

The Generall Historie  
of  
Virginia, New England  
&  
The Summer Isles

Together with  
The True Travels, Adventures  
and Observations, and  
A Sea Grammar

By  
CAPTAINE JOHN SMITH  
Sometymes Governour in those Countryes  
and Admirall of New England

2  
VOLUME I

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A.D.  
1608.

## THE HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA

sicke of a Callenture) and in regard of the weaknesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being unable to worke, he left them to live at ease, to recover their healths, but imbarcked himselfe to finish his Discovery.

Written by Walter Russell, Anas Todkill, and Thomas Momford.

### Chap. VI.

The Government surrendred to Master Scrivener.

What happened the second Voyage in  
discovering the Bay.

**T**He 24 of July, Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery with twelve men: their names were

#### Gentlemen.

[III. 60.]

Nathaniell Powell.

Michell Sicklemore.

Thomas Momford.

James Bourne.

Richard Fetherston.

Anthony Bagnall, Chir.

#### Souldiers.

Jonas Profit.

Richard Keale.

Anas Todkill.

James Watkins.

Edward Pising.

William Ward.

*The Salvages  
admire fire-  
workes.*

The wind being contrary caused our stay two or three dayes at Kecoughtan: the King feasted us with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the Massawomeks. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible we attempted; and desired to assist us. The first night we anchored at Stingray Isle. The next day crossed Patawomeks river, and hasted to the river Bolus. We went not much further before we might see the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided

## FIGHT WITH THE SAVAGES

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in foure, all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them. Two of them we found inhabited, but in crossing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of Massawomeks, we seeing them prepare to assault us, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but five with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left Kecoughtan, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, untill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them under our Tarpawling, we put their hats upon stickes by the Barges side, and betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make us seeme many, and so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come unto us. At last they sent two of their company unarmed in a Canow, the rest all followed to second them if neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboard all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes. We understood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified unto us they had beene at warres with the Tockwoghes, the which they confirmed by showing us their greene wounds, but the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

*An Incounter  
with the Mas-  
sawomeks at  
the head of  
the Bay.*

Entring the river of Tockwogh, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed us; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw us furnished with the Massawomeks weapons, and we faining the invention of Kecoughtan, to have taken them perforce; they conducted us to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women, and

*An Incounter  
with the  
Tockwogh's.*



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## THE HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA

children with daunces, songs, fruits, furies, and what they had, kindly welcommed us, spreading mats for us to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

*Hatchets from  
the Sasquesa-  
hanocks.*

Many hatchets, knives, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanocks, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the Massawomeks. The Sasquesahanocks inhabit upon the chiefe Spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes journey higher then our barge could passe for rocks, yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come visit us, for their language are different. Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Five of their chiefe Werowances came boldly aboard us to crosse the Bay for Tockwhogh, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being so high they durst not passe.

Our order was daily to have Prayer, with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse.

[III. 61.]

*The Sasquesa-  
hanocks offer  
to the English.*

Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the Sunne, with a most fearefull song, then imbracing our Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished: which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loves; that ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at least six or seaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Pro-

## THE SUSQUEHANNA INDIANS

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tector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeks. But we left them at Tockwhogh, sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made us, of Atquanachuck, Massawomek, & other people, signifying they inhabit upon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we understood to be some great lake, or the river of Canada: and from the French to have their hatchets and Commodities by trade. These know no more of the territories of Powhatan, then his name, and he as little of them, but the Atquanachuks are on the Ocean Sea.

The highest mountaine we saw Northward wee called Perigrines mount, and a rocky river, where the Massawomeks went up, Willowbyes river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the Lord Willowby, his most honored good friend. The Sasquesahanocks river we called Smiths falles; the next poynt to Tockwhogh, Pisings poynt; the next it poynt Bourne. Powells Isles and Smals poynt is by the river Bolus; and the little Bay at the head Profits poole; Watkins, Reads, and Momfords poynts are on each side Limbo; Ward, Cantrell, and Sicklemore, betwixt Patawomek and Pamaunkee, after the names of the discoverers. In all those places and the furthest we came up the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had beene there.

Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of Pawtuxunt; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any, we promised them, as also the Patawomeks to revenge them of the Massawomeks, but our purposes were crossed.

In the discovery of this river some call Rapahanock, we were kindly entertained by the people of Moraughtacund; here we incountered our old friend Mosco, a lusty

*Pawtuxunt,*  
R.

*Rapahanock,*  
R.



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## THE HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA

*The exceeding  
love of the  
Salvage  
Mosco.*

*Our fight with  
the Rapahanocks.*

[III. 62.]

Salvage of Wighcocomoco upon the river of Patawomek, we supposed him some French mans sonne, because he had a thicke blacke bush beard, and the Salvages seldome have any at all, of which he was not a little proud, to see so many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch us, guide us any whether, cause divers of his Countrymen helpe us towe against winde or tyde from place to place till we came to Patawomek: there he rested till we returned from the head of the river, and occasioned our conduct to the mine we supposed Antimony. And in the place he fayled not to doe us all the good he could, perswading us in any case not to goe to the Rapahanocks, for they would kill us for being friends with the Moraughtacunds that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely have our trade: so we crossed the river to the Rapahanocks. There some 12 or 16 standing on the shore, directed us a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for us in three or foure Canowes we saw lie there: but according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man in signe of love, which after they had a little consulted, foure or five came up to the middles, to fetch our man, and leave us one of them, shewing we need not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithstanding, Anas Todkill, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any Ambuscadoes, or what they had, desired to goe over the playne to fetch some wood, but they were unwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come close ashore. Todkill by degrees having got some two stones throwes up the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees, so that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages assayed to carry him away perforce, that he called to us we were betrayed, and by that he had spoke the word, our hostage was over-boord, but Watkins his keeper slew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly amongst them, so that they fled, & Todkill escaped, yet they shot

## FIGHT WITH THE RAPPAHANOCKS

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so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat. Here the Massawomek Targets stood us in good stead, for upon Mosco's words, we had set them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecastle, from whence we securely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they shot more then a thousand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our selves with these light Targets (which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our Cloth, but so firmly that no arrow can possibly pierce them:) we rescued Todkill, who was all bloody by some of them who were shot by us that held him, but as God pleased he had no hurt; and following them up to the woods, we found some slaine, and in divers places much blood. It seems all their arrowes were spent, for we heard no more of them. Their Canows we tooke; the arrowes we found we broke, save them we kept for Mosco, to whom we gave the Canowes for his kindnesse, that entertained us in the best triumphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conquest he could procure of the Moraughtacunds.

The rest of the day we spent in accomodating our Boat, in stead of thoules wee made stickes like Bedstaves, to which we fastened so many of our Massawomek Targets, that invironed her as wast clothes. The next morning we went up the river, and our friend Mosco followed us along the shore, and at last desired to goe with us in our Boat. But as we passed by Pisacack, Matchopeak, and Mecuppom, three Townes situated upon high white clay clifts; the other side all a low playne marish, and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the Rappahanocks, had so accommodated themselves with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing among the sedge, still seeing their arrowes strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: whereat Mosco fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the Rappahanocks, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley fell downe in the sedge: when wee were near

*The Salvages  
disguised like  
bushes fight.*



## THE HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA

halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselves dauncing and singing very merrily.

The Kings of Pissassack, Nandtaughtacund, and Cutta-tawomen, used us kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to Mosco to bring us to them. Betwixt Secobeck and Massawteck is a small Isle or two, which causeth the river to be broader then ordinary; there it pleased God to take one of our Company called Mr. Fetherstone, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himselfe, honestly, valiantly, and industriously, where in a little Bay, we called Fetherstones Bay wee buried him with a volley of shot: the rest notwithstanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers never resting, but alwayes tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float, there setting up crosses, and graving our names in the trees. Our sentinell saw an arrow fall by him, though we had ranged up and downe more then an houre in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himself.

