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Thomas Hariot

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# *A BRIEF AND TRUE REPORT OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND OF VIRGINIA*

Thomas Hariot

An edition of the text of 1588 with notes and modernized spelling

San José State University / Students of English 144, Fall 2020 - Spring 2021

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## Introduction

In the wake of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expeditions to North America in 1578 and 1583, Elizabeth I granted Sir Walter Raleigh a patent to plant a colony in the Americas in 1584. Transported by Sir Richard Grenville, English colonists led by Ralph Lane landed on Roanoke Island in 1585 (present-day North Carolina) and established a settlement there. While Gilbert's Newfoundland expeditions had the explicit aim of finding a northwest passage to establish direct trade routes to Asia, Raleigh's Roanoke settlement meant to serve as an English privateering outpost to intercept Spanish vessels travelling between Florida, Cuba, Hispaniola, Mexico, and Spain (Loades). The Roanoke Colony was ultimately unsuccessful for a number of reasons, not least of which was the quarrelling that took place between Lane, the governor of the colony, and Grenville, and was reported in England (Billings). A lack of adequate supplies, privation, and the hostilities between the Native peoples and the English colonists contributed to the decision by Lane and the English colonists to return to England in Summer 1586 with Sir Francis Drake, who had meant to offer some support to his fellow Englishmen to carry them over till Grenville returned on a planned resupply mission. Grenville's ships reached Roanoke soon after Lane and most of the colonists had left with Drake, and, having found the settlement all but abandoned, returned home.

Among those who formed part of the Roanoke settlement in 1585 was Thomas Hariot (or Harriot), a mathematician and natural philosopher specializing in nautical navigation. Having returned to England with Lane on Drake's vessels, Hariot published *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* in 1588. Another edition of *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* from 1590 is known for containing etchings of the Native peoples of the Americas done by Theodor de Bry. The treatise sets out to promote further English colonial activity by countering reports of the strife, poor discipline, and lack of preparation that hobbled the short-lived Roanoke Colony. To inspire further investment in English colonial ventures, the treatise advertises the commodities and game that allow a colonist to survive comfortably in the Americas and that allow for profitable commerce in Europe. Hariot, on the one hand, reports of the bounty and variety of consumable products after noting how the Native peoples harvest, hunt, and prepare foods. On the other hand, Hariot sets out to show how the Native peoples can be subjugated through English military technology.

Although *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* is widely available on platforms such as *Early English Books Online* and on those published by historical societies of early American history, we have undertaken in this present edition to offer a more accessible version of the document. This edition is offered in plain text that is readable through OCR. We have transcribed the 1588 text and modernized the spelling throughout. The original text uses colons to separate independent clauses. These have been replaced with periods to delineate complete sentences. Similarly, original's semicolons have been largely replaced by commas. It is our hope that this document will be of use to the general reading public as well as to scholars and students.

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## The Text

### **To the Adventurers, Favorers, and Well-willers of the Enterprise for the Inhabiting and Planting in Virginia.**

Since the first undertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deal in the action of discovering of that country which is now called and known by the name of Virginia, many voyages having been thither made at sundry times to his great charge, as first in the year 1584, and afterwards in the years 1585, 1586, and now of late this last year of 1587, there have been diverse and variable reports with some slanderous and shameful speeches bruited<sup>1</sup> abroad by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinville in the year 1585, being of all the others the most principal and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the country being a whole year, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but six weeks; and the others after were only for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered than had been before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favored and adventured in the action to the honour and benefit of our nation besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of events to the shame of those that have avouched<sup>2</sup> the contrary shall be manifest. If you the adventurers, favorers, and well-willers do but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or having been doubtful, renew your good liking and furtherance to deal therein according to the worthiness thereof already found and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisite, touching which worthiness through cause of the diversity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firm, nor the minds of some that are well disposed, be settled in any certainty.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have been in the discovery and in dealing with the natural inhabitants, especially employed, and having therefore seen and known more than the ordinary, to impart so much unto you of the fruits of our labors, as that you may know

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<sup>1</sup> “To spread as a report or rumour; to report. Also: to spread rumours concerning” (OED “bruit” v. 2b)

<sup>2</sup> “To appeal or refer for confirmation to some warrant or authority” (OED v. “avouch” I).

how injuriously the enterprise is slandered,<sup>3</sup> and that in public manner at this present chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtful of the state thereof may see that there is sufficient cause why the chief enterpriser<sup>4</sup> with the favor of her Majesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not only since continued the action by sending into the country again and replanting this last year a new colony, but is also ready, according as the times and means will afford, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action by the view hereof you may generally know and learn what the country is and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may return you profit and gain, be it either by inhabiting and planting or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And lest that the substance of my relation should be doubtful unto you as of others by reason of their diversity, I will first open the cause in a few words wherefore they are so different, referring myself to your favorable constructions, and to be adjudged of as by good consideration you shall find cause.

Of our company that returned some for their misdemeanor and ill dealing in the country, have been there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures have maliciously not only spoken ill of their governors, but for their sakes slandered the country itself. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their return amongst their friends and acquaintance and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsaid,<sup>5</sup> would seem to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travelers as themselves. They stood so much as it may seem upon their credit and reputation that having been a twelve month in the country, it would have been a great disgrace unto them as they thought, if they could not have said much whether it were true or false, of which some have spoken of more than ever they saw or otherwise knew to be there. Othersome have not been ashamed to make absolute denial of that which although not by then, yet by others is most

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<sup>3</sup> “To be a stumbling-block to; to offend” (OED v. “slander” I).

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Sir Walter Raleigh.

