

D Il naufragio della Sea Venture

➤ William Strachey, *Rapporto veritiero del naufragio*

Riportiamo il testo originale del resoconto che William Strachey fece del naufragio della nave Sea Venture.

A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas: His Coming to Virginia and the Estate of that Colony Then and After, under the Government of the Lord La Warr, July 15, 1610, written by William Strachey, Esquire

I

5 *A most dreadful tempest (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life described), their wreck on Bermuda, and the description of those islands*

10 **E**xcellent Lady, Know that upon Friday late in the evening we brake ground out of the sound of Plymouth, our whole fleet then consisting of seven good ships and two pinnaces, all which, from the said second of June unto the twenty-third of July, kept in friendly consort together, not a whole watch at any time losing the sight each of other. Our course, when we came about the height of between 26 and 27 degrees, we declined to the northward, and according to our governor's instructions, altered the trade and ordinary way used heretofore by Dominica and Nevis in the West Indies and found the wind to this course indeed as friendly, as in the judgment of all seamen it is upon a more direct line, and by Sir George Somers, our 15 admiral, had been likewise in former time sailed, being a gentleman of approved assuredness and ready knowledge in seafaring actions, having often carried command and chief charge in many ships royal of Her Majesty's, and in sundry voyages made many defeats and attempts in the time of the Spaniard's quarreling with us upon the 20 islands and Indies, etc.

We had followed this course so long as now we were within seven or eight days at the most, by Captain Newport's reckoning, of making Cape Henry upon the coast of Virginia, when on St. James' day, July 24, being Monday (preparing for no less all the black night before), the clouds gathering thick upon us and the wind singing 25 and whistling most unusually (which made us to cast off our pinnace, towing the same until then astern), a dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from out the northeast, which swelling and roaring it were by fits, some hours with more violence than others, at length did beat all light from Heaven; which, like an hell of darkness, turned black upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and 30 fear use to overrun the troubled and overmastered senses of all, which taken up with amazement, the ears lay so sensible to the terrible cries and murmurs of the winds and distraction of our company, as who was most armed and best prepared was not a little shaken.

35 For surely, noble Lady, as death comes not so sudden nor apparent, so he comes not so elvish and painful (to men, especially even then in health and perfect habitudes of body) as at sea; who comes at no time so welcome but our frailty (so weak is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger), it makes guilty of many contrary changes and conflicts. For indeed, death is accompanied at no time nor place with circumstances every way so incapable of particularities of goodness and inward comforts as at sea. For it is most true, there ariseth commonly no such unmerciful 40 tempest, compound of so many contrary and divers motions but that it worketh upon the whole frame of the body and most loathsomely affecteth all the powers

thereof. And the manner of the sickness it lays upon the body, being so unsufferable, gives not the mind any free and quiet time to use her judgment and empire; which made the poet say:

45 Hostium uxores puerique caecos
Sentiant motus orientis Austri et
Aequoris nigri fremitum et trementis
Verbere ripas

50 ["May the wives and children of our foes be the ones to feel the blind onset of rising
Auster and the roaring of the darkling sea, and the shores quivering with the shock!"
Horace, Odes]

For four-and-twenty hours, the storm in a restless tumult had blown so exceedingly as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence; yet did we still find it not only more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storm urging a second more outrageous than the former, whether it so wrought upon our fears or indeed met with new forces. Sometimes shrieks in our ship amongst women and passengers not used to such hurly and discomforts made us look one upon the other with troubled hearts and panting bosoms, our clamors drowned in the winds, and the winds in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the officers. Nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seen that might encourage hope. It is impossible for me, had I the voice of Stentor and expression of as many tongues as his throat of voices, to express the outcries and miseries; not languishing, but wasting his spirits, and art constant to his own principles, but not prevailing.

Our sails wound up, lay without their use, and if at any time we bore but a hullock or half forecourse to guide her before the sea, six and sometimes eight men were not enough to hold the whipstaff in the steerage and the tiller below in the gunner room; by which may be imagined the strength of the storm, in which the sea swelled above the clouds and gave battle unto Heaven. It could not be said to rain: the waters like whole rivers did flood in the air. And this I did still observe: that whereas upon the land, when a storm hath poured itself forth once in drifts of rain, the wind, as beaten down and vanquished therewith, not long after endureth. Here, the glut of water (as if throttling the wind erewhile) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the winds (as having gotten their mouths now free and at liberty) spake more loud and grew more tumultuous and malignant. What shall I say? Winds and seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them.

For my own part, I had been in some storms before, as well upon the coast of Barbary and Algiers, in the Levant, and once, more distressful, in the Adriatic gulf in a bottom of Candy, so as I may well say: Ego quid sit ater Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus peccet lapyx. ["Full well I know what Hadria's (the Adriatic's) black gulf can be and what the sins of clear lapyx (the northwest wind)" Horace, Odes] Yet all that I had ever suffered gathered together might not hold comparison with this. There was not a moment in which the sudden splitting or instant oversetting of the ship was not expected.

Howbeit this was not all. It pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us; for in the beginning of the storm we had received likewise a mighty leak. And the ship, in every joint almost, having spewed out her oakum before we were aware (a casualty more desperate than any other that a voyage by sea draweth with it), was grown five foot suddenly deep with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within whilst we sat looking when to perish from above. This, imparting no less terror than

danger, ran through the whole ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the blood, and took down the braves of the most hardy mariner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himself when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly sink him.

So as joining (only for his own sake, not yet worth the saving) in the public safety there might be seen master, master's mate, boatswain, quartermaster, coopers, carpenters, and who not, with candles in their hands, creeping along the ribs viewing the sides, searching every corner and listening in every place if they could hear the water run. Many a weeping leak was this way found and hastily stopped, and at length one in the gunner room made up with I know not how many pieces of beef. But all was to no purpose; the leak (if it were but one) which drunk in our greatest seas and took in our destruction fastest could not then be found, nor ever was, by any labor, counsel, or search. The waters still increasing and the pumps going, which at length choked with bringing up whole and continual biscuit (and indeed all we had, ten thousand weight), it was conceived as most likely that the leak might be sprung in the bread room, whereupon the carpenter went down and ripped up all the room, but could not find it so.

I am not able to give unto Your Ladyship every man's thought in this perplexity to which we were now brought; but to me this leakage appeared as a wound given to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope as desire of life in the storm, and in this: it went beyond my will (because beyond my reason) why we should labor to preserve life. Yet we did, either because so dear are a few lingering hours of life in all mankind, or that our Christian knowledges taught us how much we owed to the rites of nature, as bound not to be false to ourselves or to neglect the means of our own preservation, the most despairful things amongst men being matters of no wonder nor moment with Him Who is the rich fountain and admirable essence of all mercy.

Our governor upon the Tuesday morning (at what time, by such who had been below in the hold, the leak was first discovered) had caused the whole company (about 140, besides women) to be equally divided into three parts, and opening the ship in three places (under the forecastle, in the waist, and hard by the binnacle), appointed each man where to attend; and thereunto every man came duly upon his watch, took the bucket or pump for one hour, and rested another. Then men might be seen to labor, I may well say, for life; and the better sort (even our governor and admiral themselves), not refusing their turn and to spell each the other, to give example to other. The common sort, stripped naked as men in galleys, the easier both to hold out and to shrink from under the salt water which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking and their thoughts and hands working with tired bodies and wasted spirits three days and four nights, destitute of outward comfort and desperate of any deliverance, testifying how mutually willing they were yet by labor to keep each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whilst he labored.

Once so huge a sea brake upon the poop and quarter upon us as it covered our ship from stern to stem like a garment or a vast cloud; it filled her brim full for a while within, from the hatches up to the spar deck. The source or confluence of water was so violent as it rushed and carried the helmsman from the helm and wrested the whipstaff out of his hand, which so flew from side to side that when he would have seized the same again it so tossed him from starboard to larboard as it was God's mercy it had not split him. It so beat him from his hold and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell fair with it, and by main strength, bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamor encouraged and called upon

others, who gave her now up, rent in pieces and absolutely lost. Our governor was at this time below at the capstan, both by his speech and authority heartening every
145 man unto his labor. It struck him from the place where he sat and groveled him and all us about him on our faces, beating together with our breaths all thoughts from our bosoms else than that we were now sinking. For my part, I thought her already in the bottom of the sea; and I have heard him say, wading out of the flood thereof, all his ambition was but to climb up above-hatches to die *in aperto coelo* and in the com-
150 pany of his old friends. It so stunned the ship in her full pace that she stirred no more than if she had been caught in a net, or than as if the fabulous remora had stuck to her forecastle. Yet without bearing one inch of sail, even then she was making her way nine or ten leagues in a watch.

One thing: it is not without his wonder (whether it were the fear of death in so
155 great a storm, or that it pleased God to be gracious unto us), there was not a passenger, gentleman or other, after he began to stir and labor, but was able to relieve his fellow and make good his course. And it is most true, such as in all their lifetimes had never done hour's work before (their minds now helping their bodies) were able twice forty-eight hours together to toil with the best.

160 During all this time the heavens looked so black upon us that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed; nor a star by night, nor sunbeam by day, was to be seen. Only upon the Thursday night, Sir George Somers, being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the main mast and
165 shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud, 'tempting to settle, as it were, upon any of the four shrouds. And for three or four hours together, or rather more, half the night it kept with us, running sometimes along the main yard to very end and then returning; at which Sir George Somers called divers about him and showed them the same, who observed it with much wonder and carefulness. But upon a sudden,
170 toward the morning watch they lost the sight of it and knew not what way it made.

The superstitious seamen make many constructions of this sea fire, which nevertheless is usual in storms, the same (it may be) which the Grecians were wont in the Mediterranean to call Castor and Pollux, of which if one only appeared without the other they took it for an evil sign of great tempest. The Italians and such who lie open
175 to the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Sea call it (a sacred body) *corpo sancto*; the Spaniards call it St. Elmo and have an authentic and miraculous legend for it. Be it what it will, we laid other foundations of safety or ruin than in the rising or falling of it. Could it have served us now miraculously to have taken our height by, it might have stricken amazement and a reverence in our devotions according to the due of a miracle. But it
180 did not light us any whit the more to our known way, who ran now (as do hoodwinked men) at all adventures, sometimes north and northeast, then north and by west, and in an instant again varying two or three points, and sometimes half the compass. East and by south we steered away as much as we could to bear upright, which was no small carefulness nor pain to do, albeit we much unrigged our ship, threw overboard
185 much luggage, many a trunk and chest (in which I suffered no mean loss), and staved many a butt of beer, hogsheads of oil, cider, wine, and vinegar, and heaved away all our ordnance on the starboard side, and had now purposed to have cut down the main mast, the more to lighten her, for we were much spent and our men so weary as their strengths together failed them with their hearts, having travailed now from Tuesday
190 till Friday morning, day and night, without either sleep or food; for the leakage taking up all the hold, we could neither come by beer nor fresh water; fire we could keep none in the cook room to dress any meat; and carefulness, grief, and our turn at the pump or bucket were sufficient to hold sleep from our eyes.

195 And surely, madam, it is most true, there was not any hour (a matter of admiration) all these days, in which we freed not twelve hundred barricos of water, the least whereof contained six gallons, and some eight; besides three deep pumps continually going, two beneath at the capstan and the other above in the half deck, and at each pump four thousand strokes at the least in a watch. So as I may well say, every four hours we quitted one hundred tons of water, and from Tuesday noon till Friday noon
200 we bailed and pumped two thousand ton; and yet, do what we could, when our ship held least in her (after Tuesday night second watch), she bore ten foot deep; at which stay our extreme working kept her one eight glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunk us. And it being now Friday, the fourth morning, it wanted little, but that there had been a general determination to have shut up hatches, and commending
205 our sinful souls to God, committed the ship to the mercy of the sea. Surely that night we must have done it, and that night had we then perished, but see the goodness and sweet introduction of better hope by our merciful God given unto us: Sir George Somers, when no man dreamed of such happiness, had discovered and cried land.

Indeed the morning, now three quarters spent, had won a little clearness from the
210 days before, and it being better surveyed, the very trees were seen to move with the wind upon the shore side; whereupon our governor commanded the helm-man to bear up. The boatswain, sounding at the first, found it thirteen fathom, and when we stood a little, in seven fathom; and presently, heaving his lead the third time, had ground at four fathom; and by this we had got her within a mile under the southeast
215 point of the land, where we had somewhat smooth water. But having no hope to save her by coming to an anchor in the same, we were enforced to run her ashore as near the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shore; and by the mercy of God unto us, making out our boats, we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the
220 island.

