Powhatan Confederacy Petition

**Narrative**

### I. Introduction regarding petitioning groups

#### A. Name

1. **The Powhatan Confederacy**

#### B. Location/headquarters

1. 6133 Miles Road Powhatan, VA 23139
2. 1530 Franklin Street Hillside, NJ 07205
3. 139 Orchard Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey 07208

#### C. Other contact information

1. 908-220-2354
2. [amjsdev@gmail.com](mailto:amjsdev@gmail.com)

#### D. Number of current living members

1. 100,316 estimated

#### E. Full names of current officers and members of governing body together with dates indicating when each person’s term began and will end.

1. Ashton James Morris (Snow Jefferson), King Powhatan II of the Powhatan Confederacy.
2. Term: 3/4/1993 – Death

#### F. Names of attorney(s) and other non-members authorized to represent group before the Department.

1. N/A

#### G. Statement of basic overall claim for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe,

#### summarizing the petitioner’s continuous existence, from 1900 to present (one-to two-

#### page statement)

1. We, the Powhatan Confederacy, hereby submit our petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe. Our claim is based on our continuous existence and identity as a distinct social, cultural, and political entity. Our claim is based on our continuous existence from 1900 to present. We have maintained our largest reservation, a 66 acre plot, purchased by tribe member and Chief William Miles for over 170 years.
   1. Please see attachment **Reservation Parcels**.
2. We are the descendants of the Powhatan Confederacy, the tribe portrayed in the Disney movie, Pocahontas.
3. We’ve maintained our original reservation on our ancestral lands, first documented in the 1500s by the English and the Spaniards [32], for more than 500 years in the face of war, slavery, and genocide.
   1. Please see attachments **Reservation & Individual Parcels.**
4. We predate the existence of the United States of America, from the perspective of the United Kingdom, by 215 years. [32]
5. Our written history spans from about 1561 to 2024; more than 463 years of documented history in the United States of America. [32]
6. Archaeology efforts in Virginia have revealed our presence in our ancestral home for the past 10,000 years. [132]
7. The Powhatans waged three wars against the British Crown, each echoing the scale and fervor of the Anglo-Scottish Wars. [36]
8. Thomas Jefferson tells us: "The territories of the Powhatan confederacy, South of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. Capt. Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of James town were 5000 people, of whom 1500 were warriors. From this we find the proportion of their warriors to their whole inhabitants, was as 3 to 10. The Powhatan confederacy then would consist of about 8000 inhabitants, which was one for every square mile; being about the twentieth part of our present population in the same territory, and the hundredth of that of the British islands." [2]
   1. **Powhatan Confederacy:** 8,000 inhabitants. [2]
   2. **Jefferson's Time (late 18th century) Population Density in Virginia (the same territory):**
      1. If 8,000 people were one-twentieth of the population at Jefferson's time, then the population would have been: 8,000×20=160,000 people in the same territory.
   3. **Population of the British Isles:**
      1. If 8,000 people were one-hundredth of the population of the British Isles, then: 8,000×100=800,000 people in the British Isles.
9. The third Anglo-Powhatan war ended with the enslavement of the Powhatan Indians. [36]
10. Our tribal DNA study has confirmed a DNA match with the Kennewick Man, an ancient Native American who lived thousands of years ago in what is now known as Alaska. [attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study, #35]**.
11. The Powhatan Confederacy, originally known as a powerful network of Algonquian-speaking tribes, has a rich history dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries in what is now Virginia. Our lineage and heritage primarily trace directly to these historic tribes, particularly under the leadership of Chief Powhatan, the paramount chief of the Powhatan Confederacy at the time of English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. [1]
12. The Powhatan Confederacy began adopting Sioux-speaking indigenous tribes in Virginia as early as 1669 with the Tutelo. [2]
    1. The Manahoac merged with the Tutelo before disappearing from history before 1728. [66]
    2. Scholars believe they joined with the [Tutelo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tutelo) and [Saponi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saponi) and became absorbed into their tribes. [65]
    3. In 1753, these two tribes were formally adopted in New York by their former enemies, the Iroquois, specifically the [Cayuga nation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayuga_nation).
    4. In 1870, there was a report of a "[merry old man named Mosquito](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikonha)" living in Canada, who claimed to be "the last of the Manahoac" and the legal owner of much of [northern Virginia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Virginia). He still remembered how to speak the Siouan language. [64]
       1. Albert Green spoke Tutelo. [28]
          1. Albert Green lived with us in Powhatan.
             1. Please see attachment **Miscellaneous #9**.
13. We have since added Sioux-speaking Monacans from Louisa [2] and Choctaw-speaking Alabamians with the surname Snow [3] from New York [4] and North Dakota [3].
14. Since the early 1900s, the members of the Powhatan Confederacy have maintained their identity and community ties, despite numerous challenges and pressures from surrounding societies.
    1. We have continually inhabited the unincorporated community of Powhatan County, Virginia. [5]
    2. We have continually inhabited the unincorporated community of Jefferson, Powhatan, Virginia. [6]
       1. There is also a Powhatan, Jefferson County, Alabama.
    3. We have continually inhabited the unincorporated community of Macon, Virginia. [7]
       1. Macon, Virginia shares its name with Macon, Georgia. [8]
          1. Clovis culture remains and artifacts have been found in Macon, Georgia. [9]
          2. Clovis culture remains and artifacts have been found in Macon Plateau, Georgia. [10]
       2. Our genetic study has found that Powhatan Indians match DNA sequenced from Clovis remains. [11]
    4. These locations have served as a central location for our social and cultural activities. Exactly like Puerto Rico’s status [12] [126], Powhatan remains unincorporated, allowing us to freely preserve our way of life, traditions, and governance structures within USA laws.
    5. We have continually inhabited Campbell [13], Franklin [14], Henry [15], Louisa [2], and Pittsylvania [16] Counties of Virginia.
       1. Campbell County was historically home to an unknown clan of the Sioux-speaking Monacan tribe. [117]
          1. There is a Powhatan in Campbell County, Virginia. [123]
       2. Franklin County was historically home to the Sioux-speaking Tutelo tribe. [118]
          1. The Saponi and the Tutelo competed for game in some of the same Piedmont territory, particularly in what is now Franklin County. [118]
          2. There is a Macon in Franklin County, Virginia [124] and Franklin County, Nebraska.
          3. There is also Macon’s Corner in Virginia Beach, Virginia.
       3. Henry County was historically home to the Sioux-speaking Tutelo [120] tribe, Algonquian Roanoke [120], Potawatomi [119], and others.
       4. Louisa County was historically home to the Sioux-speaking Monasiccapono tribe. [2]
       5. Pittsylvania County was historically home to an unknown clan of the Sioux-speaking Monacan tribe. [121]
    6. We have continually inhabited McDowell County, West Virginia.
       1. There is an Unincorporated community named Powhatan, in McDowell County, West Virginia. [133]
       2. The enslaved Indigenous woman who had her genome sequenced when our King and Chief Ashton James Snow Jefferson (Morris) had his genome analyzed by 23andMe via his x-chromosome [144] shows Native American ancestry. [attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study, #7**]
          1. The x-chromosome passes from mother to child. [144]
          2. This McDowell community was named for the Powhatan slaves being held nearby.
          3. The result of Indian slavery is documented in anonymous WIN tribes documented by journalists.
             1. This study of a group of Indian-white-negro... a group which has lived in the same locality in Virginia for more than a hundred years. [143]
             2. THIS study of a group of Indian-white-negro crosses is a sociological and eugenic study of a group which has lived in the same locality in Virginia for more than a hundred years. It originated from a white-Indian union, with later introductions of ‘mean-white’ and negro strains. The group consists of about five hundred individuals in an area approximately eight miles long by four miles broad. They are mostly living on the land. The original white family, judging from its social and economic position, was probably above the average. The descendants are almost without exception below the low white in average ability. [143]
    7. We have continually inhabited and socialized with people from the unincorporated community of Snow Hill, Wilcox County, Alabama [17],
       1. There is also Snow Hill, King and Queen County, Virginia.
    8. the unincorporated community of Marion Junction, Dallas County, Alabama [18]
       1. Please see attachments **Miscellaneous #3**.
    9. and the unincorporated community of Tuscaloosa County of Alabama [19].
    10. In Wingina, Nelson County, heading towards the town of Shipman, is Glade Rd., also known as Secretary's Rd. and "Warriors Path". This road was used by the Monacan and Powhatan Confederations for hunting and war between the local tribes, consisting of Siouan-speaking (Monacan and Mannahoac) and Iroquoian-speaking groups (Cherokee). Beginning as a dirt path through the wilderness, the road was formed by the natives walking in single file. Their feet were set down from heel to toe, the advancing foot always on the line with their rear foot. The years of single file journeys had worn a deep narrow trail, crossing streams where fords were established. This trail stretched from the Rockfish River, down through Findlay's Gap into Amherst. As the area began to grow with early white settlers, this main Indian trail was widened and maintained by the local African slaves to accommodate horses and oxen, then to provide access to stagecoaches and wagons. [115]
        1. Some members’ ancestors can be found on the Dawes Rolls as Cherokee and Choctaw.
           1. Please see attachments **Miscellaneous #4 – #7**.
        2. Some tribal members have ancestors with the surname “Wolf” indicating Wolf clan Cherokee ancestry.
           1. Please see attachment **Miscellaneous #8**.
        3. Nelson County is also home to the historic Spring Hill home called Montezuma, designed by Thomas Jefferson. [116]
           1. This indicates Virginia may have had previous Aztec ties; contrasting the Mayo family’s ties with Tabasco, Mexico, which is home to the Chontal Maya.
              1. Please see attachment **Genealogical Records #1 & #2**.
              2. Please see attachments **Miscellaneous** #**18 – #21.**
           2. There is a Montezuma Creek in the Utah portion of the Navajo Nation. [122]
15. Politically, the Powhatan Confederacy has sustained its governance structures, with leadership roles passed down hereditarily through Chiefs who maintain reservation land. Our leaders, known for their wisdom and commitment to our people, have upheld our traditions and represented our interests in interactions with external entities. The governance of our community has adapted to changing circumstances while preserving core principles that reflect our heritage. Our current leadership continues this tradition, ensuring that decisions are made in the best interest of our members and in accordance with our cultural values.
16. Our claim to Federal acknowledgment is further supported by extensive historical and genealogical records that document our continuous existence and lineage. Despite the many adversities we faced—including the loss of land, forced assimilation, war, slavery, the death of our culture, and, finally, genocide— we've maintained our original reservation on our ancestral lands, first documented by the English and the Spaniards in the 1500s.
17. Moreover, our community's resilience and commitment to preserving our identity and efforts to maintain our cultural heritage and advocate for our rights have led to increased visibility and acknowledgment of our contributions to the broader society. However, despite these recognitions, Federal acknowledgment remains crucial for the full preservation and protection of our rights and heritage.
18. Federal acknowledgment would not only affirm our identity and history but also provide critical support for the preservation of our cultural practices, language, and traditions. It would enable us to access resources and opportunities necessary for the continued development and well-being of our community. Furthermore, acknowledgement would ensure that our rights are respected and that we can fully participate in the broader social, economic, and political life of the nation while maintaining our distinct identity.
19. In conclusion, the Powhatan Confederacy has demonstrated continuous existence as an Indian tribe. Our historical roots, cultural practices, social structures, and political governance all attest to our enduring identity. We respectfully seek Federal acknowledgment to honor our ancestors, protect our heritage, and secure a future where our community can thrive. This acknowledgment is not only a recognition of our past but a vital step towards ensuring the survival and flourishing of our people for generations to come.

### II. Claim of historical Indian tribe

#### A. Description of the historical Indian tribe or historical Indian tribes that combined and functioned as a distinct social and political entity as it existed before 1900; note, it is important to provide more than simply an ethnic or linguistic description of a group. Historical documents describe Indian entities using various terms such as “tribes,” “bands,” “pueblos,” “rancherias,” “villages,” or “communities.” Your current group must link back to a specific Indian entity.

1. Paquiquineo, later Don Luís de Velasco, was a [Virginia Indian](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indians-in-virginia/) who encountered [Spanish explorers](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/exploration-the-age-of/) on the Chesapeake Bay in 1561 and returned to Spain with them, either voluntarily or as a captive. [32]
2. There, he appeared before King Philip II and was granted permission to lead a Catholic mission back to the Chesapeake, a land the Spaniards believed the Indians called Ajacán. [32]
3. A brief stop in Mexico City turned into a years-long stay after Paquiquineo became ill. During that time he converted to Christianity, taking the name of the viceroy of New Spain (present-day Mexico), Don Luís de Velasco. [32]
4. After two failed attempts to return home with Dominican missionaries, Don Luís sailed again to Spain, where he joined a group of Jesuit priests, and finally landed on the James River in September 1570—more than nine years after he had left. [32]
5. He initially aided the Jesuits, but quickly reunited with his family and, in February 1571, led an ambush that killed the missionaries save for an altar boy, Alonso de Olmos. [32]
6. While contemporary Spanish chroniclers demonized Paquiquineo, at least one modern scholar has suggested that the violence may have been a symbolic and predictable reaction to violations of the Indians’ [gift-exchange](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gift-exchange-in-early-virginia-indian-society/) economy. [32]
7. In 1572 the Spanish dispatched soldiers to Ajacán. They hanged a handful of Indians but did not find Paquiquineo, who subsequently disappeared from history. Based on [Jamestown](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/jamestown-settlement-early/)-era rumors, some historians have argued that Paquiquineo and [Opechancanough](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/opechancanough-d-1646/) were the same person. [32]
8. In 1595, [Washunsonacock, also known as Powhatan](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/powhatan-d-1618/), ruled six tribes within 50 miles of the James River. [25]
   1. This encompasses modern day Powhatan, Virginia.
      1. You'll find Powhatan State Park in the northwest corner of Powhatan County on the historic James River. The park has three car-top boat slides accessing the river as well as diverse wildlife habitat, from open fields to upland hardwood forests. Other amenities include a full-service campground, a primitive canoe-in/hike-in campground, a group campground, multi-use trails, wildlife observation areas, picnic shelters and a playground. [26]
   2. The Powhatan Mayos had their capital in Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia since 1607. [2]
9. The Powhatan Confederacy, a historic network of Algonquian-speaking tribes, existed as a distinct social and political entity prior to 1900. [1]
   1. When English settlers founded Jamestown Colony in 1607, all of what is now Tidewater, Virginia was occupied by a confederacy of Algonquin Indian tribes headed by a powerful chief known as Powhatan (his proper name was Wahunsonacock). [20]
   2. In 1609, making a diplomatic effort to maintain the Indians' good will, the English settlers crowned Chief Powhatan king of the territory. Much pop and ceremony went along with the crowning, but, according to Captain Smith, it was not a complete success. Powhatan was more interested in the gifts which went along with the event than in the crown itself, and was reluctant to bow his head even long enough for the crown to be placed upon it. [20]
   3. In 1613, Pocahontas was enslaved by the Virginia Company of London. [20]
      1. In 1613, taking advantage of Powhatan's great love for his daughter, the English decoyed Pocahontas onto a British ship which lay at anchor in the Potomac, and carried her off to Jamestown. With so valuable a hostage, the settlers were able to arrange ransom terms: English prisoners and goods were returned, and Pocahontas was restored to her father. But while she was living among the English at Jamestown, Pocahontas had met John Rolfe, "an honest gentleman and of good behavior," as records of the time describe him. [20]
      2. An African slave story to compare:
         1. Olaudah Equiano was one such person. He was kidnapped in about 1755 and sold to slave traders. “… One day when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both; and, without giving us time to to cry out, … they … ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands and continued to carry us as far as they could … The next day proved of greater sorrow … yet … for my sister and I were then separated … it was in vain that we besought them not to part us; she was torn from me, and immediately carried away, while I was left in a state of distraction not to be described.” [21]
   4. In 1615, the settler [Ralph Hamor](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/hamor-ralph-bap-1589-by-october-11-1626/) wrote of “the Spaniards, whose name is odious amongst [the Chickahominy]—for Powhatan’s father was driven by them from the West Indies into those parts.” This may have been a reference to Don Luís, but he likely was not a [Chickahominy Indian](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/chickahominy-tribe/), and he was a contemporary of the paramount chief [Powhatan](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/powhatan-d-1618/) and not Powhatan’s father. [32]
      1. Our tribal genetic study shows our King / Chief Ashton’s DNA matched with two ancient humans from the Botocudo tribe of Brazil.
         1. The Botocudo had Polynesian ancestry and share an ancient history with Peruvians. [136]
         2. The results of our genetic study shows that our King / Chief Ashton’s DNA shows Polynesian markers.
            1. Please see attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study, #5 & #6.**
      2. The West Indies includes countries like Colombia.
         1. The results of our genetic study shows that our ancestry spans the majority of South America in addition to the West Indies.
         2. Please see attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study, #35.**
   5. To estimate the square mileage for the Monacan, Powhatan, and Mannahoac nations based on the counties listed in the table, we'll sum the square mileage of the modern counties corresponding to each nation's territory. Below is the breakdown based on the table:
      1. Manahoacs:
         1. **Fauquier County**: 651 square miles [2]
         2. **Culpeper County**: 381 square miles [2]
         3. **Orange County**: 343 square miles [2]
         4. **Spotsylvania County**: 414 square miles [2]
         5. **Stafford County**: 280 square miles [2]
         6. **Rappahannock County**: 267 square miles [2]
         7. **Greene County**: 156 square miles [2]
         8. **Total for Manahoacs**: 651 + 381 + 343 + 414 + 280 + 267 + 156 = **2,492 square miles**
      2. Monacans:
         1. **James River Region (Amherst County)**: 472 square miles [2]
         2. **Fluvanna County**: 290 square miles [2]
         3. **Bedford County**: 769 square miles [2]
         4. **Buckingham County**: 580 square miles [2]
         5. **Cumberland County**: 301 square miles [2]
         6. **Powhatan County**: 262 square miles [2]
         7. **Total for Monacans**: 472 + 290 + 769 + 580 + 301 + 262 = **2,674 square miles**
      3. Powhatans:
         1. Fairfax County: 406 square miles
         2. King George County: 188 square miles
         3. Richmond County: 203 square miles
         4. Westmoreland County: 229 square miles
         5. Northumberland County: 223 square miles
         6. Lancaster County: 133 square miles
         7. New Kent County: 223 square miles
         8. King William County: 286 square miles
         9. Gloucester County: 288 square miles
         10. Essex County: 286 square miles
         11. Caroline County: 549 square miles
         12. Spotsylvania County: 414 square miles
         13. Stafford County: 280 square miles
         14. Louisa County: 511 square miles
         15. Henrico County: 245 square miles
         16. Charles City County: 204 square miles
         17. James City County: 179 square miles
         18. Surry County: 279 square miles
         19. Southampton County: 600 square miles
         20. Accomack County: 455 square miles
         21. Northampton County: 231 square miles
         22. **Total for Powhatans**:
         23. 406 + 188 + 203 + 229 + 223 + 133 + 223 + 286 + 288 + 286 + 549 + 414 + 280 + 511 + 245 + 204 + 179 + 279 + 600 + 455 + 231 = **6,911 square miles**
      4. **A total of 12,077 square miles or 7,680,000 acres of land.**
   6. The territories of the Powhatan confederacy, South of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. Capt. Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of James town were 5000 people, of whom 1500 were warriors. From this we find the proportion of their warriors to their whole inhabitants, was as 3 to 10. The Powhatan confederacy then would consist of about 8000 inhabitants, which was one for every square mile; being about the twentieth part of our present population in the same territory, and the hundredth of that of the British islands. [2]
   7. The tribes within the Powhatan Confederacy included the Powhatans, Chickahominies, Pamunkies, Mattaponies, Rappahannocks, and many others, each maintaining their distinct identities while functioning cohesively under a central political structure. [2]
      1. By 1607, as documented by Thomas Jefferson, the Powhatan had 34 unique tribes in its Confederation. [2]
      2. The Rappahannocks eventually split into two groups.
         1. The Rappahannocks first met Captain John Smith in December 1607 at their capital town “Topahanocke” on the banks of the river bearing their name. At the time, Smith was a prisoner of Powhatan’s brother, Opechancanough. He took Smith to the Rappahannocks for the people to determine if Smith was the Englishman who, three years earlier, had murdered their chief and kidnapped some of their people. [23]
         2. Cockacoeske signs the Treaty of Middle Plantation, and at her request several tribes are reunited under her authority. But having been free of Powhatan domination since 1646, the Chickahominy and Rappahannock refuse to become subservient to her or to pay tribute. [22]
         3. They were officially recognized as one of the historic tribes of the Commonwealth of Virginia by an act of the General Assembly on March 25, 1983. [125]
         4. It was common for black slaves to escape and join the surrounding Powhatan; some white servants were also noted to have joined the Indians. Africans and whites worked and lived together; some natives also intermarried with them. In 1691, the House of Burgesses abolished Indian slavery; however, many Powhatan were held in servitude well into the 18th century. [24]
            1. We have DNA proof of Native Americans and Indigenous Virginias being enslaved alongside Africans.

The subject is a Tutelo woman with indigenous markers on her x-chromosome (which is passed from mother to child). [144]

Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study #7**.

The Tutelo woman has sub-saharan and european markers, which indicates she could have had a hair texture allowing slave owners to disguise her as a mixed-race slave without any citizenship papers.

Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study #7**.

* + - 1. Powhatan Renape Nation Today The forefathers of New Jersey's Powhatan Renape community were mostly Rappahannocks from Virginia and Nanticokes from Delaware; they have also been known as Virginia Algonquians. Although they had taken tremendous losses in culture as the result of the racist society which surrounded them, they were able to retain their identity. They were quiet, put down deep roots, brought in new members, and consolidated their community. At one point, almost 90% of the population of Morrisville were Powhatan Renape people, some 42 homes. In 1982 the Powhatan Renape Nation negotiated an agreement with the State of New Jersey to take over 350 acres of state-owned land in the town of Westampton. The property was recognized by the State of New Jersey and the general public as the Rankokus Indian Reservation. The Nation's administrative Center was located here to manage its community, educational, cultural, social and other programs and services. [24]
    1. The Mattaponies began to mix with Africans. [2]
       1. Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The Chickahominies removed, about the year 1661, to Mattapony river. Their chief, with one from each of the tribes of the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, attended the treaty of Albany in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained however their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only, and they have more negro than Indian blood in them. [2]
    2. The Mattaponies sell their land. [2]
       1. They have lost their language, have reduced themselves, by voluntary sales, to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have, from time to time, been joining the Pamunkies, from whom they are distant but 10 miles. The Pamunkies are reduced to about 10 or 12 men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about 300 acres of very fertile land, on Pamunkey river, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole. Of the Nottoways, not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on Nottoway river, in Southampton county, on very fertile lands. At a very early period, certain lands were marked out and appropriated to these tribes, and were kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws. They have usually had trustees appointed, whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury. [2]
          1. By the time the Powhatan language had been recorded, it had already been corrupted by English, Spanish, and French.

Keshowse (sun) [38]

Ke/Que: Spanish.

Showse (chose): French

Que quoy? (What’s that?) [38]

Que: Spanish or French.

Quoy (quoi): French

Cante-cante (to sing) [38]

Moshi-moshi: Japanese.

Cantar: Spanish.

Aramiath south. (I’m sick) [38]

Ara as in “Arawak” the indigenous tribe of the West Indies.

Or something close to “ore” from the Japanese “I”.

Miath, like mi hath in Jamaican Patois

Maracah (apple) [38]

The Powhatan word for Apple is Maracah, like maracas. Which the Powhatan are also known to have made.

Design-wise, a hollow apple with seeds is a great way to conceptualize a maraca.

The original word comes from the Guarani word mbaracás. A Paraguayan aboriginal language. [137]

Our genetic study has revealed our King / Chief Ashton has matched with a Paraguayan Puerto Rican mixed Latino with significant Indigenous American ancestry.

Please see attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study, #39 – #42**.

Netshetsunh (the soul or vital breath of a man). [38]

Mayan’s had a similar concept which was immortalized on a Maya Jade Pectoral. [138]

The Mayan glyph for wind and breath is ik, and is shaped like a T. This pectoral, which is itself T-shaped, was found in a T-shaped building, and on the front is a large, deeply incised T. “These are references to the wind, breath, and life, and specifically the wind that brings the monsoon rains,” says Braswell. The pectoral was found with a ceramic object that may have been a drum, decorated with images of the Maya god of wind and music, and a lithophone. They were likely intended as divine offerings made during one of these regular incense-scattering ceremonies. [138]

And, the Atecs with the concept of ihiyotl (“breath, respiration”) in Nahautl. [139]

Finally, ihiyotl (“breath, respiration”) resides in the liver. It provides passion, cupidity, bravery, hatred, love, and happiness. [139]

Ahone (God) [38]

The Mayans have Kinich Ahau, the Sun God. [140]

* + - * 1. The Powhatan language is also close to Guarani and Maya.
        2. The modern incarnation of the Powhatan Confederacy has ties to Tabasco, Mexico – home of the Chontal Maya.

Please see attachments **Genealogical Records, #1 & #2.**

* + - * 1. It is also worth mentioning the existence of a Mayan calendar on the Navajo reservation. [141]

This makes the Powhatan Confederacy and the Navajo Nation the only Indigenous American nations with connections to the Mayans.

On 23andMe, some Navajo show genetic markers from Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, and Peru.

Please see attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study, #36 & #37.**

1. The Arrohattoc, Appomattoc, [Mattaponi](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/mattaponi-tribe/), [Pamunkey,](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/pamunkey-tribe/) Powhatan and Youghtanund were the core members of the Powhatan chiefdom. This empire expanded to include 25 tribes whose territories were well-defined. The structure of these tribal divisions consisted of a definitive ruling hierarchy. There was a council, or cockarouses, a group of shamans or priests, and a weroance, or chief, who inherited the ruling position matrilineally. This practice suggests greater gender equality in Algonquian society than that of English society at the time. [25]
2. Virginia Indians [domesticated a variety of plants](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/plants-in-early-virginia-indian-society-domesticated/) to be used as sources of food, including sunflowers, maize, beans, and squash. Eastern North America is one of ten sites in the world where independent plant domestication occurred. [25]
3. Opechancanough was paramount chief of [Tsenacomoco](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tsenacomoco-powhatan-paramount-chiefdom/), a political alliance of [Virginia Indians](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indians-in-virginia/), and famously led massive assaults against the English colonists in 1622 and 1644. The younger brother (or cousin) of [Powhatan](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/powhatan-d-1618/), who was paramount chief at the time of the [Jamestown](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/jamestown-settlement-early/) landing in 1607, Opechancanough was possibly chief of the Youghtanund Indians and, as such, protected one of Tsenacomoco’s most critical territories. [33]
4. The Powhatan had their own unique dialect of Algonquian, think Romanesco vs Standard Italian. [2]
5. However, the Powhatan Confederacy became a bilingual Algonquian-Sioux society with the adoption of James River Monacans from Powhatan, Virginia and the Tutelos who spoke a unique dialect of Sioux. [2]
   1. Albert Green, who lived with us after slavery was formally abolished in the USA, was the last person who had Tutelo as his mother tongue. [28] [attachment **Miscellaneous** **#9**]

#### B. Locations of the Historical Indian Tribe Prior to 1900

1. Colony/Territory/State: The territories of the Powhatan confederacy, South of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. [2]
2. County/Counties/Region/Other Geographic Area: The geographic area of the Powhatan Confederacy covered numerous counties and regions within Virginia. Some of the key areas included:
   1. Fairfax County: Home to the Tauxenents tribe. [2]
   2. Stafford County: Inhabited by the Patówomekes tribe. [2]
   3. King George County: Occupied by the Cuttatawomans tribe. [2]
   4. Richmond County: Included the Pissasecs and Rappahannocks tribes. [2]
   5. Northumberland County: Inhabited by the Wighcocòmicoes and Secacaonies tribes. [2]
   6. Lancaster County: Home to the Moràughtacunds and Cuttatawomans tribes. [2]
   7. Essex and Caroline Counties: Occupied by the Nantaughtacunds tribe. [2]
   8. King William County: Included the Pamùnkies tribe. [2]
   9. Gloucester County: Inhabited by the Wèrowocòmicos tribe. [2]
   10. Charles City and James City Counties: Home to the Paspahèghes tribe. [2]
   11. Henrico County: Home to the Powhatan Mayo’s. [2]
   12. Elizabeth City County: Inhabited by the Kecoughtáns tribe. [2]
   13. Chesterfield County: Included the Appamàttocs tribe. [2]
   14. Isle of Wight County: Home to the Wàrrasqeaks tribe. [2]
   15. Princess Anne County: Inhabited by the Chèsapeaks tribe. [2]
   16. Accomack and Northampton Counties: Home to the Accohanocs and Accomàcks tribes on the Eastern Shore. [2]
   17. Nottoway River: Home to the Nottoway tribe. [2]
   18. Meherrin River: Inhabited by the Meherrin and Tutelo tribes. [2]
   19. Powhatan County: Home to the Mohemencho tribe. [2]
   20. Louisa and Fluvanna Counties: Included the Monasiccapanoes tribe. [2]

#### C. Description of approximate number(s) of individuals in the historical Indian tribe at point(s) prior to 1900 and names of individuals in the historical Indian tribe claimed as ancestors of current members.

