

*ORIGINAL NARRATIVES
OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY*

**NARRATIVES
OF EARLY VIRGINIA
1606—1625**

EDITED BY
LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

WITH A MAP AND TWO FACSIMILES

**CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
NEW YORK - - - - - 1907**

him an unnecessarie pallas in the woodes, had brought them all to that miserie, that had not we arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge. But the good newes of our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Salvages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South sea, appeased their fury; but conditionally that Ratliffe should be deposed, and that captaine Smith would take upon him the gouvernement. Their request being effected, hee substituted Mr Scrivener, his deare friend, in the Presidencie; equally distributing those private provisions the other[s] had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist Scrivener (who the[n] lay extreame lie tormented with a callenture):¹ and in regard of the weaknes of the company, and heat of the yeare, they being unable to worke, he left them to live at ease, but imbarcked himselfe to finish his discoverie.

Written by WALTER RUSSELL and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAPTER VI

What happened the second voyage to discover the Bay.

The 20.² of July, Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery, with 12. men. Their names were

Nathaniell Powell.	} Gent.	Anas Todkill.	} Sould.
Thomas Momford.		Edward Pysing.	
Richard Fetherstone.		Richard Keale.	
Michaell Sicklemore.		Anthony Bagnall.	
James Bourne.		James Watkins.	
		William Ward.	
		Jonas Profit.	

The winde beeing contrary, caused our stay 2 or 3 daies at Kecoughtan, the werowans feasting us with much mirth. His people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged

¹ Fever.

² Or rather 24th.

of the Massawomeckes. In the evening, we firing 2. or 3. rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted, and desired to assist us. The first night, we anchored at Stingeray Ile, the next day, crossed Patawomecks river, and hasted for the river Bolus. Wee went not much farther, before wee might perceive the Bay to devide in 2. heads, and arriving there, we founde it divided in 4, all which we searched so far as we could saile them. 2. of them wee found uninhabited, but in crossing the bay to the other, wee incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of Massawomecks. We seeing them prepare to assault us, left our oares, and made way with our saile to incounter them, yet were we but five (with our captaine) could stand; [f]or within 2. daies after wee 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 barge side, 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 shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could drawe them to come unto us. At last, they sent 2 of their company unarmed in a Canowe: the rest all followed to second them, if need required. These 2 being but each presented with a bell, brought aborde all their fellowes, presenting the captain with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrows, clubs, targets, and beare-skins. Wee understood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified unto us they had been at warres with the Tockwoghs, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds. But the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

Entring the River of Tockwogh, the Salvages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed us. It chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly. But when they see us furnished with the Massawomeckes weapons, and we faining the invention of Kecoughtan to have taken them perforce; they con-

ducted us to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barks of trees, with Scaffolds like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally. Their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, furies, and what they had, kindly entertained us, spreading mats for us to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

Many hatchets, knives, and peeces of yron and brasse, we see, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanockes, a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the Massawomeckes. The Sasquesahanocks inhabit upon the chiefe spring of these 4., two daies journey higher then our Barge could passe for rocks. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him an other interpreter to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come to visit us, for their language are different. 3. or 4. daies we expected their returne. Then 60. of these giantlike-people came downe, with presents of venison, Tobacco pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows. 5 of their Werowances came boldly aboard us, to crosse the bay for Tockwogh, leaving their men and Canowes, the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.¹

Our order was, dayly, to have prayer, with a psalm, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered. Our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in most passionate manner, to hold up their hands to the sunne, with a most feareful song. Then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded til their song was finished. Which don, with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voice, began an oration of their loves. That ended, with a great painted beares skin, they covered our Captaine. Then one ready with a chaine of white beads (waighing at least 6 or 7 pound) hung it about his necke; the others had 18 mantles made of divers sorts of skinnies sowed together. All these, with many other toyes, they laid at his feet, stroking their

¹ *I.e.*, durst not attempt to cross in canoes.

ceremonious handes about his necke, for his creation to be their governour, promising their aids, victuals, or what they had, to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the Massawomecks. But wee left them at Tockwogh, they much sorrowing for our departure, yet wee promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made us of Atquanahucke, Massawomecke, and other people, signifying they inhabit the river of Cannida, and from the French to have their hatchets and such like tooles by trade.¹ These knowe no more of the territories of Powhatan then his name, and he as little of them.