<sup>5</sup> “To deny” (OED “gainsay” v. 1).

certainly and there plentifully known. And othersome make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was in that they were of that many that were never out of the island where we were seated, or not far, or at the least wise in few places else, during the time of our abode in the country;<sup>6</sup> or of that many that after gold and silver was not so soon found as it was by them looked for had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies; or of that many which had little understanding, less discretion, and more tongue then was needful or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or towns, or such as never (as I may say) had seen the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such fair houses, nor at their own wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of down or feathers, the country was to them miserable and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in brief to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them and of many envious, malicious, and slanderous reports and devices else, by our own countrymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I mean not to trouble you withal, but will pass to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The treatise whereof for your more ready view and easier understanding I will divide into three special parts. In the first, I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not only serve the ordinary turns of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to be yielded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffic and exchange with our own nation of England, will enrich your selves, the providers, those that shall deal with you, the enterprisers in general, and greatly profit our own countrymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have been fain to provide, either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities for distinction sake, I call merchantable.

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<sup>6</sup> Those who spread false rumors about the colony are those that never ventured off Roanoke Island.

In the second, I will set down all the commodities which we know the country by our experience doth yield of itself for victual<sup>7</sup> and sustenance of man's life, such as is usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the country, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part, I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall think behoveful<sup>8</sup> for those that shall inhabit and plant there to know of, which specially concern building, as also some other necessary uses, with a brief description of the nature and manners of the people of the country.

## The First Part

### *Of Merchantable Commodities*

Silk of grass or grass silk: There is a kind of grass in the country upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silk in form of a thin, glittering skin to be stripped off. It groweth two foot and a half high or better. The blades are about two foot in length, and half inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfsame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the silk works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof, if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and vent thereof as well in our country as elsewhere. And by the means of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be far greater, better, and more plentiful than it is. Although, notwithstanding, there is great store thereof in many places of the country growing naturally and wild, which also by proof here in England, in making a piece of silk grogran,<sup>9</sup> we found to be excellent good.

Worm silk: In many of our journeys we found silk worms fair and great, as big as our ordinary walnuts. Although it hath not been our hap to have found such plenty as elsewhere to be in the country we have heard of, yet seeing that the country doth naturally breed and nourish

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<sup>7</sup> “Whatever is normally required, or may naturally be used, for consumption in order to support life; food or provisions of any kind” (OED “victual” n. 11).

<sup>8</sup> “Useful, of use; advantageous, expedient; needful, necessary, due” (OED “behooveful” adj.)

<sup>9</sup> “A coarse fabric of silk, of mohair and wool, or of these mixed with silk; often stiffened with gum” (OED “grogran” n. 1).



them, there is no doubt but if art be added in planting of mulberry trees and others fit for them in commodious places for their feeding and nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered and husbanded in that sort as by men of skill is known to be necessary, there will rise as great profit in time to the Virginians as there of doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians, and Spaniards.

Flax and Hemp: The truth is that of hemp and flax there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soil doth yield it of itself, and howsoever the leaf and stem or stalk do differ from ours, the stuff by the judgement of men of skills is altogether as good as ours. And if not, as further proof should find otherwise, we have that experience of the soil, as that there cannot be showed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yielded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground where of some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit hereof may grow in cordage and linens who cannot easily understand?

Alum: There is a vein of earth along the sea coast for the space of forty or fifty miles whereof by the judgement of some that have made trial here in England is made good alum of that kind which is called Roche Alum. The richness of such a commodity is so well known that I need not to say anything thereof. The same earth doth also yield white coppers, nitrum, and *alumen plumeum*, but nothing so plentifully as the common alum, which be also of price and profitable.

*Wapeih*: A kind of earth so called by the natural inhabitants very like to *terra sigillata*, and having been refined, it hath been found by some of our physicians and chirurgeons to be of the same kind of virtue and more effectual. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and wounds. There is in diverse places great plenty, and in some places of a blue sort.

Pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine: There are those kinds of trees which yield them abundantly and great store. In the very same island where we were seated, being fifteen miles of length, and five or six miles in breadth, there are few trees else but of the same kind, the whole island being full.

Sassafras: Called by the inhabitants *winauk*, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell and of most rare virtues in physic<sup>10</sup> for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses than the wood which is called *guaiacum*, or *lignum vita*. For the

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<sup>10</sup> “Medicinal, curative, and extended uses” (OED “physic” n. I.1).

description, the manner of using, and the manifold virtues thereof, I refer you to the book of Monardus, translated and entitled in English, *The joyful news from the West Indies*.<sup>11</sup>

Cedar: A very sweet wood and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteads, tables, desks, lutes, virginals<sup>12</sup> and many things else (of which there hath been proof made already) to make up freight with other principal commodities will yield profit.

Wine: There are two kinds of grapes that the soil doth yield naturally. The one is small and sour of the ordinary bigness as ours in England. The other far greater and of himself luscious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded<sup>13</sup> as they ought, a principal commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oil: There are two sorts of walnuts both holding oil, but the one far more plentiful than the other. When there are mills and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised because there are infinite store. There are also three several kinds of berries in the form of oak acorns, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and sweet oil. Furthermore, the bears of the country are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatness because it is so liquid, may well be termed oil, and hath many special uses.

Furs: All along the seacoast there are great store of otters, which being taken by wires and other engines<sup>14</sup> made for the purpose, will yield good profit. We hope also of marten furs, and make no doubt by the relation of the people but that in some places of the country there are store, although there were but two skins that came to our hands. Lucerns<sup>15</sup> also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none.

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<sup>11</sup> Hariot refers to Nicolás Monardes, *Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde wherein is declared the rare and singuler vertues of diverse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plantes, and stones, with their applications, aswell for phisicke as chirurgerie*, translated by John Frampton, London, 1577, titled originally in the Spanish *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales que sirven en medicina*

<sup>12</sup> “In plural form, applied to a single instrument” (OED “virginal” n. a).

<sup>13</sup> “To manage to best advantage, to tend, to cultivate” (OED “husband” v. II.4).

<sup>14</sup> “Manner of construction; devising, design, craft” (OED “engine” n. 1b).

<sup>15</sup> I.e. lynxes.

Deer skins: Dressed after the manner of chamoes or undressed are to be had of the natural inhabitants thousands yearly by way of traffic for trifles. And no more waste or spoil of deer then is and hath been ordinarily in time before.