1. Overall Population:
   1. Capt. Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of James town were 5000 people, of whom 1500 were warriors. [2]
   2. Thomas Jefferson tells us: the territories of the Powhatan confederacy, South of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. [2]
2. Tribal Populations:
   1. The census data provides specific numbers for various tribes within the confederacy. For example:
   2. Tauxenents: Approximately 40 warriors. [2]
   3. Patówomekes: Around 200 warriors. [2]
   4. Cuttatawomans: Initially 20 warriors, increased to 60 by 1669. [2]
   5. Pissasecs: Specific numbers not provided for 1607, around 100 warriors in 1669. [2]
   6. Rappahannocks: 100 warriors in 1607, reduced to 30 by 1669. [2]
   7. Pamùnkies: Approximately 300 warriors, reduced to 50 by 1669. [2]
   8. Chickahòminies: Around 250 warriors, reduced to 60 by 1669. [2]
   9. Paspahèghes: Initially 40 warriors, reduced to 15 by 1669. [2]
   10. Nottoways, Meherrins, and Tuteloes: The Meherrins had about 90 individuals, and the Tuteloes had about 50. [2]
   11. Mohemencho: Specific population numbers are not detailed but included as part of the confederacy's overall structure. [2]
   12. Powhatan Mayos: 40 warriors, reduced to 10 by 1669. [2]
3. The Powhatan Confederacy's leadership and notable figures have been documented in various historical records. Current members of the Powhatan Confederacy claim descent from these prominent ancestors:
   1. Chief Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh):
      1. The paramount chief of the Powhatan Confederacy, Wahunsenacawh, is a key ancestor whose lineage is claimed by many current members.
      2. The Powhatan Mayos are the direct descendants of the Powhatan Confederacy the first English colonists encountered. [2]
   2. Pocahontas (Matoaka):
      1. Daughter of Chief Powhatan, Pocahontas is a renowned historical figure, with many descendants among the current members of the Powhatan Confederacy. She is the mother of the Pocahontas clan, which is estimated in the hundreds of thousands.
   3. Paquiquineo or Opechancanough:
      1. Brother of Chief Powhatan and a prominent leader within the confederacy, Paquiquineo or Opechancanough's descendants are also part of the current membership. [32] [33]
   4. Chief Onusowa (Tutelo):
      1. Chief Onusowa is a significant ancestor linking the Tutelo tribe to the present-day Powhatan Confederacy members.

#### D. Brief explanation of historical (pre-1900) lists of members of the historical Indian tribe and indication of who on these lists have descendants in the current membership. \*

**Descent Claims and Regional/Linguistic Classifications**

**1. Powhatan Confederacy (Powhatan Mayos) [2] [25]**

* **Regional Location:** Henrico County, Virginia. [2]
* **Linguistic Family:** Algonquian. [25]

**2. Powhatan Mohemencho [2]**

* **Regional Location:** Powhatan County, Virginia. [2]
* **Linguistic Family:** Sioux & Algonquian. [2] [29]

**3. Powhatan Tutelo [2]**

* **Regional Location:** Meherrin River, Virginia. [2]
* **Linguistic Family:** Sioux. [29]

**4. Louisa Monasiccapono Monacan Tribe [2]**

* **Regional Location:** Louisa County, Virginia. [2]
* **Linguistic Family:** Sioux. [29]

**5. Henry Roanoke Potawatomi Tribe**

* **Regional Location:** Henry County, Virginia. [15] [30]
* **Linguistic Family:** Sioux. [15] [30]

**6. Snow Hill Tuskaloosa Province**

* **Regional Location:** Snow Hill, Alabama, and surrounding areas.
* **Linguistic Family:** Choctaw. [31]

#### E. Provide Applicable Supporting Evidence

**1. Clear, Legible Photocopy or Scanned Electronic Copy of Each Piece of Supporting Evidence**

1. See works cited.
2. See attachments.

### III. Optional: Claim of previous Federal acknowledgment (§ 83.12)

#### A. Explanation of How the Federal Government Previously Acknowledged the Petitioner

The Powhatan Confederacy, as a historical and political entity, has a documented history of interaction with the Federal Government of the United States, though formal federal acknowledgment in terms of recognition and status has been intermittent and complex. Considering, the USA previously enslaved Powhatan Indians. [36] The following outlines the instances and forms of federal acknowledgment or engagement:

1. Early Colonial and Federal Recognition:
   * Treaty of 1646 [1] and Treaty of Middle Plantation (1677) [1]: These treaties, while not federal in the modern sense, were significant in establishing the relationship between the Powhatan Confederacy and the English Crown, which eventually influenced federal policies. They demonstrated an early form of recognition of the Powhatan tribes as distinct political entities with whom agreements and negotiations were to be made.
2. Federal Treaties and Agreements (18th-19th Centuries)\*:
   * Treaties and Land Agreements: Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the Federal Government engaged with various Powhatan tribes through treaties and land agreements. Although these agreements primarily dealt with land cessions and peace treaties, they recognized the Powhatan tribes as entities with whom the U.S. government conducted formal relations. Notable examples include the treaties negotiated with the Powhatan tribes, which included provisions for land rights and political status.
   * 1616 - The Virginia Company paid to send Pocahontas, her husband, their infant son and several Powhatan Indians to England. Their hope in doing so was to gain more interest in Jamestown. [34]
   * 1646/77 - Treaties were signed between the Powhatan and the English. They limited access to lands that were considered English and set up reservations. The 1677 treaty also set up yearly tribute payment that was made to the English king. The Powhatan were now English subjects. [34]
   * 1693 - The College of William and Mary was founded to teach American Indians and clergy. In the early 1700s Governor Spotswood told the Powhatan Indians he would remit their yearly tribute payments if they sent their children to the school. By the late 1700s funding for the college was diverted elsewhere and the school was closed to non-whites until 1964. [34]
   * 1700s - More Indian lands were lost, including the reservations of the Rappahannock (shortly after 1700), the Chickahominy (1718), and the Nansemond (who sold theirs in 1792). Some traditional ways were still practiced, but after decades of interactions with the English many Powhatan Indians were identifying themselves as Christians and speaking English more and more. By 1800 many of the native languages were no longer heard. [34]
   * 1800s - The desire to push the Powhatan Indians off their lands began again. This time the specific target was the four remaining Virginia Indian tribes that still held onto their reservation lands. The whites also wanted to end their status as tribes. One reservation was sold by 1850 while another, the Nottoway Reservation, was divided by 1878 (though many families held onto their lands into the 20th century). The Mattaponi and Pamunkey are the only two tribes that refused to give in to the attempts and still maintain their reservations into the present day. [34]
   * 1912-1946 - Walter Plecker was the head of vital statistics in Virginia during this time. He was a follower of the eugenics movement and a white supremacist. Plecker performed what amounted to "paper genocide" against all Virginia Indians because he wanted to deny they existed as he thought there were no "true" Indians in Virginia. In his view if you had 1/16th African ancestry, or by 1923 any trace of African ancestry, you were considered "colored." He wanted all documents, such as birth certificates, death certificates, marriage licenses, voter registration books, etc to reflect this by not using the term "Indian." The only two classifications according to Plecker were "white" and "colored." [34]
   * 1924 - The Racial Integrity Act was passed. It said, among other things, that it was illegal for whites and non-whites to marry as well as recognized only two racial classifications: "white" and "colored." Walter Plecker was a strong advocate for it as he wanted to keep the white "master race" "pure" and because he denied the existence of the Virginia Indians - who he called "mongrels." He believed the Virginia Indians wanted to escape "negro status" so they could go to white schools and marry whites. After this act was passed it was easier for Plecker to get his wish in having documents use only the terms "white" or "colored." To escape Plecker's aggressive campaign many Virginia Indians left the state. This is the same year the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 was passed. The Act granted all American Indians United States citizenship - some had gained it previously through marriage, special treaties, receipt of allotments or through military service. [34]
     1. The result of Indian slavery is documented in anonymous WIN tribes documented by journalists.
        1. This study of a group of Indian-white-negro... a group which has lived in the same locality in Virginia for more than a hundred years. [143]
        2. THIS study of a group of Indian-white-negro crosses is a sociological and eugenic study of a group which has lived in the same locality in Virginia for more than a hundred years. It originated from a white-Indian union, with later introductions of ‘mean-white’ and negro strains. The group consists of about five hundred individuals in an area approximately eight miles long by four miles broad. They are mostly living on the land. The original white family, judging from its social and economic position, was probably above the average. The descendants are almost without exception below the low white in average ability. [143]
     2. The Pamunkey faced similar issues with their ancestors being classified as “Colored” or “Black” when petitioning: [114]
     3. The Lower College Baptist Church was not a church with an exclusively Pamunkey congregation; records indicate that the church had “White,” “free Colored,” and “slave” members. Many of the individuals identified in the church records as “free Colored” appear in other records as Pamunkey. The petitioner’s 2010 narrative states that “. . . the names of Indian members were entered on special lists by the Lower College Baptist Church congregation, rather than being merged with other members.”118 The documentation cited to support this proposition, however, is problematic. [114]
     4. OFA conducted verification research at the facility where the relevant documents are archived. The 1791 list is specifically titled “Free Colored Members Names-1791”120 and included the names of 15 men, 11 of whom are referred to in other documents (such as tax lists or petitions) as “Indian” or “Pamunkey.”121 Two of the other men (John Collins122 and James Langston) have surnames shared with other Pamunkey families, but their names do not appear on any other contemporary documents in the record, which would further support the contention that these men were Pamunkey. Of the remaining two men (Philip Scott and William Pearman), the petitioner included Pearman in their original database, but not Scott. No other information in the record identifies either of these men as Pamunkey. [114]
     5. While an overall analysis of the church records indicates that many of the people identified in church records as “free Colored” were recorded on other documents as Pamunkey, not all can be identified as such and, therefore, it is not accurate to identify every “free Colored” person in these records as Pamunkey or as Indian. The list itself contains no additional identification of these members as “Indian” or “Pamunkey.” and there is also no reference in this specific record to any of the men as residents of “Indian Town.” It should also be noted that the original documents do not refer to any of these individuals as “charter members.” [114]
     6. The church record included a list of “excluded”124 “free Colored members,” both male and female, dated September 6, 1812. Of these eight members, three men (William Sampson, William Cooper, and William Swett) are identified as Pamunkey in other documents. One other man and four women125 on the list are not identified as Pamunkey in any other documents in the record, although two (John Colleens and Piercy Girley) have surnames similar to those of Pamunkey families but uncommon among the rest of the King William County population. [114]
     7. The church compiled a list of 17 “Free Colored Members” on October 25, 1812. It is not clear whether all 17 joined the church that day (although one person’s name appears both on this list and on the aforementioned September 6 list of excluded members), or if the clerk at the time only recorded those particular members for some other reason. All but two appear to be females, and several have surnames that are associated with Pamunkey families (ex., Bradby, Brisby, Langston, Sampson).126 However, the record does not contain any other information that would help identify any of these people as Pamunkey, save one male Pamunkey 1836 petition signer (Jesse Bradby). The petitioner seemingly included three of these members (Heziah/Keziah Bradby, June Collens, and Betsey Sampson) in its table of “Pamunkey Individuals, 1810-1819” based only on their appearance on this 1812 list of members. No other documents in the record refer to these women. [114]
     8. The church records also listed nine other “free Colored members” between 1813 and 1816 (possibly 1818), naming them on four other short lists. Of these nine, only “Jessey Bradberry” might be identified in other documents as a Pamunkey member, possibly as “Jesse Bradby”; none of the other eight are associated with the group in any other documentation in the record. [114]
     9. The circa 1835 list included the names of 32 individuals (14 men and 18 women). Of these 32 individuals, 9 men were identified as Pamunkey on earlier tax lists and petitions. Of those nine, five were also identified as “Indians” on the church’s lists compiled in 1830 and 1831. Four women on the circa 1835 list had also been named on the earlier “Indian” enumerations of 1830 and 1831. It is not known why these 13 people, who were already members, enrolled again but their inclusion on this list specifically identified them as “Indians” and not just as “Free Colored,” as some of the earlier lists had done. Further, although the 1835 list is ambiguously dated,135 the wording of the documents seems to indicate the group as a whole submitted its members’ names for inclusion in the church records, as opposed to a number of individuals applying for church membership separately. This group action supports the contention that the people at “Indian Island” interacted socially and culturally. The record does not include any rolls, reservation censuses, or other documents which name all of the members of the group during this period, so it is not clear just what portion of the group the 32 enumerated “Indian Island” residents represents. However, it does appear that the 32 represented a significant number of the adult members of the community, and does not include any minor children who, presumably, accompanied their parents to church. [114]
     10. The testimony in the SCC cases also offers some insight into the place of Pamunkey in the general society of antebellum Virginia. Frank Sweat, who had hidden Union soldiers, stated “I had no rights as a citizen. I have some Indian blood in my veins and was not permitted to vote or sit in the jury box. I was but one step from a slave.”190 William Brisby,191 testifying on behalf of Pamunkey William Cooper Langston,192 stated, “(Langston) is a Pamunkey Indian. They were generally treated about the same as the colored people; they had no vote and were but a step from the slave . . . .”193 Pamunkey Thomas Cook, who also served in the Union Army and had been arrested and imprisoned by Confederate forces, said, “I was always a Union man, tooth and nail, though I was not a citizen and had no vote.”194 Pamunkey claimants made this claim repeatedly: although they had no vote and were not considered citizens, the entire group did whatever they could to support the cause of the Union.195 John Langston, testifying on behalf of his father’s claim, stated even more bluntly, “We are Pamunkey Indians . . . . We all thought if the rebellion succeeded they would have turned us all into slaves.”196 These examples also demonstrate the continued claim to a collective Indian identity, the same Pamunkey identity that members had been claiming for more than 70 years. [114]
     11. According to Langston, the animosity between himself and Howell developed soon after Virginia was readmitted to the Union in 1870. Langston stated he went to Richmond to seek help in establishing a school in his neighborhood, and was successful in obtaining the materials to construct the building. Other people, including Howell, supported this effort and helped to build the school. When the building was finished, he sent to Richmond for a teacher, and Richmond sent a “colored man well educated.” Howell, however, wanted a :White” teacher, and refused to do anything else to support the school. He was further angered by Langston’s decision to board the teacher at his home rather than send him back to Richmond, and remained angry with him for years.199 There is no other information in the record concerning who attended this school, and no other information regarding the reaction of those in Indian Town to this off-reservation argument between members. [114]
     12. The record does not contain Howell’s side of the story, but the issue of race was one which had become even more complex since the end of the war. The Pamunkey had for years dealt with the issue of being considered “Black” or “Mulatto” rather than “Indian” by their “White” neighbors, and had relied on a variety of methods already discussed in order to preserve their distinct Indian identity. Howell, who lived outside of the reservation community, may have feared that Langston’s actions would further erode the line between being identified as “Indian” or as “Black” or “Mulatto,” and that reinforcing that identity outside of Indian Town might be more difficult if some Pamunkey attended or supported a school with a “Black” schoolteacher. [114]
         1. Thomas Jefferson wrote about the Powhatans mixing with Africans. Why mix with your enemy?
            1. Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The Chickahominies removed, about the year 1661, to Mattapony river. Their chief, with one from each of the tribes of the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, attended the treaty of Albany in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained however their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only, and they have more negro than Indian blood in them. [2]
         2. Thanks to our genetic study, we believe this is due to one or both parents passing on non-African chromosomes to their children with the presence of recent sub-saharan african ancestry.
         3. In the case of India Hatten, she is white-passing at 68% sub-saharan african, but has a Native American x-chromosome. [144]
            1. Please see attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study, #20 – #22.**
         4. Like India Hatten, Thomas Jefferson’s granddaughter Estelle Bolden was a white-passing Powhatan woman who was categorized as Black.
            1. Please see attachments **Miscellaneous, #15 - #17**.
     13. The leadership also fought external legal attempts to challenge the Pamunkey’s Indian identity. In 1900, they successfully fought and won the right to ride in “White” segregated train cars on the Southern Railroad, arguing that, while they were not White, they should not be classified as “colored.” [114]
     14. The council also sanctioned members living off the reservation if their behavior seemed unacceptable. In 1908, the council moved to write a letter to Eugene Bradby, a young man living in Norfolk, because “. . . we have been informed that he has associated with a colored man and united with a colored lodge as a colored man.” The council formed a committee of two members to write the letter, and instructed them to notify Bradby that he “. . . must not board in colored boarding houses.”373 The minutes did not specify any penalty for this behavior, and it is not clear if the letter was ever written. The minutes mentioned Bradby once again in 1925, but the reference did not mention the 1908 issue. [114]
     15. While minutes from 1925-1940 are missing, other documents in the record contain other evidence of the continued existence of the council. The chief and council ordered and completed a census of the adult male members of the group in 1925, both those on and off the reservation.383 The leadership testified against the expansion of Virginia’s 1924 Racial Integrity Law, which sought to classify any person of “non-Caucasic” blood as “colored” (the exception being those with one-sixteenth or less Indian blood, to protect those influential families who claimed descent from Pocahontas). Chief George Major Cook famously testified, “I will tie a stone around my neck and jump into the James River rather than be classed as a Negro.”384 The leadership continued to fight any other attempts by the state to classify them as anything other than Indians, culminating in a particular “carve out” in a 1930 bill: the Pamunkey and Mattaponi still living on their reservations would be considered “Indians,” as long as they had at least onequarter Indian blood and no more than one-sixteenth negro blood.385 While the evidence in the record primarily records the participation of the elected leadership, other evidence in the record indicates that this was an issue of importance to the membership. [114]
     16. Other Thomas Cooks appear in the historical records. A Thomas Cook initiated a claim in 1871 to the Southern Claims Commission for property lost to the Union army during the Civil War.488 In his testimony, dated January 17, 1874, he identifies himself as an Indian, gives his age as 43, and gives his residence as Indian Town, King William County, in the State of Virginia. This person cannot be Thomas Major Cook because the SCC claimant would have been born about 1831, not about 1791. Another Thomas Cook is listed in the Colosse Baptist Church minutes on October 12, 1864, as “Colored Free.” This individual could be either Thomas Major Cook born about 1791 or the Thomas Cook born about 1831. Thomas Major Cook’s claimed son, Major Cook, died in 1862, as noted in the Colosse Baptist Church minutes. His widow, Caroline (Bradby) Cook, testified in 1877 before the SCC when applying for compensation for supplies taken from her property in 1864; she is listed on the claim as a widow in 1877. [114]
   * 1967 - The United States Supreme Court overturned the Racial Integrity Act in the case Loving vs. Virginia saying "Under our Constitution, the freedom to marry, or not marry, a person of another race resides with the individual and cannot be infringed by the State." Virginia Indians were now able to marry who they chose and more importantly to change their birth certificates to accurately show they were Indians, for a fee. After 1997, when Delegate Harvey Morgan's bill passed, any Virginia Indian born in Virginia could have their records changed for free. [34]
   * 1980s - By the end of the 1980s there were seven tribes recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia who were part of, or allied with, the Powhatan Chiefdom: the Pamunkey, Mattaponi (both maintain their reservation lands from the 1600s), Upper Mattaponi, Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Nansemond, and the Rappahannock. [34]
   * The Monacan Nation, who was never part of the Powhatan Chiefdom, was recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia during this time as well. [34]
     1. However, part of traditional Monacan land historically borders Powhatan and is named appropriately. [attachment **Maps, 5**]
   * In 1982 the Powhatan Renape Nation negotiated an agreement with the State of New Jersey to take over 350 acres of state-owned land in the town of Westampton. [24]
   * 1990s-2009 - Six of the state recognized tribes, all but the 2 reservation tribes, began seeking federal recognition through an Act of Congress. They have tried to get the Thomasina E. Jordan Indian Tribes of Virginia Federal Recognition Act passed many times over the years. [34]
   * In March 2009 the tribes sent the bill to the House Committee on Natural Resources to start the process again. On April 22 the committee recommended the bill be sent on to the House of Representatives, who passed it on June 3. The Senate then referred a companion bill to their Committee on Indian Affairs, who had it sent to the full Senate on October 25. The bill was then placed on the Senate Legislative Calendar on December 23, 2009. This is the farthest the bill has ever gotten in the congressional process. [34]
   * The Senate bill later died as a result of a hold placed on it - by Senator Tom Coburn (R-Okla.) - that prevented it from being heard and voted on by the Senate before 2010 came to a close (the end of that Congressional session). [34]
   * 2010 - In early 2010 three more tribes were recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia: the Patawomeck, the Nottoway, and the Cheroenhaka (Nottoway). There are now eleven tribes recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia and eight who are Powhatan descended - the Patawomeck Indian Tribe joins the seven tribes that were state recognized in the 1980s. About 3,400 people are tribal members of these eight Powhatan descended tribes. [34]
   * The Monacan Nation has 2,000 tribal members, the Nottoway Indians of Virginia have 120 tribal members, and the Cheroenhaka (Nottoway) Indians of Virginia have 272 tribal members. [34]
   * Collectively these eleven recognized Virginia Indian tribes own less than 2,000 acres of land. [34]
   * The 2 reservation tribes, the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey, continue to make the yearly tribute payments of fish and game, now to the Virginia governor, as stipulated in the 1646 and 1677 treaties. [34]
   * Many other Powhatan Indian and Virginia Indian descended tribes are still living in Virginia, and elsewhere, today. Several who still live in Virginia are currently seeking state recognition. [34]
3. Recognition in Historical Documents\*:
   * **Captain John Smith's Accounts**: Detailed observations and interactions with Powhatan tribes in the early 1600s, providing insights into their social and political structures. [1]
     1. The established story of dispossession along the eastern seaboard and the corresponding disappearance of Native people is often told through a clash of big names, between Wahunsenacawh, leader of the Powhatan chiefdom, and John Smith, or between Governor William Berkeley and rebel Nathaniel Bacon. [1]
     2. John Smith wrote that Powhatans “all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits, to fish, fowle, or hunt in” relative to one another. [1]
     3. That might was built on a web of local networks, as the map on the back of “Powhatan’s mantle,” or cape, demonstrates. The few seventeenthand early eighteenth-century Indigenous maps in existence underscore the importance of social, political, and familial relationships and spheres of influence rather than formal geographical borders.72 Maps are material manifestations of group identity and interdependencies, and of relationships to outsiders. The makers of the Powhatans’ only extant map, kept in a museum in the United Kingdom today, distilled the Chesapeake’s countless identities and political relationships into a single object. “Powhatan’s mantle” is a conceptualization of the Powhatan chiefdom sewn of Powhatan trade goods, featuring four deerskins and thousands of shell beads. A human figure looms large at the center, flanked by animals and surrounded by thirty-four circles created through concentric rings of beading, which, according to John Smith, was the number of districts Powhatan claimed under his control at the time of English contact. [1]
     4. Within a month of the ships’ arrival, Native attacks against English people at the fort showed that relationships with some of the Powhatans had soured as the English began gathering information on the Chesapeake’s people in earnest. Leader and skilled negotiator for the English John Smith explored the James River that summer and by September successfully visited non-Powhatan Chickahominy territory in search of more Native food, which either because of drought or bad feelings had ceased to come from the Powhatans. The Powhatans captured Smith on one of these trips and took him through their territory to the capital at Werowocomoco. There, Smith’s observations and conversations with the Powhatans earned him a trove of information about the connections between the Chesapeake chiefdoms and Wahunsenacawh’s authority. The following year, Smith sailed to the northern Chesapeake to meet outsider Native people like the Massawomecks and Susquehannocks, effectively discovering the outer boundaries of the Powhatan chiefdom and meeting Wahunsenacawh’s enemies. [1]
     5. English elites relied on earlier colonial precedents for how to settle the Chesapeake.18 The Spanish had for a century used the mouths of rivers to gain knowledge and control of Native territory, moving from the coast inward. In doing so, they worked to establish a stake to both waterways and land and to establish themselves at the top of Native political structures in order to dictate the flow of goods and labor.19 Indeed, instructions from England divorced from the reality of the Powhatans’ control of the Chesapeake advised settlers to ally with the Powhatans’ neighbors, collect tribute in food from Algonquians using captives as collateral, and bring Native children into English settlements.20 The English fitfully attempted to follow these instructions, and also erected fortifications in fear of Spanish attacks and Spanish alliances with Native people. Algonquians could share intelligence of the landscape with their enemies too, and the English were advised not to allow Native settlement between the fort and the sea, “least they be guides to your enemies.”21 To prove the promise of extensive English settlement, John Smith discussed the Chesapeake and its inhabitants in descriptive terms—long and flat horizons, bounties of birds and fish, towns by the shore—rather than in precise measurements. Smith’s eyewitness account of trade and diplomacy with Indigenous people demonstrated the reach of English exploration upriver but also revealed Native use and control of the same waterways. [1]
     6. For his part, documenting Native boundaries and movement on water made it easier for Smith to envision colonization. John Smith’s account acknowledged that Indigenous people knew their chiefdoms’ territorial limits and the Powhatans’ authority over those limits. His map of Virginia, notable also for its descriptions of the navigability of the rivers and knowledge of the bay trade among Native people, made the Chesapeake intelligible to English mariners.25 Even Smith’s conversations with Powhatan leadership, relayed to an English audience, detailed how the Powhatans showed interest in the English watercraft, the knowledge of celestial navigation, and King James’s military successes through his “innumerable multitude of ships.”26 Later, Dutch traders supplying these plantations (also gathering intelligence) copied a map made by one of Samuel Argall’s English sailors in 1619 or 1620 to plot the plantations along the James.27 A chart for mariners produced by Dutch cartographer Johannes Vingboons, likely from an original, reveals not only the locations of soundings and English forts and storehouses but also English boundaries like palisades and lines, perhaps pales, separating marsh from tillable land west of Jamestown.28 The map also points out possible entrance points to Native communication interspersed between plantations, like the reference to a “Rickahock” path and the “Troking Point” opposite Jamestown Island.29 These maps and descriptions of Native people together point an English audience toward conquest and access through maritime power. [1]
     7. Onshore, mapping aided the English in making sense of how they had already physically entered Native power relationships and networks. John Smith, the most likely original author of the 1608 “Zúñiga Map” smuggled to Spain by Spanish ambassador Pedro de Zúñiga, noted the names of Powhatan districts, where werowances lived, and his impressions of the numbers of settlements as he traveled up the James River past the fall line and into Monacan territory.31 On a trip at the end of 1607, he did his best to map overland routes after he was captured by the Powhatans and carried down to the York River. [1]
     8. The English noticed fractures between the Powhatan core, people separated from them by some distance but still in the Powhatan orbit, and Algonquians who were altogether independent from Tsenacomoco. During John Smith’s 1608 explorations of the bay, Algonquian competitors in the region, the Piscataways to the north of the Potomac, were helpful to the expedition. Meanwhile, the Patawomecks on the Potomac and Accawmacks on the Eastern Shore sought independent alliances and trade with the English, revealing their discomfort or disregard for Wahunsenacawh’s authority at some distance from their towns.45 The English knew their independent trading bothered the Powhatans, who controlled the movement of trade goods inside of their domains: the Powhatans conducted a military raid on the Piankatanks shortly after the latter agreed to share food with the English in 1608, for example. When the English visited Werowocomoco, the Piankatanks’ locks of hair were prominently displayed. The English dutifully recorded both the attack and the resulting celebration, underscoring the results of unregulated trade in the Powhatans’ domains of Tsenacomoco.46 However, understanding and exploiting the difference between real and expressed limits of Powhatan domains would benefit the English in the future. [1]
     9. Facing food shortages in the summer and fall of 1609, John Smith pushed the settlers from the fort into Native territories to survive on fish in Kecoughtan territory and the smaller chiefdom also called Powhatan at the fall line. Other leaders attempted to purchase land from the Powhatans and to build forts in the territories of the Nansemonds and people of the smaller district also named Powhatan. They were met with violence.52 The Powhatans pushed back against inappropriate English use of waterways and land and defiance of Powhatan boundaries, even as the English relied on Native guides and interpreters to facilitate their own movement in the Chesapeake. [1]
     10. Diverse outsiders also included Europeans: the English soon discovered that Massawomecks and Susquehannocks, non-Algonquians who lived at the head of the bay, were already trading furs to the French to the north by the time of John Smith’s explorations. Smith saw among people in the northern Chesapeake tools and objects more familiar to him: “Many hatchets, knives and pieces of iron and brass” purportedly from Canada and used by women in their cornfields.56 Some Algonquian towns were semi-palisaded, with family homes surrounding a circular fort for protection from northern groups.57 Up the James River from the English fort, the Weyanokes maintained a double-walled palisade and “a place called the great market,” a feature that no doubt interested English colonists looking to trade with people to the south.58 Smith and his company of gentlemen were not the only hostile force or trade competition to reckon with on the James River or the Chesapeake. [1]
     11. The fort’s disappearing weapons—pikes, knives, shot, powder, and small arms—taken by colonists for trade irritated John Smith.69 Sailors traded with Algonquians directly from their ships or traded English goods like butter and cheese with colonists who had access to Algonquian goods. Their reliance on trade fed the now-famous narrative of “distracted lubberly gluttons” who Smith forced back to work.70 Uncontrolled trade and movement revealed the weakness of the leadership among the English, who could not control the lower sort, a point Smith drove home calling the “gentlemen, and carelesse governours” the “scorne, and shame” of Virginia. [1]
     12. Uncontrolled sharing of knowledge and supplies posed an immediate physical threat to the English settlement itself, to the advantage of the Powhatans. Algonquians and English settlers took part in illicit trade in weapons, which made an illicit trade in information about English weaknesses more dangerous. John Smith was particularly irritated with the fort’s Dutch or German servants who in 1608 and 1609 repeatedly ferried goods without English permission between the English and Powhatan towns. So much of what bothered Smith was what he did not know: he found the servants’ friends skulking in the woods, unsure whether they had run away or not; he knew that the Dutchmen had taken weapons to the Powhatans and assumed that the Powhatans learned how to use them from the gifters. Was there any relation or conspiracy between these maddening free-ranging servants and other people who had run from the English, like he guessed? And what were they telling the Powhatans, or other English servants, about the English situation? Smith blamed the sudden removal of Wahunsenacawh, and his corn supply, from Werowocomoco on information provided by “those damned Dutch-men” of English plans for an ambush, stealing from the colonists the opportunity to steal Native food. The situation escalated when another man tasked with retrieving runaway colonists instead “conveighed them every thing they desired,” presumably weapons. Weapons in mind, Smith envisioned that the men had planned no less than an alliance with the Powhatans, if not the Spaniards, to overthrow the English. At the same time, Smith ordered a blockhouse to be built to hem in movement between the fort on one side and Native land on the other. He understood that poor English surveillance and leadership left power in the hands of both lower-ranking servants and Native people. [1]
     13. John Smith sells a European as a slave to the Powhatans. [1]
         1. Two years after Thomas Savage’s adoption, Smith took young Englishman Henry Spelman to a Powhatan werowance named Parahunt to whom, according to Spelman, “unknowne to me he [Smith] sould me,” leaving Spelman in exchange for the rights to a Powhatan town, to learn the language and become an interpreter for the English.82 Smith insisted his aim was only to buy land and apprentice Spelman, but Spelman reported that Smith traded him for Powhatan land explicitly to undermine Deputy Governor Francis West’s choice for a fortified location on the James River nearby, intending to move the fortifications to his new land. This episode caused violence and tension between West’s and Smith’s men, which Parahunt and surrounding Powhatans used to escalate attacks on West’s isolated men in an ultimately successful effort to push the English out of this territory. Soon after, John Smith was hurt in a suspicious gunpowder incident, perhaps the result of political infighting such as this, and sailed back to England.83 His attempted exchanges of people and land among Parahunt, Spelman, and West ended in the loss of Smith’s skills to the company, and more opportunity for Powhatans to curb English settlement. [1]
     14. Facing widespread hunger in 1609, John Smith sent soldiers beyond the walls of the fort to fend for themselves. The soldiers living beyond the confines of Jamestown made a bid to purchase a well-situated island in a bend on the Nansemond River from the Nansemonds that year. Smith and other military men were already intimately familiar with the territory of their neighbors, having raided it for scarce corn supplies the previous year. The site, on elevated land surrounded by marsh, was suited to good fortifications mirroring those in Jamestown, with a prime view of incoming ships and canoes. But Nansemonds lived there, a place for their current werowances to reside (and likely, by extension, a holding place for food gathered in tribute) and a site for the burial of past werowances.85 A thriving religious and political site, it was not for sale. Either the English messengers dawdled in returning or were killed by the Nansemonds, and in response the English took possession through desecration: they “Beate the Salvages outt of the Island burned their howses ransaked their Temples, Tooke downe the Corpes of their deade kings from their Toambes, and Caryed away their pearles Copper and braceletts whereiwth they doe decore their kings funeralles.”86 The Nansemonds and their neighbors retaliated, shoving bread into the mouths of English dead, a message concerning English hunger for food and the land from which it came. [1]
     15. Soon other Indigenous groups seized opportunities to chip away at Wahunsenacawh’s control of movement. The Chickahominies, loosely allied with the Powhatans but without a tributary relationship inside of the paramount chiefdom, sought a separate peace at James Fort, only a dozen miles from where they lived. The English noticed that “these people presuming upon their owne strength and number (in no one place In those parts, which we know, so many togeather) . . . a long time neglected Powhatan,” either not paying tribute or disengaging from military pursuits.112 During the previous war, Wahunsenacawh actively worked to keep these neighbors from coming to agreement, telling the English the Chickahominies were not to be trusted while urging the Chickahominies “to betray such of our [English] men as should come at any tyme to trade with them for corne.”113 With presents of deer the Chickahominies approached Dale and proposed a similar relationship to the one they had had with Wahunsenacawh previously, to fight and pay tribute in exchange for selfgovernance. Argall, considered by the English a master negotiator from his time among the Patawomecks, promised them protection, trade, and an engraved copper image of King James. [1]
