

peyaquaugh. Run you then to the king mawmarynough and bid him come hither.

Utteke, e peya weyack wighwhip. Get you gone, and come againe quickly.

Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh. Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I wil give her white beads to make her a chaine.

THE DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA BY CAPTAINE SMITH

VIRGINIA is a Country in America, that lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44¹ of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*. On the South lyeth Florida: on the North nova Francia. As for the West thereof, the limits are unknowne. Of all this country wee purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606.² And this is under the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this countrie doth agree well with English constitutions being once seasoned³ to the country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to have made them sicke, but even to end their daies, etc.

The sommer is hot as in Spaine; the winter colde as in Fraunce or England. The heat of sommer is in June, Julie, and

¹ In the charter granted April 10, 1606, Virginia is defined to be the country between 34 and 45 degrees north latitude.

² The ships left London, December 20, 1606.

³ "Seasoned" was a term current in Virginia for one hundred years later. All who came soon fell sick of the malaria of the rivers and creeks, and such as survived were called "seasoned" inhabitants. The mortality of these early days fell especially upon the servants exposed in the tobacco fields, of whom four out of five perished during the first year after their arrival, and this continued to be the case down to Sir William Berkeley's day. The opening of the fields, and the use of Peruvian bark, introduced much healthier conditions.

August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the proverbe is true that no extreame long continueth.

In the yeare 1607. was an extraordinary frost in most of Europe, and this frost was founde as extreame in Virginia. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. daies of ill weather, other 14 daies would be as Sommer.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the aire, I have seldome either seene or heard in Europe. From the Southwest came the greatest gustes with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the Northe is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-East as from the Barmadas, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessity of neither, by reason we see not but that all the variety of needfull fruits in Europe may be there in great plenty by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

There is but one entraunce by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the South side is called Cape Henry¹ in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there, is a white hilly sand like unto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

The north Cape is called Cape Charles in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke.² Within is a country that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, for large and pleasant navigable rivers: heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines,

¹ Henry, eldest son of James I., was born in 1594. He was a promising and amiable youth, but died in 1612 in the eighteenth year of his age.

² Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles I.

hills, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South in which the water floweth neare 200 miles and hath a channell for 140 miles, of depth betwixt 7 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 miles. From the head of the Bay at the north, the land is mountanous, and so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther off[f] from the Bay are those mounetaines. From which, fall certaine brookes, which after come to five principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the west side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 miles one of an other.

The mountaines are of diverse natures, for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like miln-stones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces of christall we found as throwne downe by water from the mountaines. For in winter these mountaines are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow valleyes which yet is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, that better judgements then ours might have bene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.¹ The vesture of the earth in most places doeth manifestly prove the nature of the soile to be lusty and very rich. The coulor of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac*, *terra sigillata ad lemnia*, Fullers earth, marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the earth is a black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best

¹ The "glistering tinctures" were, however, only particles of mica.

ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees or abundance of weedes, &c.

The country is not mountanous nor yet low but such pleasant plaine hills and fertle valleyes, one prettily crossing an other, and watered so conveniently with their sweete brookes and christall springs, as if art it selfe had devised them. By the rivers are many plaine marishes containing some 20, some 100, some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are fewe, but only where the Savages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weedes being a plaine wildernes as God first made it.

On the west side of the Bay, wee said were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers, of which wee will nowe proceed to report. The first of those rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay, hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this river they call Powhatan accor[ding] to the name of a principall country that lieth upon it. The mouth of this river is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neere the land that a Sacre¹ will overshoot it at point blanck. This river is navigable 100 miles, the shoules and soundings are here needlesse to bee expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a country inhabited by a nation that they call Monacan. But where it commeth into our discoverie it is Powhatan. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, showles, &c., which makes it past navigation any higher. Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs that disperse themselves for best service, as doe the vaines of a mans body. From the South there fals into this river, First the pleasant river of Apamatuck: next more to the East are the two rivers of Quiyoughcohanocke.² A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of Warraskoyac;

¹ A sacre, more often saker, was a small piece of artillery.

² Upper and Lower Chippokes Creeks in Prince George and Surry counties.

then the river of Nandsamund, and lastly the brooke of Chisa-peack.¹ From the North side is the river of Chickahamania, the backe river² of James Towne; another by the Cedar Isle where we lived 10 weekes upon oysters, then a convenient harbour for fisher boats or smal boats at Kecoughtan, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creeks that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their corne-fields being girded therein in a manner as Peninsulaes. The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers. They have also in every of those places some Governour, as their king, which they call Werowances. In a Peninsula on the North side of this river are the English planted in a place by them called James Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majestie: upon which side are also many places under the Werowances.