We found it to be the dangerous and dreaded island, or rather islands, of the Bermuda; whereof let me give Your Ladyship a brief description before I proceed to my narration. And that the rather because they be so terrible to all that ever touched
225 on them, and such tempests, thunders, and other fearful objects are seen and heard about them, that they be called commonly the Devil's Islands and are feared and avoided of all sea travelers alive above any other place in the world. Yet it pleased our merciful God to make even this hideous and hated place both the place of our safety and means of our deliverance.

And hereby, also, I hope to deliver the world from a foul and general error, it being
230 counted of most that they can be no habitation for men, but rather given over to devils and wicked spirits; whereas indeed we find them now by experience to be as habitable and commodious as most countries of the same climate and situation, insomuch as if the entrance into them were as easy as the place itself is contenting, it had long ere this been inhabited as well as other islands. Thus shall we make it appear
235 that Truth is the daughter of Time, and that men ought not to deny every thing which is not subject to their own sense.

The Bermudas be broken islands, five hundred of them in manner of an archipelago (at least if you may call them all islands that lie, how little so ever, into the sea and by themselves) of small compass, some larger yet than other, as time and the sea
240 hath won from them and eaten his passage through; and all now lying in the figure of a croissant, within the circuit of six or seven leagues at the most, albeit at first it is said of them that they were thirteen or fourteen leagues, and more in longitude, as I have heard. For no greater distance is it from the northwest point to Gates' Bay, as by this map Your Ladyship may see, in which Sir George Somers, who coasted in his

245 boat about them all, took great care to express the same exactly and full, and made his draft perfect for all good occasions and the benefit of such who either in distress might be brought upon them or make sail this way.

It should seem by the testimony of Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus in his book entitled, The Summary or Abridgment of His General History of the West Indies, written to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that they have been indeed of greater compass (and I easily believe it) than they are now; who thus saith:

255 In the year 1515, when I came first to inform Your Majesty of the state of the things in India, and was the year following in Flanders in the time of your most fortunate success in these your kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, whereas at that voyage I sailed above the island Bermudas, otherwise called Garza, being the farthest of all the island that are yet found at this day in the world, and arriving there at the depth of eight yards of water, and distant from the land as far as the shot of a piece of ordnance, I determined to send some of the ship to land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leave in the island certain hogs for increase; but time not serving my purpose, by reason of contrary wind, I could bring my ships no nearer. The island, being 260 twelve leagues in length and sixteen in breadth and about thirty in circuit, lying in the 33 degrees of the north side.

Thus far he.

265 True it is, the main island, or greatest of them now, may be some sixteen miles in length east-northeast and west-southwest, the longest part of it standing in 32 degrees and 20 minutes; in which is a great bay on the north side, in the northwest end, and many broken islands in that sound or bay, and a little round island at the southwest end. As occasions were offered, so we gave titles and names to certain places.

270 These islands are often afflicted and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning, and rain in the extremity of violence; which (and it may well be) hath so sundered and torn down the rocks and whirred whole quarters of islands into the main sea (some six, some seven leagues, and is like in time to swallow them all), so as even in that distance from the shore there is no small danger of them, and with them 275 of the storms continually raging from them, which once in the full and change commonly of every moon (winter or summer) keep their unchangeable round and rather thunder than blow from every corner about them, sometimes forty-eight hours together, especially if the circle which the philosophers call halo were (in our being there) seen about the moon at any season, which bow indeed appeared there often 280 and would be of a mighty compass and breadth. I have not observed it anywhere one quarter so great; especially about the twentieth of March I saw the greatest, when followed upon the eve's Eve of the Annunciation of Our Lady, the mightiest blast of lightning and most terrible rap of thunder that ever astonished mortal men, I think.

285 In August, September, and until the end of October, we had very hot and pleasant weather; only (as I say) thunder, lightning, and many scattering showers of rain (which would pass swiftly over, and yet fall with such force and darkness for the time as if it would never be clear again) we wanted not any; and of rain more in summer than in winter. And in the beginning of December we had great store of hail (the sharp winds blowing northerly), but it continued not, and to say truth, it is wintry or summer weather there according as those north and northwest winds blow. 290 Much taste of this kind of winter we had, for those cold winds would suddenly alter the air. But when there was no breath of wind to bring the moist air out of the seas from the north and northwest, we were rather weary of the heat than pinched with extremity of cold. Yet the three winter months, December, January, and February, the

295 winds kept in those cold corners, and indeed then it was heavy and melancholy being there; nor were the winds more rough in March than in the foresaid months, and yet even then would the birds breed. I think they bred there most months in the year. In September and at Christmas I saw young birds, and in February, at which time the mornings are there (as in May in England) fresh and sharp.

300 Well may the Spaniards and these Biscayan pilots, with all their traders into the Indies, pass by these islands, as afraid (either bound out or homewards) of their very meridian, and leave the fishing for the pearl (which some say, and I believe well, is as good there as in any of their other Indian islands, and whereof we had some trial) to such as will adventure for them. The seas about them are so full of breaches as, with those dangers, they may well be said to be the strongest situate in the world. I have often heard Sir George Somers and Captain Newport say how they have not been by any chance or discovery upon their like. It is impossible, without great and perfect knowledge and search first made of them, to bring in a bauble boat, so much as of ten ton, without apparent ruin, albeit within there are many fair harbors for the greatest English ship; yea, the argosies of Venice may ride there with water enough, and safe landlocked. There is one only side that admits so much as hope of safety by many a league, on which (as before described) it pleased God to bring us; we had not come one man of us else ashore, as the weather was. They have been ever, therefore, left desolate and not inhabited.

315 The soil of the whole island is one and the same; the mold dark, red, sandy, dry and incapable, I believe, of any of our commodities or fruits. Sir George Somers in the beginning of August squared out a garden by the quarter (the quarter being set down before a goodly bay, upon which our governor did first leap ashore and therefore called it, as afore said, Gates' Bay, which opened into the east and into which the sea did ebb and flow according to their tides) and sowed muskmelons, peas, onions, radish, lettuce, and many English seeds and kitchen herbs. All which in some ten days did appear above ground, but whether by the small birds, of which there be many kinds, or by flies (worms I never saw any, nor any venomous thing, as toad, or snake, or any creeping beast hurtful; only some spiders, which, as many affirm, are signs of great store of gold; but they were long- and slender-leg spiders, and whether venomous or no I know not - I believe not, since we should still find them amongst our linen in our chests and drinking-cans, but we never received any danger from them; a kind of melantha or black beetle there was, which bruised, gave a savor like many sweet and strong gums punned together), whether, I say, hindered by these or 325 by the condition or vice of the soil, they came to no proof, nor thrived.

330 It is like enough that the commodities of the other western islands would prosper there, as vines, lemons, oranges, and sugar canes. Our governor made trial of the latter and buried some two or three in the garden mold, which were reserved in the wreck amongst many which we carried to plant here in Virginia, and they began 335 to grow, but the hogs, breaking in, both rooted them up and ate them. There is not through the whole islands either champaign ground, valleys, or fresh rivers. They are full of shaws of goodly cedar, fairer than ours here of Virginia, the berries whereof, our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or four days, made a kind of pleasant drink. These berries are of the same bigness and color of Corinths, full of little stones, and very restraining or hard-building. Peter Martyr saith that at Alexandria in Egypt there is a kind of cedar which the Jews dwelling there affirm to be the cedars of Libanus, which bear old fruit and new all the year, being a kind of apple which taste like prunes. But then neither those there in the Bermudas nor ours here 340 in Virginia are of that happy kind.

345 Likewise there grow great store of palm trees, not the right Indian palms such as

in San Juan, Puerto Rico, are called cocos and are there full of small fruits like almonds (of the bigness of the grains in pomegranates), nor of those kind of palms which bears dates, but a kind of simerons or wild palms, in growth, fashion, leaves, and branches resembling those true palms. For the tree is high and straight, sappy and spongy, unfirm for any use, no branches but in the uppermost part thereof; and in the top grow leaves about the head of it (the most inmost part whereof they call palmetto, and it is the heart and pith of the same trunk, so white and thin as it will peel off into pleats as smooth and delicate as white satin into twenty folds, in which a man may write as in paper), where they spread and fall downward about the tree like an overblown rose, or saffron flower, not early gathered. So broad are the leaves as an Italian umbrella, a man may well defend his whole body under one of them from the greatest storm rain that falls; for they being stiff and smooth, as if so many flags were knit together, the rain easily slideth off. We oftentimes found growing to these leaves many silkworms involved therein, like those small worms which Acosta writeth of, which grew in the leaves of the tuna tree, of which, being dried, the Indians make their cochineal so precious and merchantable. With these leaves we thatched our cabins, and roasting the palmetto or soft top thereof, they had a taste like fried melons, and being sod, they eat like cabbages, but not so offensively thankful to the stomach. Many an ancient burgher was therefore heaved at and fell, not for his place, but for his head. For our common people, whose bellies never had ears, made no breach of charity in their hot bloods and tall stomachs to murder thousands of them. They bear a kind of berry, black and round, as big as a damson, which about December were ripe and luscious; being scalded whilst they are green, they eat like bullaces. These trees shed their leaves in the winter months, as withered or burnt with the cold blasts of the north wind, especially those that grow to the seaward; and in March there burgeon new in their room, fresh and tender.

Other kinds of high and sweet-smelling woods there be, and divers colors, black, yellow, and red, and one which bears a round blue berry, much eaten by our own people, of a styptic quality and rough taste on the tongue like a sloe, to stay or bind the flux, which the often eating of the luscious palm berry would bring them into, for the nature of sweet things is to cleanse and dissolve. A kind of pea of the bigness and shape of a Catherine pear we found growing upon the rocks. Full of many sharp subtle pricks (as a thistle) which we therefore called the prickle pear, the outside green, but being opened, of a deep murrey, full of juice like a mulberry and just of the same substance and taste; we both ate them raw and baked.

Sure it is that there are no rivers nor running springs of fresh water to be found upon any of them. When we came first we digged and found certain gushings and soft bubblings, which being either in bottoms or on the side of hanging ground, were only fed with rain water, which nevertheless soon sinketh into the earth and vanisheth away, or emptieth itself out of sight into the sea, without any channel above or upon the superficies of the earth. For according as their rains fell, we had our wells and pits (which we digged) either half full or absolute exhausted and dry, howbeit some low bottoms (which the continual descent from the hills filled full, and in those flats could have no passage away) we found to continue, as fishing ponds or standing pools, continually summer and winter full of fresh water.

The shore and bays round about, when we landed first, afforded great store of fish, and that of divers kinds and good, but it should seem that our fires, which we maintained on the shore's side, drove them from us, so as we were in some want until we had made a flat-bottom gondola of cedar, with which we put off farther into the sea, and then daily hooked great store of many kinds, as excellent angelfish, salmon peal, bonitos, sting ray, cabally, snappers, hogfish, sharks, dogfish, pilchards, mullets, and

rockfish, of which be divers kinds. And of these our governor dried and salted, and barreling them up, brought to sea five hundred; for he had procured salt to be made with some brine, which happily was preserved, and once having made a little quantity, he kept three or four pots boiling and two or three men attending nothing else in an house (some little distance from his bay) set up on purpose for the same work.

Likewise in Frobisher's building bay we had a large seine, or trammel net, which our governor caused to be made of the deer toils (which we were to carry to Virginia) by drawing the masts more straight and narrow with rope yarn, and which reached from one side of the dock to the other, with which (I may boldly say) we have taken five thousand of small and great fish at one haul: as pilchards, breams, mullets, rockfish, etc., and other kinds for which we have no names. We have taken also from under the broken rocks crevices oftentimes greater than any of our best English lobsters, and likewise abundance of crabs, oysters, and whelks. True it is, for fish in every cove and creek we found snails and skulls in that abundance as I think no island in the world may have greater store or better fish. For they, sucking of the very water which descendeth from the high hills, mingled with juice and verdure of the palms, cedars, and other sweet woods (which likewise make the herbs, roots, and weeds sweet which grow about the banks), become thereby both fat and wholesome; as must those fish needs be gross, slimy, and corrupt the blood which feed in fens, marshes, ditches, muddy pools, and near unto places where much filth is daily cast forth.

Unscaled fishes, such as Junius calleth mollis pisces, as tenches, eel, or lampreys, and such feculent and dangerous snakes, we never saw any, nor may any river be envenomed with them (I pray God) where I come. I forbear to speak what a sort of whales we have seen hard aboard the shore, followed sometime by the swordfish and the thresher, the sport whereof was not unpleasant, the swordfish with his sharp and needle fin pricking him into the belly, when he would sink and fall into the sea; and when he startled upward from his wounds, the thresher with his large fins (like flails) beating him above water. The examples whereof gives us (saith Oviedus) to understand that in the selfsame peril and danger do men live in this mortal life, wherein is no certain security neither in high estate nor low.