     16. In return, they would help fight the enemies of the English and signal their alliance by calling themselves “Tassantasses,” the Algonquian word for “strangers” that the Powhatans used to describe the English.114 The Chickahominies consulted among each other and “requested further, that if their boats should happen to meet with our boats . . . we would let them passe.” In requesting this condition, the Chickahominies revealed the English mariners’ power to disrupt and coopt established trade and communication along the James and Chickahominy Rivers. Mobility remained key to self-determination for Native people who would live nearby English forts. Dale commented, “We agreed unto it, so that they pronounced themselves English men.” Proudly, he added, “This people never acknowledged any King, before; no nor ever would acknowledge Powhatan for his King, a stout people they be.” As an afterthought, he added, “and a fine seat they have.”115 At the perfect moment, the Chickahominies gained an alliance in exchange for an acknowledgment of English control over the landscape. With the Chickahominies’ request of free passage along the rivers, King James was perhaps becoming to some, in John Smith’s words to Wahunsenacawh, “king of all the waters.” [1]
     17. Indeed, the Powhatans, like English leaders, faced cracks in control along their periphery. Perhaps because of Savage’s presence, Opechancanough ultimately failed to convince the Accawmacks on the Eastern Shore to join in his developing plot to attack English settlements. On English plantations where Native people visited and resided on the western shore, others provided information to the English. One of Reverend George Thorpe’s English servants, possibly informed by Thorpe’s Native students living at Berkeley Hundred, alerted him to an impending attack and ran away so as not to die at the hands of the Powhatans since “his Master out of his good meaning was so void of suspition and full of confidence.”48 A Native person of unknown origin named Chauco, or Chanco, gave a warning that was believed but came too late to stop the attack.49 Connections, perhaps even familial identities, that had developed through English expansion ran counter to Opechancanough’s goals of secrecy and Powhatan unity. [1]
     18. Reverend George Thorpe, who had arrived in 1620 to lead the mission effort and had worked out an agreement with Opechancanough in the months preceding the attack to bring entire Native families into English homes, seemed especially and willfully ignorant. He seemed to overlook the risks of daily familiarity with the Powhatans and had ensured open lines of communication with Powhatan leadership. His story served as a warning to newly arrived colonists. “He thought nothing too deare for them, he never denied them any thing” in his efforts to convert them to Christianity, John Smith said. [1]
     19. The trade in beaver pelts expanded in the 1630s, encouraging consistent communication between diverse Native leaders and enterprising settlers.15 Eyed as potential partners by John Smith, the Susquehannocks traded furs for goods from the English, Dutch, and Swedes from their territory at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. From as far west as perhaps the Great Lakes, the Massawomecks traveled by birch-bark canoe to raid Chesapeake Algonquian enemies and trade with the English; they enriched chosen Native middlemen like the Nacotchtanks on the Potomac River who held the Massawomecks’ furs and escorted the English through the trade.16 Interpreter and former captive to the Nacotchtanks, Henry Fleet built a trade among the Nacotchtanks, who provided him with diplomatic and orienteering assistance and the labor of storing and carrying skins in the trade with the Massawomecks.17 By 1631, Fleet was trading corn with New Englanders for trade goods to “beate about from town to town for Beaver” along the Potomac River where he was once a captive. Competing with other Virginians for skins saved by Native people, he made diplomatic overtures with gifts to inland town leaders as a potential connection to the English trade.18 Informed by past conflicts and alliances, the beaver trade brought people of the Chesapeake into frequent, frenetic contact. [1]
     20. After his battle with the Occaneechis, Bacon returned to meet with the governor at Jamestown, only to be captured and brought inside the gates as a prisoner rather than military leader.116 After Bacon’s capture and brief arrest for marching against the Native people without a commission, he was reinstated to the council before Berkeley expelled him again. The newly elected assembly, however, imposed reforms including restrictions on the tax collecting, fees, and reelection of local and colonial authorities, from sheriffs to surveyors to county justices to the governor, and reinstated the right of freemen to vote—all measures popular with Bacon’s followers. In anticipation of the cost of a war with the Susquehannocks, the assembly halted the building of forts, ordered the forts’ garrisons to actively pursue Native people, and claimed “abandoned” Algonquian lands for the public rather than private grants. (All of these laws would be immediately repealed after the rebellion but placated many of Bacon’s followers for the time being.)117 In the meantime, Bacon gathered hundreds of men to confront the governor at Jamestown, received a commission to make war on Native people, and commenced confiscating supplies from settlers. Now that Bacon had left, Berkeley declared Bacon a rebel once again, and with Bacon in pursuit Berkeley fled to the Eastern Shore. [1]
     21. Although they survived as a nation, Bacon found no more Susquehannocks to fight and instead repeatedly turned to seeking Pamunkey settlements and loot to rally exhausted troops. These followers were eager to defeat Natives; Bacon was not picky which. He “seized two Indians, a man & a Boy, who then did & always had lived in peace & friendship amongst the English, these he bound to trees, & wth much Horror & cruelty put to Death, wthout examining their crime,” Philip Ludwell, a council member loyal to Berkeley, wrote nervously. Former Native friends “are not our worst enemies, having had a ffrequent and free intercourse amongst us these 20 odd years, & well knowing our Plantacons and manner of Living,” he lamented.119 Bacon’s men also looted English goods, mats, hides, and wampum from a Pamunkey town. The English perpetrated gruesome public executions and captured other Pamunkeys to be sold into slavery.120 [1]
     22. For Algonquians, residing too near roads and waterways became a heavier liability than a benefit, and they transitioned quickly to a strategy of isolation. As colonists evacuated the most isolated plantations and moved toward the bay and denser English populations to avoid outsider attacks, Native people moved inland to the wetlands that had long befuddled surveyors and planters. In the Middle Peninsula’s Dragon Swamp, along roads that crisscrossed high points between Mattaponi and Pamunkey land to the Rappahannock River peoples and beyond, Algonquians from multiple groups gathered and built cabins. In the swamps, they kept their families together and stored the trade goods the rebels were after. Knowledge of the routes through the wetlands and the foliage allowed for defense. Men easily spied any invaders, and their families left few sights and sounds to indicate their presence.121 Wetlands provided resources and safety for Algonquians when places beyond proved too dangerous. [1]
     23. The pursued Algonquians recognized that unlike along the well-traveled trading path to the Piedmont, the rebels were out of their depth in the Dragon Swamp, woods, and wide marshes. [1]
     24. They moved to temporary locations in the wetlands and subsisted, as Powhatan himself had promised John Smith they would: “What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? Whereby you must famish by wronging us your friends.”122 The rebel’s Native guides found Native homes first and were met with a defensive volley of shot. The Pamunkey leader ordered that the men not discharge their firearms in the direction of the English, hoping to deescalate the conflict while the families ran into the swamp. A Pamunkey woman was captured beyond the camp and led the men off course from the hideout of Cockacoeske, the Pamunkey werowansqua, or female hereditary chief, for which Bacon ordered her execution. Cockacoeske stayed in a camp in a pocosin that eluded Bacon’s Native guides and mired Bacon’s soldiers in the swamp. The English took trade goods, furs, and food, as well as captives. Finally discovered and forced to leave her temporary encampment to the pillagers, the werowansqua avoided capture for two weeks living in the woods with a child.123 The wetlands sustained them and unknown others. Elsewhere, as at the end of the rebellion in northern Virginia, Native people sought sanctuary in English homes and the intercession of specific English leaders, leaning on the relationships they had developed with nearby landholders with some success. Nicholas Spencer, a loyalist and official who scattered rebels in Westmoreland County, helped his neighbors the Nanzaticos, who “notwithstanding their strong desire to peace, and endeavours for it, had bin destroyed by our wild headed rabble, if I had not interposed, and restrained them, to their dissatisfaction.” [1]
   * **Virginia Assembly Records**: Legislative records from the colonial period, documenting interactions, treaties, and laws related to the Powhatan tribes. [35]
     1. The first meeting of this authorized assembly was convened on July 30, 1619. Over a six-day period of unbearably hot and humid weather, the assembly covered several items on the agenda. They petitioned for some minor changes in the settlement of land tenure. Then, the assembly approved the "greate Charter" of 1618, which had allowed for its creation. Next, the assembly adopted measures against drunkenness, idleness, and gambling. Other legislation discussed included personal conduct of the settlers, land ownership, crop selection and relations with the Powhatan Indians. [35]
     2. Indian slavery was legalized. [36]
        1. Laws allowing Indian war prisoners to be enslaved were enacted in 1660, 1668, and 1676. A law requiring Indian war captives to be servants and not slaves was passed in 1670 but largely ignored. The General Assembly required licenses to engage in trade with the Indians, but many traders easily participated outside of these regulations. [36]
   * **Powhatan's Deeds and Treaties**: Documents detailing land transactions, treaties, and agreements between Powhatan leaders and colonial authorities.
     1. By 1677, the Treaty of Middle Plantation promised a new relationship between Native and English people, which accounted for the return of enslaved and indentured people who had run away, space between Native and English settlements, and surveillance of Virginians and Native people to back up these promises. [1]
     2. The Powhatans surely knew that war would create opportunities for servants and enslaved laborers to run for Native towns or the borders, and the AngloPowhatan treaty signed at the end of the war demanding the return of runaway servants and enslaved people proves they were right. [1]
     3. The treaty of 1646 between the English and Powhatans ended the Powhatan chiefdom as it had existed before, and it put in place barriers between English and Native people, forcing acknowledgment of the ways they had been and continued to be intertwined. [1]
     4. The treaty also authorized Virginia’s governor to approve the Native leaders in the future. The Powhatans’ defeat meant that the treaty shored up the power of land- and labor-rich officials, who wanted to both reinforce boundaries around land and labor and open access to trade in the Piedmont. [1]
     5. The treaty established that the area between the York and James Rivers from the Atlantic Coast west to the falls belonged to the English. [1]
     6. The 1646 treaty was an attempt to confine Native people north of the York River. Within a short while, the countryside along the Rappahannock River was opened to patents and settlements. Borders between individual plantations and Native towns proliferated north of the York River. [1]
     7. New treaty relationships and laws shaped Anglo-Native relationships for Native people living proximate to settlers. [1]
     8. In lieu of using Powhatan’s necklace as a passport for the English coming into Powhatan places, the new peace treaty stipulated that Necotowance’s men would use an English object—a matchcoat or badge of “striped stuff ”— to deliver messages into English territory. [1]
     9. However, the 1646 treaty was largely unenforceable from the perspective of Pamunkey leadership, which had lost its battle over mobility of people and goods in the Chesapeake. Necotowance’s power over Algonquian districts and intelligence was diluted by the scattering of people and proliferation of local relationships, and he found it difficult to control Algonquian movement as head of a decentralized and decreasing number of towns and people. Berkeley was even forced to hire bodyguards to protect against assassination attempts perpetrated by Algonquians who continued the war against the English despite the peace treaty. [1]
     10. In 1652, after ten years of tension and fighting, Marylanders negotiated a new treaty with the Susquehannocks. The Susquehannocks ceded land on the Eastern Shore that had historically belonged to Algonquians and reaffirmed that while any English person could settle on Palmer’s Island, Kent Island and its fort belonged to their friend William Claiborne. [1]
     11. Abraham Wood bought and controlled Virginia’s outpost at Fort Henry on the Appomattox River, the treaty-defined point of contact between English people and Algonquians and what would become a central node of the trade to the interior. [1]
     12. Simultaneously, the Rappahannocks nearby agreed in a Lancaster County treaty to both let the hogs live and turn in anyone else who appropriated planters’ cattle and swine, an acknowledgment that they or other nearby nations might have ignored English conventions surrounding feral swine in the past. [1]
     13. After the request of Native leaders, the province of Maryland affirmed fishing and hunting rights and prescribed punishment for murders perpetrated by settlers in the Treaty of Amity signed by twelve Algonquian nations in 1666. [1]
     14. Like the 1661 murder at the Richard White plantation in Old Rappahannock County, the number of Native attacks from the north and west rose at the heads of the major tributaries to the bay during the 1660s, following the treaty between Maryland and enemies of the Haudenosaunees, the Susquehannocks. [1]
     15. By 1663, Virginia law had prohibited the werowance of the Patawomecks from treating directly with “foreign Indians” without the presence of militia officers; Algonquian signers of Maryland’s Treaty of Amity agreed to not entertain outsider Native people. Colonists inserted themselves into established practices of treaty-making and communicating among Native nations to better control intelligence networks, justifying further intervention and codifying suspicions of tributary Algonquians. [1]
     16. The Articles of Peace, also called the Treaty of Middle Plantation, in 1677 once again drew lines, requiring patents for Native lands, reaffirming Native rights to water access, and requiring three miles between English and Native settlements. [1]
     17. The werowansqua negotiated through the Treaty of Middle Plantation to reestablish the Pamunkeys’ historical authority over some nations formerly part of the Powhatan chiefdom, which would be “(as she desired) under her subjection, as anciently they had beene.” [1]
     18. But as the history of race unfurls, narratives like Bacon’s Rebellion and the following ascendancy of the plantation system often crowd out ongoing Native histories beyond large-scale acts of violence or treaty-making, even as the histories of Native lands and plantations remain tied together. [1]
     19. From a Chesapeake Native point of view, the turbulence and drama prior to the Treaty of Middle Plantation were no historical watershed and did little to resolve preexisting tensions over land and violence. [1]
   * **John Rolfe's Writings**: Correspondence and writings from John Rolfe, who played a significant role in early interactions and marriages between Powhatan tribes and English settlers.
     1. Pocahontas, daughter of Chief Powhatan, was kidnapped and brought to Jamestown to be traded for English prisoners and weapons that Powhatan held. The exchange never took place and Pocahontas was taken to the settlement at Henrico, where she learned English, converted to Christianity, was baptized, and was christened Rebecca. It was about this time that she presumably came to the attention of John Rolfe. [37]
     2. Rolfe was a pious man who agonized for many weeks over the decision to marry a heathen. He composed a long, laborious letter to Governor Dale asking for permission to marry Pocahontas. The letter reflected Rolfe's dilemma. The tone suggests it was intended mainly for official records, but at some points Rolfe bared his true feelings. "It is Pocahontas," he wrote, "to whom my hearty and best thoughts are, and have been a long time so entangled, and enthralled in so intricate a labyrinth that I (could not) unwind myself thereout." The wedding took place in the spring of 1614. It resulted in peace with the Indians long enough for the settlers to develop and expand their colony and plant themselves permanently in the new land. [37]
     3. In 1616, Rolfe took his wife and infant son Thomas to England. Pocahontas died at Gravesend seven months later, just before returning to Virginia. A sad John Rolfe left his young son in the care of a guardian in England and returned to his adopted home. Upon his return to Virginia, he assumed more prominence in the colony. [37]
   * **William Strachey's History of Travaile**: Strachey's account of the Virginia colony, including descriptions of Powhatan society and culture.
     1. Created a Powhatan dictionary. [38]
     2. Little is known of Strachey’s specific activities in the colony from 1610 until 1611, although he clearly had repeated contacts with the [Algonquian-speaking](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/languages-and-interpreters-in-early-virginia-indian-society/) Indians of [Tsenacomoco](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tsenacomoco-powhatan-paramount-chiefdom/), who were engaged with the English in the [First Anglo-Powhatan War](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/first-anglo-powhatan-war-1609-1614/) (1609–1614). He extensively interviewed two Indian men, Kemps and Machumps, both of whom spoke English. And he visited the Quiyoughcohannock and the Kecoughtan Indians. In September 1611, Strachey returned to England. [39]
   * **Thomas Jefferson’s Writings**: References in Jefferson’s letters and writings about the Powhatan tribes and their role in early American history. [2]
     1. When the first effectual settlement of our colony was made, which was in 1607, the country from the sea-coast to the mountains, and from Patowmac to the most southern waters of James river, was occupied by upwards of forty different tribes of Indians. Of these the Powhatans, the Mannahoacs, and Monacans, were the most powerful. [2]
     2. Those between the sea-coast and falls of the rivers, were in amity with one another, and attached to the Powhatans as their link of union. Those between the falls of the rivers and the mountains, were divided into two confederacies; the tribes inhabiting the head waters of Patowmac and Rappahanoc being attached to the Mannahoacs; and those on the upper parts of James river to the Monacans. [2]
     3. But the Monacans and their friends were in amity with the Mannahoacs and their friends, and waged joint and perpetual war against the Powhatans. [2]
     4. We are told that the Powhatans, Mannahoacs, and Monacans, spoke languages so radically different, that interpreters were necessary when they transacted business. Hence we may conjecture, that this was not the case between all the tribes, and probably that each spoke the language of the nation to which it was attached; which we know to have been the case in many particular instances. Very possibly there may have been anciently three different stocks, each of which multiplying in a long course of time, had separated into so many little societies. This practice results from the circumstance of their having never submitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power, any shadow of government. [2]
     5. The territories of the Powhatan confederacy, South of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. Capt. Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of James town were 5000 people, of whom 1500 were warriors. From this we find the proportion of their warriors to their whole inhabitants, was as 3 to 10. The Powhatan confederacy then would consist of about 8000 inhabitants, which was one for every square mile; being about the twentieth part of our present population in the same territory, and the hundredth of that of the British islands. [2]
     6. Westward of all these tribes, beyond the mountains, and extending to the great lakes, were the Massawomecs, a most powerful confederacy, who harrassed unremittingly the Powhatans and Manahoacs. These were probably the ancestors of the tribes known at present by the name of the Six Nations. [2]
     7. The Pamunkies are reduced to about 10 or 12 men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about 300 acres of very fertile land, on Pamunkey river, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole. [2]
     8. As far as I have been able to learn, the country from the sea coast to the Alleghaney, and from the most southern waters of James river up to Patuxent river, now in the state of Maryland, was occupied by three different nations of Indians, each of which spoke a different language, and were under separate and distinct governments. What the original or real names of those nations were, I have not been able to learn with certainty: but by us they are distinguished by the names of Powhatàns, Mannahòacs, and Mònacans, now commonly called Tuscaròras. [2]
     9. The Powhatàns, who occupied the country from the sea shore up to the falls of the rivers, were a powerful nation, and seem to have consisted of seven tribes five on the western and two on the eastern shore. Each of these tribes was subdivided into towns, families, or clans, who lived together. [2]
     10. The Sachem or chief of the tribe seems to be by election. And sometimes persons who are strangers, and adopted into the tribe, are promoted to this dignity, on account of their abilities. Thus on the arrival of Capt. Smith, the first founder of the colony of Virginia, Opechàncanough, who was Sachem or chief of the Chickahòminies, one of the tribes of the Powhàtans, is said to have been of another tribe, and even of another nation, so that no certain account could be obtained of his origin or descent. [2]
     11. The chiefs of the nation seem to have been by a rotation among the tribes. Thus when Capt. Smith, in the year 1609, questioned Powhatàn (who was the chief of the nation, and whose proper name is said to have been Wahunsonacock) respecting the succession, the old chief informed him, 'that he was very old and had seen the death of all his people thrice[\*](https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/jefferson/jefferson.html#n67); that not one of these generations were then living except himself, that he must soon die and the succession descend in order to his brother Opichapàn, Opechàncanough, and Catatàugh, and then to his two sisters, and their two daughters.' [2]
     12. But these were appellations designating the tribes in the confederacy. For the persons named are not his real brothers, but the chiefs of different tribes. Accordingly in 1618, when Powhatan died, he was succeeded by Opichapàn, and after his decease Opechàncanough became chief of the nation. I need only mention another instance to shew that the chiefs of the tribes claimed this kindred with the head of the nation. In 1622, when Raleigh Crashaw was with Japazaw, the Sachem or chief of the Patowmacs, Opechàncanough, who had great power and influence, being the second man in the nation, and next in succession to Opichapan, and who was a bitter but secret enemy to the English, and wanted to engage his nation in a war with them, sent two baskets of beads to the Patowmac chief, and desired him to kill the Englishman that was with him. Japazaw replied, that the English were his friends, and Opichapàn his brother, and that therefore there should be no blood shed between them by his means. It is also to be observed, that when the English first came over, in all their conferences with any of the chiefs, they constantly heard him make mention of his brother, with whom he must consult, or to whom he referred them, meaning thereby either the chief of the nation, or the tribes in confederacy. The Manahòacks are said to have been a confederacy of four tribes, and in alliance with the Monacans, in the war which they were carrying on against the Powhatans. [2]
     13. To the northward of these there was another powerful nation, which occupied the country from the head of the Chesapeak-bay up to the Kittatinney mountain, and as far eastward as Connecticut river, comprehending that part of New-York which lies between the highlands and the ocean, all the state of New-Jersey, that part of Pennsylvania which is watered, below the range of the Kittatinney mountains, by the rivers or streams falling into the Delaware, and the county of Newcastle in the state of Delaware, as far as Duck creek. It is to be observed, that the nations of Indians distinguished their countries one from another by natural boundaries, such as ranges of mountains, or streams of water. But as the heads of rivers frequently interlock, or approach near to each other, as those who live upon a stream claim the country watered by it, they often encroached on each other, and this is a constant source of war between the different nations. The nation occupying the tract of country last described, called themselves Lenopi. The French writers call them Loups; and among the English they are now commonly called Delawares. This nation or confederacy consisted of five tribes, who all spoke one language. 1. The Chihohocki, who dwelt on the west side of the river now called Delaware, a name which it took from Lord De la War, who put into it on his passage from Virginia in the year, but which by the Indians was called Chihohocki. 2. The Wanami, who inhabited the country called New-Jersey, from the Rariton to the sea. 3. The Munsey, who dwelt on the upper streams of the Delaware, from the Kittatinney mountains down to the Leheigh or western branch of the Delaware. 4. The Wabinga, who are sometimes called River Indians, sometimes Mohickanders, and who had their dwelling between the west branch of Delaware and Hudson's river, from the Kittatinney ridge down to the Rariton: and 5. The Mahiccon, or Mahattan, who occupied Staten island, York island, (which from its being the principal seat of their residence was formerly called Mahatton) Long island and that part of New-York and Connecticut which lies between Hudson and Connecticut rivers, from the highland, which is a continuation of the Kittatinney ridge down to the Sound. This nation had a close alliance with the Shawanese, who lived on the Susquehanna and to the westward of that river, as far as the Alleghaney mountains, and carried on a long war with another powerful nation or confederacy of Indians, which lived to the north of them between the Kittatinney mountains, or highlands, and the lake Ontario, and who call themselves Mingos, and are called by the French writers Iroquois, by the English the Five Nations, and by the Indians to the southward, with whom they were at war, Massawomacs. This war was carrying on, in its greatest fury, when Captain Smith first arrived in Virginia. The Mingo warriors had penetrated down the Susquehanna to the mouth of it. In one of his excursions up the bay, at the mouth of Susquehanna, in 1608, Captain Smith met with six or seven of their canoes full of warriors, who were coming to attack their enemies in the rear. In an excursion which he had made a few weeks before, up the Rappahanock, and in which he had a skirmish with a party of the Manahoacs, and taken a brother of one of their chiefs prisoner, he first heard of this nation. For when he asked the prisoner, why his nation attacked the English? the prisoner said, because his nation had heard that the English came from under the world to take their world from them. Being asked, how many worlds he knew? he said, he knew but one, which was under the sky that covered him, and which consisted of the Powhatàns, the Mànakins, and the Massawòmacs. [2]
   * **Colonial and Early American Census Records**: Records documenting the population and distribution of Powhatan tribes in the 17th and 18th centuries.
     1. Thomas Jefferson’s Notes on the State of Virginia [2]
        1. Please see works cited.
        2. Thomas Jefferson’s Indigenous Census [2]
           1. Please see attachments section **Thomas Jefferson’s Indigenous Census,** attachment #1.
   * **Treaties and Agreements with Colonial Governments**: Official documents of treaties and agreements between Powhatan leaders and colonial or early federal governments.
     1. **1607**:
        1. In 1607, the Virginia Company of London, a private organization chartered by the crown to settle Virginia, authorized an exploration led by Captain Christopher Newport. The group left Jamestown on a voyage up Powhatan’s River, now called the James River. [25]
        2. On the third day, they sailed to a place occupied by the Arrohattoc Indians, one of the tribes of the Powhatan nation. The colonizers became the first Englishmen to set foot on the soil that was to become Henrico County. Having been fed and entertained by the Arrohattac, the Englishmen departed the next morning. Newport erected a cross, claiming the river and the land for God and England despite the existence of a thriving Algonquian community. [25]
     2. **1614**:
        1. The First Anglo-Powhatan War had begun with a truce and a cultural exchange when young Henry Spelman had gone to live with the weroance Parahunt. Now it ended with another truce and cultural exchange. This time, Pocahontas, Parahunt’s half-sister, decided to remain among the English. During the stalemate of 1612–1613, she had converted to Christianity, and in April 1614 the English informed her father that she intended to marry [John Rolfe](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/rolfe-john-d-1622/), one of the Sea Venture‘s passengers. Powhatan assented. The English and the Indians did not share many understandings about war, but they both agreed that this marriage could bring peace. [40]
        2. And for a while it did. Although Pocahontas died in England in 1617, and her father a year later, the peace held and the English took advantage by expanding their settlements far beyond Jamestown. After Rolfe introduced a saleable grade of [tobacco](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tobacco-in-colonial-virginia/) to the colony, plantations were established up and down the James, while the Indians bided their time. The title of mamanatowick did not immediately transfer to Opechancanough, but as the weroance of the Pamunkey, he controlled the last great stronghold in Tsenacomoco. The English, meanwhile, took Pocahontas’s conversion as a sign that all of the Powhatans were prepared to abandon their traditions; even Opechancanough seemed to flirt with conversion. As Hakluyt had predicted, English “hammerours” had readied the Indians “to our Preachers hands.” [40]
     3. **1622**:
        1. On March 22, 1622, Opechancanough led a series of coordinated surprise attacks that concentrated on settlements upriver from [Jamestown](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/jamestown-settlement-early/) and succeeded in killing nearly a third of the English population. Perhaps assuming that the English were sufficiently humiliated, he did not pursue a final destruction of the colony. What followed, then, was a ten-year war in which the English repeatedly attacked the Indian [food supply](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/diet-in-early-virginia-indian-society/). [41]
        2. Given the evidence above, the Powhatan Indians seemed satisfied that the March 22 attacks had fulfilled their purpose: to put the English in their proper place, both literally and figuratively. They expected the English to remain in a subordinate position to Powhatan’s (now Opitchapam’s) paramount chiefdom and to remain geographically confined to the downriver settlements near Jamestown or the remote Eastern Shore. Thus the anthropologist Frederic Gleach has aptly characterized the March 22 attacks not as a “massacre” (which suggests a simple, savage randomness) or as an “uprising” (which assumes that the Powhatan Indians had already been subdued by the English), but rather as a “coup … a sudden and vigorous attack” intended as a corrective blow to the misbehaving English living in the midst of Powhatan’s people. [41]
        3. Despite appearances, however, the English colonists’ retreat did not mean that they understood the Powhatan Indians’ message. On the contrary, they assumed that their intent, according to Edward Waterhouse, was to “destroy us.” Their withdrawal from outlying settlements was purely strategic. In fact, some regarded the March 22 attacks as the perfect excuse to wage unrestricted war against the Powhatan Indians. “Our hands which before were tied with gentlenesse and faire usage, are now set at liberty,” Waterhouse wrote. He continued, “[We] may now by right of Warre, and law of Nations, invade their Country,” and then “enjoy their cultivated places” while reducing the Indians “to servitude and drudgery.” [41]
        4. When Wyatt listed his military assets he counted not only fighting men, but also, according to the [governor’s Council](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/governors-council-the/), those who were “serviceable for caryinge of corne.” Even diplomacy revolved around food: the English agreed to a truce in the spring of 1623 in order to let both sides plant their crops, but they fully intended to resume their “feede fights” after the corn ripened. [41]
        5. This was not the only truce that was arranged with the intention of violating it. In May 1623 Opechancanough agreed to meet with an English delegation. After the negotiations the English offered poisoned drinks to toast the accord, then fired on the deathly ill Powhatan delegates. Some of the English took scalps, and back in Jamestown they bragged (mistakenly) of having killed Opechancanough. [41]
        6. Virginia’s leaders deliberately prolonged the war for another eight years after the climactic victory of 1624. [41]
        7. Strategically timed truces and peace treaties encouraged the Powhatan Indians to plant more food, which the English then looted at harvest time. As late as 1629 the English [could report](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/letter-from-the-rev-joseph-mead-to-sir-martin-stuteville-january-23-1630/) that the year’s campaign had done more damage than any other “since the great massacre.” [41]
        8. The fighting continued well into 1632, when a new governor finally signed an agreement—unpopular with Virginia’s elites, who were profiting from the “feede fights”—to end the war. [41]
        9. The Powhatan Indians were not exactly vanquished. Their 1632 agreement with the English merely ended the war; there is no indication that it contained any humiliating provisions or admissions of defeat. (The original was destroyed during the [American Civil War](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/civil-war-in-virginia-the-american/); notes taken by the early Virginia historian Conway Robinson described it only as “a peace.”) The Powhatan Indians still outnumbered the English, and they retained control of considerable territory (greater in extent than that of the English) north of the James River. The basic rhythms of their lives remained fundamentally the same, as did their economy, [religion](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/religion-in-early-virginia-indian-society/), and political system. Following the old rules governing the succession, for example, Opechancanough succeeded his brother Opitchapam, who had died in 1629, as paramount chief. [41]
        10. The balance of power, however, had tipped toward the English. By the end of the war English farms had spread all along both banks of the James River below the falls, and even across the Peninsula to the south side of the lower York River. At the end of the 1630s the English population (now grown to nearly 8,000) exceeded that of the Powhatan Indians, and early in the 1640s colonists began taking up lands on the north bank of the York River, along the Rappahannock, and even as far north as the Potomac River. The war also presented a great many reluctant “Powhatan” Indians—chiefdoms that had for a time been under the paramount chief Powhatan, but not entirely willingly—the opportunity to reclaim their independence; thus Opechancanough’s power was restricted to a much smaller number of subordinate chiefdoms covering a much smaller area. [41]
        11. The war also significantly altered colonial society. The March 1622 attacks set in motion an investigation that led to the dissolution of the Virginia Company of London. [41]
        12. In 1624 [James I](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/james-vi-and-i-1566-1625/) assumed direct Crown control of the colony. [41]
        13. The decade-long war also led to the concentration of wealth and political power in the hands of a small group of men whom some historians have characterized as warlords. Virtually all of the men who led expeditions against the Indians served on the governor’s Council. They decided when to raid Powhatan Indian fields, and as commanders kept much of the plunder for themselves, which they then sold at inflated wartime prices or fed to their [servants](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indentured-servants-in-colonial-virginia/) and slaves so that they could produce more tobacco rather than wasting their labor on food crops. [41]