The first and next the rivers mouth, are the Kecoughtans, who besides their women and children, have not past 20. fighting men. The Paspaheghes, on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the Bay, have not passed 40. The river called Chickahamania neere 200. The Weanocks 100. The Arrowhatocks 30. The place called Powhatan, some 40. On the South side this river, the Appamatucks have 60 fighting men. The Quiyougcohanocks, 25. The Warraskoyacks 40. The Nandsamunds 200. The Chesapeacks are able to make 100. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call Werowance, except the Chickhamanians, who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called Caw-cawwassoughes.³ In somer no place affordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in winter more abundance of

¹ Elizabeth River, on which Norfolk and Portsmouth are now situated.

² Powhatan Creek came out of the woods at the head of Jamestown Peninsula, where, hindered from entering the main river by the neck of land connecting the peninsula with the mainland, it made a detour on the north of the island till it flowed into the river at the east end. That part of the creek bounding the island was called the "Back River."

³ *Kakarusu*, "he speaks repeatedly." The white men often transmuted the word into *cockarouse*.

fowle, especially in the time of frost. There was once taken 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of 2 foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of 2 or three yards long and fewe others. And in 4 or 5 houres with one nette were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Fourteene miles Northward from the river Powhatan, is the river Pamaunke, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with Catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches.¹ On the South side inhabit the people of Youghtanund, who have about 60 men for warres. On the North branch Mattapament, who have 30 men. Where this river is divided, the Country is called Pamaunke, and nourisheth neere 300 able men. About 25 miles² lower on the North side of this river is Werawocomoco, where their great King inhabited when Captain Smith was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liveth at Orapakes³ by Youghtanund in the wilderness. 10 or 12 myles lower, on the South side of this river is Chiskiack, which hath some 40 or 50 men. These, as also Apamatuck, Irrohatock, and Powhatan, are their great kings chiefe alliance and inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (some 30 myles navigable) that commeth from the Inland: the river is called Payankatanke, the Inhabitants are about some 40 serviceable men.

¹ Youghtamund (now called Pamunkey) and Mattapanient (Mattapony).

² This is a mistake. Werawocomoco was about fourteen miles from West Point. In the *True Relation*, Smith represents the distance from the parting of the river at West Point as twenty miles.

³ Orapakes is believed to have been situated in White Oak Swamp. The word was a combination of *oro*, "solitary," and *paks* (*peaks*), "a little water place."

The third navigable river is called Toppahanock.¹ (This is navigable some 130 myles.) At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoackes amongst the mountaines, but they are above the place we describe.

Upon this river on the North side are seated a people called Cuttatawomen, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the river are the Moraughtacunds, with 80 able men. Beyond them Toppahanock with 100 men. Far above is another Cuttatawomen with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is Nautaughtacund having 150 men. This river also, as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

The fourth river is called Patawomeke and is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. It is navigable 140 miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. This river is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco and hath some 130 men: beyond them Sekacawone² with 30. The Onawmanient with 100. Then Patawomeke with 160 able men. Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient rivers; The greatest of the least is called Quiyough³ [and] treadeth⁴ north west, but the river it selfe turneth North east and is stil a navigable streame. On the westerne side of this bought is Tauxenent with 40 men. On the north of this river is Secowocomoco with 40 men. Some what further Potapaco with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river is Pamacacack with 60 men. After, Moyowances with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80 able men. The river 10 miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant vally

¹ Rappahannock.

² Otherwise Chicacoan. A river in Northumberland County is still known as Coan.

³ Quia or Aquia Creek. As the charter for Maryland, in 1632, declared that the southern boundary of Maryland should begin at the westernmost fountain of the Potomac River, Lord Baltimore first claimed this creek as his southern boundary, believing it to go farther westward, — a claim which, if acquiesced in, would have much curtailed the limits of Maryland.

⁴ Trendeth.

overshaddowed in manie places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

The fifth river is called Pawtuxunt, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 or 18 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kinds of fish more than elsewhere. Upon this river dwell the people called Acquintanacksuak, Pawtuxunt and Mattapanient. 200 men was the greatest strength that could bee there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of al other were found the most civill to give intertainment.