Fowl there is great store: small birds, sparrows fat and plump like a bunting, bigger than ours, robins of divers colors, green and yellow, ordinary and familiar in our cabins, and other of less sort. White and gray heronshaws, bitterns, teal, snipes, crows, and hawks, of which in March we found divers aeries, goshawks and tassels, oxbirds, cormorants, bald coots, moor hens, owls, and bats in great store. And upon New Year's Day in the morning, our governor being walked forth with another gentleman, Master James Swift, each of them with their pieces killed a wild swan in a great seawater bay or pond in our island.

A kind of web-footed fowl there is, of the bigness of an English green plover or sea mew, which all the summer we saw not, and in the darkest nights of November and December (for in the night they only feed) they would come forth, but not fly far from home, and hovering in the air and over the sea, made a strange hollo and harsh howling. Their color is inclining to russet, with white bellies, as are likewise the long feathers of their wings russet and white. These gather themselves together and breed in those islands, which are high and so far alone into the sea that the wild hogs cannot swim over them, and there in the ground they have their burrows, like conies in a warren and so wrought in the loose mold, though not so deep. Which birds, with a light bough in a dark night (as in our lowbelling), we caught. I have been at the taking of three hundred in an hour, and we might have laden our boats. Our men found a pretty way to take them, which was by standing on the rocks or sands by the seaside and holloing, laughing, and

making the strangest outcry that possibly they could. With the noise whereof the birds would come flocking to that place and settle upon the very arms and head
450 of him that so cried, and still creep nearer and nearer, answering the noise themselves; by which our men would weigh them with their hand, and which weighed heaviest they took for the best and let the others alone. And so our men would take twenty dozen in two hours of the chiefest of them; and they were a good and well-relished fowl, fat and full as a partridge. In January we had great store of
455 their eggs, which are as great as an hen's egg and so fashioned and white shelled, and have no difference in yolk nor white from an hen's egg. There are thousands of these birds and two or three islands full of their burrows, whither at any time (in two hours warning) we could send our cockboat and bring home as many as would serve the whole company. Which birds for their blindness (for they see weakly in
460 the day) and for their cry and hooting we called the sea owl. They will bite cruelly with their crooked bills.

We had knowledge that there were wild hogs upon the island, at first by our own swine preserved from the wreck and brought to shore; for they straying into the woods, an huge wild boar followed down to our quarter, which at night was
465 watched and taken in this sort. One of Sir George Somers' men went and lay among the swine, when the boar being come and groveled by the sows, he put over his hand and rubbed the side gently of the boar, which then lay still; by which means he fastened a rope with a sliding knot to the hinder leg and so took him, and after him in this sort two or three more. But in the end (a little business over) our people
470 would go a-hunting with our ship dog and sometimes bring home thirty, sometimes fifty boars, sows and pigs in a week alive; for the dog would fasten on them and hold whilst the huntsmen made in. And there be thousands of them in the islands, and at that time of the year, in August, September, October, and November, they were well fed with berries that dropped from the cedars and the palms; and
475 in our quarter we made sties for them, and gathering of these berries, served them twice a day, by which means we kept them in good plight. And when there was any fret of weather (for upon every increase of wind the billow would be so great as it was no putting out with our gondola or canoe) that we could not fish nor take tortoises, then we killed our hogs. But in February, when the palm berries began to
480 be scant or dry, and the cedar berries failed two months sooner, true it is, the hogs grew poor; and being taken so, we could not raise them to be better, for besides those berries we had nothing wherewith to frank them.

But even then the tortoises came in again, of which we daily both turned up great store, finding them on land, as also, sculling after them in our boat, struck them with
485 an iron goad, and sod, baked, and roasted them. The tortoise is reasonable toothsome (some say), wholesome meat. I am sure our company liked the meat of them very well, and one tortoise would go further amongst them than three hogs. One turtle (for so we called them) feasted well a dozen messes, appointing six to every mess. It is such a kind of meat as a man can neither absolutely call fish nor flesh, keeping most
490 what in the water and feeding upon sea grass like a heifer in the bottom of the coves and bays, and laying their eggs (of which we should find five hundred at a time in the opening of a she-turtle) in the sand by the shore side, and so covering them close, leave them to the hatching of the sun, like the manatee at Saint Dominique, which made the Spanish friars (at their first arrival) make some scruple to eat them on a
495 Friday, because in color and taste the flesh is like to morsels of veal.

Concerning the laying of their eggs and hatching their young, Peter Martire writeth thus in his Decades of the Ocean:

At such time as the heat of nature moveth them to generation, they come forth of the sea, and making a deep pit in the sand, they lay three or four hundred eggs therein. When they have thus emptied their bag of conception, they put as much of the same again into the pit as may satisfy to cover the eggs and so resort again unto the sea, nothing careful of their succession. At the day appointed of nature to the procreation of these creatures, there creepeth out a multitude of tortoises, as it were pismires out of an anthill, and this only by the heat of the sun, without any help of their parents. Their eggs are as big as geese eggs and themselves, grown to perfection, bigger than great round targets.

II

Actions and occurrents while they continued in the islands: Ravens sent for Virginia; divers mutinies; Paine executed; two pinnaces built

So soon as we were a little settled after our landing, with all the conveniency we might and as the place and our many wants would give us leave, we made up our longboat (as Your Ladyship hath heard) in fashion of a pinnace, fitting her with a little deck made of the hatches of our ruined ship, so close that no water could go in her, gave her sails and oars, and entreating with our master's mate, Henry Ravens (who was supposed a sufficient pilot), we found him easily won to make over therewith as a bark of aviso for Virginia, which being in the height of 37 degrees, five degrees from the island which we were, might be some one hundred and forty leagues from us or thereabouts (reckoning to every degree that lies northeast, and westerly twenty-eight English leagues); who the 28th of August, being Monday, with six sailors and our cape merchant, Thomas Whittingham, departed from us out of Gates' Bay, but to our much wonder returned again upon the Wednesday night after, having attempted to have got clear of the island from the north-northeast to the southwest, but could not, as little water as she drew (which might not be above twenty inches), for shoals and breaches. So as he was fain to go out from Somers' Creeks (and the same way we came in) on the south-southeast of the islands, and from thence he made to sea the Friday after, the first of September, promising if he lived and arrived safe there to return unto us the next new moon with the pinnace belonging to the colony there. According unto which instructions were directed unto the new lieutenant governor and council from our governor here, for which the islands were appointed carefully to be watched and fires prepared as beacons to have directed and wafted him in. But two moons were wasted upon the promontory before mentioned and gave many a long and wished look round about the horizon from the northeast to the southwest, but in vain, discovering nothing all the while, which way so ever we turned our eye, but air and sea.

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason which moved our governor to dispatch this longboat was the care which he took for the estate of the colony in this his enforced absence. For by a long-practiced experience foreseeing and fearing what innovation and tumult might happily arise amongst the younger and ambitious spirits of the new companies to arrive in Virginia, now coming with him along in this same fleet, he framed his letters to the colony and by a particular commission confirmed Captain Peter Wynne his lieutenant governor, with an assistance of six councilors, writing withal to divers and such gentlemen of quality and knowledge of virtue and to such lovers of goodness in this cause whom he knew, entreating them by giving examples in themselves of duty and obedience, to assist likewise the said lieutenant governor against such as should attempt the innovating of the person (now named by him) or form of government, which in some articles he did likewise prescribe unto them; and had fair hopes all should go well if these his let-

ters might arrive there, until such time as either some ship there (which he fairly believed) might be moved presently to adventure for him, or that it should please
550 the Right Honorable the Lords and the rest of His Majesty's Council in England to address thither the Right Honorable the Lord La Warr (one of more eminency and worthiness), as the project was before his coming forth, whilst by their honorable favors a charitable consideration in like manner might be taken of our estates to redeem us from hence. For which purpose likewise our governor directed a particular
555 letter to the Council in England and sent it to the foresaid Captain Peter Wynne (his now-to-be-chosen lieutenant governor) by him to be dispatched (which is the first) from thence into England.

In his absence, Sir George Somers coasted the islands and drew the former plat of them and daily fished and hunted for our whole company, until the seven-and-twentieth of November, when then well perceiving that we were not likely to hear from
560 Virginia, and conceiving how the pinnace which Richard Frobisher was a-building would not be of burden sufficient to transport all our men from thence into Virginia (especially considering the season of the year wherein we were likely to put off), he consulted with our governor that if he might have two carpenters (for we had
565 four, such as they were) and twenty men over with him into the main island, he would quickly frame up another little bark to second ours, for the better fitting and conveyance of our people. Our governor, with many thanks (as the cause required) cherishing this so careful and religious consideration in him (and whose experience likewise was somewhat in these affairs), granted him all things suitable to his desire
570 and to the furthering of the work, who therefore had made ready for him all such tools and instruments as our own use required not; and for him were drawn forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the company and the best of our men to hew and square timber, when himself then, with daily pains and labor, wrought upon a small vessel, which was soon ready as ours. At which we leave him a while busied and return to ourselves.

In the mean space did one Frobisher, born at Gravesend, and at his coming forth now dwelling at Limehouse (a painful and well-experienced shipwright and skillful workman) labor the building of a little pinnace. For the furtherance of which, the
580 governor dispensed with no travail of his body nor forbear any care or study of mind, persuading as much and more an ill-qualified parcel of people by his own performance than by authority, thereby to hold them at their work, namely to fell, carry, and saw cedar fit for the carpenter's purpose (for what was so mean whereto he would not himself set his hand, being therefore up early and down late?). Yet nevertheless were they hardly drawn to it, as the tortoise to the enchantment, as the proverb is, but his own presence and hand being set to every mean labor and employed
585 so readily to every office, made our people at length more diligent and willing to be called thereunto where they should see him before they came. In which we may observe how much example prevails above precepts, and how readier men are to be led by eyes than ears.

And sure it was happy for us, who had now run this fortune and were fallen into the bottom of this misery, that we both had our governor with us, and one so solicitous and careful, whose both example (as I said) and authority could lay shame and command upon our people. Else, I am persuaded, we had most of us finished our
590 days there, so willing were the major part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of ever inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practices of theirs (and perhaps of some of the better sort).

Lo, what are our affections and passions, if not rightly squared? How irreligious and irregular they express us! Not perhaps so ill as we would be, but yet as we are. Some

dangerous and secret discontents nourished amongst us had like to have been the
600 parents of bloody issues and mischiefs. They began first in the seamen, who in time
had fastened unto them (by false baits) many of our landmen likewise, and some of
whom (for opinion of their religion) was carried an extraordinary and good respect.
The angles wherewith chiefly they thus hooked in these disquieted pools were how
605 that in Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected, with many
wants and a churlish entreaty, there being neither that fish, flesh, nor fowl which
here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatening and
art of authority) at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed. And since both in the one
and the other place they were (for the time) to lose the fruition, both of their friends
and country, as good and better were it for them to repose and seat them where they
610 should have the least outward wants the while.

This, thus preached and published each to other, though by such who never had
been more onward toward Virginia than (before this voyage) a sculler could happily
row him (and what hath a more adamantine power to draw unto it the consent and
attraction of the idle, untoward, and wretched number of the many than liberty and
615 fullness of sensuality?), begat such a murmur and such a discontent and disunion of
hearts and hands from this labor and forwarding the means of redeeming us from
hence, as each one wrought with his mate how to divorce him from the same.

And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discovered of which
six were found principals, who had promised each unto the other not to set their
620 hands to any travail or endeavor which might expedite or forward this pinnacle. And
each of these had severally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to
draw the smith, and one of our carpenters, Nicholas Bennett, who made much profes-
sion of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling impostor, the captain and one of
the chief persuaders of others, who afterward brake from the society of the colony,
625 and like outlaws retired into the woods to make a settlement and habitation there,
on their party, with whom they purposed to leave our quarter and possess another
island by themselves. But this happily found out, they were condemned to the same
punishment which they would have chosen (but without smith or carpenter), and to
an island far by itself they were carried, and there left. Their names were John Want,
630 the chief of them, an Essex man of Newport by Saffron Walden, both seditious and a
sectary in points of religion, in his own prayers much devout and frequent, but hard-
ly drawn to the public, insomuch as (being suspected by our minister for a Brownist),
he was often compelled to the common liturgy and form of prayer. The rest of the
confederates were Christopher Carter, Francis Pearepoint, William Brian, William
635 Martin, Richard Knowles.

