretum

Fretum Hudson, to all those rich Countries bordering vpon the South Sea, in the *East* and *West Indies*. And this hope that the South Sea may easily from *VIRGINIA* be discovered ouer Land, is much confirmed by the constant report of the Sauiages, not onely 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 vnlike to ours, with other circumstances, doe giue vs very great probability (if not full assurance) that our endeouours this way shall by Gods blessing haue a prosperous and happy successe, to the encrease of his Kingdome and glory amongst these poore ignorant Heathen people, the publique good of all the Christian world, the neuerdying honour of our most gracious Soueraigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedy increase and aduancement of that most noble and hopefull Plantation of *VIRGINIA*;

for the good successe whereof all good men with me, I doubt not, will poure out their prayers to Almighty

G O D.

H. B.



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

Mistris *Mary Robinson* by her Will gaue towards the building of a Church in *VIRGINIA*, p s. d. Anno 1619. 200. 0. 0.

A Person vnknowne gaue for that Church a Communion-cup with a Couer, and a Plate for the bread of siluer guilt: a silke damaske Carpet, a linnen damaske Table-Cloth, and other Ornaments, all valued at 20. 0. 0.

A person vnknowne gaue for the vse of the Colledge, a Communion-cup with a Couer, and a Plate for the bread, of Siluer guilt: a crimson veluet Carpet with gold lace and fringe, and a linnen damaske Table-cloth: all valued at 30. 0. 0.

H 2

A

A person vnkowne sent a Letter, the Copy whereof is registred; directed thus, To Sir Edwin Sandys, the faithfull Treasurer of VIRGINIA: and subscribed, Dust and Ashes : And afterwards by an vnkowne person sent a box to the house of Sir Edwin 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 ciuility.

P. 5. 5.
550. 0. 0.

1620 Master Nicholas Farrar of London, deceased, hath by his Will giuen 300 li. to the Colledge in VIRGINIA, to be 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 discrete 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.

300. 0. 0.

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

10. 0. 0.

1621 The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the Royall-James from the East Indies, beeing at Cape Bona-Speranza, homeward bound, gaue towards the building of a Free Schoole in Virginia, to be called the East Indie Schoole, —

70. 5. 6.

Toward^s

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

1. 5. 0.
30. 0. 0.

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. —

40 s. per an.

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.

25. 0. 0.

At the same Quarter Court a small Bible with a Couer richly wrought, a great Church-Bible, the Booke of common Prayer, and other books were presented to be sent to VIRGINIA, in the name of a person who had the yeere before sent for the vse 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 —

10. 0. 0.

Giuen by Master Thomas Bargaue, a Minister in VIRGINIA deceased, for the vse of the Colledge, a Library valued at —

100. marks

H 3

There

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 } 1. s. 8. 1500. 0. 0.

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 Speranza*, homeward bound, gaue towards the building of the aforesaid Free-schoole in VIRGINIA the summe of } 66. 13. 4.

The Honourable Citie of *London* in the Maioraltie of *S^r George Bowles* 1618. In *Sir William Cockaines* 1620. And in *Sir Edward Barkhams* 1622. haue giuen } 1500. li. towards the transportation of 300. Youths to *Virginia*

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

FINIS.

THE INCONVENIENCIES THAT HAVE HAPPENED TO SOME PERSONS WHICH HAVE TRANSPORTED THEMSELVES

from *England to Virginia*, without provisions necessary to sustaine themselves, hath greatly hindred the *Progressse of that noble Plantation*: For prevention of the like disorders heereafter, 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 haue 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.

Apparrell.

Apparrell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

	li.	s.	d.
One Monmouth Cap	00	01	10
Three falling bands	—	01	03
Three shirts	—	07	06
One waste-coate	—	02	02
One suite of Canuase	—	07	06
One suite of Frize	—	10	00
One suite of Cloth	—	15	00
Three paire of Irish stockins	—	04	—
Foure paire of shooes	—	08	08
One paire of garters	—	00	10
One doozen of points	—	00	03
One paire of Canuase sheets	—	08	00
Seuen ells of Canuase, to make a bed and boulder, to be filled in <i>Virginia</i> 8.s.	—	08	00
One Rug for a bed 8. s. which with the bed feruing for two men, halfe is	—	—	—
Fiue ells coorse Canuase, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw, iiii. s.	—	05	00
One coorse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost vj. s. is for one	—	—	—

Victuall.

For a whole yeere for one man, and so for more after the rate.

Eight bushels of Meale	02	00	00
Two bushels of pease at 3.s.	—	06	00
Two bushels of Oatemeale 4.s. 6.d.	—	09	00
One gallon of Aquauite	—	02	06
One gallon of Oyle	—	03	06
Two gallons of Vineger 1.s.	—	02	00

Armes.

For one man, but if halfe of your men haue armour it is sufficient so that all haue Peeces and swords.

One Armour compleat, light	—	17	00
One long Peece, fiue foot or fiue and a halfe, neere Musket bore	01	02	—
One sword	—	05	—
One belt	—	01	—
One bandalere	—	01	06
Twenty pound of powder	—	18	00
Sixty pound of shot or lead, Pistoll and Goose shot	—	05	00
	03	09	06

Tooles.

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

	li.	s.	d.
Fiue broad howes at 2.s. a piece	—	10	—
Fiue narrow howes at 16.d. a piece	—	06	08
Two broad Axes at 3.s. 8.d. a piece	—	07	04
Fiue felling Axes at 18.d. a piece	—	07	06
Two steele hand sawes at 16.d. a piece	—	02	08
Two two-hand-sawes at 5. s. a piece	—	10	—
One whip-saw, set and filed with box, file, and wrest	—	10	—
Two hammers 12.d. a piece	—	02	00
Three shouels 18.d. a piece	—	04	06
Two spades at 18.d. a piece	—	03	—
Two augers 6.d. a piece	—	01	00
Sixe chissels 6.d. a piece	—	03	00
Two percẽrs stocked 4.d. a piece	—	00	08
Three gimlets 2.d. a piece	—	00	06
Two hatchets 2 1.d. a piece	—	03	06
Two froues to cleaue pale 18.d.	—	03	00
Two hand-bills 20. a piece	—	03	04
One grindlestone 4. s.	—	04	00
Nails of all forts to the value of	02	00	—
Two Pickaxes	—	03	—

Household Implements.

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

One Iron Pot	00	07	—
One kettle	—	06	—
One large frying-pan	—	02	06
One gridiron	—	01	06
Two skillets	—	05	—
One spit	—	02	—
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood	—	04	—

For Sugar, Spice, and fruit, and at Sea for 6. men—
So the full charge of Apparrell, Victuall, Armes, Tooles, and household stuffe, and after this rate for each person, will amount vnto about the summe of

The passage of each man is
The freight of these provisions for a man, will bee about halfe a Tun, which is

So the whole charge will amount to about

Nets, bookes, lines, and a tent must be added, if the number of people be greater, as also some kine.

And this is the vsuall proportion that the *Virginia Company* doe bestow vpon their Tenants which they send.

Whosoeuer 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 diuision.