Thirty leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red earth or clay resembling bole Armoniack, the English called it Bolus.¹ At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines.² There is one that commeth du north, 3 or 4. daies journy from the head of the Bay, and fals from rocks and mountaines. Upon this river inhabit a people called Sasquesahanock. They are seated 2 daies higher then was passage for the discoverers Barge, which was hardly 2 toons, and had in it but 12 men to perform this discovery, wherein they lay above the space of 12 weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale or oatmeale and water to feed them; and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the Savages and by the plentie of fish they found in all places, they made themselves provision as opportunitie served; yet had they not a marriner or any that had skill to trim their sayles, use their oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but 2 or 3. The rest being Gentlemen or as ignorant in such toyle and labour: yet necessitie in a short time, by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leave to the censure of the Reader to judge by this discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, 60 of those Sasquesahanocks came to the discoverers with skins, Bowes, Arrowes,

¹ Now Gunpowder River.

² Hills, rather.

Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours: yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring the discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voice in a vault, or cave, as an Echo. Their attire is the skinned of Beares and Woolves, some have Cassacks made of Beares heades and skinned that a mans necke goes through the skinned neck, and the eares of the beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the nose hung a Beares Pawe: the halfe sleeves coming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares and the armes through the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Jewell; his Tobacco pipe 3 quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a Bird, a Beare, a Deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out the braines of a man: with bowes, and arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neere 600 able and mighty men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes¹ their mortall enimies. 5 of their chiefe Werowances came aboard the discoverers, and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mapped. The calfe of whose leg was 3 quarters of a yard about: and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man that ever we beheld. His haire, the one side was long; the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five quarters² long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a woolves skinne at his backe for his quiver,

¹ The Five Nations.

² After "quarters" supply "of a yard."

his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

On the East side the Bay is the river of Tockwhogh,¹ and upon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some 7 miles within the river: where they have a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with the barke of trees. Next to them is Ozinies with 60 men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river of Rapahanock; neere unto which is the river of Kuskarawaock, upon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that is the river of Tants Wighcocomoco, and on it a people with 100 men. The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river of Acohanock with 40 men, and they of Accomack 80 men, doth equalize any of the Territories of Powhatan and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as king.

Southward they went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags, to search² them there left by Sir Walter Raleigh; for those parts to the Towne of Chisapeack, hath formerly been discovered by Mr Heriots and Sir Raph Layne.

Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ Powhatans Territories. The Chawonokes, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Masawomekes, the Powhatans, the Sasquesahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuscarawaokes. Al those not any one understandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mapped, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bays, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Mapped observe this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places, have beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions.

¹ The village marked the extreme northern extension of Powhatan's power.

² "Search for."

'Of such things which are naturall in Virginia and how they use them.

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegetables and living Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none but what groweth in lowe Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rancknesse of the ground; which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut: many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long. Of this wood there is 2 or 3 severall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, is somewhat sweetish; which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last afford a sweete oyle, which they keep in goards to annoint their heads and joints. The fruit they eate, made in bread or otherwise. There is also some Elme, some black walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps: but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other. Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes: there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it; and of those trees there are some neere 3 fadome about at the root, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a braunch. By the dwelling of the Savages are some great Mulbery trees; and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groves. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master worke-man fell sicke: during which time, they were eaten with rats.

In some parts, were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy, to their tast that had tasted them all. Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plumbs:

but the other, which they call *Putchamins*,¹ grow as high as a Palmeta. The fruit is like a medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe it will drawe a mans mouth awrie with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

They have Cherries, and those are much like a Damsen; but for their tastes and colour, we called them Cherries. We see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Of vines, great abundance in many parts, that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the rivers and Savage habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge grapes, wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neere as good as your French Brittish wine, but certainly they would prove good were they well manured. There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messaminnes*; they bee fatte, and the juyce thicke: neither doth the tast so well please when they are made in wine. They have a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*,² which they esteeme a great daintie. They have a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call *Rawcomenes*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they live a great part of the yeare, which they use in this manner. The walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and *Chechinquamens* are dried to keepe. When they need them, they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the walnut shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe upon a mat over a hurdle. After, they put it into a mortar of wood, and beat it very small: that done, they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke; which they cal *Pawcohiscora*, and keepe it for their use. The fruit like medlers, they call *Putchamins*, they cast upon hurdles on a mat, and

¹ Persimmons.

² Chinquapins.

preserve them as Prunes. Of their Chesnuts and *Chechin-quamens* boyled 4 houres, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white populer, and another tree like unto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsom. There are also Cedars and Saxafras trees. They also yeeld gummies in a small proportion of themselves. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

In the watry valleyes groweth a berry, which they call *Ocougthanamnis*, very much like unto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them, they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. *Mattoume* groweth as our bents do in meddows. The seede is not much unlike to rie, though much smaller. This they use for a dainty bread buttered with deare suet.