Civet cats: In our travels, there was found one to have been killed by a savage or inhabitant, and in another place, the smell where one or more had lately been before. Whereby we gather besides then by the relation of the people that there are some in the country; good profit will rise by them.

Iron: In two places of the country especially, one about fourscore and the other sixscore miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found near the waterside the ground to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral man, was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country else. I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labor and feeding of men, the infinite store for wood, the want of wood and dearness thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper: A hundred and fifty miles into the main in two towns we found with the inhabitants diverse small plates of copper that had been made, as we understood, by the inhabitants that dwell farther into the country, where as they say are mountains and rivers that yield also white grains of metal, which is to be deemed silver. For confirmation whereof at the time of our first arrival in the country, I saw with some others with me two small pieces of silver grossly beaten about the weight of a teston,<sup>16</sup> hanging in the ears of a *Wiróans* or chief lord that dwelt about fourscore miles from us, of whom through enquiry by the number of days and the way, I learned that it had to come to his hands from the same place or near, where I after understood the copper was made and the white grains of metal found. The aforesaid copper we also found by trial to hold silver.

Pearl: Sometimes in feeding of muscles we found some pearl, but it was our hap to meet with ragges,<sup>17</sup> or of a pide color, not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from

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<sup>16</sup> “In England, A name applied first to the shilling of Henry VII, being the first English coin with a true portrait; also to those of Henry VIII, and early pieces of Edward VI” (OED “teston” n. 2a).

<sup>17</sup> The context suggests that “ragges” is a descriptive noun for a pearl of jagged or uneven quality.

among the savage people about five thousand, of which number he chose so many as made a fair chain, which for their likeness and uniformity in roundness, orientness, and pidenesse of many excellent colors, with equality in greatness, were very fair and rare, and had therefore been presented to her Majesty, had we not by casualty and trough extremity of a storm lost them with many things else in coming away from the country.

Sweet gums: Of diverse kinds and many other apothecary drugs of which we will make special mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kind, that in taking reasonable pains shall discover them more particularly then we have done, and then now I can make relation of for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dyes of diverse kinds: There is shoemake well known and used in England for black; the seed of an herb called *wasewówr*; little small roots called *cháppacor*; and the bark of the tree called by the inhabitants *tangomóckonomindge*, which dyes are for diverse sorts of red. Their goodness for our English clothes remain yet to be proved. The inhabitants use them only for the dying of hair and coloring of their faces, and mantles made of deer skins; and also for the dying of rushes to make artificial works withal in their mats and baskets, having no other thing besides that they account of apt to use them for. If they will not prove merchantable there is no doubt but the planters there shall find apt uses for them, as also for other colors which we know to be there.

Oad:<sup>18</sup> A thing of so great vent and use amongst English dyers which cannot be yielded sufficiently in our own country for spare of ground may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted when as in the islands of the Azores it groweth plentifully, which is in the same climate. So likewise of madder.<sup>19</sup>

Sugar canes: We carried thither sugar canes to plant which being not so well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the year being past for their setting when we arrived, we could not make that proof of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate in the south part of Spain and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So

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<sup>18</sup> Perhaps “woad,” “indigo blue dye or dyestuff prepared from the leaves of the plant *Isatis tinctoria*, typically by first drying and fermenting them” (“woard” n. 2a).

<sup>19</sup> “A herbaceous scrambling plant, *Rubia tinctorum* (family *Rubiaceae*), having rough hairy stems, rough whorled leaves, and panicles of small yellowish-green flowers, which is native to western and central Asia and was formerly much cultivated, esp. in France and the Netherlands, for the reddish-purple dye obtained from the root. Also with distinguishing word: any of various allied plants, esp. one with similar properties (“madder” n. A.1).

likewise for oranges and lemons. There may be planted also quinces, whereby may grow in reasonable time if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in sugars, suckets, and marmalades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leave to your discreet and gentle considerations; and many also may be there which yet we have not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be provided and prepared, I might have specified. So likewise of those commodities already set down I might have said more, as of the particular places where they are found and best to be planted and prepared, by what means and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit and in what proportion; but because others than well-willers might be therewithal acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them, knowing that to those that are well disposed I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

## **The Second Part**

*Of such commodities as Virginia is of known to yield for victual and sustenance of man's life, usually fed upon by the natural inhabitants, as also by us during the time of our abroad. And first of such as are sowed and husbanded.*

*Pagatowr*, a kind of grain so called by the inhabitants; the same of the West Indies is called maize. English men call it Guinea wheat or Turkey wheat, according to the names of the countries from whence the like hath been brought. The grain is about the bigness of our ordinary English peas and not much different in form and shape, but of diverse colors: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blue. All of them yield a very white and sweet flour, being used according to his kind it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the country some malt, whereof was brewed as good ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the help of hops thereof may be made as good beer. It is a grain of marvelous great increase of a thousand, fifteen hundred, and some two thousand fold. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in an eleven and twelve weeks at the most, sometimes in ten after the time they are set and are then of height in stalk about the six or seven foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteen, and is about ten foot high,

of the stalks some bear four heads, some three, some one and two, every head containing five, six, or seven hundred grains within a few more or less. Of these grains besides bread, the inhabitants make victual either by parching<sup>20</sup> them, or seething<sup>21</sup> them whole until they be broken, or boiling the flour with water into a pappe.<sup>22</sup>

*Okindgier*, called by us beans, because in greatness and partly in shape they are like to the beans of England, saving that they are flatter, of more diverse colors, and some pide. The leaf also of the stem is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peas.<sup>23</sup>

*Wickonzowr*, called by us peas, in respect of the beans for distinction sake, because they are much less, although in form they little differ, but in goodness of taste much, and are far better than our English peas. Both the beans and peas are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victual either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole until they be soft and begin to break as is used in England, either by themselves or mixtly together. Sometimes they mingle of the wheat with them. Sometime also being whole sodden, they bruise or pound them in a mortar and thereof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they use to eat for variety.