But soon they missed comfort (who were far removed from our store); besides, the
society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomeness
of their offense, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full, and there-
fore a weariness of their being thus untimely prescribed; insomuch as many humble
640 petitions were sent unto our governor, fraught full of their seeming sorrow and re-
pentance and earnest vows to redeem the former trespass with example of duties in
them all to the common cause and general business. Upon which our governor (not
easy to admit any accusation and hard to remit an offense, but at all times sorry in
the punishment of him in whom may appear either shame or contrition) was easily
645 content to reacknowledge them again.

Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more subtly began to shake the
foundation of our quiet safety; and therein did one Stephen Hopkins commence the
first act or overture. A fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures and could
reason well therein, whom our minister therefore chose to be his clerk to read the

650 psalms and chapters upon Sundays at the assembly of the congregation under him; who in January, the twenty-fourth, brake with one Samuel Sharpe and Humfrey Reede (who presently discovered it to the governor) and alleged substantial arguments, both civil and divine (the Scripture falsely quoted), that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, nor religion to decline from the obedience of the governor, or
655 refuse to go any further led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves), since the authority ceased when the wreck was committed, and with it they were all then freed from the government of any man. And for a matter of conscience it was not unknown to the meanest how much we were therein bound each one to provide for himself and his own family. For which were two apparent reasons to stay them even
660 in this place: first, abundance by God's providence of all manner of good food; next, some hope in reasonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a small bark with the skill and help of the aforesaid Nicholas Bennett, whom they insinuated to them, albeit he was now absent from his quarter and working in the main island with Sir George Somers upon his pinnace, to be of the conspiracy, that so
665 might get clear from hence at their own pleasures. When in Virginia, the first would be assuredly wanting, and they might well fear to be detained in that country by the authority of the commander thereof, and their whole life to serve the turns of the adventurers with their travails and labors.

This being thus laid, and by such a one who had gotten an opinion (as I before
670 remembered) of religion, when it was declared by those two accusers, not knowing what further ground it had or complices, it pleased the governor to let this his factious offense to have a public affront and contestation by these two witnesses before the whole company, who, at the tolling of a bell, assemble before a corps de garde, where the prisoner was brought forth in manacles and both accused and suffered
675 to make at large to every particular his answer, which was only full of sorrow and tears, pleading simplicity and denial. But he being only found, at this time, both the captain and the follower of this mutiny, and generally held worthy to satisfy the punishment of his offense with the sacrifice of his life, our governor passed the sentence of a martial court upon him such as belongs to mutiny and rebellion. But so penitent
680 he was, and made so much moan, alleging the ruin of his wife and children in this his trespass, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sort of the company, who therefore with humble entreaties and earnest supplications went unto our governor, whom they besought (as likewise did Captain Newport and myself) and never left him until we had got his pardon.

In these dangers and devilish disquiets (whilst the Almighty God wrought for us and sent us, miraculously delivered from the calamities of the sea, all blessings upon
685 the shore to content and bind us to gratefulness), thus enraged amongst ourselves to the destruction each of other, into what a mischief and misery had we been given up, had we not had a governor with his authority to have suppressed the same? Yet was there a worse practice, faction and conjuration afoot, deadly and bloody, in
690 which the life of our governor, with many others, were threatened and could not but miscarry in his fall. But such is ever the will of God (who in the execution of His judgments breaketh the firebrands upon the head of him who first kindleth them), there were who conceived that our governor indeed neither durst nor had authority to put
695 in execution or pass the act of justice upon anyone, how treacherous or impious so ever. Their own opinions so much deceiving them for the unlawfulness of any act which they would execute, daring to justify among themselves that if they should be apprehended before the performance, they should happily suffer as martyrs. They persevered, therefore, not only to draw unto them such a number and associates as they could work into the abandoning of our governor and to the inhabiting of this

island: they had now purposed to have made a surprise of the storehouse, and to have forced from thence what was therein either of meal, cloth, cables, arms, sails, oars, or what else it pleased God that we had recovered from the wreck and was to serve our general necessity and use, either for the relief of us while we stayed here, or for the carrying of us from this place again when our pinnace should have been furnished.

705 But as all giddy and lawless attempts have always something of imperfection, and that as well by the property of the action, which holdeth of disobedience and rebellion (both full of fear), as through the ignorance of the devisers themselves, so in this (besides those defects) there were some of the association who, not strong enough
710 fortified in their own conceits, brake from the plot itself, and (before the time was ripe for the execution thereof) discovered the whole order, and every agent and actor thereof; who nevertheless were not suddenly apprehended, by reason the confederates were divided and separated in place, some with us, and the chief with Sir George Somers in his island (and indeed all his whole company), but good watch passed upon
715 them, every man from thenceforth commanded to wear his weapon, without which before we freely walked from quarter to quarter and conversed among ourselves, and every man advised to stand upon his guard, his own life not being in safety whilst his next neighbor was not to be trusted.

The sentinels and night-warders doubled, the passages of both the quarters were
720 carefully observed, by which means nothing was further attempted until a gentleman amongst them, one Henry Paine, the thirteenth of March, full of mischief, and every hour preparing something or other, stealing swords, addices, axes, hatchets, saws, augers, planes, mallets, etc., to make good his own bad end, his watch night coming about, and being called by the captain of the same to be upon the guard, did
725 not only give his said commander evil language but struck at him, doubled his blows, and when he was not suffered to close with him, went off the guard, scoffing at the double diligence and attendance of the watch appointed by the governor for much purpose, as he said. Upon which, the watch telling him if the governor should understand of this his insolency, it might turn him to much blame and happily be as much
730 as his life were worth, the said Paine replied with a settled and bitter violence and in such unreverent terms as I should offend the modest ear too much to express it in his own phrase; but the contents were how that the governor had no authority of that quality to justify upon anyone (how mean so ever in the colony) an action of that nature, and therefore let the governor (said he) kiss, etc. Which words, being with the
735 omitted additions brought the next day unto every common and public discourse, at length they were delivered over to the governor, who, examining well the fact (the transgression so much the more exemplary and odious as being in a dangerous time, in a confederate, and the success of the same wishedly listened after, with a doubtful conceit what might be the issue of so notorious a boldness and impudency), calling the said Paine before him and the whole company, where (being soon convinced
740 both by the witness of the commander and many which were upon the watch with him) our governor, who had now the eyes of the whole colony fixed upon him, condemned him to be instantly hanged. And the ladder being ready, after he had made many confessions, he earnestly desired, being a gentleman, that he might be shot to death, and toward the evening he had his desire, the sun and his life setting together.

745 But for the other which were with Sir George, upon the Sunday following (the bark being now in good forwardness and ready to launch in short time from that place, as we supposed, to meet ours at a pond of fresh water, where they were both to be moored until such time as being fully tackled, the wind should serve fair for our putting to sea together), being the eighteenth of March, hearing of Paine's death and fearing he had appeached them and discovered the attempt (who, poor gentleman,

therein in so bad a cause was too secret and constant to his own faith engaged unto them, and as little needed as urged thereunto, though somewhat was voluntarily delivered by him), by a mutual consent forsook their labor and Sir George Somers, and like outlaws betook them to the wild woods. Whether mere rage and greediness after some little pearl (as it was thought) wherewith they conceived they should forever enrich themselves and saw how to obtain the same easily in this place, or whether the desire forever to inhabit here, or what other secret else moved them thereunto, true it is, they sent an audacious and formal petition to our governor, subscribed with all their names and seals, not only entreating him that they might stay here, but (with great art) importuned him that he would perform other conditions with them and not waive nor evade from some of his own promises, as namely, to furnish each of them with two suits of apparel and contribute meal ratably for one whole year, so much among them as they had weekly now, which was one pound and an half a week (for such had been our proportion for nine months).

Our governor answered this their petition, writing to Sir George Somers to this effect: That true it was, at their first arrival upon this island, when it was feared how our means would not extend to the making of a vessel capable and large enough to transport all our countrymen at once, indeed, out of his Christian consideration (mourning for such his countrymen, who coming under his command, he foresaw that for a while he was like enough to leave here behind, compelled by tyranny of necessity), his purpose was not yet to forsake them so, as given up like savages, but to leave them all things fitting to defend them from want and wretchedness, as much at least as lay in his power to spare from the present use (and perhaps necessity of others, whose fortunes should be to be transported with him) for one whole year or more (if so long, by any casualty, the ships which he would send unto them might be stayed before their arrival, so many hazards accompanying the sea); but withal entreated Sir George to remember unto his company (if by any means he could learn where they were) how he had vowed unto him that if either his own means, his authority in Virginia, or love with his friends in England could dispatch for them sooner, how far it was from him to let them remain abandoned and neglected without their redemption so long; and then proceeded, requesting Sir George Somers again to signify unto them, since now our own pinnace did arise to that burden, and that it would sufficiently transport them all, beside the necessity of any other bark. And yet, that since his bark was now ready too, that those consultations, howsoever charitable and most passionate in themselves, might determine as taken away thereby, and therefore that he should now be pleased to advise them well how unanswerable this grant or consent of his should be. First, to His Majesty for so many of his subjects; next to the adventurers; and lastly, what an imputation and infamy it might be to both their own proper reputations and honors, having each of them authority in their places to compel the adversant and irregular multitude at any time to what should be obedient and honest, which if they should not execute, the blame would not lie upon the people (at all times wavering and insolent), but upon themselves, so weak and unworthy in their command. And moreover entreated him by any secret practice to apprehend them, since that the obstinate and precipitate many were no more in such a condition and state to be favored than the murmuring and mutiny of such rebellious and turbulent humorists who had not conscience nor knowledge to draw in the yoke of goodness and in the business for which they were sent out of England; for which likewise, at the expense and charge of the adventurers, they were to him committed, and that the meanest in the whole fleet stood the company in no less than £20 for his own personal transportation and things necessary to accompany him. And therefore lovingly conjured Sir George, by the worthiness of his

(heretofore) well-maintained reputation, and by the powers of his own judgment, and by the virtue of that ancient love and friendship which had these many years
805 been settled between them, to do his best to give this revolted company (if he could send unto them) the consideration of these particulars, and so work with them (if he might) that by fair means (the mutiny reconciled) they would at length survey their own errors, which he would be as ready, upon their rendering and coming in, to pardon, as he did now pity them; assuring them in general and particular that
810 whatsoever they had sinisterly committed or practiced hitherto against the laws of duty and honesty should not in any sort be imputed against them.

In which good office Sir George Somers did so nobly work and heartily labor as he brought most of them in, and indeed all but Christopher Carter and Robert Waters, who by no means would any more come amongst Sir George's men, hearing that Sir
815 George had commanded his men (since they would not be entreated by fair means) to surprise them if they could, by any device or force. From which time they grew so cautelous and wary for their own ill, as at our coming away we were fain to leave them behind. That Waters was a sailor, who, at his first landing upon the island (as after you shall hear), killed another fellow sailor of his, the body of the murdered and
820 murderer so dwelling, as prescribed, now together.

During our time of abode upon these islands, we had daily every Sunday two sermons preached by our minister; besides every morning and evening at the ringing of a bell we repaired all to public prayer, at what time the names of our whole company were called by bill, and such as were wanting were duly punished.

825 The contents (for the most part) of all our preacher's sermons were especially of thankfulness and unity, etc.

It pleased God also to give us opportunity to perform all the other offices and rites of our Christian profession in this island: as marriage, for the six-and-twentieth of November we had one of Sir George Somers' men, his cook, named Thomas Powell, who married a maidservant of one Mistress Horton, whose name was Elizabeth Persons. And upon Christmas Eve, as also once before, the first of October, our minister preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our governor was and the greatest part of our company. And the eleventh of February we had the child of one John Rofe christened, a daughter, to
835 which Captain Newport and myself were witnesses and the aforesaid Mistress Horton, and we named it Bermuda. As also, the five-and-twentieth of March, the wife of one Edward Eason, being delivered the week before of a boy, had him then christened, to which Captain Newport and myself and Master James Swift were godfathers, and we named it Bermudas.

840 Likewise, we buried five of our company: Jeffery Briars, Richard Lewis, William Hitchman, and my goddaughter, Bermuda Rolfe, and one untimely Edward Samuel, a sailor, being villainously killed by the foresaid Robert Waters (a sailor likewise) with a shovel, who struck him therewith under the lift of the ear; for which he was apprehended and appointed to be hanged the next day (the fact being done in the twilight).
845 But being bound fast to a tree all night with many ropes, and a guard of five or six to attend him, his fellow sailors (watching the advantage of the sentinels' sleeping), in despite and disdain that justice should be showed upon a sailor and that one of their crew should be an example to others, not taking into consideration the unmanliness of the murder nor the horror of the sin, they cut his bonds and conveyed him into the woods, where they fed him nightly and closely, who afterward by the mediation of Sir
850 George Somers, upon many conditions, had his trial respited by our governor.