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. Wee promised them, as also the Patawomecks, the next yeare to revenge them of the Massawomecks. Our purposes were crossed in the discoverie of the river of Toppahannock, for wee had much wrangling with that peevish nation; but at last, they became as tractable as the rest. It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertill, and a goodly navigable river. Toward the head thereof, it pleased God to take one of our sicke (called M. Fetherstone), where in Fetherstons bay, we buried him, in the night, with a volly of shot. The rest (notwithstanding their ill diet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, in so many dangers, never resting but alwaies tossed to and againe) al well recovered their healthes. Then we discovered the river of Payankatank, and set saile for James Towne. But in crossing the bay in a faire calme, such a suddaine gust surprised us in the night, with thunder and raine, as wee were halfe imployed in freeing out water, never thinking to escape drowning; yet running before the winde, at last we made land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light only, we kept from the splitting shore, until it pleased God in that black darknes, to preserve us by that light to find Point com-

¹ In the previous month, July, 1608, Champlain had laid the foundations of Quebec. See *Voyages of Champlain*, in this series, pp. 131, 132.

fort. And arived safe at James Towne, the 7 of September, 1608: where wee found M. Skrivener and diverse others well recovered, many dead, some sicke; the late President prisoner for muteny; by the honest diligence of Master Skrivener, the harvest gathered; but the stores provision much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captain Ratliffe) but only this discoverie: wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters, this small number passed in that small barge, with such watric diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (til then to any Christian utterly unknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure¹ of the courteous and experienced reader, than I would be tedious, or partiall being a partie.

By NATHANIELL POELL, and ANAS TODKILL.

CHAPTER VII

The Presidencie surrendred to Captaine Smith. The arrivall and returne of the second supply: and what happened.

The 10. of September 1608. by the election of the Councel, and request of the company, Captaine Smith received the letters patents, and tooke upon him the place of President, which till then by no meanes he would accept, though hee were often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratcliffes pallas staide, as a thing needlesse: the church was repaired, the storehouse re-covered; building prepared for the supply we expected. The fort reduced to the forme of this figure,² the order of watch renewed, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained. The whole company every Satturday exercised in a fiede prepared for that purpose; the boates trimmed for trade, which

¹ Judgment.

² "Quere," says the margin, indicating that the drawing suggested in the manuscript had not reached the printer.

in their Journey encountred the second supply, that brought them back to discover the country of Monacan. How, or why Captaine Newport obtained such a private commission as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certainty of the south sea, or one of the lost company of Sir Walter Rawley, I know not, nor why he brought such a 5. pieced barge, not to beare us to that south sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines (which how farre they extend is yet unknowne). As for the coronation of Powhatan, and his presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Clothes, and such costly novelties, they had bin much better well spared, then so ill spent: for we had his favour much better onlie for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected us as much as nothing at all. As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch, to make pitch and tarre, glasse, milles, and sope-ashes, was most necessarie and well. But to send them and seaventy more without victuall, to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not have hurt us, had they bin 200., though then we were 130 that wanted for our selves. For we had the Salvages in that Decorum, (their harvest beeing newly gathered) that we feared not to get victual sufficient, had we bin 500. Now was there no way to make us miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation. To loose that time, spend that victuall we had, tire and starve our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs, how or by whom they were invented I know not. But Captaine Newport we only accounted the author, who to effect these projects, had so gilded all our hopes with great promises, that both company and Councel concluded ¹ his resolution. I confesse we little understood then ourestates, to conclude his conclusion against al the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the counsell, one Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne, two ancient

¹ Adopted.

souldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the busines, being newly arrived. Ratcliffe was also permitted to have his voice, and Mr Scrivener desirous to see strange countries. So that although Smith was President, yet the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed. As for cleering Smiths objections, how pitch, and tarre, wanscot, clapbord, glasse, and sope ashes could be provided to relade the ship; or provision got to live withal when none was in the Country, and that which we had, spent before the ships departed: The answer was, Captaine Newport undertook to fraught the Pinnace with corne, in going and returning in his discoverie, and to refraught her againe from Werawocomoco; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his ship, inferring that Smiths propositions were only devises to hinder his journey, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie Smith had used to the Salvages in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes. For which, al workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for his guard. And Smith, to make cleere these seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperat as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing he was to further them to effect their projects, because the coronation would consume much time, undertooke their message to Powhatan (to intreat him to come to James Towne to receive his presents) accompanied only with Captaine Waldo, M. Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuel Collier. With these 4, hee went overland against Werawocomoco, there passed the river of Pamaunke in the Salvages Canowes, Powhatan being 30 myles off[f], who presently was sent for. In the meane time, his women entertained Smith in this manner.