*Our fight with  
the Manna-  
hocks.*

Upon the alarum by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows so fast as they could: the trees here served us for Baricadoes as well as they. But Mosco did us more service then we expected, for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of Mosco at the first made them pause upon the matter, thinking by his bruit and skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddainly as they approached. Mosco followed them so farre as he could see us, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee, but taking him up we found he had life, which Mosco seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then Mosco was to have beat out his

*A Salvage shot  
and taken  
prisoner.  
[III. 63.]*



## A PRISONER'S RELATION

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braines, so we had him to our Boat, where our Chirur-  
gian who went with us to cure our Captaines hurt of the  
Stingray, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre  
after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and  
speake. In the meane time we contented Mosco in  
helping him to gather up their arrowes, which were an  
armefull, whereof he gloried not a little. Then we  
desired Mosco to know what he was, and what Countries  
were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly  
answered, he and all with him were of Hasinninga, where  
there are three Kings more, like unto them, namely the  
King of Stegora, the King of Tauxuntania, and the King  
of Shakahonea, that were come to Mohaskahod, which is  
onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the  
Kingdome of the Mannahocks, and the Nandtaughta-  
cunds, but hard by where we were. We demanded why  
they came in that manner to betray us, that came to them  
in peace, and to seeke their loves; he answered, they  
heard we were a people come from under the world, to  
take their world from them. We asked him how many  
worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but  
that which was under the skie that covered him, which  
were the Powhatans, with the Monacans, and the Massa-  
womeks, that were higher up in the mountaines. Then  
we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he  
answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew  
nothing;\* because the woods were not burnt. These and  
many such questions wee demanded, concerning the  
Massawomeks, the Monacans, their owne Country, and  
where were the Kings of Stegora, Tauxsintania, and the  
rest. The Monacans he sayd were their neighbours and  
friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by  
small rivers, living upon rootes and fruits, but chiefly  
by hunting. The Massawomeks did dwell upon a great  
water, and had many boats, & so many men that they  
made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they  
were gone every one a severall way with their men on  
hunting: But those with him came thither a fishing till

*His relation of  
their countries.*

*\*They cannot  
travell but  
where the  
woods are  
burnt.*

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they saw us, notwithstanding they would be altogether at night at Mahaskahod. For his relation we gave him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with us, and he as earnestly desired us to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good usage should be friends with us, for he was brother to Hasinninga. But Mosco advised us presently to be gone, for they were all naught, yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, & Mosco was as diligent in trimming his arrowes. The night being come we all imbarked, for the river was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might have done us exceeding much mischief. All this while the K. of Hasinninga was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call unto them, but such a yelling & hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More then 12 myles they followed us in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selves in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen; being well refreshed, we untied our Targets that covered us as a Deck, and all shewed our selves with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner Amoroleck; a long discourse there was betwixt his Countymen and him, how good wee were, how well wee used him, how wee had a Patawomek with us, loved us as his life, that would have slain him had we not preserved him, and that he should have his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe us any hurt it was impossible. Upon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers upon the trees, and one came swimming aboard us with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they delivered our Captaine

*How we concluded peace with the foure kings of Monahoke.*



## PEACE WITH THE RAPPAHANOCKS

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as a present, the Captaine having used them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend, whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so upon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and received Amoroleck: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to give us, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities, and so we left foure or five hundred of our merry Mannahocks, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for Moraughtacund. [III. 64.]

In our returnes we visited all our friends, that rejoiced much at our Victory against the Mannahocks, who many times had Warres also with them, but now they were friends, and desired we would be friends with the Rappahanocks, as we were with the Mannahocks. Our Captaine told them, they had twice assaulted him that came onely in love to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houses, destroy their corne, and for ever hold them his enemies, till they made him satisfaction; they desired to know what that should be: he told them they should present him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they should be friends with the Moraughtacunds his friends, and give him their Kings sonne in pledge to performe it, and then all King James his men should be their friends. Upon this they presently sent to the Rappahanocks to meete him at the place where they first fought, where would be the Kings of Nantautacund and Pissassac: which according to their promise were there so soone as we; where Rappahanock presented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we desired, except his sonne, having no more but him he could not live without him, but in stead of his sonne he would give him the three women Moraughtacund had stolen. This was accepted: and so