We had brought our pinnace so forward by this time, as the eight-and-twentieth of August we having laid her keel, the six-and-twentieth of February we now began

855 to caulk. Old cables we had preserved unto us, which afforded oakum enough; and one barrel of pitch and another of tar we likewise saved, which served our use some little way upon the bilge. We breamed her otherwise with lime made of whelk shells and an hard white stone, which we burned in a kiln, slaked with fresh water, and tempered with tortoises' oil. The thirtieth of March, being Friday, we towed her out in the morning spring tide from the wharf where she was built, buoying her with 860 four casks in her run only, which opened into the northwest and into which, when the breeze stood north and by west with any stiff gale and upon the spring tides, the sea would increase with that violence, especially twice it did so, as at the first time (before our governor had caused a solid causeway of an hundred load of stone to be brought from the hills and neighbor rocks and round about her ribs from stem 865 to stem, where it made a pointed balk, and thereby brake the violence of the flow and billow) it endangered her overthrow and ruin, being green, as it were, upon the stocks. With much difficulty, diligence, and labor, we saved her at the first, all her bases, shores, and piles which underset her being almost carried from her, which was the second of January, when her knees were not set to, nor one joint firm.

870 We launched her unrigged to carry her to a little round island lying west-northwest and close aboard to the back side of our island, both nearer the ponds and wells of some fresh water, as also from thence to make our way to the sea the better, the channel being then sufficient and deep enough to lead her forth when her masts, sails, and all her trim should be about her. She was forty foot by the keel and nineteen foot broad at 875 the beam, six-foot floor; her rake forward was fourteen foot, her rake aft from the top of her post (which was twelve foot long) was three foot; she was eight foot deep under her beam; between her decks she was four foot and an half, with a rising of half a foot more under her forecandle, of purpose to scour the deck with small shot if at any time we should be boarded by the enemy. She had a fall of eighteen inches aft to make her steerage and her great cabin the more large; her steerage was five foot long and six foot 880 high, with a close gallery right aft, with a window on each side and two right aft. The most part of her timber was cedar, which we found to be bad for shipping, for that it is wondrous false inward, and besides it is so spalled or brickle that it will make no good planks. Her beams were all oak of our ruined ship, and some planks in her bow of oak, 885 and the rest as is aforesaid. When she began to swim (upon her launching) our governor called her the "Deliverance," and she might be some eighty tons of burden.

Before we quitted our old quarter and dislodged to the fresh water with our pin-
nace, our governor set up in Sir George Somers' garden a fair mnemosynon in figure
of a cross, made of some of the timber of our ruined ship, which was screwed in with
890 strong and great trunnels to a mighty cedar, which grew in the midst of the said gar-
den and whose top and upper branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of
the wind and weather might have the less power over her. In the midst of the cross,
our governor fastened the picture of His Majesty in a piece of silver of twelpepence,
and on each side of the cross he set an inscription graven in copper in the Latin and
895 English to this purpose:

900 In memory of our great deliverance, both from a mighty storm and leak, we have set up
this to the honor of God. It is the spoil of an English ship (of three hundred ton) called
the "Sea Venture," bound with seven ships more (from which the storm divided us) to
Virginia, or Nova Britannia, in America. In it were two knights, Sir Thomas Gates, Knight,
governor of the English forces and colony there, and Sir George Somers, Knight, admiral
of the seas. Her captain was Christopher Newport; passengers and mariners she had be-
side (which came all safe to land) one hundred and fifty. We were forced to run her ashore
(by reason of her leak) under a point that bore southeast from the northern point of the
island, which we discovered first the eight-and-twentieth of July, 1609.

905 About the last of April, Sir George Somers launched his pinnace and brought her from his building bay in the main island into the channel where ours did ride; and she was by the keel nine-and-twenty foot, at the beam fifteen foot and an half, at the luff fourteen, at the transom nine; and she was eight foot deep and drew six foot water, and he called her the "Patience."

910 III

Their departure from Bermuda and arrival in Virginia: miseries there, departure and return upon the Lord La Warr's arriving; Jamestown described

From this time we only awaited a favorable westerly wind to carry us forth, which longer than usual now kept at the east and southeast, the way which we were to go.
915 The tenth of May early, Sir George Somers and Captain Newport went off with their longboats, and with two canoes buoyed the channel which we were to lead it out in and which was no broader from shoals on the one side and rocks on the other than about three times the length of our pinnace. About ten of the clock, that day being Thursday, we set sail an easy gale, the wind at south, and by reason no more wind
920 blew, we were fain to tow her with our longboat; yet neither with the help of that were we able to fit our buoys, but even when we came just upon them, we struck a rock on the starboard side, over which the buoy rid, and had it not been a soft rock, by which means she bore it before her and crushed it to pieces, God knows we might have been like enough to have returned anew and dwelt there, after ten months of
925 carefulness and great labor, a longer time. But God was more merciful unto us. When she struck upon the rock, the coxswain, one Walsingham, being in the boat with a quick spirit (when we were all amazed and our hearts failed), and so by God's goodness we led it out at three fathom and three fathom and an half water.

The wind served us easily all that day and the next, when (God be ever praised for it), to the no little joy of us all, we got clear of the islands. After which, holding a southerly course, for seven days we had the wind sometimes fair and sometimes scarce and contrary; in which time we lost Sir George Somers twice, albeit we still spared him our main topsail, and sometimes our forecourse too.

The seventeenth of May, we saw change of water and had much rubbish swim by our ship side, whereby we knew we were not far from land. The eighteenth about midnight
935 we sounded with the dipsey lead and found thirty-seven fathom. The nineteenth in the morning we sounded, and had nineteen and an half fathom, stony and sandy ground. The twentieth about midnight we had a marvelous sweet smell from the shore (as from the coast of Spain, short of the Straits), strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad us. In the morning by daybreak (so soon as one might well see from the foretop)
940 one of the sailors descried land; about an hour after I went up and might discover two hummocks to the southward, from which (northward all along) lay the land which we were to coast to Cape Henry. About seven of the clock we cast forth an anchor, because the tide (by reason of the freshet that set into the bay) made a strong ebb there, and the
945 wind was but easy, so as not being able to stem the tide, we purposed to lie at an anchor until the next flood; but the wind coming southwest a loom gale about eleven, we set sail again, and having got over the bar, bore in for the Cape.

This is the famous Chesapeake Bay, which we have called (in honor of our young Prince) Cape Henry, over against which within the Bay lieth another headland, which
950 we called, in honor of our princely Duke of York, Cape Charles; and these lie northeast and by east and southwest and by west, and they may be distant each from the other in breadth seven leagues, between which the sea runs in as broad as between Queenborough and Leigh. Indeed it is a goodly bay, and a fairer not easily to be found.

955 The one-and-twentieth, being Monday in the morning, we came up within two miles of Point Comfort, when the captain of the fort discharged a warning piece at us, whereupon we came to an anchor and sent off our longboat to the fort to certify who we were. By reason of the shoals, which lie on the south side, this fort easily commands the mouth of the river, albeit it is as broad as between Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs.

960 True it is, such who talked with our men from the shore delivered how safely all our ships the last year (excepting only the admiral and the little pinnace, in which one Michael Philes commanded, of some twenty ton, which we towed astern till the storm blew) arrived, and how our people (well increased) had therefore builded this fort; only we could not learn anything of our longboat sent from the Bermudas but
965 what we gathered by the Indians themselves, especially from Powhatan, who would tell our men of such a boat landed in one of his rivers and would describe the people and make much scoffing sport thereat: by which we have gathered that it is most likely how it arrived upon our coast, and not meeting with our river, were taken at some time or other at some advantage by the savages, and so cut off. When our skiff
970 came up again, the good news of our ships' and men's arrival the last year did not a little glad our governor, who went soon ashore and as soon (contrary to all our fair hopes) had new, unexpected, uncomfortable and heavy news of a worse condition of our people above at Jamestown.

975 Upon Point Comfort our men did the last year (as you have heard) raise a little fortification, which since hath been better perfected and is likely to prove a strong fort, and is now kept by Captain James Davies with forty men, and hath to name Algernon Fort, so called by Captain George Percy, whom we found at our arrival president of the colony and at this time likewise in the fort. When we got into the Point, which was the one-and-twentieth of May, being Monday about noon; where riding before an
980 Indian town called Kecoughtan, a mighty storm of thunder, lightning and rain gave us a shrewd and fearful welcome.

985 From hence in two days (only by the help of tides, no wind stirring) we plied it sadly up the river, and the three-and-twentieth of May we cast anchor before Jamestown, where we landed, and our much-grieved governor, first visiting the church, caused the bell to be rung, at which all such as were able to come forth of their houses repaired to church, where our minister, Master Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowful prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment.

990 After service, our governor caused me to read his commission, and Captain Percy (then president) delivered up unto him his commission, the old patent, and the council seal. Viewing the fort, we found the palisades torn down, the ports open, the gates from off the hinges, and empty houses (which owners' death had taken from them) rent up and burned, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone's cast off from them to fetch other firewood. And, it is true, the Indian killed as fast without,
995 if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their blockhouse, as famine and pestilence did within; with many more particularities of their sufferances (brought upon them by their own disorders the last year) than I have heart to express.

1000 In this desolation and misery our governor found the condition and state of the colony, and (which added more to his grief) no hope how to amend it or save his own company and those yet remaining alive from falling into the like necessities. For we had brought from the Bermudas no greater store of provision (fearing no such accidents possible to befall the colony here) than might well serve one hundred and fifty for a sea voyage. And it was not possible at this time of the year to amend it by any help from the Indian, for besides that they (at their best) have little more than from

1005 hand to mouth, it was now likewise but their seed time, and all their corn scarce put
into the ground. Nor was there at the fort (as they whom we found related unto us)
any means to take fish, neither sufficient seine nor other convenient net, and yet if
there had, there was not one eye of sturgeon yet come into the river. All which con-
sidered, it pleased our governor to make a speech unto the company, giving them
1010 to understand that what provision he had they should equally share with him, and
if he should find it not possible and easy to supply them with something from the
country by the endeavors of his able men, he would make ready and transport them
all into their native country (accommodating them the best that he could); at which
there was a general acclamation and shout of joy on both sides, for even our own men
1015 began to be disheartened and faint when they saw this misery amongst the others
and no less threatened unto themselves. In the meanwhile, our governor published
certain orders and instructions which he enjoined them strictly to observe the time
that he should stay amongst them, which being written out fair, were set up upon a
post in the church for everyone to take notice of.

1020 If I should be examined from whence and by what occasion all these disasters and
afflictions descended upon our people, I can only refer you (honored Lady) to the book
which the adventurers have sent hither entitled, "Advertisements unto the Colony in
Virginia," wherein the ground and causes are favorably abridged from whence these
miserable effects have been produced. Not excusing likewise the form of government
1025 of some error, which was not powerful enough among so heady a multitude, espe-
cially as those who arrived here in the supply sent the last year with us, with whom
the better authority and government, now changed into an absolute command, came
along and had been as happily established had it pleased God that we with them had
reached our wished harbor.

1030 Unto such calamity can sloth, riot, and vanity bring the most settled and plentiful
estate. Indeed (right noble Lady), no story can remember unto us more woes and an-
guishes than these people, thus governed, have both suffered and pulled upon their
own heads. And yet true it is, some of them, whose voices and command might not
be heard, may easily be absolved from the guilt hereof as standing untouched and
1035 upright in their innocencies; whilst the privy factionaries shall never find time nor
darkness to wipe away or cover their ignoble and irreligious practices, who, it may be,
lay all the discredits and imputations the while upon the country. But under pardon,
let me speak freely to them: let them remember that if riot and sloth should both
meet in any one of their best families in a country most stored with abundance and
1040 plenty in England - continual wasting, no husbandry, the old store still spent on, no
order for new provisions - what better could befall unto the inhabitants, landlords,
and tenants of that corner than, necessarily following, cleanness of teeth, famine,
and death? Is it not the sentence and doom of the wise man? "Yet a little sleep, a little
slumber, and a little folding of the hands to sleep: so thy poverty cometh, as one that
1045 travaileth by the way, and thy necessity like an armed man."