*Macocqwer*, according to their several forms called by us pumpkins, melons, and gordes, because they are of the like forms as those kinds in England. In Virginia, such of several forms are of one taste and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are two sorts; one is ripe in the space of a month, and the other in two months.<sup>24</sup>

There is an herb which in Dutch is called *melden*. Some of those that I describe it unto take it to be a kind of orache.<sup>25</sup> It groweth about four or five foot high. Of the seed thereof they

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<sup>20</sup> “To dry by exposure to intense heat; to lightly roast or toast” (OED “parch” v. 1).

<sup>21</sup> “To boil; to make or keep boiling hot” (OED “seethe” v. 1a).

<sup>22</sup> “A downy or feathery appendage on certain fruits, esp. on the achenes of many plants of the family Asteraceae (Compositae), which assists their aerial dispersal (as in thistles, dandelions, etc.). Also: the reduced calyx of plants of the family Asteraceae (Compositae) generally, whether downy, bristly, scaly, toothed, or membranous. Also as a mass noun: thistledown, down.” (OED “pappus” n. 1).

<sup>23</sup> Compare with Strachey’s dictionary of Chesapeake native language that gives “peccatoas” for beans (176).

<sup>24</sup> Compare with “mahcawq” for “pumpeon” or pumpkin (Strachey 198).

<sup>25</sup> “Any of numerous succulent inconspicuous-flowered plants of the genus *Atriplex*, of the goosefoot family (Chenopodiaceae); spec. (a) (more fully garden orache) *A. hortensis* (also

make a thick broth and pottage of a very good taste. Of the stalk by burning into ashes they make a kind of salt earth, wherewithal many use sometimes to season their broths; other salt they know not. We ourselves used the leaves also for potherbs.

There is also another great herb in form of a marigold, about six foot in height; the head with the flower is a span in breadth. Some take it to be *planta solis*. Of the seeds hereof they make both a kind of bread and broth.

All the aforesaid commodities for victual are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and severally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly. The manner thereof with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note unto you the fertility of the soil, I think good briefly to describe.

The ground they never fatten with muck, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor dig it as we in England, but only prepare it in sort as followeth. A few days before they sow or set, the men with wooden instruments made almost in form of mattocks or hoes with long handles, the women with short peckers or parers, because they use them sitting, of a foot long and about five inches in breadth, do only break the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grass, and old stubs of corn stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two's drying in the sun, being scraped up into many small heaps to save them labor for carrying them away, they burn into ashes. (And whereas some may think that they use the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which we observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or else would take special care to set their corn where the ashes lie, which also we find they are careless of.) And this is all husbanding of their ground that they use.

Then their setting or sowing is after this manner. First for their corn, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put four grains with that care they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) and cover them with the mold again, and so throughout the whole plot, making such holes, and using them after such manner. But with this regard that they be made in ranks, every rank differing from the other half a fathom or a yard, and the holes also in every rank as much. By this means there is a yard spare ground between every hole, where according to discretion here and there, they set as many beans and peas, in diverse places also among the seeds of *Macoqwer*, *Melden*, and *Planta Solis*.

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called mountain spinach), a once-popular pot-herb used like spinach, now more often grown (usually in a form with red or purple foliage) as an ornamental plant” (OED “orache” n.)

The ground being thus set according to the rate by us experimented, an English Acre containing forty perches in length, and four in breadth, doth there yield in crop or of corn, beans, and peas, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the *Macoqwer*, *Melden*, and *Planta Solis*. When as in England forty bushels of our wheat yielded out such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this unto you, that you which shall inhabit and plant there may know how especially that country corn is there to be preferred before ours. Besides the manifold ways in applying it to victual, the increase is so much that small labor and pains is needful in respect that must be used for ours. For this, I can assure you, that according to the rate we have made proof of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (having once borne corn before) with less then four and twenty hours labor, as shall yield him victual in a large proportion for a twelve month, if he have nothing else but that which the same ground will yield, and of that kind only which I have before spoken of, the said ground being also but of five and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfsame ground two harvests or offcomes, for they sow or set and may at any time when they think good from the midst of March until the end of June so that they also set when they have eaten of their first crop. In some places of the country notwithstanding they have two harvests, as we have heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corn nevertheless whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may do as you shall have farther cause to think best. Of the growth you need not to doubt, for barley, oats and peas we have seen proof of not being purposely sown but fallen casually in the worst sort of ground and yet to be as fair as any we have ever seen here in England. But of wheat because it was musty and had taken salt water, we could make no trial; and of rye we had none. Thus much have I digressed, and I hope not unnecessarily. Now will I return again to my course and entreat of that which yet remaineth appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herb which is sowed apart by itself and is called by the inhabitants *uppowóc*.<sup>26</sup> In the West Indies, it hath diverse names according to the several places and countries where it groweth and is used. The Spaniards generally call it tobacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder, they use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through the pipes made of clay into their stomach and head, from whence it purgeth

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<sup>26</sup> Strachey gives “uhpoooc” for tobacco (204).



superfluous steam and other gross humors, openeth all the pores and passages of the body. By which means the use thereof not only preserveth the body from obstructions, but also if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them. Whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health and know not many grievous diseases wherewithal we in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This *uppowóc* is of so precious estimation amongst them that they think their gods are marvelously delighted therewith. Whereupon sometimes they make hallowed fires and cast some of their powder therein for a sacrifice. Being in a storm upon the waters, to pacify their gods they cast some up into the air and into the water. So a wire for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the air. Also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the air likewise, but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal and chattering strange words and noises.

We ourselves during the time we were there used to suck it after their manner, as also since our return, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof, of which the relation would require a volume by itself. The use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling as else and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life that I know and can remember they use to husband. All else that follow are found growing naturally or wild.

### *Of roots*

*Openauk* are a kind of roots of round form, some of the bigness of walnuts, some far greater, which are found in moist and marsh grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, or as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden they are very good meat.

*Okepenauk* are also of round shape, found in dry grounds. Some are of the bigness of a man's head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground, for by reason of their dryness they will neither roast nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots, notwithstanding for want of bread and sometimes for variety, the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my judgement they do as well as the household bread made of rye here in England.