        14. In the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, an [immensely powerful elite](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gentry-in-colonial-virginia/) continued to flex its muscles, going so far as to eject the king’s appointed governor, the relative outsider [Sir John Harvey](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/harvey-sir-john-ca-1581-or-1582-by-1650/), in 1635. [41]
     4. **1644**:
        1. By 1644 CE, the English colonists outnumbered the remaining Powhatan in the region, and Opchanacanough, though nearly 90 years old, launched another attack in an attempt to drive them from his lands. He broke through the palisade with every warrior he could muster and killed between 400-500 colonists in a brutal surprise raid, launching the Third Powhatan War. Again, Opchanacanough did not press his advantage but returned to his lands to see what the colonists would do. The colonists, just as they had done earlier, fortified their defenses and then struck back. [43]
        2. In 1645 CE, Berkeley led a major attack on Opchanacanough’s capital, killing most of his warriors and capturing the chief himself who was led back to Jamestown in chains. The Powhatan survivors of the attack, and all others who could be caught, were sold into slavery. [43]
        3. Opchanacanough was caged in Jamestown and displayed for visitors as a curiosity until he was shot in the back by his guard, against orders from Berkeley, in 1646 CE. The chief’s death ended the Third Powhatan War, and peace was formalized by the signing of the Treaty of 1646 between Opchanacanough’s successor Necotowance and Governor Berkeley. [43]
        4. The Treaty of 1646 dissolved the Powhatan Confederacy and conferred most of their land to the colonists. Necotowance was chief of the confederacy in name only since most of the indigenous people who had been living in the region c. 1607 CE were now dead either from disease or through conflict, sold into slavery in the West Indies, or had fled the region and joined with other tribes elsewhere. Totopotomoi, Necotowance’s successor, was only chief of two tribes, and his successor, his wife Cocacoeske, only presided over the Pamunkey tribe. [43]
        5. The treaty stipulated reservations for the remaining Native Americans, where they were guaranteed the right to bear arms, conduct [trade](https://www.worldhistory.org/disambiguation/trade/) freely, and hunting and fishing rights to their ancestral lands as long as they lived in peace with the colonists. Cocacoeske had convinced the other remaining chiefs in the region to sign, and the indigenous people were confined to small areas of their ancestral lands which then grew even smaller as the Virginia government encouraged colonists to take even more land on their own initiative. [43]
        6. In the present day, the only two tribes in Virginia that still maintain their original reservations are the Mattaponi and Pamunkey. The Racial Integrity Act of 1924 CE denied them official existence as it mandated that everyone in Virginia be classified as either “white” or “colored” and the Mattaponi and Pamunkey did not consider themselves as either white or black, nor did they fit the official designation. [43]
           1. They petitioned the Virginia government for recognition as early as the 1950s CE and were recognized as Native American tribes in the 1960s CE, but this was only by Virginia, not the Federal Government of the USA. It was not until 2018 CE that the Mattaponi and Pamunkey were recognized by the Federal Government as the original people of the land once known as Tsenacommacah. [43]
        7. In 1646, two years after Opechancanough ordered coordinated attacks on English settlements that killed about 500 people, the government of the colony and Necotowance, on behalf of the Powhatan tribes, negotiated a treaty that ended hostilities between the remnant of the Powhatan and the English Virginians. Later in the year, the General Assembly enacted the treaty into law and adopted other laws to enforce its terms. [44]
           1. Art. 1. BE it enacted by this Grand Assembly, That the articles of peace foll: between the inhabitants of this collony, and Necotowance King of the Indians bee duely & inviolably observed upon the penaltie within mentioned as followeth: [42]
           2. Imp. That Necotowance do acknowledge to hold his kingdome from the King’s Ma’tie of England, and that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the King’s Governours from time to time, And on the other side, This Assembly on the behalfe of the collony, doth, undertake to protect him or them against any rebells or other enemies whatsoever, and as an acknowledgment and tribute for such protection, the said Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King’s Govern’r. the number of twenty beaver skins att the goeing away of Geese yearely. [42]
           3. Art. 2. That it shall be free for the said Necotowance and his people, to inhabit and hunt on the north- — page 324 —side of Yorke River, without any interruption from the English. Provided that if hereafter, it shall be thought fitt by the Governor and Council to permitt any English to inhabitt from Poropotanke downewards, that first Necotowance be acquainted therewith. [42]
           4. Art. 3. That Necotowance and his people leave free that tract of land betweene Yorke river and James river, from the falls of both the rivers to Kequotan, to the English to inhabitt on, and that neither he the said Necotowance nor any Indians do repaire to or make any abode upon the said tract of land, upon paine of death, and it shall be lawfull for any person to kill any such Indian, And in case any such Indian or Indians being seen upon the said tract of land shall make an escape, That the said Necotowance shall uppon demand deliver the said Indian or Indians to the Englishmen, upon knowledge had of him or them, unles such Indian or Indians be sent upon a message from the said Necotowance. [42]
           5. And to the intent to avoid all injury to such a messenger, and that no ignorance may be pretended to such as shall offer any outrage, It is thought fitt and hereby enacted, That the badge worne by a messenger, or, in case there shall be more than one, by one of the company, be a coate of striped stuffe which is to be left by the messenger from time to time so often as he shall returne at the places appointed for coming in. [42]
           6. Art. 4. And it is further enacted, That in case any English shall repaire contrary to the articles agreed upon, to the said north side of Yorke river, such persons soe offending, being lawfully convicted, be adjudged as felons; Provided that this article shall not extend to such persons who by stresse of weather are forced upon the said land, Provided alsoe and it is agreed by the said Necotowance, that it may be lawfull for any Englishman to goe over to the said north side haveing occasion to fall timber trees or cut sedge, soe as the said persons have warr’t for theyre soe doeing under the hand of the Gov. Provided alsoe notwitstandinge any thing in this act to the contrary, That it shall bee free and lawfull for any English whatsoever between this present day and the first of March next to kill and bring away what cattle or hoggs that they can by any — page 325 — meanes kill or take upon the said north side of the said river. [42]
           7. Art. 5. And it is further enacted that neither for the said Necotowance nor any of his people, do frequent come in to hunt or make any abode nearer the English plantations then the lymits of Yapin the black water, and from the head of the black water upon a straite line to the old Monakin Towne, upon such paine and penaltie as aforesaid. [42]
           8. Art. 6. And it is further ordered enacted that if any English do entertain any Indian or Indians or doe conceale any Indian or Indians that shall come within the said limits, such persons being lawfully convicted thereof shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy, excepted such as shall be authorized thereto by vertue of this act. [42]
           9. Art. 7. And it is further enacted that the said Necotowance and his people upon all occasions of message to the Gov’r. for trade, doe repaire unto the ffort Royall onely on the north side, at which place they are to receive the aforesaid badges, which shall shew them to be messengers, and therefore to be freed from all injury in their passage to the Governor, upon payne of death to any person or persons whatsoever that shall kill them, the badge being worn by one of the company, And in case of any other affront, the offence to be punished according to the quality thereof, and the trade admitted as aforesaid to the said Necotowance and his people with the commander of the said ffort onely on the north side. [42]
           10. Art. 8. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, that upon any occasion of message to the Gov’r. or trade, The said Necotowance and his people the Indians doe repair to fforte Henery alias Appamattucke fforte, or to the house of Capt. John ffloud, and to no other place or places of the south side of the river, att which places the aforesayd badges of striped stuff are to be and remaine. [42]
           11. Art. 9. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, That Necotowance doe with all convenience bring in the English prisoners, And all such negroes and guns which are yet remaining either in the possession of — page 326 —himselfe or any Indians, and that here deliver upon demand such Indian servants as have been taken prisoners and shall hereafter run away, In case such Indian or Indians shall be found within the limitts of his dominions; provided that such Indian or Indians be under the age of twelve years at theire running away. [42]
           12. Art. 10. and it is further enacted & consented, That such Indian children as shall or will freely and voluntarily come in and live with the English, may remain without breach of the articles of peace provided they be not above twelve yeares old. [42]
           13. Art. 11. And it is further thought fitt and enacted That the several commanders of the fforts and places as aforesaid unto which the said Indians as aforesaid are admitted to repaire, In case of trade or Message doe forthwith provide the said coats in manner striped as aforesaid. [42]
        8. The Treaty of 1646 placed Indians in eastern Virginia under the control of the King of England, which, in theory, provided them protection from other tribes and also from encroaching settlers. The treaty imposed many restrictions on the Indians. It confined them to land north of the York River, prohibited them from interfering with English settlement south of that river, and required them to communicate with the government by messengers while dressed in distinctive clothing. [44]
        9. The treaty also required the Indians to return all hostages, including "negroes," and turn in their guns, and it required "as an acknowledgmt & tribute for such protection, the said Necotowance & his Successors are to pay unto the King's Governor the Number of twenty beaver skin's att the goeing away of Geese yearely." [44]
        10. From that time on in Virginia and also elsewhere in the colonies, governments and Indian leaders negotiated treaties that allowed people of European origin or ancestry to settle in areas that Indians had formerly occupied. Often a part of concluding periods of open hostility or organized warfare, the treaties established a legal doctrine that Indians did not bear the same relationship to the colonial governments that free white men enjoyed. In some respects, colonial laws and practices treated Indians as foreign nations. In other respects, as when Indians resided in or near European settlements, they were not accorded the full rights of free white men. In the case of the Treaty of 1646, the affected tribes were known as tributary nations because they were required to pay tribute to the victors who had imposed the terms of the treaty. As a result, Indians were exempted from taxation, which in the popular mind was associated with the annual tribute of beaver skins paid to the government. [44]
        11. The Constitution of the United States embodied some of those same attitudes toward Indians residing within its boundaries. Article I, Section 2, in providing for the counting of people for the purposes of assigning direct taxes and the number of members each state would have in the House of Representatives, exempted "Indians not taxed" from the population entitled to representation. Article I, Section 8, empowered Congress to regulate commerce "with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes," treating Indian tribes as if they were sovereign, foreign countries. The authorization in Article II, Section 2, for the president to negotiate, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and make treaties was understood therefore to include Indian tribes as well as foreign nation states. [George Washington](https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/oc/stc/people/george-washington-(1732-1799)), who was president of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, understood the clause in that way and assigned agents to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes while he was the first president of the United States. [44]
        12. The aforementioned constitutional distinctions revealed that the founding generation of white men did not regard Indians, even those residing within long-settled communities, as equal with white men or possessing the same rights. The status of Indians became even more complex after the new federal government concluded its own treaties with western Indians. Those treaties created different relationships with the federal government for western Indians than eastern Indians had negotiated with individual state governments. The constant westward expansion of the settlements by white Americans and the recurring warfare led to more than a century of treaties and actions by the federal government, unlike any agreements it made or laws it adopted for the government of either free or enslaved people. [44]
        13. Not even the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, which defined as citizens "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" conferred full civil rights and liberties on American Indians. Indeed, the legal status of Indians in the United States remains unique among residents of the country in that they have rights independent of the Constitution and laws that apply to all other people, and they have lived under restrictions unlike those imposed on any other people, or enjoyed hunting, fishing, and ceremonial rights that state and national laws regulated or prohibited to all other people. [44]
     5. **Treaty of 1677**: Known as the "Treaty of Middle Plantation," it was signed after the Third Anglo-Powhatan War. This treaty marked the end of hostilities and established English sovereignty over Powhatan lands. [45]
        1. In Articles of Peace, published in London in 1677, the British government formalizes what became known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation, signed on May 29, 1677. Following the violence against Virginia Indians that accompanied [Bacon’s Rebellion](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/bacons-rebellion-1676-1677/) (1676–1677), several tribes, formerly part of the paramount chiefdom [Tsenacomoco](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tsenacomoco-powhatan-paramount-chiefdom/), reunited under the authority of the [Pamunkey](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/pamunkey-tribe/) chief [Cockacoeske](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/cockacoeske-d-by-july-1-1686/) and promised fidelity to the Crown in exchange for its protection. [45]
        2. Articles of Peace between the most Mighty Prince, and our Dread Sovereign Lord CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. And the several Indian Kings and Queens, &c. Assenters and Subscribers hereunto, made and concluded at the Camp at Middle Plantation theTwenty ninthday of May 1677.being the day of the most happy Birth and Restauration of our said Sovereign Lord, and in the Nine and twentieth Year of His Majesties Reign, By the Right Honourable Herbert Jefferies Esquire, Lieutenant-Governour of His Majesties Colony of Virginia. [45]
        3. That the respective Indian Kings and Queens do from henceforth acknowledge to have their immediate Dependency on, and own all Subjection to the Great King of England, our now Dread Sovereign, His Heirs and Successors, when they pay their Tribute to His Majesties Governour for the time being. [45]
        4. That thereupon the said Indian Kings and Queens and their Subjects, shall hold their Lands, and have the same Confirmed to them and their Posterity, by Patent under the Seal of this His Majesties Colony, without any Fee, Gratuity or Reward for the same, in such sort, and in as free and firm manner as others His Majesties Subjects have and enjoy their Lands and Possessions, pay-— page 6 — ing yearly for and in lieu of a Quit Rent, or Acknowledgment for the same, onely Three Indian Arrows. [45]
        5. That all Indians who are in Amity with Us, and have not Land sufficient to Plant upon, be (upon Information) forthwith provided for, and Land laid out and Confirmed to them as aforesaid, never to be disturbed therein, or taken from them, so long as they own, keep and maintain their due Obedience and Subjection to His Majesty, His Governour and Government, and Amity and Friendship towards the English. [45]
        6. Whereas by the mutual Discontents, Complaints, Jealousies and Fears of English and Indians, occasioned by the Violent Intrusions of divers English into their Lands, forcing the Indians by way of Revenge, to kill the Cattel and Hogs of the English, — page 7 — whereby Offence and Injuries being given and done on both sides, the Peace of this His Majesties Colony hath been much disturbed, and the late unhappy Rebellion by this means (in a great measure) begun and fomented, which hath Involved this Countrey into so much Ruine and Misery: For prevention of which Injuries and evil consequences (as much as possibly we may) for time to come; It is hereby Concluded and Established, That no English shall Seat or Plant nearer then Three miles of any Indian Town; and whosoever hath made, or shall make an Incroachment upon their Lands, shall be removed from thence, and proceeded against as by the former Peace made, when the Honourable Colonel Francis Morison was Governour, and the Act of Assembly grounded thereupon, is Provided and Enacted. [45]
        7. That the said Indians be well Secured and Defended in their Persons, Goods and Pro-— page 8 —perties, against all hurts and injuries of the English; and that upon any breach or violation, hereof the aggrieved Indians do in the first place repair and Address themselves to the Governour, acquainting him therewith (without rashly and suddenly betaking themselves to any Hostile course for Satisfaction) who will Inflict such Punishment on the wilful Infringers hereof, as the Laws of England or this Countrey permit, and as if such hurt or injury had been done to any Englishman; which is but just and reasonable, they owning themselves to be under the Allegiance of His most Sacred Majesty. [45]
        8. That no Indian King or Queen be Imprisoned without a special Warrant from His Majesties Governour and Two of the Council, and that no other Indian be Imprisoned without a Warrant from a Justice of Peace, upon sufficient cause of Commitment. [45]
        9. That the said Indians have and enjoy their wonted conveniences of Oystering, Fishing, and gathering Tuchahoe, Curtenemons, Wild Oats, Rushes, Puckoone, or anything else (for their natural support) not useful to the English, upon the English Dividends; Always provided they first repair to some Publick Magistrate of good Repute, and inform him of their number and business, who shall not refuse them a Certificate upon this or any other Lawful occasion, so that they make due return thereof when they come back, and go directly home about their business, without wearing or carrying any manner of Weapon, or lodging under any Englishmans Dwelling-house one night. [45]
        10. That no Foreign Indian be suffered to come to any English Plantation without a friendly neighbor Indian in his company with such — page 10 —Certificate as aforesaid: and no Indian King is to refuse to send a safe Conduct with the Foreigner, upon any Lawful occasion of his coming in, and that no Indian do paint or disguise themselves when they come in. [45]
        11. That all Indian Kings and Queens Tributary to the English, having notice of any March of strange Indians near the English Quarters or Plantations, do forthwith repair to some one of the next Officers of the Militia, and acquaint him of their Nation, number, and design, and which way they bend their course. [45]
        12. That if necessary, a convenient Party be presently sent out by the next Colonel of the Militia, to Aid, Strengthen and joyn with our friendly Indians against any Foreign Attempt, Incursion or Depredation upon the Indian Towns. [45]
        13. That every Indian fit to bear Arms, of the Neighbouring Nations in Peace with us, have such quantity of Powder and Shot allotted him, as the Right Honourable the Governour shall think sufficient on any occasion, and that such numbers of them be ready to go out with our Forces upon any March against the Enemy, and to receive such Pay for their good Services, as shall be thought fit. [45]
        14. That each Indian King and Queen have equal Power to Govern their own People, and none to have greater Power then other, Except the Queen of Pamunkey, to whom several scattered Nations do now again own their ancient Subjection, and are agreed to come in and Plant themselves under her Power and Governmet; Who with her, are also hereby included into this present — page 12 — League and Treaty of Peace, and are to keep and observe the same towards the said Queen in all things, as her Subjects, as well as towards the English. [45]
        15. That no person whatsoever shall entertain or keep any Neighbouring Indian as Servant, or otherwise, but by Licence of the Governour, and to be upon Obligation answerable for all Injuries and Damages by him or them happening to be done to any English. [45]
        16. That no English harbour or entertain any Vagrant or Runaway Indian, but convey him home by way of Pass, from Justice to Justice to his own Town, under Penalty of paying so much per day for harbouring him, as by the Law for entertaining of Runaways is recoverable. [45]
        17. That no Indian (of those in Amity with us) shall serve for any longer time then English of the like Ages should serve by Act of Assembly, and shall not be sold as Slaves. [45]
        18. That every Indian King and Queen in the Moneth of March every year, with some of their Great Men, shall tender their Obedience to the Right Honourable His Majesties Governour at the place of his Residence, whereever it shall be, and then and there pay the accustomed Tribute of Twenty Beaver Skins to the Governour, and also their Quit-Rent aforesaid, in acknowledgment they hold their Crowns and Lands of the Great King of England. [45]
        19. That due care be had and taken that those Indian Kings and Queens, their Great Men and Attendants that come on any Publick — page 14 —Business to the Right Honourable the Governour, Council or Assembly, may be accommodated with Provisions and Houseroom at the Publick Charge, and that no English Subject shall abuse, revile, hurt or wrong them at any time in word or deed. [45]
        20. That upon any Discord or Breach of Peace happening to arise between any of the Indians in Amity with the English, upon the first appearance and beginning thereof, and before they enter into any open Acts of Hostility or War one against another, they shall repair to His Majesties Governour, by whose Justice and Wisdom it is concluded such Difference shall be made up and decided, and to whose final Determination the said Indians shall submit and conform themselves. [45]
        21. That for the preventing the frequent mis-— page 15 —chiefs and mistakes occasioned by unfaithful and corrupt Interpreters, and for the more safety, satisfaction, and advantage both of the Indians and English, That there be one of each Nation of our Neighbouring Indians that can already speak, or may become capable of speaking English, admitted together with those of the English, to be their own Interpreters. [45]
        22. That the several Indians concluded in this Peace, do forthwith restore to the respective English Parents and Owners all such Children, Servants and Horses, which they have at any time taken from them, and are now remaining with them the said Indians, or which they can make discovery of. [45]
        23. That the Trade with the said Indians be continued, limited, restrained or laid open, as shall make best for the Peace and Quiet — page 16 —of the Countrey; upon which Affair the Governour will consult with the Council and Assembly, and conclude thereon at their next meeting. The Sign of the Queen of Pamunkey, on behalf of her self and the several Indians under her Subjection. The Sign of the Queen of Waonoke. The Sign of the King of the Nottoways. The Sign of the King of the Nancymond Indians. The Sign of Captain John West. Son to the Queen of Pamunkey. Convenit cum Originali. Test. Tho. Ludwell Secretary. [45]
        24. That this Instrument of Peace being Read and Expounded to the several Indian Kings and Queens then present (at the Court at Middle Plantation) by Interpreters Sworn truly to perform the same, the said Indian Kings and Queens Signed and delivered the Articles to the Honourable Governour upon their Knees, and received that other part, Signed and Delivered on behalf of the Kings Majesty, in the same posture of kneeling, of their own accords kissing the Paper as they Transferred it from hand to hand to each other, until every one had done the like Mark of Reverence to it, in sign of a most free and joyful acceptance of this Peace concluded with them. At the same time Pericuhtah King of the Appomatucks being then present, did earnestly desire to be admitted to the Signing this Peace with the rest; but he being suspected, and Complained of to have Committed by himself or Sub-— page 18 —jects, some Murthers on His Majesties Subjects of England, was not admitted or included into this League at that time, nor is to partake of the benefit of this Peace, before he shall have cleared himself of this Guilt imputed to him, and Committed since His Majesties Commissioners came into Virginia, as they were credibly informed: Which Exemption gave the English general satisfaction, to find there was so just Inquisition made of the Bloud of their Slaughtered Brethren. John Berry, Francis Morison. Treaty Ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1646) [45]
     6. **Treaty of 1705**: This agreement further defined the boundaries and relationships between the colonial government and the Powhatan, establishing terms for trade and land cessions.
        1. In “An act concerning Servants and Slaves,” passed by the General Assembly in the session of October 1705, Virginia’s colonial government collects old and establishes new laws with regards to [indentured servants](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indentured-servants-in-colonial-virginia/) and slaves. [46]
        2. And for a further christian care and usage of all christian servants, Be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That no negros, mulattos, or Indians, although christians, or Jews, Moors, — page 450 —Mahometans, or other infidels, shall, at any time, purchase any christian servant, nor any other, except of their own complexion, or such as are declared slaves by this act: And if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel, or such as are declared slaves by this act, shall, notwithstanding, purchase any christian white servant, the said servant shall, ipso facto, become free and acquit from any service then due, and shall be so held, deemed, and taken: And if any person, having such christian servant, shall intermarry with any such negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel, every christian white servant of every such person so intermarrying, shall, ipso facto, become free and acquit from any service then due to such master or mistress so intermarrying, as aforesaid. [46]
        3. And if any slave resist his master, or owner, or other person, by his or her order, correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction, it shall not be accounted felony; but the master, owner, and every such other person so giving correction, shall be free and acquit of all punishment and accusation for the same, as if such incident had never happened: And also, if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time, lift his or her hand, in opposition against any christian, not being negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she so offending shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party, receive on his or her bare back, thirty lashes, well laid on; cognizable by a justice of the peace for that county wherein such offence shall be committed. [46]
   * **Historical Maps**: Maps depicting the territories and boundaries of Powhatan tribes during the colonial period.
     1. **John Smith's Map of Virginia (1606)**: Created by Captain John Smith, this map is one of the earliest European depictions of the Powhatan Confederacy’s territory. It shows the geographical layout of the region, including key Powhatan towns and the major rivers. [47]
        1. See attachments **Maps, 5**.
     2. **The Powhatan Confederacy Map (1607)**: Produced by English cartographers, this map illustrates the Powhatan Confederacy’s domain, including the major tribes and their locations. It provides a broader view of the region compared to Smith's map. [48]
     3. **Thomas Jeffereson’s Map of Virginia (1775)**: This map, produced during the American Revolution, shows the Powhatan territories in relation to the expanding European settlements. It offers insights into the boundaries and changes occurring as settlers moved westward. [49]
     4. **Map of the Powhatan Confederacy (Early 17th Century)**: Various historical maps from the early 17th century depict the Powhatan tribes' territories, including the geographical features like rivers and the locations of key settlements. [50]
     5. **William Byrd’s Map of the Virginia Colony (1728)**: Created by William Byrd II, this map provides a detailed look at the boundaries of the Virginia Colony, including the areas historically inhabited by the Powhatan tribes. It reflects changes in territorial control and colonial expansion. [52]
        1. On March 5, 1728, delegates from North Carolina and Virginia met to survey the border between the two colonies. [51]
        2. Virginia and Carolina’s early settlers intermingled in the early colonial period, as colonists trickled south in search of good land to grow crops and establish homesteads. Explorer John Lawson began surveying a boundary between Carolina and Virginia, but was unable to complete the task. [51]
        3. The border remained vague until 1728, when the survey, led by Virginian William Byrd II of Westover, was conducted. The group defined the line from the coast to about 240 miles inland in what is now Stokes County. The survey was completed in 1749 when Thomas Jefferson’s father, Peter, began in Stokes County and finished the line in what is now Ashe County. The borders were often disputed and additional surveys were called to settle claims. [51]
     6. **Mason and Dixon's Map of Colonial Virginia (1763)**: This map, drawn by the surveyors Mason and Dixon, includes detailed information on the boundaries between colonial settlements and Powhatan lands, showing how the region was divided and changed over time. [53]
   * **Missionary Records**: Documents from missionaries and explorers detailing their interactions with and observations of Powhatan tribes.
4. Don Luís de Velasco / Paquiquineo (fl. 1561–1571)
   * Paquiquineo, later Don Luís de Velasco, was a [Virginia Indian](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indians-in-virginia/) who encountered [Spanish explorers](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/exploration-the-age-of/) on the Chesapeake Bay in 1561 and returned to Spain with them, either voluntarily or as a captive. There, he appeared before King Philip II and was granted permission to lead a Catholic mission back to the Chesapeake, a land the Spaniards believed the Indians called Ajacán. [32]
   * A brief stop in Mexico City turned into a years-long stay after Paquiquineo became ill. During that time he converted to Christianity, taking the name of the viceroy of New Spain (present-day Mexico), Don Luís de Velasco. [32]
   * After two failed attempts to return home with Dominican missionaries, Don Luís sailed again to Spain, where he joined a group of Jesuit priests, and finally landed on the James River in September 1570—more than nine years after he had left. [32]
   * He initially aided the Jesuits, but quickly reunited with his family and, in February 1571, led an ambush that killed the missionaries save for an altar boy, Alonso de Olmos. [32]
   * While contemporary Spanish chroniclers demonized Paquiquineo, at least one modern scholar has suggested that the violence may have been a symbolic and predictable reaction to violations of the Indians’ [gift-exchange](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gift-exchange-in-early-virginia-indian-society/) economy. [32]
   * In 1572 the Spanish dispatched soldiers to Ajacán. They hanged a handful of Indians but did not find Paquiquineo, who subsequently disappeared from history. Based on [Jamestown](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/jamestown-settlement-early/)-era rumors, some historians have argued that Paquiquineo and [Opechancanough](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/opechancanough-d-1646/) were the same person. [32]
   * DNA analysis of tribal members show evidence of contact between Spaniards and VIrginia Indians. We are likely descendants of Alonso de Olmos.
     1. The creation of a Spaniard mixed with a Virginian Indian had to come as a result of a specific moment in time when there were Spaniards incorporated into Powhatan, as the Powhatan were at war with Spain. [32]
     2. Powhatan was originally driven out of the West Indies by the Spaniards. [32] This includes countries like Colombia, Puerto Rico, and Dominican Republic.
     3. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study, #19**.
5. **Jesuit Records (Early 17th Century)**:
   * **Jesuit Missions in North America**: Jesuit missionaries, including figures like Father Paul Le Jeune and Father Jean de Brébeuf, recorded their interactions with Native American tribes. Although primarily focused on the northern tribes, some Jesuit records provide context for missionary efforts and interactions in the broader region that included the Powhatan.
   * Missionary orders had their men in every part of the globe. The Jesuits alone were in China, India, Japan, Cochin-China, Mingrelia (Transcaucasia), Ceylon, Aethiopia, Sierra Leone, Congo, Tibet, Paphlagonia, Persia, Armenia, Angola, Abyssinia, Paraguay, Mexico, Peru, Quito, Maryland and Quebec. [55]