And with this idleness, when something was in store, all wasteful courses exer-
cised to the heighth, and the headless multitude (some neither of quality nor reli-
gion) not employed to the end for which they were sent hither - no, not compelled
(since in themselves unwilling) to sow corn for their own bellies, nor to put a root,
1050 herb, etc., for their own particular good in their gardens or elsewhere - I say, in this
neglect and sensual surfeit, all things suffered to run on, to lie sick and languish,
must it be expected that health, plenty, and all the goodness of a well-ordered state,
of necessity for all this, to flow in this country? You have a right and noble heart (wor-
thy Lady); be judge of the truth herein.

1055 Then suffer it not be concluded unto you, nor believe, I beseech you, that the wants

and wretchedness which they have endured ascend out of the poverty and vileness of the country, whether be respected the land or rivers; the one and the other having not only promised, but poured enough in their veins to convince them in such calumnies and to quit those common calamities which (as the shadow accompa-
1060 nies the body) the precedent neglects touched at, if truly followed and wrought upon. What England may boast of, having the fair hand of husbandry to manure and dress it, God and nature have favorably bestowed upon this country, and as it hath given unto it, both by situation, height, and soil, all those (past hopes) assurances which follow our well-planted native country and others lying under the same influence, if,
1065 as ours, the country and soil might be improved and drawn forth, so hath it endowed it, as is most certain, with many more, which England fetcheth far unto her from elsewhere. For first, we have experience, and even our eyes witness (how young so ever we are to the country), that no country yieldeth goodlier corn nor more manifold increase. Large fields we have, as prospects of the same, and not far from our palisade.
1070 Besides, we have thousands of goodly vines in every hedge and bosk, running along the ground, which yield a plentiful grape in their kind. Let me appeal, then, to knowledge, if these natural vines we replanted; dressed, and ordered by skillful vigneron, whether we might not make a perfect grape and fruitful vintage in short time. And we have made trial of our own English seeds, kitchen herbs, and roots, and find them
1075 to prosper as speedily as in England.

Only let me truly acknowledge, they are not a hundred or two of debauched hands, dropped forth by year after year, with penury and leisure, ill provided for before they come, and worse to be governed when they are here - men of such distempered bodies and infected minds whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of
1080 goodness or punishment, can deter from their habitual impieties or terrify from a shameful death - that must be the carpenters and workmen in this so glorious a building.

Then let no rumor of the poverty of the country (as if in the womb thereof there lay not those elemental seeds which could produce as many fair births of plenty and
1085 increase and better hopes than any land under the heaven to which the sun is no nearer a neighbor), I say, let no imposture rumor, nor any fame of some one or a few more changeable actions interposing by the way or at home, waive any man's fair purposes hitherward or wrest them to a declining and falling-off from the business.

I will acknowledge, dear Lady, I have seen much propenseness already toward the
1090 unity and general endeavors. How contentedly do such as labor with us go forth, when men of rank and quality assist and set on their labors! I have seen it and I protest it, I have heard the inferior people with alacrity of spirit profess that they should never refuse to do their best in the practice of their sciences and knowledges when such worthy and noble gentlemen go in and out before them, and not only so, but as
1095 the occasion shall be offered, no less help them with their hand, than defend them with the sword. And it is to be understood that such as labor are not yet so taxed, but that easily they perform the same, and ever by ten of the clock have done their morning's work, at what time they have their allowances set out ready for them, and until it be three of the clock again, they take their own pleasure, and afterward, with
1100 the sunset, their day's labor is finished. In all which courses if the business be continued, I doubt nothing, with God's favor toward us, but to see it in time a country, an haven, and a staple fitted for such a trade as shall advance assureder increase, both to the adventurers and free burghers thereof, than any trade in Christendom, or than that (even in her early days, when Michael Cavacco, the Greek, did first discover it to
1105 our English factor in Poland) which extends itself now from Calpe and Abila, to the bottom of Sidon and so wide as Alexandria, and all the ports and havens north and

south through the arches to Cio, Smyrna, Troy, the Hellespont, and up to Pompey's Pillar, which as a pharos, or watchtower, stands upon the wondrous opening into the Euxine Sea.

1110 From the three-and-twentieth of May, unto the seventh of June, our governor attempted and made trial of all the ways that both his own judgment could prompt him in and the advice of Captain George Percy and those gentlemen whom he found of the council when he came in, as of others whom he caused to deliver their knowledges concerning the state and condition of the country. But after much debating, it could not appear how possibly they might preserve themselves (reserving that little which we brought from the Bermudas in our ships and was upon all occasions to stand good by us) ten days from starving. For besides that the Indians were of themselves poor, they were forbidden likewise (by their subtle King Powhatan) at all to trade with us; and not only so, but to endanger and assault any boat upon the river or straggler out of the fort by land, by which (not long before our arrival) our people had a large boat cut off and divers of our men killed, even within command of our blockhouse; as likewise they shot two of our people to death after we had been four and five days come in. And yet would they dare then to enter our ports and truck with us (as they counterfeited underhand) when indeed they came but as spies to discover our strength, trucking with us upon such hard conditions that our governor might very well see their subtlety, and therefore neither could well endure nor would continue it. And I may truly say beside, so had our men abased and to such a contempt had they brought the value of our copper, that a piece which would have bought a bushel of their corn in former time would not now buy a little cade or basket of a pottle. And for this misgovernment, chiefly our colony is much bound to the mariners, who never yet in any voyage hither but have made a prey of our poor people in want; insomuch as unless they might advance four or five for one (how assured so ever of the payments of their bills of exchange) they would not spare them a dust of corn nor a pint of beer to give unto them the least comfort or relief, although that beer purloined and stolen perhaps, either from some particular supply or from the general store: so uncharitable a parcel of people they be and ill conditioned.

I myself have heard the master of a ship say (even upon the arrival of this fleet with the lord governor and captain general, when the said master was treated with for such commodities as he brought to sell) that unless he might have an East Indian increase, four for one, all charges cleared, he would not part with a can of beer. Besides, to do us more villainy and mischief, they would send of their longboats still by night and (well guarded) make out to the neighbor villages and towns, and there (contrary to the articles of the fort, which now pronounce death for a trespass of that quality) truck with the Indians, giving for their trifles, otter skins, beavers, raccoon furs, bears' skins, etc., so large a quantity and measure of copper, as when the truck master for the colony in the daytime offered trade, the Indians would laugh and scorn the same, telling what bargains they met withal by night from our mangot quintans (so calling our great ships). By which means the market with them forestalled thus by these dishonest men, I may boldly say they have been a consequent cause (this last year) to the death and starving of many a worthy spirit.

But I hope to see a true amendment and reformation, as well of those as of divers other intolerable abuses thrust upon the colony by these shameless people; as also, for the transportation of such provisions and supplies as are sent hither and come under the charge of pursers (a parcel, fragment, and odd ends of fellows' dependencies to the others), a better course thought upon, of which supplies never yet came into the store or to the parties unto whom such supplies were sent, by relation hitherto, a moiety or third part. For the speedy redress of this, being so sovereign a

point, I understand how the lord governor and captain general hath advised unto the council that there may be no more provisions at all delivered unto pursers, but hath
1160 entreated to have the provision thus ordered: He would have a commissary general of the victuals to be appointed, who (receiving the store for the colony, by indenture from the treasurer and victualers in England) may keep a just account what the gross amounteth unto, and what is transported every voyage, in several kinds, as of bread, meat, beer, wine, etc., which said commissary shall deliver over the same to
1165 the master of every ship and take an indenture from the said master of what he hath in charge and what he is to deliver to the treasurer of the store in Virginia; of which, if any be wanting, he, the said master, shall make it good out of his own entertainment. Otherwise the pursers, stewards, coopers, and quartermasters will be sure still not only to give themselves and their friends double allowances, but think it all well
1170 gotten that they can purloin and steal away.

Besides that the Indian thus evil entreated us, the river (which were wont before this time of the year to be plentiful of sturgeon) had not now a fish to be seen in it, and albeit we labored and hauled our net twenty times, day and night, yet we took not so much as would content half the fishermen. Our governor therefore sent away
1175 his longboat to coast the river downward as far as Point Comfort, and from thence to Cape Henry and Cape Charles and all within the Bay; which after a seven night's trial and travail, returned without any fruits of their labors, scarce getting so much fish as served their own company.

And to take anything from the Indian by force, we never used, nor willingly ever
1180 will. And though they had well deserved it, yet it was not now time, for they did (as I said before) but then set their corn, and at their best, they had but from hand to mouth. So as what now remained? Such as we found in the fort, had we stayed but four days, had doubtless been the most part of them starved, for their best relief was only mushrooms and some herbs, which sod together made but a thin and unsavory
1185 broth and swelled them much. The pity hereof moved our governor to draw forth such provision as he had brought, proportioning a measure equally to every one alike. But then our governor began to examine how long this, his store, would hold out, and found it (husbanded to the best advantage) not possible to serve longer than sixteen days, after which nothing was to be possibly supposed out of the country
1190 (as before remembered), nor remained there then any means to transport him elsewhere. Whereupon he then entered into the consultation with Sir George Somers and Captain Newport, calling unto the same the gentlemen and council of the former government, entreating both the one and the other to advise with him what was best to be done.

The provision which they both had aboard himself and Sir George Somers was examined and delivered, how it being racked to the uttermost, extended not above, as I said, sixteen days, after two cakes a day. The gentlemen of the town, who knew better of the country, could not give him any hope or ways how to improve it from the Indian. It soon then appeared most fit by a general approbation that to preserve and
1200 save all from starving, there could be no readier course thought on than to abandon the country, and accommodating themselves the best that they might in the present pinnaces then in the road, namely, in the "Discovery" and the "Virginia," and in the two brought from and builded at the Bermudas, the "Deliverance" and the "Patience," with all speed convenient to make for the Newfoundland, where (being the fishing time) they might meet with many English ships into which happily they
1205 might disperse most of the company.

This consultation taking effect, our governor, having caused to be carried aboard all the arms and all the best things in the store which might to the adventurers

1210 make some commodity upon the sale thereof at home, and burying our ordnances before the fort gate, which looked into the river, the seventh of June, having appointed to every pinnace likewise his complement and number, also delivered thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, he commanded every man at the beating of the drum to repair aboard. And because he would preserve the town (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malicious people
1215 threatened, his own company he caused to be last ashore, and was himself the last of them, when about noon, giving a farewell with a peal of small shot, we set sail, and that night with the tide fell down to an island in the river, which our people have called Hog Island. And the morning tide brought us to another island, which we have called Mulberry Island, where lying at an anchor in the afternoon, stemming the tide, we discovered a longboat making toward us from Point Comfort.
1220 Much descant we made thereof! About an hour it came up, by which, to our no little joys, we had intelligence of the Honorable My Lord La Warr's arrival before Alger- non Fort the sixth of June, at what time, true it is, His Lordship, having understood of our governor's resolution to depart the country, with all expedition caused his skiff to be manned, and in it dispatched his letters by Captain Edward Bruster (who
1225 commandeth His Lordship's company) to our governor, which preventing us before the aforesaid Mulberry Island (the eighth of June aforesaid), upon the receipt of His Honor's letters, our governor bore up the helm, with the wind coming east- erly, and that night (the wind so favorable) relanded all his men at the fort again.
1230 Before which (the tenth of June, being Sunday) His Lordship had likewise brought his ships, and in the afternoon came ashore with Sir Ferdinando Wainman and all His Lordship's followers.

Here (worthy Lady) let me have a little your pardon, for having now a better heart than when I first landed, I will briefly describe unto you the situation and form of
1235 our fort. When Captain Newport, in his first voyage, did not like to inhabit upon so open a road as Cape Henry nor Point Comfort, he plied it up to the river, still looking out for the most apt and securest place, as well for his company to set down in, as which might give the least cause of offense or distaste, in his judgment, to the inhab- itants. At length, after much and weary search (with their barge coasting still before,
1240 as Vergil writeth Aeneas did, arriving in the region of Italy called Latium, upon the banks of the river Tiber) in the country of a werowance called Wowinchapuncke (a ditionary to Powhatan), within this fair river of Paspahagh, which we have called the King's River, a country least inhabited by the Indian, as they all the way observed, and threescore miles and better up the fresh channel from Cape Henry, they had sight of
1245 an extended plain and spot of earth which thrust out into the depth and midst of the channel, making a kind of chersonese or peninsula, for it was fastened only to the land with a slender neck no broader than a man may well quoit a tile shard, and no inhabitants by seven or six miles near it. The trumpets sounding, the admiral struck sail, and before the same the rest of the fleet came to an anchor, and here (as the best yet offered unto their view, supposed so much the more convenient by how much,
1250 with their small company, they were like enough the better to assure it), to lose no further time, the colony disembarked, and every man brought his particular store and furniture, together with the general provision, ashore. For the safety of which, as likewise for their own security, ease, and better accommodating, a certain canton and quantity of that little half island of ground was measured, which they began to
1255 fortify and thereon, in the name of God, to raise a fortress with the ablest and speed- iest means they could; which fort, growing since to more perfection, is now at this present in this manner.