During Somer there are either strawberries which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripen in May and June, Raspises, hurtes, or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholesome fruit much like a lemond. Many hearbes in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslin, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we used whose names we know not.

The chiefe roote they have for foode is called *Tockawhough*.¹ It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a Savage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnes and taste of Potatoes. They use to cover a great many of them with oke leaves and ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a colepit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and

¹ Tuckahoe. This name was also given to a kind of fungus found at the roots of certain trees.

torment the throat extreemely, and yet in sommer they use this ordinarily for bread.

They have an other roote which they call *wighsacan*: as thother feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a small roote that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red: and this they use for swellings, aches, annointing their joints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very pretious and of much worth. *Musquaspenn*¹ is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they use to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like.

There is also Pellitory of Spaine, Sasafrage,² and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable.

In the low Marshes, growe plots of Onyons containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the Toppe of ones Thumb.

Of beastes the chief are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, ther are many, but amongst the rivers few. There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*,³ much like a badger, but useth to live on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels some are neare as greate as our smallest sort of wilde rabbits; some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

A small beast they have, they call *Assapanick*, but we call them flying squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins that they have bin scene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opassom* hath an head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignes of a Cat. Under her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Mussascus*⁴ is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of muske. Their Hares no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

¹ Bloodroot.

² Sassafras.

³ Raccoon.

⁴ Muskrat.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short. His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire; which to eate, the Savages esteeme a great delicate. They have many Otters, which, as the Beavers, they take with snares, and esteeme the skinnes great ornaments; and of all those beasts they use to feede, when they catch them.

There is also a beast they call *Vetchunquoyes* in the forme of a wilde Cat. Their Foxes are like our silver haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. Their Dogges of that country are like their Wolves, and cannot barke but howle; and their wolves not much bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, Powlecats, weessels and Minkes we know they have, because we have seen many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them alive. But one thing is strange, that we could never perceive their vermine destroy our hennes, egges, nor chickens, nor do any hurt: nor their flyes nor serpents anie waie pernicious; where¹ in the South parts of America, they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Of birds, the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of diverse sorts as our Falconers called them, Sparrowhawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons and Osperayes; but they all pray most upon fish. Pattridges there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkeys are as bigge as our tame. There are woosels or blackbirds with red shoulders, thrushes, and diverse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a wrenne, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of Swans, Craynes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to us unknowne by name. But in sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

¹ Whereas.

Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies whose tailes are very dangerous, Brettes, mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of 3 sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a smal one so like the picture of S. George his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings: and the Todefish which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrails of the earth little can be saide for certainty. There wanted good Refiners: for these that tooke upon them to have skill this way, tooke up the washings from the mounetaines and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought down; flattering themselves in their own vaine conceits to have been supposed that they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proved as their arts and judgements expected. Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford mines very rich of diverse natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeve there are other mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the mine from spare.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia and how they use them.

They divide the yeare into 5. seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the harvest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September untill the midst of November are the chiefe Feasts and sacrifice. Then have they plenty of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wild beastes exceeding fat.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the country naturally is overgrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the roote, then do they scotch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood, they

beat up the woodes by the rootes; and in that¹ moulds, they plant their corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheat and 2 of beanes. These holes they make 4 foote one from another. Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne midle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of June. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for June in October. Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldome any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being green hath a sweet juice in it, somewhat like a suger Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as wee gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they cal *Assentamens*, which are the same they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a mortar with a Polt,² lappe it in rowles in the leaves of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserve that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat³ they first steep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a mortar. They use a small basket for their Temmes,⁴ then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receive the flower⁵ in a platter made of wood scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with ashes till they bee baked, and then washing them in faire water, they

¹ Those. ² Thump ³ Corn. ⁴ Hulls. ⁵ The meal.

drie presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*.¹ The grouts and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind away the branne, they boile 3 or 4 houres with water; which is an ordinary food they call *Ustatahamen*. But some more thrifty then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale; but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle it so long on hurdles over the fire; or else, after the Spanish fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, til it be as drie as their jerkin beefe in the west Indies, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat.

In May also amongst their corne, they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like unto a muske millen, but lesse and worse; which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue until September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a lemmon, which also increase infinitely: they begin to ripe in September and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them: for neere 3 parts of the yeare, they only observe times and seasons, and live of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

⁶ *The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by industrie.*

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and use of man as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Under that latitude or climat, here will live any beasts, as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, &c. as

¹ A misprint or mistake for *ponak*, plural of *pon*, whence our word "pone."

appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sortes, for transportation o. fishing, &c. The Bay and rivers have much marchandable fish and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of iron, &c.