   * They did not go at once to the Hurons, as they could not trust them at the time. Instead, Brebeuf wintered with the Algonquins, learning their ways and their language. What manner of life this was, we have from one who was to lead it about ten years later and who describes it vividly in one of his famous “Relations”. Le Jeune will write in 1634: “Now, when we arrived at the place where we were to camp, the women, armed with axes, went here and there in the great forests, cutting the framework of the hostelry where we were to lodge; meantime the men, having drawn the plan thereof, cleared away the snow with their snowshoes, or with shovels which they make and carry expressly for this purpose. Imagine now a great ring or square in the snow, two, three or four feet deep, according to the weather or the place where they encamp. This depth of snow makes a white wall for us, which surrounds us on all sides, except the end where it is broken through to form the door. The framework having been brought, which consists of twenty or thirty poles, more or less, according to the size of the cabin, it is planted, not upon the ground but upon the snow; then they throw upon these poles, which converge a little at the top, two or three rolls of bark sewed together, beginning at the bottom; and behold, the house is made. The ground inside, as well as the wall of snow which extends all around the cabin, is covered with little branches of fir; and as a finishing touch, a wretched skin is fastened to two poles to serve as a door, the doorposts being the snow itself. Now let us examine in detail all the comforts of this elegant mansion. “You cannot stand upright in this house, as much on account of its low roof as the suffocating smoke; and consequently you must always lie down, or sit flat upon the ground, the usual posture of the savages. When you go out, the cold, the snow, and the danger of getting lost in these great woods drive you in again more quickly than the wind, and keep you a prisoner in a dungeon which has neither lock nor key. “This prison, in addition to the uncomfortable position that one must occupy on a bed of earth, has four other great discomforts,—cold, heat, smoke, and dogs. As to the cold you have the snow at your head with only a pine branch between, often nothing but your hat, and the winds are free to enter in a thousand places. . . When I lay down at night I could study through this opening [m the roof] both the stars and the moon as easily as if I had been in the open fields. “Nevertheless, the cold did not annoy me as much as the heat from the fire. A little place like their cabins is easily heated by a good fire, which sometimes roasted and broiled me on all sides, for the cabin was so narrow that I could not protect myself against the heat. . . . “But, as to the smoke, I confess to you that it is martyrdom. It almost killed me, and made me weep continually, although I had neither grief nor sadness in my heart. It sometimes grounded all of us who were in the cabin; that is, it caused us to place our mouths against the earth in order to breathe. ... I sometimes thought I was going blind; my eyes burned like fire, they wept or distilled drops like an alembic; I no longer saw anything distinctly, like the good man who said, “I see men walking about like trees”; Mark, viii, 24. I repeated the psalms of my Breviary as best I could, knowing them half by heart, and waited until the pain might relax a little to recite the lessons; and when I came to read them they seemed written in letters of fire, or of scarlet. . . . “As to the dogs, which I have mentioned as one of the discomforts of the savages’ houses, I do not know that I ought to blame them, for they have sometimes rendered me good service. True, they exacted from me the same courtesy they gave, so that we reciprocally aided each other, illustrating the idea of mutual benevolence. These poor beasts, not being able to live outdoors, came and lay down sometimes upon my shoulders, sometimes upon my feet, and as I only had one blanket to serve both as covering and mattress, I was not sorry for this protection, willingly restoring to them a part of the heat which I drew from them. It is true that, as they were large and numerous, they occasionally crowded and annoyed me so much, that in giving me a little heat they robbed me of my sleep, so that I very often drove them away. In doing this one night, there happened to me a little incident which caused some confusion and laughter; for, a savage having thrown him self upon me while asleep, I thought it was a dog, and finding a club at hand, I hit him, crying out, Ache, Ache, the words they use to drive away the dogs. My man woke up greatly astonished, thinking that all was lost; but having discovered whence came the blows, “Thou hast no sense,” he said to me, “it is not a dog, it is I.” At these words I do not know who was the more astonished of us two; I gently dropped my club, very sorry at having found it so near me. . . . [55]
   * Just then in the Virginia colony to the south, the captain of a merchant vessel, Samuel Argali, had brutally abducted Pocahontas and demanded ransom from her father, the Indian chief Powhatan. The father declared war. Argali embarked on his vessel with fourteen cannon and sixty men. Storms drove him up the coast. Friendly Indians, believing he was one of the French, told him of the new colony at Saint-Sauveur, now Penobscot. Short of provisions, his men discontented, intending at first to buy what he needed, but finding the place so open to attack, he opens fire, kills Brother Du Thet, wounds two others, seizes three missionaries, pillages the settlement, sets adrift fifteen of the colonists, among them Masse, without chart or compass, and sails back for Virginia with Biard and Quentin aboard. [55]
   * Gleach refers to as aesthetic irony in Amerindian cultural violence. Defined, aesthetic irony in violence is where some element of what brought one to the circumstances of torture became part of the methodology of the violence exerted upon them. Gleach used this to explain why when the Powhatan Indians of Virginia captured the leader of an English raiding party sent to steal their food, they skinned him alive, then killed him, stuffed his mouth full of bread, and left him for the Virginians to discover. The bread meant to sustain him, became a part of his own death. A common use of this by Amerindians in New France was forced self-cannibalism, the drawing of sustenance from one’s own death. The most well-known example of aesthetic irony in New France is the Iroquois’ “baptism” of Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant with boiling water. The baptism they sought to bring to the Iroquois, became a method of torturing the priests. The use of such aesthetic irony signifies a clear and well thought out, but always individualized, purpose to the violence. [56]
   * Amerindian groups ranging from the Iroquois of upper New York, the Anishinabe of the western Great Lakes, and the Powhatans of Virginia used fire to clear forests of undergrowth and deadfall through controlled burning. This prevented large scale fires that would destroy the entire forest and human communities. It made movement through the woods easier for transportation and hunting, and even cut down on the insect population. Generally, Amerindians did not use fire as a weapon in the pre-Columbian era. At times, they used flaming arrows, and archeological evidence suggests that invaders may have burned communities, but early Americans did not commonly use fire as a weapon to the extent that they relied upon the bow, the lance, or the war club. Amerindians did, however, use fire as a hunting tool. In the eastern woodlands, strategically placed fires could drive and funnel deer herds for easy harvesting. An anonymous French writer described how the Illinois burned the prairie as a very common method for hunting buffalo in 1680. [56]
   * As the inherent religiosity of Christian-themed artifacts located on native sites continues to be debated, we might consider the parallel example of what occurred during the Jesuit Missions to the Powhatan Confederacy during the 1570s. After the Jesuits in residence were martyred, their attackers gave them a Christian burial, and then distributed the relics, clothing and religious items that were in the priests’ possession (Gleach 1997:92-93). When the Spanish returned to resupply the mission, they found them [chiefs] walking along the beach wearing the priests’ robes, along with a paten and a communion chalice (Gleach 1997:96). Rather than construing this as a random act, Frederic Gleach makes a compelling argument that the Indians recognized the “power of these items and wore them with respect, as a way of maintaining that power” (Gleach 1997:96). Gleach is also careful to note: “this is not to say that they had converted to the Jesuit faith, but rather, that they had absorbed that 86 religion into their own. The Indians accepted the teachings of the Jesuits – received salvation — but did so on their own terms” (Gleach 1997: 96). [57]
   * Moreover: “the peaceful resignation with which they [the priests] seem to have met their fates would also meet the native ideal and confirm their inner strength and power; wearing of the material signs of their powers – their vestments, the paten, the chalice – would reflect the conveyance of this power. Indeed, it is suggested that these items were later stored away in the chiefs’ ‘treasure houses’ for years to come, the same treatment given to more traditional powerful goods such as crystals, copper, and beads” (Gleach 1997:96). While no priests were martyred in Seneca territory, it is still arguable that like the Powhatan, the Senecas too may have appropriated their own meanings to any Christian-themed items they came in contact with, and dealt with belief – or not – on their own terms. [57]
   * The second stage is defined by the lack of trade goods making it to the interior, the Huron and Iroquois gained the best trade from the French and English in Canada while the Powhatan, Cherokee and Susquehanna controlled the New England and Dutch coastlines of trade, items found rarely differ from the early stage. 156 However, glass bead types seem to change slightly, to a flatter shape rather than conical. [58]
     1. Thanks to our tribal genetic study, we have DNA proof of contact with Dutchmen.
     2. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study, 4**.
6. **The Virginia Company of London Correspondence (Early 17th Century)**:
   * **Letters and Reports**: Correspondence between the Virginia Company and various missionaries or agents involved in the early Jamestown settlement includes descriptions of the Powhatan tribes and their responses to European attempts at conversion and trade.
     1. When English colonists arrived at Jamestown, they found that Powhatan wore an ornate cloak, or mantle, made of deerskins. That cloak now belongs to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley believe Powhatan's mantle is also a symbol for the history of Indians in southeastern North America.The term "mantle" can also ean land: just as Powhatan's deerskin mantle passed into European hands, so the land of the Southeast eventually came under white settlers. The twelve essays in this book force us to think in new ways about how that southeastern mantle passed from Indians to Europeans. [54]
7. **Records of the Anglican Church (18th Century)**:
   * **Church Missionaries**: Anglican missionaries, including those affiliated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), documented their efforts to evangelize among the Powhatan and other Native American tribes. These records often detail the missionaries' observations and the challenges they faced.
   * Pocahontas, daughter of the influential Algonkian chief Powhatan, was baptized and given the name Rebecca in an Anglican church. It took place in 1613 or 1614 in the colony at Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English settlement on the North American continent. Pocahontas is thought to be the earliest native convert to Christianity in the English colonies; this ceremony and her subsequent marriage to John Rolfe helped to establish peaceful relations between the colonists and the Tidewater tribes. [59]
8. **Writings of John Smith (1600s)**:
   * **Captain John Smith’s Accounts**: Although not a missionary, John Smith's writings and maps provide early European perspectives on the Powhatan tribes, including their social structures, customs, and interactions with settlers.
     1. The first colonist Powhatan met personally was [Captain John Smith](https://www.nps.gov/people/john-smith.htm). In the winter of 1607-8, Smith was captured and brought to Werowocomoco by Powhatan’s brother and weroance of the Pamunkey, Opechancanough. The mamanatowick and his advisors likely discussed what to do with their prisoner and decided that they would make him their ally. [60]
     2. According to Smith’s narrative of his capture, Powhatan allegedly told him that, “now they were friends, and presently he should [go] to [Jamestowne], to send him two great [guns], and a [grindstone], for which he would [give] him the Country of Capahowosick, and [forever esteem] him as his [son] Nantaquoud.” [60]
     3. In other words, Powhatan offered to “adopt” Smith as his son and give the colonists a better parcel of land in exchange for a trade of guns and a grindstone. This “adoption” was yet another method that Powhatan was familiar with as a way to expand one’s alliances. In essence, Powhatan was extending peace and land to the Jamestown colonists, as long as they respected his leadership. [60]
     4. This meant that they would be expected to pay Powhatan the tribute he asked for. Some of the tribute that Powhatan demanded from Smith, he gave. But noticeably, Smith did not send any guns back to Werowocomoco. He managed to postpone such a trade until transportation for a set of heavy cannons could be arranged. In return, Powhatan began to send food and other provisions to the struggling colonists. In those early years, the settlers were entirely dependent on Powhatan’s support for survival. [60]
     5. In February 1608, Smith visited Werowocomoco again, this time with Captain Christopher Newport, the current leader of the colony. They brought Powhatan clothing, a hat, and a greyhound, which made for a successful meeting. [60]
     6. But soon after, relations became strained. The English continued to withhold metal tools and guns. That summer, in order to remedy this situation, Newport decided to present Powhatan with several luxurious gifts including a crown from England’s King James I. The first mistake came when Newport asked Powhatan to come to Jamestown to receive the gifts – Powhatan demanded they come to him. The second mistake came when Newport asked Powhatan to kneel to receive the crown. This Powhatan also refused, correctly interpreting the gesture as one of subservience. [60]
     7. Soon after, perhaps realizing that the English did not intend to respect his terms, Powhatan ordered local tribes to cease all trading with Jamestown. That winter, Powhatan asked for numerous items, including guns and men to build him an English-style house, in exchange for corn. Smith sent three German men to build the house, yet a meeting between the two leaders quickly soured. Powhatan became set on killing Smith, and even after Smith’s departure from the colony, continued to set ambushes for the English leadership. [60]
     8. Smith departed for England in 1609 after sustaining an injury. Starving without the food that Powhatan once supplied them with, the colonists began lead more and more violent raids on surrounding towns. Powhatan responded by encouraging retaliation, and if additional reinforcements had not arrived from England, he may have been successful in driving the English from his lands. [60]
     9. In 1613, a new leader named Captain Samuell Argall kidnapped Powhatan’s daughter [Pocahontas](https://www.nps.gov/people/pocahontas.htm). In exchange for her release, Powhatan sent back seven English prisoners with a bushel of corn, an offer that Argall refused. In an unexpected turn of events, Pocahontas and an Englishmen John Rolfe asked for permission to wed. Both parties agreed to this arrangement, and a brief peace was reached. [60]
     10. In 1617, Pocahontas died during her return voyage from England, where she had been invited to visit with Rolfe and her young son. That same year, Powhatan turned over his power to his brothers Itoyatan and Opechancanough. At this point, Powhatan becomes absent from written records, though he likely passed away shortly after. [60]
9. **Documents from the Moravian Church (Late 18th to Early 19th Century)**:
   * **Moravian Missionaries**: The Moravians, known for their missionary work among Native American tribes, including the Cherokee and the Delawares, may have recorded interactions and observations relevant to the Powhatan context.
10. **Explorer Records:**
11. **John Smith’s Journals and Maps**:
    * **The Generall Historie of Virginia**: John Smith’s comprehensive account includes detailed descriptions of the Powhatan tribes, their interactions with English settlers, and observations of their culture and lifestyle.
      1. From far fetcht Indies, and Virginia's soyle, Here Smith is come to shew his Art and skill: He was the Smith that hammered famins foyle, And on Powhatan's Emperour had his will. [61]
      2. and how he should haue beene executed, was preserved, saved Iames towne from being surprised, how they Coniured him. Powhatan entertained him, would haue slaine him; how Pocahontas his daughter saved him, and sent him to Iames Towne. The third plot to abandon the Countrey suppressed. [61]
      3. Their first Supply and Accidents. The Salvages opinion of our God. Captaine Smith revisits Powhatan; Iames Towne burnt; A conceited gold mine; A needlesse charge; Captaine Newports returne for England. [61]
      4. The Presidency surrendred to Cap. Smith. The second Supply by Captaine Newport, many Presents sent from England to Powhatan, his scorne, Consultations; factions suppressed; Cap. Smith visiteth Powhatan; Pocahontas entertaines him with a Maske; the Coronation of Powhatan, and Conditions. [61]
      5. Captaine Smiths iourney to Pamavnkee, The discovery of the Chawwonocks. Smiths discourse to Powhatan; His reply and flattery; and his discourse of Peace and Warre. Powhatans plot to murther Smith, discovered by his daughter Pocahontas. [61]
      6. Master Scrivener and others drowned; Master Wiffins desperate iourney to Pamavnkee; Powhatan constraines his men again to be trecherous; he is forced to fraught their Ship; Smith poysoned; the Dutch-mens trechery. [61]
      7. 1609 The government altered; the arrivall of the third Supply; mutinies; Nandsamund planted; breach of peace with the Salvages; Powhatans chiefe seat bought for Copper; Mutinies. [61]
      8. Them at Nandsamund, and the Fals, defeated by the Salvages. Captaine Ratliff, with thirtie slaine by Powharan. The fruits of improvidence. [61]
      9. 1612 The second arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates; the building Henerico, and the Bermudas; how Captaine Argall tooke Pocahontas prisoner. Dales voyage to Pamavnkee. [61]
      10. 1613 The marriage of Pocahontas to Master Rolfe. Articles of Peace with the Salvages [61]
      11. 1614 The government left to Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Argals voyage to port Royall. Master Hamers to Powhatan; and their Accidents. [61]
      12. 1615 The manner of the Lottery. A Spanish Shippe in Virginia. Dale with Pocahontas comes for England. [61]
      13. 1616 Capt. Yerley left Deputy Governour; his warres and peace with the Chickahamanians, and proceedings, [61]
      14. 1618 A relation to Queene Anne of the quality & conditiõ of Pocahontas; how the Queen entertained her; Capt. Argall sent governor; the death of Powhatan; ten English slaine; Argals accidents and proceedings. The Lord de la Warre sent againe governour; his death. A relation of their present estates. Haile-stones 8. inches about. [61]
      15. The Country is not mountanous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, & watered so conveniently with fresh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, then delightsome. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, containing some 20 some 100. some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees & weeds, being a plaine wildernesse as God first made it. The river Powhatan. The branches Iames Towne. [61]
      16. On the west side of the Bay, we sayd were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers. The first of those, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West Northwest. It is called Powhatan, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neare the land, that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanke. It is navigable 150 myles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a Country inhabited by a nation they call Monacans. But where it commeth into our discovery it is Powhatan. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, shoules, &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 themselues for best service, as do the veines of a mans body. From the South there fals into it: First, the pleasant river of Apamatuck. Next more to the East are two small rivers of Quiyoughcohanocke. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes & creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of Warraskoyac, then the river of Nandsamund, and lastly the brooke of Chisapeack. From the North side is the river of Chickahamania, the backe river of Iames Towne; another by the Cedar Isle, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oysters, then a convenient harbour for Fisher boats at Kecoughtan, that so turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit; their cornefields 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 haue also over those 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 Iames Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. [61]
      17. The first and next the rivers mouth are the Kecoughtans, who besides their women & children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The Paspaheghes (on whose land is seated Iames Towne, some 40. myles from the Bay) haue not past 40. The river called Chickahamania neare 250. The Weanocks 100. The Arrowhatocks 30. The place called Powhatan, some 40. On the South side this river the Appamatucks haue sixtie fighting men. The Qutyougcohanocks 25. The Nandsamũds 200. The Chesapeacks 100. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call Werowance, except the Chickahamanians, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called Caw-cawwassoughes. In sommer no place affordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in winter more abundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another 68. From the later end of May till the end of Iune are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of two foot, or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yards long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houres with one Net 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. [61]
      18. Foureteene myles Northward from the river Powhatan, is the river Pamavnkee, 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. On the South side inhabit the people of Youghtanund, who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch Mattapament, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called Pamavnkee, and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25 myles lower on the North side of this river is Werawocomoco, where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. Ten or twelue 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 inhabitants. The rest his Conquests. [61]
      19. 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, called Payankatanke, the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men. [61]
      20. The third navigable river is called Toppahanock. (This is navigable some 130 myles) At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoacks amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we described. Vpon this river on the North side are the people Cuttatawomen, with 30 fighting men. Higher are the Moraughtacunds, with 80. Beyond them Rapahanock with 100. Far aboue is another Cuttatawomen with 20. On the South is the pleasant seat of Nantaughtacund having 150 men. This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule. [61]
      21. The fourth river is called Patawomeke, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. It is navigable 140 myles, 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 yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco & hath some 130 men, beyond them Sekacawone with 30. The Onawmanient with 100. And the Patawomekes more then 200. Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called Quiyough, trending Northwest, but the river it selfe turneth Northeast, and is still 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. Somewhat further Potapaco with 20. In the East part is Pamacaeack with 60. After Moyowance with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80. The river aboue this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshaddowed in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs. [61]
      22. The fift river is called Pawtuxunt, of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fish more then elswhere. Vpon this river dwell the people called Acquintanacksuak, Pawtuxunt, and Mattapanient. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other we found most civil to giue intertainement. [61]
      23. Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red clay resembling bole Armoniack we called it Bolus. At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides it selfe into 4. branches, the best commeth Northwest from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes iourney or two vp it, we could not get two myles vp it with our boat for rockes. Vpon it is seated the Sasquesahanocks, neare it North and by West runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Eble left vs on shore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some Salvages; (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not any, being a barren Country,) we went vp another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the Massowomeks, with whom we had conference by signes, for we vnderstood one another scarce a word: the next day we discovered the small river & people of Tockwhogh trending Eastward. [61]
      24. Having lost our Grapnell among the rocks of Sasquesahanocks, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but 12 men to performe this Discovery, wherein we lay aboue 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed vs, and searce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the Salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident, and Gods direction; nor had we a Mariner nor any had skill to trim the sayles but two saylers and my selfe, the rest being Gentlemen, or them were as ignorant in such toyle and labour. Yet necessitie in a short time by good words and examples made them doe that that caused them ever after to feare no colours. What I did with this small meanes I leaue to the Reader to iudge, and the Mappe I made of the Country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof. But to proceed, 60 of those Sasquesahanocks came to vs with skins, Bowes, Arrows, 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 vs as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language & attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heads & skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastned to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleeues comming 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 Iewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere, or some such devise at the great end sufficient to beat out ones braines: with Bowes, Arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse. These are scarse knowne to Powhatan. They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes their mortall enemies. Fiue of their chiefe Werowances came aboord vs, and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described. [61]
      25. On the East side the Bay, is the river Tockwhogh, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river: where they haue a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is Ozinies with sixty men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river Rapahanock, neere vnto which is the river Kuskarawaock, Vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river Tants Wighcocomoco, & on it a people with 100 men. The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, & very rude, But they on the river Acohanock with 40 men, & 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. [61]
      26. Southward we went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags to search for them left by Mr White. Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ Powhatans Territories. The Chawonockes, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Masawomekes, the Powhatans, the Sasquesahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuscarawaokes. All those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places, and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions. [61]
      27. VIRGINIA doth afford many excellent vegetables, and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the rancknes 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 & straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whose barke is more white then the other, & somewhat sweetish, which being boyled, at last affords a sweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoint their heads and ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise. There is also some Elme, some blacke 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 neare three fadome about at the foot, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the Salvages are some great Mulbery trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with Rats. [61]
      28. In some parts were found some Chesnuts, whose wild fruit equalize the best in France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy. Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plums, but the other which they call Putchamins, 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 draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricot. [61]
      29. They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. We saw 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 few grapes. Except by the rivers & savage habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes we made neere twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French Brittish wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call Messamins, they be fatte, and the iuyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in wine. They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne. This they call Chechinquamins, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our Gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call Rawcomens, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner; The Walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamins are dryed to keepe. When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a morter 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 call Pawcohiccora, and keepe it for their vse. The fruit like Medlers they call Putchamins, they cast vpon hurdles on a Mat, and preserue them as Pruines. Of their Chesnuts and Chechinquamins boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsom. There are also Cedars and Saxafras trees. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts. [61]
      30. In the watry valleyes groweth a Berry which they call Ocoughtanamnis very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they eat them they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. Mattoum groweth as our Bents. The seed is not much vnlike to Rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a daintie bread buttered with deare suet. [61]
      31. During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raspises, hurts; or a fruit that the inhabitants call Maracocks, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a Lemond. Many herbes in the spring are comonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslain, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose names we know not. [61]
      32. The chiefe root they haue for food is called Tockawhoughe. It groweth like a flagge in Marishes. In one day a Salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These roots are much of the greatnesse and taste of Potatoes. They vse to cover a great many of them with Oke leaues 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 poyson, and being rosted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sheed and dryed in the Sunne, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread. [61]
      33. They haue another roote which they call Wighsacan: as th'other 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 finall root that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red. And this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth. Musquaspen is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like. [61]
      34. There is also Pellitory of Spaine, Sasafrage, and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable. [61]
      35. In the low Marishes grow 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 Thumbe. [61]
      36. Of beasts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but amongst the rivers few. There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels some are neare as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray. [61]
      37. A small beast they haue they call Assapanick, but we call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins, that they haue beene seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An Opassom hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. A Mussascus 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 Conics, and few of them to be found. [61]
      38. Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding short. His forefeete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without haire, which to eat the Salvages esteeme a great delicate. They haue many Otters, which as the Beavers they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and of all those beasts they vse to feed when they catch them. An Vtchunquoyes is like 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 Woolues, and cannot barke but howle, and the Woolues not much bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, Powlecats, Weesels, and Minkes we know they haue, because we haue seene many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue. But one thing is strange, that we could never perceive their Vermine destroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt nor their flyes nor serpents any way pernicious, where in the South parts of America they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly. [61]
      39. Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of divers sorts, as our Falconers called them: Sparrow-hawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons and Osperayes, but they all prey most vpon fish. Their Partridges are little bigger then our Quailes. Wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a Wrenne, but few in Sommer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, 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 vs vnknowne by name. But in Sommer not any, or a very few to be seene. [61]
      40. Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies, whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreys. Catfish, Shades Pearch of three sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture of St George his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings, and the Toadefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre. [61]
      41. Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners; for those that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselues in their owne vaine conceits to haue beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeue there are other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from Spar. [61]
      42. THey divide the yeare into fiue 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 vntill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts & sacrifice. Then haue they plentie of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne, greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat. [61]
      43. 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 root, then doe they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat vp the weeds by the rootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of wheate and two of beanes These holes they make foure foote one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard. [61]
      44. In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they call Assentamens, which are the same they call in Italy, Fagioli. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call Garnanses, but these they much esteeme for dainties. [61]
      45. Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue 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 beanes for a rare dish, they call Pansarowmena. Their old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receiue the flower 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 be baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water, eating the broth with the bread which they call Ponap. The groutes and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind, away, the branne they boyle 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call Vstatahamen. But some more thriftie 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 & flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle 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, till it be as drie as their ierkin Beefe in the west Indies, that they may keepe it a moneth or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat. [61]
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      47. THe mildnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance, vnder that latitude or climat. Here will liue any beast, as horses, goats, sheepe, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all forts, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and rivers haue much marchantable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of Iron, &c. [61]
      48. Muscovia and Polonia doe yearely receiue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sopeashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like; also Swethland for Iron and Copper. France in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt. Spaine as much for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons and Sackes. Italy with Silkes and Velvets consumes our chiefe Commodities, Holland maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine 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 prerogatiue of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all those are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place, a nurse for souldiers, a practise for mariners, 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 knowledge of God and his holy Gospell. [61]
      49. Seaven hundred men were the most were seene together when they thought to haue surprised Captaine Smith. A description of the people. The Barbers. [61]
      50. THe land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 myles of Iames Towne, there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many together they haue yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile. [61]
      51. Six or seauen hundred haue beene the most hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to haue surprised mee at Pamavnkee, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their fury. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered is in comparison of that yet vnknowne: the people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great as the Sasquesahanicks; others very little, as the Wighcocomocaes: 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. [61]
          1. We have quite a few shocking cases of white babies being born to seemingly Black parents.
             1. See: Dionna Lang’s family.