In a faire plaine field, they made a fire, before which, he sitting uppon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing Powhatan with all his power came to surprise them; but the beholders, which were many, men women and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke. 30 young women came naked out of the woods (only covered

behind and before with a few greene leaves), their bodies al painted, some white, some red, some black, some partie colour, but every one different. Their leader had a faire paire of stagges hornes on her head, and an otter skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, and bow and arrowes in her hand. The next, in her hand a sword, another, a club, another a pot-stick, all hornd alike. The rest, every one with their severall devises. These feindes, with most hellish cries and shouts, rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and daunce. Having spent neere an houre, in this maskarado; as they entered, in like manner departed. Having reaccomodated themselves, they solemnely invited Smith to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him than ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, *love you not mee*. This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish and flesh in wooden platters, beans and pease there wanted not (for 20 hogges), nor any Salvage daintie their invention could devise; some attending, others singing and danc-ing about them. This mirth and banquet being ended, with fire-brands (instead of torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

The next day, came Powhatan. Smith delivered his mes-sage of the presents sent him, and redelivered him Namon-tack, desiring him come to his Father Newport to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the Monacans. Whereunto the subtile Salvage thus replied

If your king have sent me presents, I also am a king, and this my land. 8 daies I will stay to receave them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a baite. As for the Monacans, I can revenge my owne injuries, and as for Atquanuchuck, where you say your brother was slain, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it. But for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the relations you have had from my people are false.

Whereupon he began to draw plots upon the ground, according to his discourse, of all those regions. Many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to give each other content in Complementall courtesies), and so Captaine Smith returned with this answer.

Upon this Captaine Newport sent his presents by water, which is neare 100 miles, with 50 of the best shot himselve went by land, which is but 12 miles, where he met with our 3 barges to transport him over. All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed and furniture set up, his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him, (being perswaded by Namontacke they would doe him no hurt). But a fowle¹ trouble there was to make him kneele to receave his crowne. He, neither knowing the majestie nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and Newport put the Crowne on his head; when, by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start up in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselve, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gave his old shoes and his mantle to Captain Newport. But perceiving his purpose was to discover the Monacans, hee laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then Namontack. And so, after some complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents, he presented Newport with a heape of wheat eares, that might contain 7 or 8 bushels, and as much more we bought, ready dressed, in the town, wherewith we returned to the fort.

The ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first gentlewoman and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine Newport with al the Councell, and 120 chosen men, set forward for the discovery of Monacan, leaving the President at the fort with 80. (such as they were) to relade

¹ Great.

the shippe. Arriving at the falles, we marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe, and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two townes wee discovered of the Monacans, the people neither using us well nor ill, yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie Werowances, and lead him bound, to conduct us the way. And in our returne searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining, having one William Callicut a refiner, fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth wee digged, hee perswaded us to beleeeve he extracted some smal quantitie of silver (and not unlikely better stuffe might bee had for the digging). With this poore trial, we were contented to leave this faire, fertill, well watred countrie. Comming to the Falles, the Salvages fained there were diverse ships come into the Bay to kill them at James Towne. Trade they would not, and find their corn we could not, for they had hid it in the woods; and being thus deluded, we arrived at James Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining and tired with toile famine and discontent to have only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as the President foretold us.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed many as were able, some for glasse, others for pitch, tarre, and sope ashes, leaving them with the fort,¹ to the Councils oversight. But 30 of us he conducted 5. myles from the fort to learn to make clapboard, cut downe trees, and ly in woods. Amongst the rest, he had chosen Gabriell Beadell, and John Russell the only two gallants of this last supply, and both proper gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke, they became Masters, making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell. But the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drowne the eccho; for remedy of which sin, the President devised howe to have everie mans oathes numbered, and at night, for every oath

¹ *I.e.*, those who were at the fort.