*Kaishúcpenauk*: a white kind of roots about the bigness of hen eggs and near of that form. Their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and manner of growing not so much cared for by us. The inhabitants, notwithstanding, used to boil and eat many.

*Tsinaw*: a kind of root much like unto the which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not anything to the contrary but that it may be of the same kind. These roots grow many together in great clusters and do bring forth a briar stalk, but the leaf in shape far unlike, which being supported by the trees it groweth nearest unto, will reach or climb to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh being chopped into small pieces and stamped, is strained with water a juice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat<sup>27</sup> in manner of a jelly, and is much better in taste if it be tempered with oil. This *tsinaw* is not of that sort which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root, for it was discovered since and is in use as is aforesaid. But that which was brought hither is not yet known neither by us nor by the inhabitants to serve for any use of purpose; although the roots in shape are very like.

*Coscúshaw*: some of our company took to be that kind of root which the Spaniards in the West Indies call *cassavy*,<sup>28</sup> whereupon also many called it by that name. It groweth in very muddy pools and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the country manner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is used very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before anything be made therewithal. Either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the sun or by the fire and then being pounded into flour will make good bread. Or else while they are green they are to be pared, cut into pieces, and stamped, loaves of the same to be laid near or over the fire until it be sour, and then being well pounded again, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and wholesome may be made thereof.

*Habascon* is a root of hot taste almost of the form and bigness of a parsnip, of itself it is no victual, but only a help being boiled together with other meats. There are also leeks differing little from ours in England that grow in many places of the country, of which when we came in places where they were, we gathered and ate many, but the natural inhabitants never.

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<sup>27</sup> “Soft or liquid food for taking with a spoon, esp. by infants or invalids” (OED “spoon-meat” n. a).

<sup>28</sup> I.e. the cassava root.

### *Of fruits*

*Chestnuts* there are in diverse places great store. Some they use to eat raw, some they stamp and boil to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a manner of dough bread as they use of their beans before mentioned.

*Walnuts*: There are two kinds of walnuts and of them infinite store. In many places where very great woods for many miles together the third part of trees are walnut trees. The one kind is of the same taste and form or little differing from ours in England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled. The other is greater and hath a very ragged and hard shell, but the kernel great, very oily, and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary manner, they break them with stones and pound them in mortars with water to make a milk which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonmeat, also among their sod wheat, peas, beans, and pumpkins which maketh them have a far more pleasant taste.

*Medlars*: a kind of very good fruit, so called by us chiefly for these respects. First in that they are not good until they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the same bigness. Otherwise in taste and color they are far different, for they are as red as cherries and very sweet. But whereas the cherry is sharp sweet, they are luscious sweet.

*Metaquesunnauk*: a kind of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bigness of English pears, but that they are of a perfect red color as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaves are very thick and full of prickles as sharp as needles. Some that have been in the Indies, where they have seen that kind of red dye of great price which is called *cochinile* to grow do describe this plant right like unto this of *metaquesannauk*, but whether it be the true *cochinile* or a bastard or wild kind, it cannot yet be certified. Seeing that also as I heard, *cochinile* is not of the fruit but found on the leaves of the plants, which leaves for such matter we have not so especially observed.

*Grapes* there are of two sorts which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

*Strawberries* there are as good and as great as those which we have in our English gardens.

*Mulberries, applecrabs, hurts or hurtleberries*, such as we have in England.

*Sacquenummener*: a kind of berries almost like unto capers but somewhat greater which grow together in clusters upon a plant or herb that is found in the shallow waters. Being boiled eight or nine hours according to their kind are very good meat and wholesome; otherwise, if they be eaten, they will make a man for the time frantic or extremely sick.

There is a kind of reed which beareth a seed almost like unto our rye or wheat and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places we found wild peas like unto ours in England but that they were less, which are also good meat.

*Of a kind of fruit or berry in form of acorns.*

There is a kind of berry or acorn, of which there are five sorts that grow on several kinds of trees. The one is called *sagatémener*, the second *osamener*, the third *pummuckóner*. These kind of acorns they use to dry upon hurdles made of reeds with fire underneath almost after the manner as we dry malt in England. When they are to be used, they first water them until they be soft and then being sod they make a good victual, either to eat so simply, or else being also pounded, to make loaves or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds of which, I said before, the inhabitants used to make sweet oil.

Another sort is called *sapúmmener* which being boiled or parched doth eat and taste like unto chestnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fifth sort is called *mangúmmenauk*, and is the acorn of their kind of oak, the which being dried after the manner of the first sorts and afterward watered, they boil them, and their servants or sometime the chiefs themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

*Of beasts*

*Deer*: in some places there are great store. Near unto the sea coast they are of the ordinary bigness as ours in England and some less. But further up into the country where there is better feed, they are greater. They differ from ours only in this, their tails are longer and the snags of their horns look backward.

*Conies*: Those that we have seen and all that we can hear of are of a grey color like unto hares. In some places there are such plenty that all the people of some towns make them mantles of the fur or flue<sup>29</sup> of the skins of those they usually take.

*Saquenúckot* and *maquówoc*: two kinds of small beasts greater then conies which are very good meat. We never took any of them ourselves, but sometime ate of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

*Squirrels* which are of a grey color, we have taken and eaten.

*Bears* which are all of black color. The bears of this country are good meat. The inhabitants in time of winter do use to take and eat many, so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort. In some islands or places where they are, being hunted for, as soon as they have espial<sup>30</sup> of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they climb and get up the next tree they can, from whence with arrows they are shot down stark dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometimes shot them down with our calibers.<sup>31</sup>

I have the names of eight and twenty several sorts of beasts which I have heard of to be here and there dispersed in the country, especially in the main, of which there are only twelve kinds that we have yet discovered, and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the lion and eat him, and we sometime as they came to our hands of their wolves or wolvisish dogs, which I have not set down for good meat, lest that some would understand my judgement therein to be more simple than needeth. Although I could allege the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company have been experimented in both.