*How we  
became  
friends with  
the Rappa-  
hocks.*



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in three or foure Canowes, so many as could went with us to Moraughtacund, where Mosco made them such relations, and gave to his friends so many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no lesse loved him then admired us. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gave a chayne of Beads: and then causing Moraughtacund, Mosco, and Rapahanock stand before him, bid Rapahanock take her he loved best, and Moraughtacund chuse next, & to Mosco he gave the third. Upon this away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their venison, and all the provision they could, and they that wanted Boats swam over the river: the darke commanded us then to rest. The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we conjectured, six or seaven hundred, dauncing, & singing, and not a Bow nor Arrow seene amongst them. Mosco changed his name Uttasanta-sough, which we interpret Stranger, for so they call us. All promising ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purposely for us; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed, giving them a Volley of shot, and they us as loud shouts and cryes as their strengths could utter. That night we anchored in the river of Payankatank, and discovered it so high as it was navigable, but the people were most a hunting, save a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne, of which they promised us part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene.

*The discovery  
of Payanka-  
tank.*

In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt Comfort, we anchored in Gosnolls Bay, but such a suddaine gust surprised us in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to have seene James Towne. Yet running before the wind, we sometimes saw the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the splitting shore, untill it pleased God in that blacke darknesse to preserve us by that light to finde poynt Comfort: there refreshing our selves, because we had onely but heard of the Chisapeacks & Nandsamunds,

## INDIAN TREACHERY

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we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad.

*A notable  
trechery of the  
Nandsamunds.*

So setting sayle for the Southerne shore, we sayled up a narrow river up the country of Chisapeack; it hath a good channell, but many shoules about the entrance. By that we had sayled six or seaven myles, we saw two or three little garden plots with their houses, the shore overgrowne with the greatest Pyne and Firre trees wee ever saw in the Country. But not seeing nor hearing any people, and the river very narrow, we returned to the great river, to see if we could finde any of them. Coasting the shore towards Nandsamund, which is most Oyster-bankes; at the mouth of that river, we espied six or seaven Salvages making their wires, who presently fled: ashore we went, and where they wrought we threw divers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall us: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired us to goe to his house up that river, into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after us by the shore with all shew of love that could be. Seaven or eight myles we sayled up this narrow river: at last on the Western shore we saw large Cornefields, in the midst a little Isle, and in it was abundance of Corne; the people he told us were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he invited us with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gave such things as they seemed much contented them. The others being come, desired us also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left us, the rest rowed by us in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the river became very narrow. Here we desired some of them to come aboard us, wherat pausing a little, they told us they would but fetch their bows and arrowes and goe all with us, but being a-shore and thus armed, they perswaded us to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow, nor into our Boat. This gave us cause to provide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seaven or eight

[III. 65.]



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## THE HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA

*The fight with  
the Chisa-  
peacks and  
Nandsamunds.*

Canowes full of men armed appeared following us, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the river came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast, but amongst them we bestowed so many shot, the most of them leaped overboard and swam ashore, but two or three escaped by rowing, being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twentie shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, onely Anthony Bagnall was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeve. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the Nandsamunds, and the Chisapeacks were together, we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition, till we were provided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our Colony: but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded. In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace: peace we told them we would accept, would they bring us their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe give us foure hundred baskets full of Corne, otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift & bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to us to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed, away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to James Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of

*How they  
became  
friends.*



## AFFAIRS AT JAMES TOWN

A.D.  
1608.

*The proceeding at James Towne.*

September, 1608. There we found Mr. Scrivener, and divers others well recovered: many dead; some sicke: the late President prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master Scrivener, the harvest gathered, but the provision in the store much spoyled with rayne. Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captaine Ratliffe) but onely this discovery; wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian utterly unknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie.

[III. 66.]

But to this place to come who will adventure,  
 With judgements guide and reason how to enter:  
 Finds in this worlds broad sea, with winde and tyde,  
 Ther's safer sayle then any where besides.  
 But 'cause to wanton novices it is  
 A Province full of fearefulnesse I wiss;  
 Into the great vast deepe to venter out:  
 Those shallow rivers let them coast about.  
 And by a small Boat learne their first, and marke,  
 How they may come to make a greater Barke.

Written by Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell  
 Powell, and Anas Todkill.

[Chapter VII.]