Muscovia and Polonia doe yearely receive many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glasse, and such like; also Swethland¹ for iron and copper. France in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt, Spaine asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. Italy with Silkes and Velvets, consumes our chiefe commodities. Holand maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as uncertaine as peace or warres: besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath Virginia the prerogative of all those flourishing kingdomes for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles all those are to bee had, either ready provided by nature, or else to bee prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Only of Copper wee may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both copper and better munerals are there to be had for their labor. Other Countries have it. So then here is a place a nurse for souldiers, a practise for marriners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidels to the true knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

✓ *Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.*

The land is not populous, for the men be fewe; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 miles of James Towne there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many

¹ Sweden.

together they have yet no means, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertill. 6 or 700 have bene the most [that] hath bene seene together, when they gathered themselves to have surprised Captaine Smyth at Pamaunke, having but 15 to withstand the worst of their furie. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet bene discovered, is in comparison of that yet unknowne. The people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great as the Sesquesahamocks, others very little as the Wighcocomocoes: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne, when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally black; but few have any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long. For Barbers they use their women, who with 2 shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods under a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommer. They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of copper, beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malitious, that they seldome forget an injury: they seldome steale one from another, least their conjurors should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reveale their offences by conjuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to bee suspected of dishonesty without the leave of their husbands. Each household knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most live of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are some time covered with the skinned of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in sommer without. The better sort use large mantels of deare skins not much differing in

fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaves of trees, or such like. We have seen some use mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threeds that nothing could bee discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwaies covered about their midles with a skin and very shamefast to be seene bare. They adorne themselves most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some have their legs, hands, brests and face cunningly imbrodered with diverse workes, as beasts, serpentes, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they have 3 great holes, whereat they hange chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a smal greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke often times familiarly would kiss his lips. Others wear a dead Rat tied by the tail. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird or some large feather, with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many have the whole skinne of a hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of copper, and some the hand of their enemy dried. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* braied to powder mixed with oyle; this they hold in somer to preserve them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they use, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behould.

Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors of small young springs¹ bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde raine

¹ Sprigs.

or weather, they are as warme as stooves, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire.

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house, they lie heads and points one by thother against the fire: some covered with mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house. Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens; which are smal plots of ground, some 20,¹ some 40, some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. Some times from 2 to 100 of these houses together, or but a little separated by groves of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood, or old trees on the ground, by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder.

Men women and children have their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easilie delivered of childe, yet doe they love children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the rivers, and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins, that after year or two, no weather will hurt them.

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise, which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like.

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaves, or anie such like drie thing

¹ Twenty acres.

that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they live much upon their fishing weares, and feed on fish, Turkies and squirrels. In May and June they plant their fieldes, and live most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In June, Julie, and August, they feed upon the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greene wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet; even as the deare and wild beastes, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weak. Powhatan their great king and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh upon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

For fishing and hunting and warres they use much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone some 2 or 3 inches long. These they use to shoot at squirrels on trees. An other sort of arrowes they use, made of reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of christall or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife, he hath the splinter of a reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will joint a Deare or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow hee hath the tooth of a Bever set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a hart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deare, and the tops of Deares hornes boiled to a jelly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water.

For their wars also they use Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sworde of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they use for swords the horne of a Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some, a long stone sharpened at both ends used in the same manner.

This they were wont to use also for hatchets, but now by trucking they have plenty of the same forme, of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing¹ and scratching away the coles with stone and shels till they have made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Instead of oares, they use paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women use to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many uses, as about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nock their arrows, in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhook or of the splinter of a bone tied to the clift of a litle stick, and with the ende of the line, they tie on the bate. They use also long arrowes tyed in a line wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of Accawmack use staves like unto Javelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They have also many artificiall weares in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travel, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deare, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leave their habitations, and reduce themselves into companies, as the Tartars doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling up towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where

¹ Burning.

there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers, the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvel they can so directly passe these deserts some 3 or 4 daies journey without habitation. Their hunting houses are like unto Arbours covered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they use. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excellling in those quallities, they get their wives. Forty yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the mark, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Having found the Deare, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They use also to drive them into some narrowe point of land, when they find that advantage, and so force them into the river, where with their boats they have Ambuscadoes to kill them. When they have shot a Deare by land, they follow him like blood hounds by the blood and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Pattridges, Turkeys, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these huntings, they found Captaine Smith in the discoverie of the head of the river of Chickahamania, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire; where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

One Savage hunting alone, useth the skinne of a Deare slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as arteificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne, by stalking he approacheth the Deare, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deare chance to find fault, or stande at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deare, also gazing and licking

himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, hee chaseth him by his blood and straine till he get him.