### *Of fowl*

Turkey cocks and turkey hens, stockdoves, partridges, cranes, herons, and, in winter, great store of swans and geese. Of all sorts of fowl I have the names in the country language of fourscore

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<sup>29</sup> “A woolly or downy substance; down, nap” (OED “flue” n. 1).

<sup>30</sup> “Espial, spying; observation, watch” (OED “spial” n. 1).

<sup>31</sup> “A light kind of musket or harquebus, originally, it appears, of a certain calibre, introduced during the 16th cent.; it seems to have been the lightest portable firearm, excepting the pistol” (OED “caliber” n. 1.a).

and six of which number besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, and have the pictures, as they were there drawn with the names of the inhabitants, of several strange sorts of water fowl eight, and seventeen kinds more of land fowl, although we have seen and eaten of many more, which for want of leisure there for the purpose could not be pictured. And after we are better furnished and stored upon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shall be also published.

There are also parrots, falcons, and marlin hawks, which although with us they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

### *Of fish*

For four months of the year, February, March, April, and May, there are plenty of sturgeons, and also in the same months, of herrings, some of the ordinary bigness as ours in England, but the most part far greater, of eighteen, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better. Both these kinds of fish in those months are most plentiful and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also trouts, porpoises, rays, oldwives, mullets, plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish which we have taken and eaten whose names I know not but in the country language. We have of twelve sorts more the pictures as they were drawn in the country with their names.

The inhabitants use to take them two manner of ways. The one is by a kind of wire made of reeds which in that country are very strong. The other way which is more strange is with poles made sharp at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the manner as Irishmen cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or else as they are wading in the shallows for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow.

Sea crabs, such as we have in England.

Oysters, some very great, and some small; some round and some of a long shape. They are found both in salt water and brackish and those that we had out of salt water are far better than the other as in our own country.

Also muscles, scallops, periwinkles, and crevasses.

*Seekanauk*: a kind of crusty shellfish which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, having a crusty tail, many legs like a crab, and her eyes in her back. They are found in shallows of salt waters and sometime on the shore.

There are many tortoises both of land and sea kind. Their backs and bellies are shelled very thick; their head, feet, and tail, which are in appearance seem ugly, as though they were members of a serpent or venomous. But, notwithstanding, they are very good meat, as also their eggs. Some have been found of a yard in breadth and better.

And thus have I made relation of all sorts of victual that we fed upon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves, as far forth as I know and can remember or that are especially worthy to be remembered.

### **The Third and Last Part**

*Of such other things as is behoveful for those which shall plant and inhabit to know of, with a description of the nature and manners of the people of the country*

*Of commodities for building and other necessary uses*

Those other things which I am more to make rehearsal of are such as concern building and other mechanical necessary uses as diverse sorts of trees for house and ship timber and other vessels. Also lime, stone, and brick, lest that being not mentioned some might have been doubted of or by some that are malicious reported the contrary.

Oaks there are as fair, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I have said before very many, some have been seen excellent fair timber of four and five fathom<sup>32</sup> and above fourscore foot straight without bough.<sup>33</sup>

Fir trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

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<sup>32</sup> “The length covered by the outstretched arms, including the hands to the tip of the longest finger; hence, a definite measure of 6 feet” (OED “fathom” n. 3).

<sup>33</sup> “One of the larger limbs or offshoots of a tree, a main branch; but also applied to a smaller branch” (OED “bough” n. 3).

Rakiok, a kind of trees so called that are sweet wood of which the inhabitants that were near unto us do commonly make their boats or canoes of the form of trows,<sup>34</sup> only with the help of fire, hatchets of stones, and shells; we have known some so great being made in that sort of one tree that they have carried well 20 men at once besides much baggage, the timber being great, tall, straight, soft, light, and yet tough enough I think (besides other uses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweet wood good for ceilings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things else, as I have also said before. Some of our company which have wandered in some places where I have not been have made certain affirmation of cypress which for such and other excellent uses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also witchhazel, whereof the inhabitants use to make their bows.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.<sup>35</sup>

Willows good for the making of wires and wheels to take fish after the English manner, although the inhabitants use only reeds, which because they are so strong as also flexible, do serve for that turn very well and sufficiently.

Beech and ash, good for cask,<sup>36</sup> hoops, and if need require, plow work, as also for many things else.

Elm.

Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kind of tree very like unto laurel, the bark is hot in taste and spicy, it is very like to that tree which Monardus describeth to be *cassia lignea* of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so convenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation, seeing that for timber and other necessary uses I have named sufficient. And of many of the rest but that they may be applied to good use, I know no cause to doubt.

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<sup>34</sup> “A name for various kinds of boats or barges” (OED. “trow” n. 2).

<sup>35</sup> “A glutinous substance spread upon twigs, by which birds may be caught and held fast” (OED “bird-lime” n. 1).

<sup>36</sup> “The general term for a wooden vessel of a cylindrical form, usually bulging in the middle, and of greater length than breadth, formed of curved staves bound together by hoops, with flat ends or ‘heads’; a barrel” (OED. “caske” n. 2).



Now for stone, brick, and lime, thus it is. Near unto the seacoast where we dwelt there are no kind of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about four miles off) but such as have been brought from farther out of the main. In some of our voyages we have seen diverse hard raggy stones, great pebbles, and a kind of grey stone like unto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon inquiry we heard that a little further up into the country were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they use of any store whereupon they should have occasion to seek any. For if every household have one or two to crack nuts, grind shell, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they have enough. Neither use they any digging, but only for graves about three foot deep, and therefore no marvel that they know neither quarries nor lime stones, which both may be in places nearer than they wot of.

In the meantime until there be discovery of sufficient store in some place or other convenient, the want of you which are and shall be the planters therein may be as well supplied by brick. For the making whereof in diverse places of the country there is clay both excellent good and plenty, and also by lime made of oyster shells, and of others burnt after the manner as they use in the Isles of Thanet and Sheppey and also in diverse other places of England, which kind of lime is well known to be as good as any other. And of oyster shells there is plenty enough. For besides diverse other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing else being but half a foot or a foot underwater for the most part.