A low level of ground about half an acre (or so much as Queen Dido might buy of

1260 King Jarbas, which she compassed about with the thongs cut out of one bull hide and
therein built her castle of Byrsa) on the north side of the river is cast almost into the
form of a Triangle, and so palisaded. The south side next the river (howbeit extended
1265 in a line or curtain six score foot more in length than the other two, by reason the
advantage of the ground doth so require) contains one hundred and forty yards, the
west and east sides a hundred only. At every angle or corner where the lines meet, a
bulwark or watchtower is raised, and in each bulwark, a piece of ordnance or two, well
mounted. To every side, a proportioned distance from the palisade, is a settled street
of houses that runs along, so as each line of the angle hath his street. In the midst
1270 is a market place, a storehouse, and a corps de garde, as likewise a pretty chapel, though
(at this time when we came in) as ruined and unfrequented. But the lord governor
and captain general hath given order for the repairing of it, and at this instant many
hands are about it. It is in length three score foot, in breadth twenty-four, and shall
have a chancel in it of cedar and a communion table of the black walnut and all the
1275 pews of cedar, with fair broad windows, to shut and open, as the weather shall occa-
sion, of the same wood, a pulpit of the same with a font hewn hollow, like a canoe,
with two bells at the west end. It is so cast as it be very light within, and the lord
governor and captain general doth cause it to be kept passing sweet and trimmed
up with divers flowers, with a sexton belonging to it. And in it every Sunday we have
sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a sermon, having true preachers which take
1280 their weekly turns. And every morning, at the ringing of a bell about ten of the clock,
each man addresseth himself to prayers, and so at four of the clock, before supper.

Every Sunday, when the lord governor and captain general goeth to church, he is
accompanied with all the councilors, captains, other officers, and all the gentlemen,
and with a guard of halberdiers in His Lordship's livery, fair red cloaks, to the num-
1285 ber of fifty, both on each side and behind him. And being in the church, His Lordship
hath his seat in the choir, in a green velvet chair with a cloth, with a velvet cushion
spread on a table before him on which he kneeleth; and on each side sit the council,
captains, and officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home again he is
waited on to his house in the same manner.

1290 And thus enclosed, as I said, round with a palisade of planks and strong posts, four
foot deep in the ground, of young oaks, walnuts, etc., the fort is called, in honor of
His Majesty's name, Jamestown. The principal gate from the town, through the pal-
isade, opens to the river, as at each bulwark there is a gate likewise to go forth, and
at every gate a demiculverin, and so in the market place. The houses first raised were
1295 all burnt by a casualty of fire the beginning of the second year of their seat and in the
second voyage of Captain Newport, which since have been better rebuilt, though
as yet in no great uniformity either for the fashion or beauty of the street. A delicate
wrought fine kind of mat the Indians make, with which (as they can be trucked for
or snatched up) our people do dress their chambers and inward rooms, which make
1300 their houses so much the more handsome. The houses have wide and large country
chimneys, in the which is to be supposed (in such plenty of wood) what fires are
maintained; and they have found the way to cover their houses now (as the Indians)
with barks of trees, as durable and as good proof against storms and winter weather
as the best tile, defending likewise the piercing sunbeams of summer and keeping
1305 the inner lodgings cool enough, which before in sultry weather would be like stoves,
whilst they were, as at first,argeted and plastered with bitumen or tough clay. And
thus armed for the injury of changing times and seasons of the year, we hold our-
selves well apaid, though wanting arras hangings, tapestry, and gilded Venetian cor-
dovan, or more spruce household garniture and wanton city ornaments, remember-
1310 ing the old epigraph:

..... We dwell not here to build us bowers
..... And halls for pleasure and good cheer:
..... But halls we build for us and ours,
..... To dwell in them whilst we live here.

1315 True it is, I may not excuse this our fort, or Jamestown, as yet seated in somewhat an
unwholesome and sickly air, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the river,
and hath no fresh-water springs serving the town but what we drew from a well six
or seven fathom deep fed by the brackish river oozing into it; from whence I verily
1320 believe the chief causes have proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which have
happened to our people, who are indeed strangely afflicted with fluxes and agues,
and every particular season (by the relation of the old inhabitants) hath his particu-
lar infirmity too: all which, if it had been our fortunes to have seated upon some
hill, accommodated with fresh springs and clear air, as do the natives of the country,
we might have, I believe, well escaped. And some experience we have to persuade
1325 ourselves that it may be so, for of some hundred and odd men which were seated
at the Falls the last year when the fleet came in with fresh and young able spirits
under the government of Captain Francis West, and of one hundred to the seawards
(on the south side of our river), in the country of the Nansemonds under the charge
of Captain John Martin, there did not so much as one man miscarry, and but very
1330 few, or none, fall sick. Whereas at Jamestown, the same time and the same months,
one hundred sickened, and half the number died. Howbeit, as we condemn not Kent
in England for a small town called Plumstead, continually assaulting the dwellers
there (especially newcomers) with agues and fevers, no more let us lay scandal and
imputation upon the country of Virginia because the little quarter wherein we are
1335 set down (unadvisedly so choosed) appears to be unwholesome and subject to many
ill airs which accompany the like marish places.

IV

*The Lord La Warr's beginnings and proceedings in Jamestown; Sir Thomas Gates sent into
England; his and the Company's testimony of Virginia and cause of the late miseries*

1340 Upon His Lordship's landing at the south gate of the palisade (which looks into the
river), our governor caused his company in arms to stand in order and make a guard.
It pleased him that I should bear his colors for that time. His Lordship, landing, fell
upon his knees and before us all made a long and silent prayer to himself, and after
marched up into the town, where at the gate I bowed with the colors and let them
1345 fall at His Lordship's feet, who passed on into the chapel, where he heard a sermon
by Master Bucke, our governor's preacher, and after that caused a gentleman, one of
his own followers, Master

Anthony Scot, his ancient, to read his commission, which entitled him lord gover-
nor and captain general during his life of the colony and plantation in Virginia (Sir
1350 Thomas Gates, our governor hitherto, being now styled therein lieutenant general).

After the reading of His Lordship's commission, Sir Thomas Gates rendered up unto
His Lordship his own commission, both patents, and the council seal. After which,
the lord governor and captain general delivered some few words unto the company,
laying many blames upon them for many vanities and their idleness, earnestly wish-
1355 ing that he might no more find it so, lest he should be compelled to draw the sword
of justice to cut off such delinquents, which he had much rather, he protested, draw
in their defense to protect them from injuries; heartening them with the knowledge
of what store of provisions he had brought for them, viz., sufficient to serve four hun-
dred men for one whole year.

1360 The twelfth of June, being Tuesday, the lord governor and captain general did constitute and give places of office and charge to divers captains and gentlemen, and elected unto him a council, unto whom he did administer an oath (mixed with the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to His Majesty; which oath likewise he caused to be administered the next day after to every particular member of the colony) of
1365 faith, assistance, and secrecy. The council which he elected were: Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, lieutenant general; Sir George Somers, Knight, admiral; Captain George Percy, Esquire, and in the fort, captain of fifty; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, Knight, master of the ordnance; Captain Christopher Newport, vice-admiral; William Strachey, Esquire, secretary and recorder.

1370 As likewise the lord governor and captain general nominated Captain John Martin master of the battery works for steel and iron, and Captain George Webb sergeant major of the fort. And especial captains over companies were these appointed: Captain Edward Bruster, who hath the command of His Honor's own company, Captain Thomas Lawson, Captain Thomas Holecroft, Captain Samuel Argall, Captain George
1375 Yeardley, who commandeth the lieutenant general's company. Divers other officers were likewise made, as Master Ralph Hamor and Master Browne, clerks of the council, and Master Daniel Tucker and Master Robert Wilde, clerks of the store, etc.

The first business which the lord governor and captain general (after the settling of these officers) thought upon was to advise with his council for the obtaining of
1380 such provisions of victuals for store and quality as the country afforded. It did not appear that any kind of flesh, deer, or what else of that kind could be recovered from the Indian or to be sought in the country by the travail or search of his people. And the old dwellers in the fort (together with the Indians not to friend), who had the last winter destroyed and killed up all the hogs, insomuch as of five or six hundred
1385 (as it is supposed), there was not one left alive; nor an hen nor chick in the fort; and our horses and mares they had eaten with the first. And the provision which the lord governor and captain general had brought concerning any kind of flesh was little or nothing, in respect it was not dreamt of by the adventurers in England that the swine were destroyed.

1390 In council, therefore, the thirteenth of June, it pleased Sir George Somers, Knight, admiral, to propose a voyage, which for the better relief and good of the colony he would perform into the Bermudas, from whence he would fetch six months provision of flesh and fish and some live hogs to store our colony again; and had a commission given unto him the fifteenth of June, 1610, who in his own Bermuda pinnace, the
1395 "Patience," consorted with Captain Samuel Argall in the "Discovery" (whom the lord governor and captain general made of the council before his departure), the nineteenth of June fell with the tide from before our town and the twenty two left the bay, or Cape Henry, astern.

And likewise, because at the lord governor and captain general's first coming there
1400 was found in our own river no store of fish, after many trials the lord governor and captain general dispatched in the "Virginia," with instructions, the seventeenth of June, 1610, Robert Tyndall, master of the "De La Warr," to fish unto, all along and between Cape Henry and Cape Charles within the bay; who the last of the said month returned to us again, but as ill-speeding as the former, whom our governor (now lieutenant general) had addressed thither before for the same purpose. Nor was the lord
1405 governor and captain general in the meanwhile idle at the fort, but every day and night he caused the nets to be hauled, sometimes a dozen times one after another. But it pleased not God so to bless our labors, that we did at any time take one quarter so much as would give unto our people one pound at a meal apiece, by which we
1410 might have better husbanded our peas and oatmeal, notwithstanding the great store

we now saw daily in our river. But let the blame of this lie where it is, both upon our nets and the unskillfulness of our men to lay them.

1415 The sixth of July, Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant general, coming down to Point Comfort, the north wind (blowing rough) he found had forced the longboat belonging to Algernon Fort to the other shore upon Nansemond side, somewhat short of Warascoyack; which to recover again one of the lieutenant general's men, Humphrey Blunt, in an old canoe, made over. But the wind driving him upon the strand, certain Indians (watching the occasion) seized the poor fellow and led him up into the woods and sacrificed him. It did not a little trouble the lieutenant governor, who
1420 since his first landing in the country (how justly so ever provoked) would not by any means be wrought to a violent proceeding against them for all the practices of villainy with which they daily endangered our men, thinking it possible by a more tractable course to win them to a better condition. But now, being startled by this, he well perceived how little a fair and noble entreaty works upon a barbarous disposition, and therefore in some measure purposed to be revenged.
1425

The ninth of July, he prepared his forces, and early in the morning set upon a town of theirs, some four miles from Algernon Fort, called Kecoughtan, and had soon taken it without loss or hurt of any of his men. The governor and his women fled (the young King Powhatan's son not being there), but left his poor baggage and treasure to the
1430 spoil of our soldiers; which was only a few baskets of old wheat and some other of peas and beans, a little tobacco, and some few women's girdles of silk, of the grass silk, not without art and much neatness finely wrought; of which I have sent divers into England (being at the taking of the town), and would have sent Your Ladyship some of them had they been a present so worthy.

1435 We purposed to set a Frenchman here a work to plant vines, which grew naturally in great plenty. Some few cornfields it hath, and the corn in good forwardness, and we despair not but to be able (if our men stand in health) to make it good against the Indian.