When they intend any warres, the Werowances usually have the advice of their Priests and Conjurors, and their Allies and ancient friends, but chiefly the Priestes determine their resolution. Every Werowance, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They have many enimies, namely all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Russawmeake, unto whome the Mouhemenchughes, the Massinnacacks, the Monahassanuggs, and other nations, pay tributs. Upon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributors the Tauxsnitanias, the Shackaconias, the Outponcas, the Tegoneaes, the Whonkentyaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinnungas, and diverse others, all confederats with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wild beasts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke, the Savages report, inhabit their most mortall enimies, the Massawomekes upon a great salt water, which by all likelyhood is either some part of Commada,¹ some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These Massawomekes are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those rivers, especially the Pattawomekes, the Pautuxuntes, the Sasquesahanocks, the Tockwoughes, are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine Smith and his company, to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose, they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subjection. To which he concluded to effect. But the counsell then present, emulating

¹ Canada.

his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him 40 men to be hazarded in those unknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie. Seaven boats full of these Massawomeks the discoverers encountred at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts: and their dexteritie in their small boats made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated upon some great water.

Against all these enimies the Powhatans are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the Werowances, women and children, they put not to death, but keepe them Captives. They have a method in warre, and for our pleasures, they shewd it us, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient.

Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselves into two Companies, neare a 100 in a company. The one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Either army had their Captaine. These as enimies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 abreast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles, so as the Reare could shoot as conveniently as the Front. Having thus pitched the fields; from either part went a Messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape, upon their submission in 2 daies after, should live, but their wives and children should be prize for the Conquerers. The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders. On each flanke a Sarjeant, and in the Reare an office for leutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they use only in warres. Upon the first flight of arrowes, they gave such horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall helhounds could not have made them more terrible. When they had spent

their arrowes, they joined together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they caught their enimies by the haire of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enimie with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish. The Monacans decreasing, the Powhatans charged them in the forme of a halfe moone: they unwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their Ambuscadoes, on whome they led them very cunningly. The Monacans disperse themselves among the fresh men, whereupon the Powhatans retired with al speed to their seconds; which the Monacans seeing, took that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the hight of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenes thereof made it seem very delightfull.

For their musicke they use a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder.¹ For their warres, they have a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat upon it as upon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpion shels. Of these they have Base, Tenor, Counter-tenor, Meane and Trible.² These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright then delight any man. If any great commander arrive at the habitation of a Werowance, they spread a mat as the Turkes do a carpet, for him to sit upon. Upon an other right opposite they sit themselves. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this, doe 2. or more of their chiefest men make an oration, testifying their love. Which they do with such vehemency and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake.

¹ A musical pipe.

² Bass, tenor, high tenor, alto, and soprano.

So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry or starke mad. Such victuall as they have, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocones* and oile, to be his bedfellow.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beades, and such like; for which they give such commodities as they have, as skins, fowle, fish, flesh, and their country corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Every spring they make themselves sicke with drinking the juice of a root they call *wighsacan*, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent maner; so that in 3 or 4 daies after, they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with drop-sies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure wherof they build a stove in the form of a dovehouse with mats, so close that a fewe coales therein covered with a pot, will make the pacient sweate extreemely. For swellings also they use smal peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloves, which pricking on the grieffe, they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *wighsacan* they ordinarily heal greene wounds: but to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old ulcers or putrified hurtes are seldome seene cured amongst them. They have many professed Phisitions, who with their charmes and Rattels, with an infernall rowt of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inward grieffe from their navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceived, that they beleaved any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in Virginia no place discovered to bee so Savage in which the Savages have not a religion, Deare, and Bow and Arrowes. All things that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance,

peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Divell. Him they call *Oke* and serve him more of feare than love. They say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their temples, they have his image evill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines, copper, and beades, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformity may well suit with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried upon hurdles till they bee verie dry, and so about the most of their jointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they use to weare: their inwards they stuffe with copper beads and cover with a skin, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their kings have, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

For their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corp[s]les being lapped in skins and mats with their jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions.

In every Territory of a werowance is a Temple and a Priest 2 or 3 or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamaunke, neare unto which is a house Temple or place of Powhatans.