This much can I say furthermore of stones, that about one hundred twenty miles from our fort near the water in the side of a hill was found by a gentleman of our company a great vein of hard raggy stones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

*Of the nature and manners of the people*

It resteth I speak a word or two of the natural inhabitants, their natures and manners, leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter: now only so far forth as that you may know how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to fear and love us that shall inhabit with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles<sup>37</sup> made of deer skins and aprons of the same round about their middles, all else naked, of such a difference of statures only as we in England, having no edge tools or weapons of iron or steel to offend us withal, neither know they how to make any. Those weapons that they have are only bows made of witch-hazel and arrows of reeds, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they anything to defend themselves but targets made of barks and some armors made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their towns are but small and near the sea coast but few, some containing but 10 or 12 houses, some 20. The greatest that we have seen have been but of 30 houses. If they be walled it is only done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or else with poles only fixed upright and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles made fast at the tops in round form after the manner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most towns covered with barks, and in some with artificial mats made of long rushes from the tops of the houses down to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth. In some places they are but 12 and 16 yards long, and in other some we have seen of four and twenty.

In some places of the country only one town belongs to the government of a *Wiróans* or chief lord; in other some two or three, on some six, eight, and more. The greatest *Wiróans* that yet we had dealing with had but eighteen towns in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundred fighting men at the most. The language of every government is different from any other, and the farther they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their manner of wars amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising one another most commonly about the dawning of the day or moon light, or else by ambushes, or some subtle devices. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defense after the delivery of every arrow in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any wars between us and them, what their fight is likely to be, we having advantages against them for many manner of ways as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devices else, especially by ordinance great and small, it may be easily imagined, by the

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<sup>37</sup> “A loose sleeveless cloak” (OED “mantle” n. 1).

experience we have had in some places, the turning up of their heels against us in running away was their best defense.

In respect of us they are a people poor, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, do esteem our trifles before of greater value. Notwithstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such means as we have, they seem very ingenious. For although they have no such tools nor any such crafts, sciences, and arts as we, yet in those things they do, they show excellency of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall find our manner of knowledges and crafts to exceed theirs in perfection and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect or pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may be hoped if means of good government be used, that they may in short time be brought to civility and the embracing of true religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They believe that there are many gods which they call *Mantóac*, but of different sorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which hath been from all eternity. Who as they affirm when he purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principal order to be as means and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow; and after the sun, moon, and stars as petty gods and the instruments of the other order more principal. First they say were made water, out of which by the gods was made all diversity of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children. And in such sort they say they had their beginning.

But how many years have passed since, they say they can make no relation, having no letters nor other such means as we do to keep records of the particularities of times past, but only tradition from father to son.

They think that all the gods are of human shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the forms of men, which they call *Kewasowok*. One alone is called *Kewás*. Them they place in houses appropriate or temples which they call *Machicómuck*, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offerings unto them. In some *Machicómuck* we have seen but one *Kewás*, in some two, and in others some three. The common sort think them to be also gods.

They believe also the immortality of the soul, that after this life as soon as the soul is departed from the body according to the works it hath done, it is either carried to heaven the habitacle of gods, there to enjoy perpetual bliss and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the sunset there to burn continually. The place they call *Popogusso*.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they told me two stories of two men that had been lately dead and renewed again. The one happened but few years before our coming in the country of a wicked man which having been dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seen to move, was taken up again, who made declaration where his soul had been, that is to say very near entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods saved him and gave him leave to return again, and teach his friends what they should do to avoid that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the same year we were there, but in a town that was threescore miles from us, and it was told me for strange news that one being dead, buried, and taken up again as the first, showed that although his body had lien dead in the grave, yet his soul was alive, and had traveled far in a long Broadway, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits than ever he had seen before or was able to express, and at length came to most brave and fair houses, near which he met his father, that had been dead before, who gave him great charge to go back again and show his friends what good they were to do to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come again.

What subtlety soever be in the *Wiroances* and priests, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people that it maketh them have a great respect to their governors, and also great care what they do to avoid torment after death and to enjoy bliss. Although, notwithstanding, there is punishment ordained for malefactors as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatness of the facts.

And this is the sum of their religion, which I learned by having special familiarity with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit to their traditions and stories through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their own, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many to learn more than we had means for want of perfect utterance in their language to express.

Most things they saw with us, as mathematical instruments, sea compasses, the virtue of the loadstone<sup>38</sup> in drawing iron, a perspective glass, wildfire works, guns, books, writing and reading, spring clocks that seem to go of themselves, and many other things that we had were so strange unto them and so far exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and means how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods than of men, or at the leastwise they had been given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion of us as that if they knew not the truth of god and religion already, it was rather to be had from us, whom God so especially loved than from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us, whereupon greater credit was given unto that we spake of concerning such matters.

Many times and in every town where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible: that therein was set forth the true and only God and his mighty works; that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion as I was able then to utter and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itself was not of any such virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained, yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts, and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The *Wiróans* with whom we dwelt called Wingina and many of his people would be glad many times to be with us at our prayers and many times call upon us both in his own town, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied us to pray and sing Psalms, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that means also expected.

Twice this *Wiróans* was so grievously sick that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any help by his own priests and thinking he was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and be a means to our God that it would please him either that he might live or after death dwell with him in bliss, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corn began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to pass by reason that in something they had displeased

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<sup>38</sup> “Magnetic oxide of iron; also a piece of this is used as a magnet. (OED, loadstone, n)

us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England that he would preserve their corn, promising that when it was ripe, we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sickness, losses, hurts, or any other cross unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or means thereof for offending or not pleasing us.

One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or hear of us, to have us in admiration.