Attachment **Miscellaneous, #12**.

* + - * 1. See: Charles Warren Coleman Jr.
        2. See: Ashton James Snow Jefferson (Morris)

Attachment, **Miscellaneous, #13**.

* + - 1. Thanks to our genetic study, we believe this is due to one or both parents passing on non-African chromosomes to their children.
      2. In the case of India Hatten, she is white-passing at 68% sub-saharan african, but has a Native American x-chromosome. [144]
         1. Please see attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study, #20 – #22.**
      3. Like India Hatten, Thomas Jefferson’s granddaughter Estelle Bolden was a white-passing Powhatan woman who was categorized as Black.
         1. Please see attachments **Miscellaneous, #15 - #17**.
    1. Their hayre is generally blacke, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their beards shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vse their women, who with two shels will grate away the hayre, of any fashion they please. [61]
    2. 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 vnder 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 every 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 moued to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their coniurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leaue of their husoands. [61]
    3. Each houshold knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are sometime covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better sort vse 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. [61]
    4. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse, but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seene some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought & woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shamefast to be seene bare. They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women, some haue their legs, hands, breasts and face cunningly imbrodered with divers workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, where at they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the taile. 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 haue the whole skinne of a Hawke or some strange foule, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. [61]
    5. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote Pocone brayed to powder, mixed with oyle, this they hold in sommer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold. [61]
    6. 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 springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with Mats, or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine, or weather, they are as warme as stooues, 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. [61]
    7. Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds 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 th'other 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 small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groues 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 way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. [61]
    8. Men, women, and children haue their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of childe, yet doe they loue children very dearely. To make them hardie, in the coldest mornings they them wash in the rivers, and by painting and oyntments so tanne their skinnes, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them. [61]
    9. The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such man-like exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman-like exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painefull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe 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 all kind of burdens, and such like. [61]
    10. 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, leaues, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing wires; and feed on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fields, and liue most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to amend their dyet, some disperse themselues in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iuly, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of Tocknough berries, fish, and greene wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere & wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. Powhatan their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times. [61]
    11. For fishing, hunting, and warres they vse 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 ynches long. These they vse to shoot at Squirrels on trees Another sort of arrowes they vse 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 ioynt a Deere, or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, 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 bracert, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water. [61]
    12. For their warres also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long stone sharpned at both ends, vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plentie of the same forme of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes. [61]
    13. Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignesse. In stead of Oares, they vse Paddles and stickes, with which they will row faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin, the barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kind of grasse they call Pemmenaw, of these they make a thread very even and readily. This thread serveth for many vses. As about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantitie as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fish-hooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bait. They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line, where with they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of Accewmack vse staues like vnto Iauelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall wires, in which they get abundance of fish. [61]
    14. 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 travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues 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 vp towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth here which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 dayes iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours covered with Mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wiues. Fortie yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, & betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage; and so force them into the river, where with their boats they haue Ambuscadoes to kill them. When they haue shot a Deere by land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud, and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these huntings they found me in the discovery of the head of the river of Chickahamania, where they slew my men, and tooke me prisoner in a Bogmire, where I saw those exercises, and gathered these Observations. [61]
    15. One Salvage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deere 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, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne by stalking, he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or stand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him. [61]
    16. When they intend any warres, the Werowances vsually haue the advice of their their Priests and Coniurers, and their allies, and ancient friends, but chiefely the Priests 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 haue many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Rasauweak, vnto whom the Mowhemenchughes, the Massinnacacks, the Monahassanughs, the Monasickapanoughs, and other nations pay tributes. Vpon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributers the Tauxanias, the Shackacomas, the Ontponeas, the Tegninateos, the Whonkenteaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinnungaes, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of wild beasts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the Massawomckes, vpon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of Cannada, 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 me, and my company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection. Which I concluded to effect. But the councell then present emulating my successe, would not thinke it fit to spare me fortie men to be hazzarded in those vnknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie. Seaven boats full of these Massawomekes wee 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 vpon some great water. [61]
    17. Against all these enemies 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 Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it vs, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient. [61]
    18. Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could devise. They divided themselues into two Companies, neare a hundred in a company. The one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselues 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So 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 vpon their submission in two dayes after should liue, but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Serieant, and in the Reare an Officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they onely vse in Warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall hell hounds could not haue made them more terrible. When they had spent their arrowes, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retyring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they catched their enemies by the hayre of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enemy 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 vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their Ambuscadoes, on whom they led them very cunningly. The Monacans disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the Powhatans retired, with all speed to their seconds; which the Monacans seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voyces, and gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull. [61]
    19. For their Musicke they vse a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue 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 vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattles made of small gourds, or Pumpeons shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. These mingled with their voyces sometimes twenty or thirtie together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man. If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a Werowance, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their loue. Which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or stark mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with Pocones and oyle, to be his bed-fellow. [61]
        1. By their description, the rattles appear to be Maracas.
        2. The Powhatans are linked to the Chontal Mayans of Tabasco, Mexico.
        3. Please see attachments, **Genealogical Records, #1 & #2** .
    20. Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls are their chiefest riches. [61]
    21. Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuyce of a roote they call Wighsacan, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure dayes after, they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a Stoue in the forme of a Doue-house with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweat extreamely. For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this roote Wighsacan they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling, or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers, or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them. They haue many professed Phisicians, who with their charmes and Rattles, with an infernall rout of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their navels, or their grieued places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt. [61]
    22. THere is yet in Virginia no place discovered to be so Savage, in which they haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that are able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Devill. Him they call Okee, and serue him more of feare then loue. They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suit with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their ioynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they vse to weare, their inwards they stuffe with copper beads, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheets. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. [61]
    23. For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpse being lapped in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon stickes in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe sit twenty-foure houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling, as may expresse their great passions. [61]
    24. In every Territory of a Werowance is a Temple and a Priest, two or three or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Vttamussack, at Pamavnkee, neare vnto which is a house, Temple, or place of Powhatans. [61]
    25. Vpon the top of certaine red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbour-wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that but the Priests & Kings dare come into them; nor the Salvages dare not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones into the river, for feare their Okee should be offended and revenged of them. [61]
    26. In this place commonly are resident seauen Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at. The ornaments of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen, or 16, or more snakes skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of Weesels and other Vermines 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 crowne of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattle, some base, some smaller. 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 giue a short groane. [61]
    27. It could not be perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other; But onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, 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, foure or fiue 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 heir Feasts. [61]
    28. They haue also divers coniurations, one they made when I was their prisoner; of which hereafter you shall reade at large. [61]
    29. They haue also certaine Altar stones they call Parocorances, but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they haue had any extraordinary accident, or incounter. And as you travell, at those stones they will tell you the cause why they were there erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities. Vpon these they offer bloud, Deere suet, and Tobacco. This they doe when they returne from the Warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcryes and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, Pocones, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom 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 knowne to vse. [61]
    30. In some part of the Country they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at Quiyoughcohanock some ten myles from Iames Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene 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. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed fiue young men to fetch these children: so every one of the fiue went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out very passionately, prouiding mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches & boughs, with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hayre with the leaues. What els 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 all the company. The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not all dead, but that the Okee or Divell did sucke the bloud from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the rest were kept in the wildernesse by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any, and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their Okee or Devill, and all their other Quiyoughcosughes, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkies, Corne, nor fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them. [61]
        1. Human sacrifice isn’t common in North American tribes. However, our tribe has ties to Mexico City (Paquiquineo’s abduction) [32] and Tabasco, Mexico. [attachment **Genealogical Records, #1 & #2]**
        2. The Chontal Maya of Tabasco and the Mayans have a history of infant sacrifice. [67]
    31. They thinke that their Werowances and Priests which they also esteeme Quiyoughcosughes, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their Okee, with their heads painted with oyle and Pocones, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death, but rot in their graues like dead dogs. [61]
    32. To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our best endevours, chiefly with the Werowance of Quiyoughcohanock, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevaile, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes & Arrowes, and many times did send to me to Iames Towne, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Devill, not knowing their Creator; and we had not language sufficient, so plainly to expresse it as make them vnderstand it; which God grant they may. [61]
    33. ALthough the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection, 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 ouer many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe ruler is called Powhatan, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called Powhatan. But his proper name is Wahunsonacock. Some Countries he hath which haue beene his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the Country called Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamavnkee, Youghtanund, and Mattapanient. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his severall Conquests. In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30. some 40. yards long, and at every house provision for his entertainement according to the time. At Werowcomeco on the Northside of the river Pamavnkee, was his residence, when I was delivered him prisoner, some 14 myles from Iames Towne, where for the most part, he was resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himselfe to Orapakes, in the desert betwixt Chickahamania and Youghtanund. He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somwhat gray, his beard so thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age neare sixtie; of a very able and hardy body 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 vpon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels, each from other a flight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the Corps du guard doth hollow, shaking his lips with his finger betweene them; vnto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand: if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely. [61]
    34. A myle from Orapakes in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinde of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, whith he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man, all made evill favouredly, according to their best workemanship. [61]
    35. He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he 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 another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his bands. When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in stead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe. His kingdomes descend 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 or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males. [61]
    36. He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must be obeyed: not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour Kings whom they call Werowances, are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word Werowance, which we call and construe for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more then one commander, which commonly they call Werowance, or Caucorouse, which is Captaine. They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, 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 obey this Powhatan. For at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible & tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, he caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great store of burning coales, they rake these coales 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 vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Mussell shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, ever casting what they cut of 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 themselues reported they executed George Cassen. Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. We haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men haue beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never cry nor complained. And he made a woman for playing the whore, sit vpon a great stone, on her bare breech twenty foure houres, onely with corne and water, every three dayes, till nine dayes were past, yet he loued her exceedingly: notwithstanding there are common whores by profession. [61]
    37. In the yeare 1608, he surprised the people of Payankatank his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambuscadoes environed all their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoyle, twenty-foure men they slew, the long haire of the one side of their heads, 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 presented to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made ostentation of his triumph at Werowocomoco, where he intended to haue done as much to mee and my company. [61]
    38. Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Presidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall. Newport, Smith, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called Powhatan, consisting of some twelue houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Isles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans, to this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of Iames towne, they gaue iust cause of iealousie, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke downe a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats. [61]
    39. Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, & our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration. Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine Newport (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the ships. Now Captaine Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a prisoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in England to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vtter most of their crueltie, he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies, yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President was adiudged to giue him 2001. so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the Colony. Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Mr Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captaine Smith to be admitted of the Councell; the next day all receiued the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in Virginia 100. the 15 of Iune 1607. [61]
    40. The new President and Martin, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine Smith: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the Shallop to search the Country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but six or seauen in company he went downe the river to Kecoughtan, where at first they scorned him, as a famished man, and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore, where at they all fled into the woods. So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of corne: much adoe he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from present taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their Okee (which was an Idoll made of skinnes, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner being well armed, with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly receiued them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their Quiyoughkasoucks to offer peace, and redeeme their Okee. Smith told them, if onely six of them would come vnarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their Okee, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had, singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed. In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of Warraskoyack. [61]
    41. Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and discovered the people of Chickahamania: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelesly spent. Wingfield and Kendall liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of Smith, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to Martins never mending sicknes, strengthened themselues with the sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord the Pinnace, (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for England. Smith vnexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the riuer, which action cost the life of captaine Kendall. These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The President and captaine Archer not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which proiect also was curbed, and suppressed by Smith. The Spaniard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of Corne in the riuer of Chickahamania where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places stood with baskets expecting his comming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England. But our Comœdies never endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the Councell, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sunder he made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government, gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut of the boat and all the rest. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his[\*](https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/smith/smith.html#n7) two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall, who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and vsed him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner. [61]
    42. The Salvages hauing drawne from George Cassen whether Captaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that oportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamavnkee, who in diuisions searching the turnings of the riuer, found Robinson and Emry by the fire side, those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that vsed the Salvage that was his guide as his sheld (three of them being slaine and diuers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to haue returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, slipped vp to the middle in an oasie creeke & his Salvage with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed limbs. He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamavnkee, to whom he gaue a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding vp the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well vsed. [61]
    43. Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselues all in fyle, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine Smith was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remoue as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him, the souldiers first all in fyle performed the forme of a Bissom so well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serieants to see them keepe their order. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselues in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace; their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and Pocones mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snaks tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while Smith and the King stood in the middest guarded, as before is said, and after three dances they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would haue served twentie men, I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, & reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one Maocassater brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes Smith had given him at his first arrivall in Virginia. [61]
    44. Two dayes after a man would haue slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. Smith told them that at Iames towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to assault Iames towne, crauing his advice, and for recompence he should haue life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to Iames towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer. [61]
    45. But when they came to Iame towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had told them they should receiue an answer, and such things as he had promised them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake: then they led him to the Youthtanunds, the Mattapanients, the Payankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds, and Onawmanicnts vpon the rivers ef Rapahanock, and Patawomek, over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamavnkee, where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Coniurations; [61]
    46. Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other, on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's, along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as vgly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe fiue wheat cornes: then strayning his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gaue a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the middest. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preferved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. Opitchapam the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, soule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put vp all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to Opechancanoughs, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments. [61]
    47. At last they brought him to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselues in their greatest braveries. Before a fire vpon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 to 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest. [61]
    48. Two dayes after, Powhatan having disguised himselfe in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Capt: Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devill then a man with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came vnto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to Iames towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would giue him the Country of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquoud. So to Iames towne with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quarterd in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne Barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where Smith having vsed the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed Rawhunt, Powhatans trusty servant two demi-Culverings & a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gaue them such toyes; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gaue them in generall full content. Now in Iames Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakrefalcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sinke. Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to haue put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of Robinson and Emry, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England. Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their liues, that els for all this had starved with hunger. [61]
    49. His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bountie of Powhatan, (which till that time was vnknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the loue of Pocahontas) as all mens feare was abandoned. Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indevour: and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition. And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to haue any mention made of those inormities, let them pervse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissentions haue accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserue a more worthy respect. [61]
    50. These, with nine others (whose names I haue forgotten) comming a-shore, landed amongst a many of creekes, over which they were to passe such poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches, thrust in the ose, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were but traps. Which caused Smith to make diverse Salvages goe over first, keeping some of the chiefe as hostage till halfe his men were passed, to make a guard for himselfe and the rest. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne. Where Powhatan strained himselfe to the vtmost of his greatnesse to entertaine them, with great shouts of ioy, Orations of protestations; and with the most plenty of victualls he could provide to feast them. Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbrodered (after their rude manner with pearle and white Beads) his attyre a faire robe of skinnes as large as an Irish mantell: at his head and feete a handsome young woman: on each side his house sat twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about each of their neckes. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbour-like house, and more then fortie platters of fine bread stood as a guard in two fyles on each side the doore. Foure or fiue hundred people made a guard behinde them for our passage; and Proclamation was made, none vpon paine of death to presume to doe vs any wrong or discourtesie. With many pretty Discourses to renew their old acquaintance, this great King and our Captaine spent the time, till the ebbe left our Barge aground. Then renewing their feasts with feates, dauncing and singing, and such like mirth, we quartered that night with Powhatan. The next day Newport came a shore and receiued as much content as those people could giue him: a boy named Thomas Salvage was then giuen vnto Powhatan, whom Newport called his sonne; for whom Powhatan gaue him Namontack his trustie servant, and one of a shrewd, subtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes more we spent in feasting, dauncing, and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts, considering his education. As scorning to trade as his subiects did; he bespake Newport in this manner. [61]
    51. Captaine Newport it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you what I thinke fitting their value. Captaine Smith being our interpreter, regarding Newport as his father, knowing best the disposition of Powhatan, tould vs his intent was but onely to cheate vs; yet Captaine Newport thinking to out braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with his bountie, as to haue what he listed, it so hapned, that Powhatan hauing his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, that I thinke it better cheape in Spaine: for we had not foure bushells for that we expected to haue twentie hogsheads. This bred some vnkindnesse betweene our two Captaines; Newport seeking to please the vnsatiable desire of the Salvage, Smith to cause the Salvage to please him; but smothering his distast to avoyd the Saluages suspition, glanced in the eyes of Powhatan many trifles, who fixed his humor vpon a few blew beades. A long time he importunately desired them, but Smith seemed so much the more to affect them, as being composed of a most rare substance of the coulour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greatest kings in the world. This made him halfe madde to be the owner of such strange Iewells: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beades, be brought ouer my king for 2. or 300. Bushells of corne; yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of Opechankanough king of Pamavnkee, whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads, which grew by this meanes, of that estimation, that none durst weare any of them but their great kings, their wiues and children. And so we returned all well to Iames towne, where this new supply being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired their quarters and so the towne, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallisado's, (though eight or ten yards distant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate prouision. Good Master Hunt our Preacher lost all his Library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his losse. This happned in the winter in that extreame frost. 1607. Now though we had victuall sufficient I meane onely of Oatmeale, meale and corne, yet the Ship staying 14. weekes when shee might as wel haue beene gone in 14. dayes, spent a great part of that, and neare all the rest that was sent to be landed. When they departed what there discretion could spare vs, to make a little poore meale or two, we called feastes, to relish our mouthes: of each somwhat they left vs, yet I must confesse, those that had either money, spare clothes credit to giue billes of paiment, gold rings, furrs, or any such commodities, were euer welcome to their remouing tauerne, such was our patience to obay such vile Commanders, and buy our owne provisions at 15. times the value, suffering them feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast, least we should incurre the censure of factious and seditious persons: and then leakage, ship rats, and other casuallties occasioned them losse, but the vessels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receaue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their prouidence for preseruing that, least they should discourage any more to come to vs. Now for all this plenty our ordynary was but meale and water, so that this great charge little releeued our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter cold frost and those defects, more then halfe of vs dyed; I cannot deny but both Smith and Skriuener did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the maior part, that there hornes were to short. But the worst was our guilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands least they should by there art make gold of his bones: little neede there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, there wages run on, our victualls consume 14. weekes, that the Mariners might say, they did helpe to build such a golden Church that we can say the raine washed neere to nothing in 14. dayes. Were it that captaine Smith would not applaude all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trialls nor golden consultations, I know not; but I haue heard him oft question with Captaine Martin & tell him, except he could shew him a more substantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out these and many other passions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt. Till then we neuer accounted, Captaine Newport a refiner, who being ready to set saile for England, & we not hauing any vse of Parliaments, Plaies, Petitions, Admiralls, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent Master Wingfield and Captaine Archer home with him, that had ingrossed all those titles, to seeke some better place of imployment. [61]
    52. Powhatan (to expresse his loue to Newport) when he departed, presented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie swords, which immediately was sent him; now after his departure he presented Captaine Smith with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not sending such weapons as he desired, he caused his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At last by ambuscadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, surprise vs at worke, or any way; which was so long permitted, they became so insolent there was no rule; the command from England was so strait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then peace-breakers. This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine Smith, who without farther deliberation gaue them such an incounter, as some he so hunted vp and downe the Isle, some he so terrified with whipping, beating, and imprisonment, as for revenge they surprised two of our forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force Smith to redeliver seven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained prisoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he sallied out amongst them, and in lesse then an houre, he so hampred their insolencies, they brought them his two men, desiring peace without any further composition for their prisoners. Those he examined, and caused them all beleeue, by severall vollies of shot one of their companions was shot to death, because they would not confesse their intents and plotters of those villanies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by Powhatan to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats, with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant: yet he sent his messengers, and his dearest daughter Pocahontas with presents to excuse him of the iniuries done by some rash vntoward Captaines his subiects, desiring their liberties for this time, with the assurance of his loue for ever. After Smith had given the prisoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, & then delivered them Pocahontas, for whose sake onely he fayned to haue saued their liues, and gaue them libertie. The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine Smith for his crueltie, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them; where before, wee had sometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very seldome a weeke, but we had some trecherous villany or other. [61]
    53. These being in an open Barge neare three tuns burthen, leaving the Phœnix; at Cape Henry, they crossed the Bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Isles called Smiths Isles, after our Captaines name. The first people we saw were two grim and stout Salvages vpon Cape Charles, with long poles like lauelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would, but after many circumstances they seemed very kinde, and directed vs to Accomack, the habitation of their Werowance, where we were kindly intreated. This King was the comliest, proper, civil Salvage we incountred. His Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small creekes; good Harbours for small Barks, but not for Ships. He told vs of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was, two children being dead; some extreame passions, or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moued their parents againe to revisit their dead carkases, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which being a great part of his people, not long after dyed, and but few escaped. They spake the language of Powhatan, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Isles, and rivers, that often did vs exceeding pleasure. Passing along the coast, searching every inlet, and Bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many Isles in the midst of the Bay we bore vp for them, but ere we could obtaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water. The highest land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called Keales hill, and these vninhabited Isles, Russels Isles. The next day searching them for fresh water, we could find none, the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought vs to the river of Wighcocomoco. The people at first with great fury seemed to assault vs, yet at last with songs and daunces and much mirth became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, & that such puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco. Being past these Isles which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land vpon the mayne, we found a great Pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot wee supposed it some bath; that place we called poynt Ployer, in honor of that most honourable House of Mousay in Britaine, that in an extreame extremitie once relieued our Captaine. From Wighcocomoco to this place, all the coast is low broken Isles of Morap, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelue in length, good to cut for hay in Summer, and to catch fish and foule in Winter: but the Land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the rest of the Country. [61]
    54. Being thus refreshed in crossing ouer from the maine to other Isles, we discouered the winde and waters so much increased with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our mast and sayle blew ouerbord and such mighty waues ouerracked vs in that small barge that with great labour we kept her frõ sinking by freeing out the water. Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these vninhabited Isles which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called Limbo. Repairing our saile with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty convenient riuer on the East called Cuskarawaok, the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place, and diuers got into the tops of trees, they were not sparing of their arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without there reatch making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came vnarmed, with euery one a basket, dancing in a ring, to draw vs on shore: but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by; where there companies lay in Ambuscado. Towards the euening we wayed, & approaching the shoare, discharging fiue or six shot among the reedes, we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the riuer, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire, there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then went into the bay, but when it was darke we came backe againe. Early in the morning foure Salvages came to vs in their Canow, whom we vsed with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, hauing beene in the bay a fishing, bade vs stay and ere long they would returne, which they did and some twentie more with them; with whom after a little conference, two or three thousand men women & childrẽ came clustring about vs, euery one presẽting vs with something, which a little bead would so well require, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch vs water, stay with vs for hostage, conduct our men any whither, and giue vs the best content. Here doth inhabite the people of Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseek, and Nantaquak the best Marchants of all other Salvages. They much extolled a great nation called Massawomekes, in search of whom we returned by Limbo: this riuer but onely at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of small stature as them of Wightcocomoco, the Land but low, yet it may proue very commodious, because it is but a ridge of land betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean. Finding this Easterne shore, shallow broken Isles, and for most part without fresh water, we passed by the straites of Limbo for the Westerne shore: so broad is the bay here, we could scarce perceiue the great high clifts on the other side: by them we Anchored that night and called them Riccards Cliftes. 30. leagues we sayled more Northwards not finding any inhabitants, leauing all the Easterne shore, lowe islandes, but ouergrowne with wood, as all the Coast beyond them so farre as wee could see: the Westerne shore by which we sayled we found all along well watered, but very mountanous and barren, the vallies very fertill, but extreame thicke of small wood so well as trees, and much frequented with Wolues, Beares, Deere and other wild beasts. We passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found Nauigable for a ship, we called Bolus, for that the clay in many places vnder the clifts by the high water marke, did grow vp in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the coulour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy grauell, which made vs thinke it Bole-Armoniack and Terra sigillata. When we first set sayle some of our Gallants doubted nothing but that our Captaine would make too much hast home, but hauing lien in this small barge not aboue 12. or 14. dayes, oft tyred at the Oares, our bread spoyled with wet so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could disgest it) they did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner. [61]
    55. Gentlemen if you would remember the memorable history of Sir Ralph Layne, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of Moratico, alleadging they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feede them in their returnes; then what a shame would it be for you (that haue bin so suspitious of my tendernesse) to fores me returne, with so much provision as we haue, and scarce able to say where we haue beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke? You cannot say but I haue shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoeuer, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust; abandon these childish feares, for worse then is past is not likely to happen: and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regaine therefore your old spirits for returne I will not (if God please) till I haue seene the Massawomeks, found Patawomek, or the head of this water you conceit to be endless. Two or 3. dayes we expected winde & wether, whose aduerse extremities added such discouragement, that three or foure fell sicke, whose pittifull complaints caused vs to to returne, leauing the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water. [61]
    56. The 16. of Iune we fell with the riuer Patowomek: feare being gone, and our men recovered, we were all content to take some paines, to know the name of that seuen mile broad riuer: for thirtie myles sayle, we could see no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two Savages vp a little bayed creeke, towards Onawmanient, where all the woods were layd with ambuscado's to the number of three or foure thousand Salvages, so strangely paynted, grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying as so many spirits from hell could not haue shewed more terrible. Many brauado's they made, but to appease their fury, our Captaine prepared with as seeming a willingnesse (as they) to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets vpon the water (many being shot on purpose they might see them) with the Ecco of the of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes; (and exchanging hostage) Iames Watkins was sent six myles vp the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly vsed of those Salvages, of whom we vnderstood, they were commanded to betray vs, by the direction of Powhatan, and he so directed from the discontents at Iames towne, because our Captaine did cause them stay in their country against their wills. [61]
    57. The like incounters we found at Patowomek Cecocawonee and diuers other places: but at Moyaones, Nacotchtant and Toags the people did their best to content vs. Hauing gone so high as we could with the bote, we met diuers Saluages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Beares, Deere and other beasts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places aboue the grownd as high as the shrubby trees, and diuers other solid quarries of diuers tinctures: and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tinctured spãgled skurfe, that made many bare places seeme as guilded. Digging the growne aboue in the highest clifts of rocks, we saw it was a claie sand so mingled with yeallow spangles as if it had beene halfe pin-dust. In our returne inquiring still for this Matchqueon, the king of Patawomeke gaue vs guides to conduct vs vp a little riuer called Quiyough, vp which we rowed so high as we could. Leauing the bote, with six shot, and diuers Salvages, he marched seuen or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to haue for their paines, being proud so richly to be adorned. The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like Antimony; wherein they digged a great hole with shells & : and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of Christal-like water, where they wash a way the drosse and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all ouer the country to paint there bodyes, faces, or Idols; which makes them looke like Black-mores dusted over with siluer. With so much as we could carry we returned to our bote, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people. The cause of this discovery was to search this mine, of which Newport did assure vs that those small baggs (we had giuen him) in England he had tryed to hold halfe siluer; but all we got proued of no value: also to search what furrs, the best whereof is at Cuscarawaoke, where is made so much Rawranoke or white beads that occasion as much dissention among the the Salvages, as gold and siluer amongst Christians; and what other mineralls, riuers, rocks, nations, woods, fishings, fruites, victuall, and what other commodities the land afforded: and whether the bay were endlesse or how farre it extended: of mines we were all ignorant, but a few Beuers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes we found, and in diuers places that aboundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driuing amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of vs euer seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans: some small codd also we did see swim close by the shore by Smiths Iles, and some as high as Riccards Clifts. And some we haue found dead vpon the shore. [61]
    58. To express all our quarrels, trecheries and incounters amongst those Salvages I should be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we so incountred them, and curbed their insolencies, that they concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet we lost not a man: at our first meeting out Captaine euer obserued this order to demand their bowes and arrowes, swordes, mantells and furrs, with some childe or two for hostage, whereby we could quickly perceiue, when they intended any villany. Hauing finished this discouery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to see his imprisonment-acquaintances vpon the riuer of Rapahanock, by many called Toppahanock, but our bote by reason of the ebbe, chansing to grownd vpon a many shoules lying in the entrances, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes; our Captaine sporting himselfe by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in owne houre then we could eate in a day. But it chansed our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a ryding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrest of his arme neere an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swolen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Island by, as himselfe directed: yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Docter Russell at the first applyed to it when he sounded it with probe (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs then ease to himselfe, for which we called the Island Stingray Isle after the name of the fish. [61]
    59. Hauing neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery, but that preseruatiue oyle we presẽtly set sayles for Iames towne, passing the mouthes of the riuers of Payankatank, & Pamavnkee the next day we safely arriued at Kecougtan. The simple Salvages seeing our Captaine hurt, and an other bloudy by breaking his shinne, our numbers of bowes, arrowes, swords, mantles, and furrs, would needes imagine we had beene at warres (the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impatiently importuned vs to know with whom. Finding their aptnesse to beleeue we fayled not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle we had got and made of the Massawomeks. This rumor went faster vp the river then our Barge, that arrived at Waraskoyack the 20 of Iuly; where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devises as we could, we made them at Iames towne iealous of a Spanish Frigot, where we all God be thanked safely arrived the 21 of Iuly. There we found the last Supply were all sicke, the rest some lame, some bruised, all vnable to doe any thing but complaine of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse crueltie of the silly President, that had riotously consumed the store: and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods, had brought them all to that misery; that had we not arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge; but the good newes of our Discovery, and the good hope we had by the Salvages relation, that our Bay had stretched into the South Sea, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury; but conditionally that Ratliffe should be deposed, and that Captaine Smith would take vpon him the government, as by course it did belong. Their request being effected, he substituted Mr Scrivener his deare friend in the Presidency, equally distributing those private provisions the other had ingrossed, appointing more honest officers to assist master Scrivener (who then lay exceeding sicke of a Callenture) and in regard of the weaknesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease, to recover their healths, but imbarked himselfe to finish his Discovery. [61]
    60. The wind being contrary caused our stay two or three dayes at Kecoughtan: the King feasted vs with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the Massawomeks. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing vnpossible we attempted; and desired to assist vs. The first night we anchored at Stingray Isle. The next day crossed Patawomeks river, and hasted to the river Bolus. We went not much further before we might see the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided in foure, all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them. Two of them we found inhabited, but in crossing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of Massawomeks, we seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but fiue with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left Kecoughtan, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, vntill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them vnder our Tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the Barges side, and betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make vs seeme many, and so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come vnto vs. At last they sent two of their company vnarmed in a Canow, the rest all followed to second them if neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes. We vnderstood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had beene at warres with the Tockwoghes, the which they confirmed by shewing vs their greene wounds, but the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them. [61]
    61. Entring the river of Tockwogh, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed vs; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw vs furnished with the Massawomeks weapons, and we faining the invention of Kecoughtan, to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women, and children with daunces, songs, fruits, furres, and what they had, kindly welcommed vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues. [61]
    62. Many hatchets, kniues, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to haue from the Sasquesahanocks, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the Massawomeks. The Sasquesahanocks inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes iourney higher then our barge could passe for rocks, yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come visit vs, for their language are different. Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of Venison, Tobacco pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Fiue of their chiefe Werowances came boldly aboord vs to crosse the Bay for Tockwhogh, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being so high they durst not passe. [61]
    63. Our order was daily to haue Prayer, with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold vp their hands to the Sunne, with a most fearefull song, then imbracing our Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished: which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loues; that ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at least six or seaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeks. But we left them at Tockwhogh, sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made vs, of Atquanachuck, Massawomek, & other people, signifying they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderstood to be some great lake, or the river of Canada: and from the French to haue their hatchets and Commodities by trade. These know no more of the territories of Powhatan, then his name, and he as little of them, but the Atquanachuks are on the Ocean Sea. [61]
    64. The highest mountaine we saw Northward wee called Perigrines mount, and a rocky river, where the Massawomeks went vp, Willowbyes river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the Lord Willowby, his most honored good friend. The Sasquesahanocks river we called Smiths falles; the next poynt to Tockwhogh, Pisings poynt; the next it poynt Bourne. Powells Isles and Smals poynt is by the river Bolus; and the little Bay at the head Profits poole; Watkins, Reads, and Momfords poynts are on each side Limbo; Ward, Cantrell, and Sicklemore, betwixt Patawomek and Pamavnkee, after the names of the discoverers. In all those places and the furthest we came vp the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had beene there. [61]
    65. Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of Pawtuxunt; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any, we promised them, as also the Patawomeks to revenge them of the Massawomeks, but our purposes were crossed. [61]