Upon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60¹ foot in length, built arbor wise, after their building.

¹ In the *True Relation* Smith represents these houses as about 100 feet long.

This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priestes and kings dare come into them: nor the Savages dare not go up the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones, into the river, for feare their *Oke* should be offended and revenged of them.

In this place commonly is resident 7 Priestes. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments: but inferior Priestes could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their jewels at. The ornaments of the chiefe Priest was certain attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen or 16 or more snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse; and of weesels and other vermine skins, a good many. All these they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers; the skins hang round about his head necke and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Priestes are painted as ugly as they can devise. In their hands, they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller.¹ Their devotion was most in songs which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him: sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences, by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest give a short groane.

It could not bee perceived that they keepe any day as more holy then other: but only in some great distresse, of want, feare of enimies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole country of men women and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it, with rattles and shouts together, 4 or 5 houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keepe time. And after their songs and dauncings ended, they goe to their Feasts.

¹ Lighter in sound.

They have also divers conjurations. One they made when Captaine Smith was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his countrymen would arive there, and what he there intended. The manner of it was thus. First they made a faire fire in a house. About this fire set 7 Priestes setting him by them, and about the fire, they made a circle of meale. That done, the chiefe Priest attired as is expressed, began to shake his rattle, and the rest followed him in his song. At the end of the song, he laid downe 5 or 3 graines of wheat, and so continued counting his songs by the graines, till 3 times they incirculed the fire. Then they divide the graines by certaine numbers with little stickes, laying downe at the ende of every song a little sticke. In this manner, they sat 8, 10, or 12 houres without cease, with such strange stretching of their armes, and violent passions and gestures as might well seeme strange to him they so conjured, who but every houre expected his end. Not any meat they did eat till, late in the evening, they had finished this worke: and then they feasted him and themselves with much mirth. But 3 or 4 daies they continued this ceremony.

They have also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*: but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, other in the woodes and wildernesses. Upon these, they offer blood, deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and upon many other occasions. They have also another superstition that they use in stormes, when the waters are rough in the rivers and sea coasts. Their Conjurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, and such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whome they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are known to use.

In some part of the Country, they have yearly a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at Quiyougcohanock, some 10 miles from James Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of

the properest young boyes, betweene 10 and 15 yeares of age, they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with rattles. In the afternoone, they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them, all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This¹ made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed 5 young men to fetch these children. So every one of the five went through the guard, to fetch a child, each after other by turnes: the guard fearelessly beating them with their Bastinados, and they patiently enduring and receaving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmercifull blowes they pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while, the women weepe and crie out very passionately, providing mats, skinnes, mosse, and drie wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the tree, branches and boughs, with such violence, that they rent the body, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with the leaves. What else was done with the children was not seene; but they were all cast on a heape in a valley, as dead: where they made a great feast for al the company. The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not al dead, but that the *Oke* or Divell did sucke the blood from their left breast,² who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead. But the rest were kept in the wilderness by the yong men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any: and of these, were made their Priests and Conjurers. This sacrifice they held to bee so necessarie, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or Divel and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* (which are their other Gods) would let them have no Deare, Turkie, Corne nor fish: and yet besides, hee would make great slaughter amongst them. They thinke that their Werowances and Priestes, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead,

¹ These.² *I.e.*, from the left breast of those.

doe goe beyound the mountaines towards the setting of the sun, and ever remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shal have beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing with all their Predecessors. But the common people, they suppose shall not live after death.

To divert them from this blind idolatrie, many used their best indeavours, chiefly with the Werowances of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition much exceeded any in those Countries: who though we could not as yet prevaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeve, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrows, and many times did send to the President, at James towne, men with presents, intreating them to pray to his God for raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Divell, not knowing their Creator.

*Of the manner of the Virginians government.*¹

Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet have they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for du subjection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall government. One as Emperour ruleth over many kings or governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*. Some countries he hath, which have been his ancestors, and came unto him by inheritance, as the countrie called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuke*, *Pamaunke*, *Youghtanud*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report

¹ See James Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present," in the *American Anthropologist*, n. s., IX. 129-152.

have beene his severall conquests. In all his ancient inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30, some 40 yardes long, and at every house, provision for his entertainment, according to the time. At Werowcomoco, he was seated upon the North side of the river Pamunke, some 14 miles from James Towne, where for the most part, hee was resident, but he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that were able to visit him against his will in 6 or 7 houres, that he retired himself ¹ to a place in the deserts at the top of the river Chickahamania betweene Youghatanund and Powhatan. His habitation there is called Orapacks, where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne that it seemeth none at al. His age neare 60; of a very able and hardybody to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night upon the 4 quarters of his house are 4 Sentinels, each standing from other a flight shoot: and at every halfe houre, one from the Corps du guard doth hollowe, unto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand. If any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A mile from Orapakes in a thicket of wood, hee hath a house, in which he keepeth his kind of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beades, which he storeth up against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bowes and arrowes. This house is 50 or 60 yards in length, frequented only by Priestes. At the 4 corners of this house stand 4 Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the 3 like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made evill favordly, according to their best workmanship.