There was no town where we had any subtle device practiced against us, we leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all means possible to win them by gentleness) but that within a few days after our departure from every such town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in some towns about twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one sixscore, which in truth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place than we could learn but where we had been, where they used some practice against us, and after such time. The disease also so strange that they neither knew what it was nor how to cure it. The like by report of the oldest men in the country never happened before, time out of mind—a thing especially observed by us as also by the natural inhabitants themselves.

Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends and especially the *Wiróans* Wingina had observed such effects in four of five towns to follow their wicked practices, they were persuaded that it was the work of our God through our means, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons and not come near them.

And thereupon when it had happened that they had understanding that any of their enemies had abused us in our journeys, hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons and fearing upon some cause the matter should so rest, did come and entreat us that we would be a means to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with us might in like sort die, alleging how much it would be for our credit and profit as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would do so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we profess them.

Whose entreaties although we showed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not subject himself to any such prayers and requests of men, that in deed all things have been and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordained. And that we to show ourselves his true servants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his truth, and serve him in righteousness;

but notwithstanding in such sort that we refer that as all other things to be done according to his divine will and pleasure, and as by his wisdom he had ordained to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought nevertheless it came to pass by our means, and that we in using such speeches unto them did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thanks in their manner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deeds and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marvelous accident in all the country wrought so strange opinions of us that some people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknesses, there was no man of ours known to die or that was especially sick. They noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not born of women and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years past then risen again to immortality.

Some would likewise seem to prophecy that there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was by that which was already done.

Those that were immediately to come after us they imagined to be in the air yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our entreaty and for the love of us did make the people to die in that sort as they did by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirm this opinion their physicians, to excuse their ignorance in curing disease, would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people believe that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sick bodies were the strings wherewithal the invisible bullets were tied and cast.

Some also thought that we shot them ourselves out of our pieces from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any such town that had offended us as we listed, how far distant from us soever it were.

And other some said that it was the special work of God for our sakes, as we ourselves have cause in some sort to think no less, whatsoever some do or may imagine to the contrary, especially some astrologers knowing of the eclipse of the sun which we saw the same year before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. And also of a comet which

began to appear but a few days before the beginning of the said sickness. But to conclude them from being the special causes of so special an accident, there are farther reasons then I think fit at this present to be alleged.

These their opinions I have set down the more at large that it may appear unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreet dealing and government to the embracing of the truth, and consequently to honour, obey, fear, and love us.

And although some of our company towards the end of the year showed themselves so fierce in slaying some of the people in some towns upon causes that on our part might easily enough have been borne withal, yet not withstanding because it was on their part justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning us is the less to be doubted. And whatsoever else they may be, by carefulness of ourselves need nothing at all to be feared.

The best nevertheless in this as in all actions besides is to be endeavored and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

### *The Conclusion.*

Now I have as I hope made relation not of so few and small things but that the country of men that are indifferent and well disposed may be sufficiently liked. If there were no more known than I have mentioned, which doubtless and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soil nor commodities, as we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travels. For although all which I have before spoken of have been discovered and experimented not far from the sea coast where was our abode and most of our traveling, yet sometimes as we made our journeys farther into the main and country, we found the soil to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firm and deeper mold, more and larger champions,<sup>39</sup> finer grass and as good as ever we saw any in England, in some places rocky and far more high and hilly ground, more plenty of their fruits, more abundance of beasts, the more inhabited with people, and of greater policy and larger dominions, with greater towns and houses.

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<sup>39</sup> I.e. mushrooms.



Why may we not then look for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plenty, as well of other things, as of those which we have already discovered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the main of the West Indies. The main also of this country of Virginia, extending some ways so many hundreds of leagues as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants we have most certain knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yield many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seen.

What hope there is else to be gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the island of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Jewry, the islands of Cyprus and Candy, the south parts of Greece, Italy, and Spain, and of many other notable and famous countries, because I mean not to be tedious, I leave to your own consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the air there at all seasons, much warmer than in England, and never so violently hot, as sometimes is under and between the Tropics or near them, cannot be unknown unto you without farther relation.

For the wholesomeness thereof I need to say but thus much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victual, excepting for twenty days, we lived only by drinking water and by the victual of the country, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have been thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases; secondly, the want of English means for the taking of beasts, fish, and fowl, which by the help only of the inhabitants and their means, could not be so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in so great numbers and quantities, nor of that choice as otherwise might have been to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore, in all our travails which were most special and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open air upon the ground. And yet I say for all of this, there were but four of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the year and that but at the latter end thereof and upon none of the aforesaid causes. For all four, especially three, were feeble and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew then much marveled that they lived so long being in that case or had adventured to travel.

Seeing therefore the air there is so temperate and wholesome, the soil so fertile and yielding such commodities as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented, to be performed thrice a year with ease and at any season thereof. And

the dealing of Sir Water Raleigh so liberal in large giving and granting land there, as is already known, with many helps and furtherances else. (The least that he hath granted hath been five hundred acres to a man only for the adventure of his person.) I hope there remain no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither travael to inhabit and plant be but reasonably provided for the first year as those are which were transported the last, and being there do use but that diligence and care as is requisite, and as they may with ease, there is no doubt but for the time following they may have victuals that is excellent good and plenty enough, some more English sorts of cattle also hereafter, as some have been before and are there yet remaining, may and shall be God willing thither transported. So likewise our kind of fruits, roots, and herbs may be there planted and sowed, as some have been already, and prove well. And in short time also they may raise of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of as shall both enrich themselves as also others that shall deal with them.

And this is all the fruits of our labors that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present, what else concerneth the nature and manners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such that have been by Sir Water Raleigh therein are there employed, many worthy to be remembered, as of the first discoverers of the country. Of our general for the time Sir Richard Greinvile, and after his departure, of our Governor there Master Rafe Lane, with diverse other directed and employed under their government. Of the captains and masters of the voyage made since for transportation; of the governor and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things else, I have ready in a discourse by itself in manner of a chronicle according to the course of times, and when time shall be thought convenient shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favorable constructions, expecting good success of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and governor not only of this but of all else, I take my leave of you this month of February, 1588. Finis.