The continual practices of the subtle King Powhatan doth not meanly awaken all
1440 the powers and workings of virtue and knowledge in our lord governor and captain general how to prevent not only his mischiefs, but to draw him upon some better terms and acknowledgment of our forces and spirits, both able and daring to quit him in any valiant and martial course whatsoever he shall dare to run with us, which he doth yet scarcely believe. For this, therefore, since first and that so lately,
1445 he hath set on his people to attempt us with private conspiracies and actual violence, into the one drawing his neighbor confederates and underprinces, and by the other working the loss and death of divers of our men; and by such their loss, seizing their arms, swords, pieces, etc., of which he hath gathered into his store a great quantity and number, by intelligence above two hundred swords, besides
1450 axes and poleaxes, chisels, hoes (to pare and cleanse their ground), with an infinite treasure of copper. Our lord governor and captain general sent two gentlemen with an embassy unto him, letting him to understand of his practices and outrage hitherto used toward our people, not only abroad, but at our fort also; yet flattering him withal how the lord governor and captain general did not suppose that these
1455 mischiefs were contrived by him or with his knowledge, but conceived them rather to be the acts of his worst and unruly people. His Lordship, therefore now complaining unto him, required that he (being so great and wise a king) would give an universal order to his subjects that it might be no more so, lest the lord governor and captain general should be compelled (by defending him and his) to offend him,
1460 which he would be loath to do. Withal he willed the messengers to demand of him, the said Powhatan, that he would either punish or send unto His Lordship such of

his people whom Powhatan knew well not long before had assaulted our men at the blockhouse, and but newly killed four of them, as also to demand of Powhatan, willing him to return unto the English fort, both such men as he detained of ours and such arms as he had of theirs in his possession. And those conditions performed, he willed them to assure unto Powhatan that then their great werowance, the lord governor and captain general, would hold fair quarter and enter friendship with him, as a friend to King James and his subjects. But refusing to submit to these demands, the lord governor and captain general gave in charge to the messengers so sent to signify unto Powhatan that His Lordship would by all means, public and private, seek to recover from him such of the English as he had, being subjects to his king and master, unto whom even Powhatan himself had formerly vowed not only friendship, but homage, receiving from His Majesty therefore many gifts, and upon his knees a crown and scepter, with other ornaments, the symbols of civil state and Christian sovereignty, thereby obliging himself to offices of duty to His Majesty.

Unto all which Powhatan returned no other answer, but that either we should depart his country or confine ourselves to Jamestown only, without searching further up into his land or rivers, or otherwise he would give in command to his people to kill us and do unto us all the mischief which they at their pleasure could and we feared; withal forewarning the said messengers not to return any more unto him, unless they brought him a coach and three horses, for he had understood by the Indians which were in England how such was the state of great werowances and lords in England, to ride and visit other great men.

After this, divers times and daily he sent sometimes two, sometimes three, unto our fort, to understand our strength and to observe our watch and guard, and how our people stood in health, and what numbers were arrived with this new werowance. Which being soon perceived, our lord governor and captain general forewarned such his spies, upon their own peril, to resort no more unto our fort. Howbeit, they would daily press into our blockhouse and come up to our palisade gates, supposing the government as well now as fantastical and negligent in the former times; the whilst, some quarter of a mile short of the blockhouse, the greatest number of them would make assault and lie in ambush about our glasshouse, whither divers times, indeed, our men would make out, either to gather strawberries or to fetch fresh water. Any one of which so straggled, if they could with conveniency, they would assault and charge with their bows and arrows, in which manner they killed many of our men. Two of which, being Paspheans, who were ever our deadliest enemies and not to be reconciled, at length being apprehended (and one of them a notable villain, who had attempted upon many in our fort), the lord governor caused them to be manacled and convented before him and his council, where it was determined that he that had done so much mischief, should have his right hand struck off, sending him away withal with a message to Powhatan that unless he would yet return such Englishmen as he detained, together with all such their arms (as before spoken of), that not only the other (now prisoner) should die, but all such of his savages as the lord governor and captain general could by any means surprise should run the same course; as likewise the lord governor and captain general would fire all his neighbor cornfields, towns, and villages, and that suddenly, if Powhatan sent not to contract with him the sooner.

What this will work with him, we know not as yet, for this was but the day before our ships were now falling to Point Comfort, and so to set sail for England. Which ships, riding before Warrascoyack to take in their freight of cedar, clapboard, black walnut, and iron ore, took prisoners likewise the chief king of Warrascoyack, called

Sasenticum, with his son, Kainta, and one of his chief men. And the fifteenth day of July, in the "Blessing," Captain Adams brought them to Point Comfort, where at that time (as well to take his leave of the lieutenant general, Sir Thomas Gates, now bound for England, as to dispatch the ships) the lord governor and captain general had pitched his tent in Algernon Fort.

The king's son, Kainta, the lord governor and captain general hath sent now into England until the ships arrive here again the next spring, dismissing the old wewrowance and the other with all terms of kindness and friendship, promising further designs to be effected by him, to which he hath bound himself by divers savage ceremonies and admirations.

And thus (right noble Lady), once more this famous business, as recreated and dipped anew into life and spirit, hath raised it (I hope) from infamy, and shall redeem the stains and losses under which she hath suffered since her first conception. Your graces still accompany the least appearance of her, and vouchsafe her to be limned out with the beauty which we will beg and borrow from the fair lips. Nor fear you that she will return blushes to your cheeks for praising her, since (more than most, excellent Lady) like yourself (were all tongues dumb and envious) she will praise herself in her most silence. May she once be but seen or but her shadow lively by a skillful workman set out indeed, which here (bunglerly as I am) I have presumed (though defacing it) in these papers to present unto Your Ladyship.

After Sir Thomas Gates' arrival, a book called "A True Declaration of Virginia" was published by the Company, out of which I have here inserted this, their public testimony of the causes of the former evils, and Sir Thomas Gates' report upon oath of Virginia.

The ground of all those miseries was the permissive Providence of God, Who in the forementioned violent storm separated the head from the body, all the vital powers of regiment being exiled with Sir Thomas Gates in those infortunate (yet fortunate) islands. The broken remainder of those supplies made a greater shipwreck in the continent of Virginia by the tempest of dissension: every man, overvaluing his own worth, would be a commander; every man, underprizing another's value, denied to be commanded.

The next fountain of woes was secure negligence and improvidence, when every man sharked for his present booty, but was altogether careless of succeeding penury. Now, I demand whether Sicilia or Sardinia (sometimes the barns of Rome) could hope for increase without manuring? A colony is therefore denominated because they should be coloni, the tillers of the earth and stewards of fertility. Our mutinous loiterers would not sow with providence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of too-dear-bought repentance. An incredible example of their idleness is the report of Sir Thomas Gates, who affirmeth that after his first coming thither, he hath seen some of them eat their fish raw rather than they would go a stone's cast to fetch wood and dress it. *Dei laboribus omnia vndunt*. God sells us all things for our labor, when Adam himself might not live in Paradise without dressing the garden.

Unto idleness you may join treasons, wrought by those unhallowed creatures that forsook the colony and exposed their desolate brethren to extreme misery. You shall know that eight-and-twenty or thirty of the company were appointed (in the ship called the "Swallow") to truck for corn with the Indians, and having obtained a great quantity by trading, the most seditious of them, conspired together, persuaded some and enforced others to this barbarous project. They stole away the ship; they made a league amongst themselves to be professed pirates, with dreams of mountains of gold and happy robberies. Thus at one instant, they wronged the hopes and subverted

the cares of the colony, who, depending upon their return, fore-slowed to look out for further provision. They created the Indians our implacable enemies by some violence they had offered; they carried away the best ship (which should have been a refuge in extremities); they weakened our forces by subtraction of their arms and succors.

These are that scum of men that, sailing in their piracy, that being pinched with famine and penury after their wild roving upon the sea, when all their lawless hopes failed, some remained with other pirates they met upon the sea. The others, resolved to return for England, bound themselves by mutual oath to agree all in one report to discredit the land, to deplore the famine, and to protest that this, their coming away, proceeded from desperate necessity. These are they that roared out the tragical history of the man eating of his dead wife in Virginia, when the master of this ship willingly confessed before forty witnesses that at their coming away they left three months victuals and all the cattle living in the Fort. Sometimes they reported that they saw this horrible action, sometimes that Captain Davies said so, sometimes that one Beadle, the lieutenant of Captain Davies, did relate it, varying this report into diversity of false colors which hold no likeness and proportion. But to clear all doubts, Sir Thomas Gates thus relateth the tragedy.

“There was one of the company who mortally hated his wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in divers parts of his house. When the woman was missing, the man suspected, his house searched, and parts of her mangled body were discovered. To excuse himself he said that his wife died, that he hid her to satisfy his hunger, and that he fed daily upon her. Upon this, his house was again searched, where they found a good quantity of meal, oatmeal, beans and peas. He thereupon was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was burned for his horrible villainy.”

Now, shall the scandalous reports of a viperous generation preponderate the testimonies of so worthy leaders? Shall their venomous tongues blast the reputation of an ancient and worthy peer, who upon the ocular certainty of future blessings hath protested in his letters that he will sacrifice himself for his country in this service; if he may be seconded; and if the company do give it over, he will yet lay all his fortunes upon the prosecution of the plantation?

Unto treasons you may join covetousness in the mariners, who for their private lucre partly embezzled the provisions, partly prevented our trade with the Indians, making the matches in the night and forestalling our market in the day, whereby the Virginians were glutted with our trifles and enhanced the prices of their corn and victual. That copper which before would have provided a bushel, would not now obtain so much as a pottle.

Join unto these another evil: there is great store of fish in the river, especially of sturgeon, but our men provided no more of them than for present necessity, not barreling up any store against the season the sturgeon returned to the sea. And not to dissemble their folly, they suffered fourteen nets (which was all they had) to rot and spoil, which by orderly drying and mending might have been preserved, but being lost, all help of fishing perished.

The state of the Colony by these accidents began to find a sensible declining. Which Powhatan (as a greedy Vulture) observing, and boiling with desire of revenge, he invited Captain Ratcliffe and about thirty others to trade for corn, and under the color of fairest friendship, he brought them within the compass of his ambush, whereby they were cruelly murdered and massacred. For upon confidence of his fidelity, they went one and one into several houses, which caused their several destructions, when if but any six had remained together they would have been a bulwark for the general preservation. After this, Powhatan in the night cut off some of our boats, he drove

away all the deer into the farther part of the country, he and his people destroyed our hogs (to the number of about six hundred), he sent none of his Indians to trade with us, but laid secret ambushes in the woods, that if one or two dropped out of the fort alone, they were endangered.

Cast up this reckoning together: want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the traitors, their market spoiled by the mariners, our nets broken, the deer chased, our boats lost, our hogs killed, our trade with the Indians forbidden, some of our men fled, some murdered, and most by drinking of the brackish water of James fort weakened and endangered, famine and sickness by all these means increased. Here at home, the monies came in so slowly that the Lord La Warr could not be dispatched till the colony was worn and spent with difficulties. Above all, having neither ruler nor preacher, they neither feared God nor man, which provoked the wrath of the Lord of Hosts and pulled down His judgments upon them.

Discite justitiam moniti.

The Council of Virginia (finding the smallness of that return, which they hoped would have defrayed the charge of a new supply) entered into a deep consultation and propounded amongst themselves whether it were fit to enter into a new contribution, or in time to send for home the Lord La Warr and to abandon the action. They resolved to send for Sir Thomas Gates, who being come, they adjured him to deal plainly with them and to make a true relation of those things which were presently to be had or hereafter to be hoped for in Virginia.

Sir Thomas Gates, with a solemn and sacred oath, replied that all things before reported were true: that the country yielded abundance of wood, as oak, wainscot, walnut trees, bay trees, ash, sassafras, live oak, green all the year, cedar and fir, which are the materials of soap ashes and potashes, of oils of walnuts, and bays, of pitch and tar, of clapboards, pipe staves, masts and excellent boards of forty, fifty, and sixty length and three-foot breadth, when one fir tree is able to make the main mast of the greatest ship in England. He avouched that there are incredible variety of sweet woods, especially of the balsamum tree, which distilleth a precious gum; that there are innumerable white mulberry trees, which in so warm a climate may cherish and feed millions of silkworms and return us in a very short time as great a plenty of silk as is vented into the whole world from all the parts of Italy; that there are divers sorts of minerals, especially of iron ore, lying upon the ground for ten miles circuit (of which we have made a trial at home, that it maketh as good iron as any is in Europe); that a kind of hemp or flax and silk grass do grow there naturally, which will afford stuff for all manner of excellent cordage; that the river swarmeth with all manner of sturgeon; the land aboundeth with vines; the woods do harbor exceeding store of beavers, foxes, and squirrels; the waters do nourish a great increase of otters, all which are covered with precious furs; that there are in present discovered dyes and drugs of sundry qualities; that the oranges which have been planted did prosper in the winter, which is an infallible argument that lemons, sugar canes, almonds, rice, aniseed, and all other commodities which we have from the Straits, may be supplied to us in our own country and by our own industry; that the corn yieldeth a treble increase more than ours; and lastly, that it is one of the goodliest countries under the sun, interveined with five main rivers and promising as rich entrails as any kingdom of the earth to whom the sun is no nearer a neighbor.