He hath as many women as he will: whereof when hee lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand, and

¹ In January, 1609.

another on his left. As he is wearie of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When he dineth or supbeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wo[o]den platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them instead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe. His kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children: but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest: and after them to the heires male and female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

He nor any of his people understand any letters wherby to write or read, only the lawes wherby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth, his will is a law and must bee obeyed: not only as a king, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour kings whom they cal werowances are tyed to rule by customes, and have power of life and death as their command in that nature. But this word Werowance which we call and conster ¹ for a king, is a common worde wherby they call all commanders: for they have but fewe words in their language and but few occasions to use anie officers more then one commander, which commonly they call werowances. They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowances Powhatan, unto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration all these people doe obay this Powhatan. For at his feet, they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many

¹ Construe, translate.

fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid upon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefactor, he causeth him to be tied to a tree, and, with muscle shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off[f] his joints one after another, ever casting what they cut off[f] into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselves reported they executed George Cassen. Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. Wee have seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men have beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a s[w]ound, and yet never cry nor complained.

In the yeare 1608, hee surprised the people of Payankatank, his neare neighbours and subjects. The occasion was to us unknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent diverse of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambuscadoes invironed al their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoile; 24 men they slewe, the long haire of the one side of their heades with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women and the children and the Werowance. All these they present to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinned he hanged on a line unto two trees. And thus he made ostentation as of a great triumph at Werowocomoco, shewing them to the English men that then came unto him, at his appointment: they expecting provision; he, to betray them, supposed to halfe conquer them, by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthie of note; which I have purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of Virginia. Yet some

bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce ever 10 miles from James Town, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to knowe any thing; nor ever did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents: because they found not English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and silver and dissolute liberty as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their owne actions there according.¹

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to pass to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselves, though they had neither time nor meanes to knowe much of themselves; yet al mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more then al the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded upon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the mony, tinne [time], and meanes have still miscaried: yet they ever return-

¹ Smith attributes the calamities of the colony to his enemies, but other causes purposely underestimated had more to do with the matter, — imported diseases, a climate singularly fatal to newcomers, the faction-breeding charter, Indian attack, and the unreasonable desire of the company in London for immediate profit. No better proof of the patriotism of the colonists could be afforded than the death-rate.

ing, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, stil to maintain their vaine glory and estimation, from time to time they have used such diligence as made them passe for truthes, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest living is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in Virginia meerey projecting verbal¹ and idle contemplatours, and those so devoted to pure idleness that though they had lived two or three yeares in Virginia lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the Peninsula, or Pallisadoes of James Towne; and those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in England to get their passes? Thus from the clamors and the ignorance of false informers are sprung those disasters that spring in Virginia, and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to us in Virginia, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of 30 of the best only, preserved in Christianitie, by their industrie, the idle livers of neare 200 of the rest: who lived neer 10 months of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded. Notwithstanding all this, and the worst furie of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but 7 or 8 men: yet subjected the Savages to our desired obedience, and received contribution from 35 of their kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithful, and as subjects to his Majestie, so long after as I did govern there, untill I left the Country: Since, how they have revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from Virginia, that have bin more diligent in such observations.

¹ Speculating and theoretical.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN VIRGINIA

Since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Journies and Discoveries.

Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations of the Bordering neighbours, and how they became subject to the English.

Unfolding even the fundamentall causes from whence have sprang so many miseries to the undertakers, and scandals to the businesse: taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Russell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich: Pots and the labours of divers other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia. And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in England that were actors in this busines. By W. S.

At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.¹

TO THE READER

LONG hath the world longed, but to be truely satisfied what Virginia is, with the truth of those proceedings, from whence hath flowne so manie reports of worth, and yet few good effects of the charge, which hath caused suspition in many well willers that desire yet but to be truely satisfied therein. If any can

¹ This italic heading is taken from the title-page of the original. Part II. has a separate title-page and pagination, but was issued with the *Map and Description*. As to "W. S.," see p. 76, note 1.