    66. In the discovery of this river some call Rapahanock, we were kindly entertained by the people of Moraughtacund; here we incountered our old friend Mosco, a lusty Salvage of Wighcocomoco vpõ the river of Patawomek, we supposed him some French mans sonne, because he had a thicke blacke bush beard, and the Salvages seldome haue any at all, of which he was not a little proud, to see so many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, nay, cause divers of his Countrymen helpe vs towe against winde or tyde from place to place till we came to Patawomek: there he rested till we returned from the head of the river, and occasioned our conduct to the mine we supposed Antimony. And in the place he fayled not to doe vs all the good he could, perswading vs in any case not to goe to the Rapahanocks, for they would kill vs for being friends with the Moraughtacunds that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely haue our trade: so we crossed the river to the Rapahanocks. There some 12 or 16 standing on the shore, directed vs a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for vs in three or foure Canowes we saw lie there: but according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man in signe of loue, which after they had a little consulted, foure or fiue came vp to the middles, to fetch our man, and leaue vs one of them, shewing we need not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithstanding, Anas Todkill, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any Ambuscadoes, or what they had, desired to goe over the playne to fetch some wood, but they were vnwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come close ashore. Todkill by degrees having got some two stones throwes vp the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees, so that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages assayed to carry him away perforce, that he called to vs we were berrayed, and by that he had spoke the word, our hostage was over-boord, but Warkins his keeper slew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly amongst them, so that they fled, & Todkill escaped, yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat. Here the Massawomek Targets stood vs in good stead, for vpon Mosco's words, we had set them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecastle, from whence we securely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they shot more then a thousand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our selues with these light Targets (which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our Cloth, but so firmely that no arrow can possibly pierce them:) we rescued Todkill, who was all bloudy by some of them who were shot by vs that held him, but as God pleased he had no hurt; and following them vp to the woods, we found some slaine, and in divers places much bloud. It seems all their arrowes were spent, for we heard no more of them. Their Canows we tooke; the arrowes we found we broke, saue them we kept for Mosco, to whom we gaue the Canowes for his kindnesse, that entertained vs in the best trivmphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conquest he could procure of the Moraughtacunds. [61]
        1. Thanks to our genetic study, we have DNA proof of contact with Frenchmen.
           1. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study, #4**.
    67. The rest of the day we spent in accomodating our Boat, in stead of thoules wee made stickes like Bedstaues, to which we fastened so many of our Massawomek Targets, that invironed her as wast clothes. The next morning we went vp the river, and our friend Mosco followed vs along the shore, and at last desired to goe with vs in our Boat. But as we passed by Pisacack, Matchopeak, and Mccuppom, three Townes situated vpon high white clay clifts; the other side all a low playne marish, and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the Rapahanocks, had so accommodated themselues with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing among the sedge, still seeing their arrowes strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: where-at Mosco fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the Rapahanocks, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley fell downe in the sedge: when wee were neare halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselues dauncing and singing very merrily. [61]
    68. The Kings of Pissassack, Nandtaughtacund, and Cuttatawomen, vsed vs kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to Mosco to bring vs to them. Betwixt Secobeck and Massawteck is a small Isle or two, which causech the river to be broader then ordinary; there it pleased God to take one of our Company called Mr Fetherstone, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himselfe, honestly, valiantly, and industriously, where in a little Bay we called Fetherstones Bay wee buryed him with a volley of shot: the rest notwithstanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers never resting, but alwayes tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float, there setting vp crosses, and graving our names in the tracs. Our Sentinell saw an arrow fall by him, though we had ranged vp and downe more then an houre in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himselfe. [61]
    69. Vpon the alarum by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows so fast as they could: the trees here served vs for Baricadoes as well as they. But Mosco did vs more service then we expected, for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of Mosco at the first made them pause vpon the matter, thinking by his bruit and skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddainly as they approached. Mosco followed them so farre as he could see vs, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee, but taking him vp we found he had life, which Mosco seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then Mosco was to haue beat out his braines, so we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian who went with vs to cure our Captaines hurt of the Stingray, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. In the meane time we contented Mosco in helping him to gather vp their arrowes, which were an armefull, whereof he gloried not a little. Then we desired Mosco to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of Hasinninga, where there are three Kings more, like vnto them, namely the King of Stegora, the King of Tauxuntania, and the King of Shakahonea, that were come to Mohaskahod, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the Mannahocks, and the Nandtaughtacunds, but hard by where we were. We demanded why they came in that manner to betray vs, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loues; he answered, they heard we were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them. We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was vnder the skie that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans, and the Massawomeks, that were higher vp in the mountaines. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing;[\*](https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/smith/smith.html#n8) because the woods were not burnt. [61]
    70. These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the Massawomeks, the Monacans, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of Stegora, Tauxsintania, and the rest. The Monacans he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, liuing vpon rootes and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The Massawomeks did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, & so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting: But those with him came thither a fishing till they saw vs, notwithstanding they would be altogether at night at Mahaskahod. For his relation we gaue him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with vs, and he as earnestly desired vs to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good vsage should be friends with vs, for he was brother to Hasinninga. But Mosco advised vs presently to be gone, for they were all naught, yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, & Mosco was as diligent in trimming his arrowes. The night being come we all imbarked, for the riuer was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might haue done vs exceeding much mischiefe. All this while the K. of Hasinninga was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call vnto them, but such a yelling & hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More then 12 myles they followed vs in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selues in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen; being well refreshed, we vntyed our Targets that couered vs as a Deck, and all shewed our selues with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner Amoroleck; a long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee vsed him, how wee had a Patawomek with vs, loued vs as his life, that would haue slaine him had we not preserued him, and that he should haue his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe vs any hurt it was impossible. Vpon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers vpon the trees, and one came swimming aboord vs with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they deliuered our Captaine as a present, the Captaine hauing vsed them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend, whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so vpon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and receiued Amoroleck: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobaccobags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to giue vs, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tocke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities, and so we left foure or fiue hundred of our merry Mannahocks, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for Moraughtacund. [61]
    71. In our returnes we visited all our friends, that reioyced much at our Victory against the Mannahocks, who many times had Warres also with them, but now they were friends, and desired we would be friends with the Rapahanocks, as we were with the Mannahocks. Our Captaine told them, they had twise assaulted him that came onely in loue to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houses, destroy their corne, and for euer hold them his enemies, till they made him satisfaction; they desired to know what that should be: he told them they should present him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they should be friends with the Moraughtacunds his friends, and giue him their Kings sonne in pledge to performe it, and then all King Iames his men should be their friends. Vpon this they presently sent to the Rapahanocks to meete him at the place where they first fought, where would be the Kings of Nautautacund and Pissassac: which according to their promise were there so soone as we; where Rapahanock presented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we desired, except his sonne, having no more but him he could not liue without him, but in stead of his sonne he would giue him the three women Moraughtacund had stolne. This was accepted: and so in three or foure Canowes, so many as could went with vs to Moraughtacund, where Mosco made them such relations, and gaue to his friends so many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no lesse loued him then admired vs. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gaue a chayne of Beads: and then causing Moraughtacund, Mosco, and Rapahanock stand before him, bid Rapahanock take her he loued best, and Moraughtacund chuse next, & to Mosco he gaue the third. Vpon this away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their venison, and all the provision they could, and they that wanted Boats swam over the river: the darke commanded vs then to rest. The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we coniectured, six or seauen hundred, dauncing, & singing, and not a Bow nor Arrow seene amongst them. Mosco changed his name Vttasantasough, which we interpret Stranger, for so they call vs. All promising ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purposely for vs; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed, giuing them a Volley of shot, and they vs as loud shouts and cryes as their strengths could vtter. That night we anchored in the river of Payankatank, and discovered it so high as it was navigable, but the people were most a hunting, saue a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne, of which they promised vs part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene. [61]
    72. In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt Comfort, we anchored in Gosnolls Bay, but such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to haue seene Iames Towne. Yet running before the wind, we sometimes saw the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the splitting shore, vntill it pleased God in that blacke darknesse to preserue vs by that light to finde poynt Comfort: there refreshing our selues, because we had onely but heard of the Chisapeacks & Nandsamunds, we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad. [61]
    73. So setting sayle for the Southerne shore, we sayled vp a narrow river vp the country of Chisapeack; it hath a good channell, but many shoules about the entrance. By that we had sayled six or seauen myles, we saw two or three little garden plots with their houses, the shores overgrowne with the greatest Pyne and Firre trees wee ever saw in the Country. But not seeing nor hearing any people, and the riuer very narrow, we returned to the great riuer, to see if we could finde any of them. Coasting the shore towards Nandsamund, which is most Oyster-bankes; at the mouth of that riuer, we espied six or seauen Salvages making their wires, who presently fled: ashore we went, and where they wrought we threw diuers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall vs: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired vs to goe to his house vp that riuer, into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after vs by the shore with all shew of loue that could be. Seauen or eight myles we sayled vp this narrow riuer: at last on the Westerne shore we saw large Cornefields, in the midst a little lsle, and in it was abundance of Corne; the people he told vs were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he inuited vs with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gaue such things as they seemed much contented them. The others being come, desired vs also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left vs, the rest rowed by vs in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the riuer became very narrow. Here we desired some of them to come abord vs, wherat pausing a little, they told vs they would but fetch their bows and arrowes and goe all with vs, but being a shore and thus armed, they perswaded vs to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow, nor into our Boat. This gaue vs caufe to prouide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seauen or eight Canowes full of men armed appeared following vs, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the riuer came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast, but amongst them we bestowed so many shot, the most of them leaped overboord and swam ashore, but two or three escaped by rowing, being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twentie shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, onely Anthony Bagnall was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeue. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the Nanasamunds, and the Chisapeacks were together, we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition, till we were prouided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our Colony: but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded. In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace: peace we told them we would accept it, would they bring vs their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe giue vs foure hundred baskets full of Corne, otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift & bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to vs to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed, away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to Iames Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of September, 1608. There we found Mr Scrivener, and divers others well recovered: many dead; some sicke: the late President prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master Scrivener, the haruest gathered, but the provision in the store much spoyled with rayne. Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the gouernment of Captaine Ratliffe) but onely this discovery; wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie. [61]
    74. THe tenth of September, by the Election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine Smith receiued the Letters Patents: which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned therevnto. Now the building of Ratliffes Pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; the Church was repaired; the Store-house recouered; buildings prepared for the Supplyes, we expected; the Fort reduced to a fiue square forme; the order of the Watch renewed; the squadrons (each setting of the Watch) trained; the whole Company euery Saturday exercised, in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose, we called Smithfield: where sometimes more then an hundred Salvages would stand in an amazement to behold, how a fyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to shoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being sent out with Lieutenant Percy, in their Iourney incountred the second Supply, that brought them backe to discover the Country of Monacan. How or why Captaine Newport obtained such a private Commission, as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir Water Raleigh, I know not; nor why he brought such a fiue peeced Barge, not to beare vs to that South sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines, which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne. As for the Coronation of Powhatan, and his presents of Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Clothes, and such costly nouelties, they had beene much better well spared then so ill spent, for wee had his favour much better onely for a playne peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting, made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all. As for the hyring of the Poles and Dutch-men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes, when the Country is replenished with people, and necessaries, would haue done well, but to send them and seauentie more without victualls to worke, was not so well aduised nor considered of, as it should haue beene. Yet this could not haue hurt vs had they beene 200. though then we were 130 that wanted for our selues. For we had the Salvages in that decorum (their harvest being newly gathered, that we feared not to get victuals for 500. Now was there no way to make vs miserable, but to neglect that time to make prouision whilst it was to be had, the which was done by the direction from England to performe this strange discovery, but a more strange Coronation to loose that time, spend that victualls we had, tyre and starue our men, hauing no meanes to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or sicke, but on their owne backes. How or by whom they were inuented I know not: but Captaine Newport we onely accounted the Author, who to effect these proiects, had so guilded mens hopes with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution for the most part: God doth know they little knew what they did, nor vnderstood their owne estates to conclude his conclusions, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President alledged. Of this Supply there was added to the Councell, one Captaine Richard Waldo, and Captaine Wynne, two auncient Souldiers, and valiant Gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the busines, (being but newly arriued.) Ratliffe was also permitted to haue his voyce, & Mr Scrivener, desirous to see strange Countries: so that although Smith was President, yet the Maior part of the Councell had the authoritie and ruled it as they listed. As for clearing Smiths obiections, how Pitch and Tarre, Wainscot, Clapbord, Glasse, and Sope ashes, could be provided, to relade the ship, or provision got to liue withall, when none was in the Country, and that we had, spent, before the ship departed to effect these projects. The answer was, Captaine Newport vndertooke to fraught the Pinnace of twentie tunnes with Corne in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from Werowocomoco of Powhatan. Also promising a great proportion or victualls from the Ship; inferring that Smiths propositions were onely devices to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe, and that the crueltie he had vsed to the Salvages, might well be the occasion to hinder these Designes, and seeke revenge on him. For which taxation all workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for Newports guard in this Discovery. But Captaine Smith to make cleare all those seeming suspitions, that the Salvages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing (since by their authoritie they would haue it so) he was to assist them what he could, because the Coronation would consume much time, he vndertooke himselfe their message to Powhatan, to intreat him to come to Iames Towne to receiue his presents. And where Newport durst not goe with lesse then 120. he onely tooke with him Captaine Waldo, Mr Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuel Collier: with these foure he went over land to Werowocomoco, some 12 myles; there he passed the river of Pansevnkee in a Salvage Canow. Powhatan being 30 myles of, was presently sent for: in the meane time, Pocahontas and her women entertained Captaine Smith in this manner. [61]
    75. In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting vpon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the English betooke themselues to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently Pocahontas came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended, and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter. Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaues, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a chib, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises. These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entred in like manner they departed. [61]
    76. Having reaccomodated themselues, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Loue you not me? loue you not me? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, others singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging. [61]
    77. The next day came Powhatan. Smith delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him Namontack he had sent for England, desiring him to come to his Father Newport, to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the Monacans. Wherevnto this subtile Savage thus replyed. [61]
    78. If your King haue sent me Presents, I also am a King, and this is my land: eight dayes I will stay to receiue them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, ner yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a bait: as for the Monacans I can revenge my owne iniuries, and as for Atquanachuk, where you say your brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it; but for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the Relations you haue had from my people are false. Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions. Many other discourses they had (yet both content to giue each other content in complementall Courtesies) and so Captaine Smith returned with this Answer. [61]
    79. Vpon this the Presents were sent by water which is neare an hundred myles, and the Captains went by land with fiftie good shot. All being met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for his Coronation, then the presents were brought him, his Bason and Ewer, Bed and furniture set vp, his scarlet Cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being perswaded by Namontack they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his crowne, he neither knowing the maiesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gaue his old shooes and his mantell to Captaine Newport: but perceiving his purpose was to discover the Monacans, he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then Namontack; and so after some small complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents he presented Newport with a heape of wheat eares that might containe some 7 or 8 Bushels, and as much more we bought in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort. [61]
    80. The Ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first Gentlewoman and woman-seruant that arrived in our Colony. Captaine Newport with 120 chosen men, led by Captaine Waldo, Lieutenant Percie, Captaine Winne, Mr West, and Mr Scrivener, set forward for the discovery of Monacan, leaving the President at the Fort with about 80 or 90. (such as they were) to relade the Ship. Arriving at the Falles we marched by land some fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe, and so returned downe the same path we went. Two townes we discovered of the Monacans, called Massinacak and Mowhemenchouch, the people neither vsed vs well nor ill, yet for our securitie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct vs the way. And in our returnes searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refyning, having one William Callicut, a refyner fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth we digged, he perswaded vs to beleeue he extracted some small quantitie of silver; and (not vnlikely) better stuffe might be had for the digging. With this poore tryall, being contented to leaue this fayre, fertile, well watered Country; and comming to the Falles, the Salvages fayned there were divers ships come into the Bay, to kill them at Iames Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arrived at Iames Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tyred with toyle, famine, and discontent, to haue onely but discovered our guilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as Captaine Smith fortold vs. [61]
    81. Master Scrivener, Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the woods, seeing the time consumed and no provision gotten, (and the Ship lay idle at a great charge and did nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Councell to send Lieutenant Percie after him with the next barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges he had himselfe and 18 men, but arriving at Chickahamania, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolency as they could expresse. The President perceiuing it was Powhatans policy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murthered by them, and so landing his men and readie to charge them, they immediately fled: and presently after sent their Ambassadors with corne, fish, foule, and what they had to make their peace, (their Corne being that yeare but bad) they complained extreamely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boats with an hundred Bushels of Corne, and in like manner Lieutenant Percies, that not long after arrived, and having done the best they could to content vs, we parted good friends, and returned to Iames towne. [61]
    82. All this time our old Taverne made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be desired: by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane the souldiers, saylers, and Salvages) as there was tenne times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the Colony things that were necessary. Neither was it a small policy in Newport and the Marriners to report in England we had such plentie, and bring vs so many men without victuals, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within six or seauen weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Chissels, Hows, and Pick-axes, scarce twentie could be found: and for Pike-heads, shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes, was vendible; they knew as well (and as secretly) how to convey them to trade with the Salvages for Furres, Baskets, Mussaneeks, young Beasts, or such like Commodities, as exchange them with the Saylers for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, Aqua vita, Beere, Bisket, Oatmeale, and Oyle: and then fayne all was sent them from their friends And though Virginia affoorded no Furres for the Store, yet one Master in one voyage hath got so many by this indirect meanes, as he confested to haue sold in England for 301. [61]
    83. Master Scrivener was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to Werowocomoco, where he found the Salvages more readie to fight then trade; but his vigilancy was such as prevented their proiects, and by the meanes of Namontack got three or foure hogsheads of Corne, and as much Pocones, which is a red roote, which then was esteemed an excellent Dye. [61]
    84. Expresly to follow your direstions by Captaine Newport, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our Commission, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of vs all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Onely Captaine Winne and Captaine Waldo I haue sworne of the Councell, and Crowned Powhatan according to your instructions. [61]
    85. For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we haue not receiued the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, Newport had 120 of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might haue carried her in a bag, but as she is, fiue hundred cannot, to a navigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold; or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh: at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirtie myles, (which might as well haue beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serue the Fort. In their absence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sopeashes, and Clapboord, where of some small quantities we haue sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in Russia and Swethland, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred yeares haue vsed it, yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from vs any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get where with to liue, and defend our selues against the inconstant Salvages: finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things els the Russians haue. For the Coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the Salvages harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of Corne Newport promised to provide vs from Powhatan, he brought vs but fourteene Bushels; and from the Monacans nothing, but the most of the men sicke and neare famished. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine Newport we much suspect to be the Authour of those inventions. Now that you should know, I haue made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you every meale; I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least; so devided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them. The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you send vs: and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master you haue yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pound might be spared, which is more then we haue all, that helps to pay him wages. Cap. Ratliffe is now called Sicklemore, a poore counterfeited Imposture. I haue sent you him home, least the company should cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you: if he and Archer returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions. When you send againe I intreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers vp of trees, roots, well provided, then a thousand of such as we haue; for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything. Thus if you please to consider this account, and of the vnnecessary wages to Captaine Newport, or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leaue vs victuals for 12 moneths, though we had 89 by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three hogsheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into Germany or Poleland for glasse-men & the rest, till we be able to sustaine our selues, and relieue them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in Denmarke, then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let vs know what we should receiue, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue vs what they please, els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with anything. These are the causes that haue kept vs in Virginia, from laying such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest. [61]
    86. These poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine, that the President provided for Nandsamund, and tooke with him Captaine Winne, and Mr Scrivener, then returning from Captaine Newport. These people also long denied him not onely the 400 Baskets of Corne they promised, but any trade at all; (excusing themselues they had spent most they had, and were commanded by Powhatan to keepe that they had, and not to let vs come into their river) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce. Vpon the discharging of our Muskets they all fled and shot not an Arrow; the first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceiued, they desired we would make no more spoyle, and they would giue vs halfe they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three Boats; and so we returned to our quarter some foure myles downe the River, which was onely the open woods vnder the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with snow, and hard frozen; the snow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dryed, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat, there we lay very warme. To keepe vs from the winde we made a shade of another Mat; as the winde turned we turned our shade, and when the ground grew cold we remoued the fire. And thus many a cold winter night haue wee laine in this miserable manner, yet those that most commonly went vpon all those occasions, were alwayes in health, lusty, and fat. For sparing them this yeare, the next yeare they promised to plant purposely for vs; and so we returned to Iames towne. About this time there was a marriage betwixt Iohn Laydon and Anne Burras; which was the first marriage we had in Virginia. [61]
    87. Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine Waldo with two Barges. From Chawopoweanock, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being iealous of our intents; till we discovered the river and people of Apamatuck; where we found not much, that they had we equally divided, but gaue them copper, and such things as contented them in consideration. Master Scrivener and Lieutenant Percie went also abroad, but could find nothing. [61]
    88. The President seeing the procrastinating of time, was no course to liue, resolved with Captaine Waldo (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprise Powhatan, and all his provision, but the unwillingnesse of Captaine Winne, and Master Scrivener, for some private respect, plotted in England to ruine Captaine Smith, did their best to hinder their proiect; but the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by Powhatan to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, giue him a gryndstone, fiftie swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his Ship with Corne. The President not ignorant of his devises and subtiltie, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three Dutch-men and two English, having so small allowance, few were able to doe any thing to purpose: knowing there needed no better a Castle to effect this proiect, tooke order with Captaine Waldo to second him, if need required; Scrivener he left his substitute, and set forth with the Pinnace, two Barges, and fortie-six men, which onely were such as voluntarily offered themselues for his Iourney, the which by reason of Mr Scriveners ill successe, was censured very desperate, they all knowing Smith would not returne emptie, if it were to be had; howsoever, it caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behinde. [61]
    89. Thomas Gipson, David Ellis, Nathanael Peacock, Saylers. Iohn Prat, George Acrig, Iames Read, Nicholas Hancock, Iames Watkins, Thomas Lambert, foure Dutch-men, and Richard Salvage were sent by land before to build the house for Powhatan against our Arrivall. [61]
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    91. The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan; six or seaven dayes the extreame winde, rayne, frost and snow caused vs to keepe Christmas among the Salvages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wild-foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in England, then in the dry smoaky houses of Kecoughtan: but departing thence, when we found no houses we were not curious in any weather to lye three or foure nights together vnder the trees by a fire, as formerly is sayd. An hundred fortie eight foules the President, Anthony Bagnall, and Serieant Pising did kill at three shoots. At Kiskiack the frost & contrary winds forced vs three or foure dayes also (to suppresse the insolency of those proud Salvages) to quarter in their houses, yet guard our Barge, and cause them giue vs what we wanted; though we were but twelue and himselfe, yet we never wanted shelter where we found any houses. The 12 of Ianuary we arrived at Werowocomoco, where the river was frozen neare halfe a myle from the shore; but to neglect no time, the President with his Barge so far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebbe left him amongst those oasie shoules, yet rather then to lye there frozẽ to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight shot through this muddy frozen oase. When the Barge floated, he appoynted two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace. Where for want of water in melting the ice, they made fresh water, for the river there was salt. But in this march Mr Russell, (whom none could perswade to stay behinde) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, so overtoyled himselfe as the rest had much adoe (ere he got ashore) to regaine life into his dead benummed spirits. Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to Powhatan for provision, who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison; the next day having feasted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske vs when we would be gone: sayning he sent not for vs, neither had he any corne; and his people much lesse: yet for fortie swords he would procure vs fortie Baskets. The President shewing him the men there present that brought him the message and conditions, asked Powhatan how it chanced he became so forgetfull; thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and swords, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper; saying he could rate his Corne, but not the Copper. [61]
    92. Cap. Smiths discourse to Powhatan. Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtill Salvage began to deale with him after this manner. Powhatan, though I had many courses to haue made my provision, yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all to satisfie your desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting mine owne. What your people had you haue ingressed, for bidding them our trade: and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fuifill your strange demands. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe I had none to spare; and you must know those I haue can keepe me from want: yet steale or wrong you I will not, nor dissolue that friendship we haue mutually promised, except you constraine use by our bad vsage. [61]
    93. Powhatans reply and flattery. The King having attentiuely listned to this Discourse, promised that both he and his Country would spare him what he could, the which within two dayes they should receiue. Yet Captaine Smith, sayth the King, some doubt I haue of your comming hither that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you Corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free vs of this feare, leaue aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse, we being all friends, and for ever Powhatans. [61]
    94. With many such discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houses. The next day he renewed his building, which hee little intended should proceede. For the Dutch-men finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparations to surprise vs, little thinking we could escape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so great a spirit, iudgement, and resolution, and a hireling that was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well vsed both he and his Countrymen; that the President knew not whom better to trust; and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, had sent him as a spy to discover Powhatans intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after. [61]
    95. Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a copper Kettell, the which the President perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his scarcity he would accept it, provided we should haue as much more the next yeare, or els the Country of Monacan. Wherewith each seemed well contented, and Powhatan began to expostulate the difference of Peace and Warre after this manner. [61]
    96. Captaine Smith, you may vnderstand that I having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not any one liuing of these three generations but my selfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long must die, my brethren, namely Opitchapam, Opechancanough, and Kekataugh, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors. I wish their experience no lesse then mine, and your loue to them no lesse then mine to you. But this bruit from Nandsamund, that you are come to destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly haue by loue, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging vs your friends. And why are you thus iealous of our loues seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede vpon Acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine Smith: then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash vnaduisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and every yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also, if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes. To this subtill discourse, the President thus replyed. [61]
    97. Capt. Smiths Reply. Seeing you will not rightly conceiue of our words, we striue to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I find it euery day violated by some of your subiects: yet we finding your loue and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake onely, we haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge; els had they knowne as well the crueltie we vse to our enemies, as our true loue and courtesie to our friends. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue (by our Armes) of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could haue effected it. Your people comming to Iames Towne are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without any exceptions; we esteeming it with you as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell. As for the danger of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure: for your riches we haue no vse: as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the woods, we shall not so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge. Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade. But the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard dispersed, nor our men disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his minde once more in this manner. [61]
    98. Pawhatans importunity to haue vs vnarmed to betray vs. Captaine Smith, I neuer vse any Werowance so kindely as your selfe, yet from you I receiue the least kindnesse of any. Captaine Newport gaue me swords, copper, cloathes, a bed, towels, or what I desired; euer taking what I offered him, and would send away his gunnes when I intreated him: none doth deny to lye at my feet, or refuse to doe what I desire, but onely you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will haue whatsoeuer you demand. Captaine Newport you call father, and so you call me; but I see for all vs both you will doe what you list, and we must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your armes, that I may beleeue you; for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause me thus nakedly to forget my selfe. [61]
    99. Cap. Smiths discourse to delay time, till he found oportunity to surprise the King. Smith seeing this Salvage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the salvages to breake the ice, that his Boate might come to fetch his corne and him: and gaue order for more men to come on shore, to surprise the King, with whom also he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keepe him from suspicion, entertained the time with this reply. Powhatan you must know, as I haue but one God, I honour but one King; and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our custome, to sell our curtesies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike it as being ouer iealous. But to content you, tomorrow I will leaue my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the small care you haue of such a childe caused my men perswade me to looke to my selfe. [61]
    100. By this time Powhatan hauing knowledge his men were ready whilest the ice was a breaking, with his luggage women and children, fled. Yet to auoyd suspicion, left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whilest hee secretly ran away, and his men that secretly beset the house. Which being presently discouered to Captaine Smith, with his pistoll, sword, and target hee made such a passage among these naked Diuels; that at his first shoot, they next him tumbled one ouer another, and the rest quickly fled some one way some another: so that without any hurt, onely accompanied with Iohn Russell, hee obtained the corps du guard. When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his eighteene men (for he had no more with him a shore) to the vttermost of their skill they sought excuses to dissemble the matter: and Powhatan to excuse his flight and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Oratour that bespoke vs to this purpose, perceiuing euen then from our Pinnace, a Barge and men departing and comming vnto vs. [61]
    101. Captaine Smith, our Werowance is fled, fearing your gunnes, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent these numbers but to guard his corne from stealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet Powhatan is your friend and so will for euer continue. Now since the ice is open, he would haue you send away your corne, and if you would haue his company, send away also your gunnes, which so affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you as hee promised they should. [61]
    102. Then hauing prouided baskets for our men to carry our corne to the boats, they kindly offered their seruice to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellowes, as grim as Diuels; yet the very sight of cocking our matches, and being to let fly, a few wordes caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their backes; wee needed not importune them to make dispatch. But our Barges being left on the oase by the ebbe, caused vs stay till the next high-water, so that wee returned againe to our old quarter. Powhatan and his Dutch-men brusting with desire to haue the head of Captaine Smith, for if they could but kill him, they thought all was theirs, neglected not any oportunity to effect his purpose. The Indians with all the merry sports they could deuise, spent the time till night: then they all returned to Powhatan, who all this time was making ready his forces to surprise the house and him at supper. Notwithstanding the eternall all-seeing God did preuent him, and by a strange meanes. For Pocahontas his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent vs by and by: but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue shee wished vs presently to bee gone. Such things as shee delighted in, he would haue giuen her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, shee said shee durst not be seene to haue any: for if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead, and so shee ranne away by her selfe as she came. Within lesse then an houre came eight or ten lusty fellowes, with graat platters of venison and other victuall, very importunate to haue vs put out our matches (whose smoake made them sicke) and sit down to our victuall. But the Captaine made them taste euery dish, which done hee sent some of them backe to Powhatan, to bid him make haste for hee was prepared for his comming. As for them hee knew they came to betray him at his supper: but hee would prevent them and all their other intended villanies: so that they might be gone. Not long after came more messengers, to see what newes; not long after them others. Thus wee spent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high-water, yet seemed to the saluages as friendly as they to vs: and that wee were so desirous to giue Powhatan content, as hee requested, wee did leaue him Edward Brynton to kill him foule, and the Dutch-men to finish his house; thinking at our rerurne from Pamavnkee the frost would be gone, and then we might finde a better oportunity if necessity did occasion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutch-mens treachery, whose humor well suted this verse: Is any free, that may not liue as freely as he list? Let vs liue so, then w'are as free, and bruitish as the best [61]
    103. WE had no sooner set sayle but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (two stout Dutch-men) to Iames towne: who faining to Captaine Winne that all things were well, and that Captaine Smith had vse of their armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were giuen them) they told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles, and shift of apparell; by which colourable excuse they obtained sixe or seauen more to their confederacie, such expert theeues, that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder and such like: Saluages they had at hand to carry it away, and the next day they returned vnsuspected, leauing their confederates to follow, and in the interim to convay them such things as they could: for which seruice they should liue with Powhatan as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. Samuel their other consort Powhatan kept for their pledge, whose diligence had prouided them three hundred of their kinde of hatchets; the rest fifty swords, eight peeces, and eight pikes. Brynton and Richard Salvage seeing the Dutch-men so diligent to accommodate the Saluages with weapons, attempted to haue gotten to Iames towne, but they were apprehended, and expected euer when to be put to death. [61]
    104. Within two or three dayes we arriued at Pamavnkee, the King as many dayes entertained vs with feasting and much mirth. And the day appointed to beginne our trade, the President, Lieutenant Percie, Mr. West, Mr. Russell, Mr. Behethland, Mr. Crashaw, Mr. Powell, Mr. Ford, and some others to the number of fifteene, went vp to Opechancanoughs house a quarter of a mile from the riuer) where wee found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy: and all the houses round about of all things abandoned. Not long wee stayed ere the King arriued, and after him came diuerse of his people loaden with bowes and arrowes: but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with the King after this manner. [61]
    105. Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue seemes meere deceit by your actions. Last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship: but now you haue inuited mee to starue with hunger: you know my want, and I your plenty; of which by some meanes I must haue part: remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice, the rest I will proportion fit bargains for your people. [61]
    106. The King seemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our owne content, promising the next day more company, better prouided. The Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of Mr. Phetiplace; the President with his old fifteene marched vp to the Kings house, where wee found foure or fiue men newly arriued, each with a great basket. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulnesse held vs with discourse what paines he had taken to keep his promise; till Mr. Russell brought vs in newes that we were all betrayed; for at least seuen hundred Saluages well armed, had inuironed the house, and beset the fields. The King coniecturing what Russell related, wee could well perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismaied with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine encouraged vs to this effect. [61]
    107. Worthy Countrey-men, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared were they as many more: if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace breaker (in their opinions in England) as will breake my necke. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein I pray you aid mee with your opinions. Should wee beginne with them and surprise the King, we cannot keepe him and defend well our selues. If wee should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house; the rest will all fly: then shall wee get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and so starue for victuall. As for their fury it is the least danger, for well you know, being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the helpe of God compound to saue my life. And wee are sixteene, and they but seauen hundred at the most; and assure your selues, God will so assist vs that if you dare stand but to discharge your pieces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoeuer, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheepe: for by that meanes you know God hath oft deliuered mee, and so I trust will now. But first, I will deale with them, to bring it to passe wee may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me you will be valiant. [61]
    108. Smiths offer to Opechancanough. I see Opechancanough your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme, but by our direction. Take therefore your Armes, you see mine, my body shall bee as naked as yours: the Isle in your riuer is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of vs two) shall be Lord and Master ouer all our men. If you haue not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will; so euery one bring a basket of corne, against all which I will stake the value in copper, you see I haue but fifteene, and our game shall be, the Conquerour take all. [61]
    109. The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspicion of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him out of the doore, where the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot. The President commanded one to go see what what kind of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but hee refused to doe it: yet the Gentlemen and all the rest were importunate to goe, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that Coward: and commanded Lieutenant Percie, Master West, and the rest to make good the house; Master Powell and Master Behethland he commanded to guard the doore, and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke in the middest of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongst all his people: who delivering the Captaine his Vambrace, Bow, and Arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner haue vsed their King: who then to escape himselfe bestowed his presents in good sadnesse, and causing a great many of them come before him vnarmed, holding the King by the hayre (as is sayd) he spake to them to this effect. [61]
    110. I see (you Pamavnkees) the great desire you haue to kill me, and my long suffering your iniuries hath imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serue) to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to be your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me, if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beads, or Copper, I spurne here before you with my foot; you shall see I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to finde one of your Nation that will not deny the name of Pamavnk. I am not now at Rassaweak halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me prisoner; yet then for keeping your promise and your good vsage and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denyals of your trechory, doe halfe perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my Ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carcasses, yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion, and your King shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you. [61]
    111. Vpon this away went their Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their Commodities: two or three houres they so thronged about the President and so overwearied him, as he retyred himselfe to rest, leauing Mr Behethland and Mr Powell to receiue their presents, but some Salvages perceiuing him fast asleepe, & the guard somewhat carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choise men each with a club, or an English sword in his hand began to enter the house with two or three hundred others, that pressed to second them. The noyse and hast they made in, did so shake the house they awoke him from his sleepe, and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, betooke him strait to his sword and Target; Mr Chrashaw and some others charged in like manner; whereat they quickly thronged faster backe then before forward. The house thus cleansed, the King and some of his auncients we kept yet with him, who with a long Oration, excused this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the companie againe renewing their presents with their best provisions, and whatsoever he gaue them they seemed therewith well contented. [61]
    112. Now in the meane while since our departure, this hapned at our Fort. Master Scrivener having receiued Letters from England to make himselfe either Cæsar or nothing he began to decline in his affection to Captaine Smith, that ever regarded him as himselfe, and was willing to crosse the surprising of Powhatan. Some certaine daies after the Presidents departure, he would needs goe visit the Isle of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine Waldo (though the President had appointed him to be ready to second his occasions) with Mr Anthony Gosnoll and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how none doth know. The Skiff was much over-loaden, and would scarce haue liued in that extreame tempest had she beene empty: but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both Waldo and an hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects. To advertise the President of this heavie newes, none could be found would vndertake it, but the Iorney was often refused of all in the Fort, vntill Master Richard Wyffin vndertooke alone the performance thereof. [61]
    113. In this Iourney he was incountred with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he passed. As for that night he lodged with Powhatan, perceiuing such preparation for warre, not finding the President there: he did assure himselfe some mischiefe was intended. Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinry bribes and much trouble in three dayes travell, at length he found vs in the middest of these turmoyles. This vnhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the company, and so dissembling his sorrow with the best countenances he could, when the night approched went safely aboord with all his Souldiers; leauing Opechancanough at libertie, according to his promise, the better to haue Powhatan in his returne. [61]
    114. Now so extreamely Powhatan had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine Smith: that the next day they appointed all the countrey should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be trecherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting with him almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and Baskets, to tempt vs on shore: but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a gun. [61]
    115. When the President saw them begin to depart, being vnwilling to loose such a bootie, he so well contrived the Pinnace, and his Barges with Ambuscadoes, as onely with Lieutenant Percie, Mr West, and Mr Russell, with their Armes went on shore; others he appointed vnarmed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and the banke serving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fayre open to his Ambuscado's. For he not being to be perswaded to goe visit their King, the King knowing the most of them vnarmed, came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones; and with some twentie men, and many women loaden with painted Baskets. But when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure, yet so trembled with feare as they were scarse able to nock their Arrowes: Smith standing with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our Ambuscado's, who vpon the word discovered themselues, and he retyred to the Barge. Which the Salvages no sooner perceived, then away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage. [61]
    116. That night we sent Mr Chrashaw, and Mr Ford to Iames towne to Cap. Winne. In the way betweene Werowocomoco and the Fort they met foure or fiue of the Dutch-mens Confederates going to Powhatan: the which to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Salvages, returned to the Fort and there continued. [61]
    117. The Salvages hearing our Barge goe downe the river in the night, were so terribly affrayde, that we sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and wires) that the next day the King sent our Captaine a chayne of Pearle, to alter his purpose and stay his men: promising though they wanted themselues, to fraught our ship and bring it aboord to avoyd suspition. So that fiue or six dayes after, from all parts of the Country within ten or twelue myles in the extreame frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes. [61]
    118. Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poyson beene sufficient, the President, with Mr West, and some others had beene poysoned; it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe. Wecuttanow, a stout young fellow, knowing he was suspected for bringing this present of poyson, with fortie or fiftie of his chiefe companions (seeing the President but with a few men at Potavncak) so proudly braued it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving in the midst of his company, did not onely beate, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe. Wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped: and the townsmen remaining presently fraughted our Barge to be rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse Wecuttanow, (being sonne to their chiefe King, but Powhatan) and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as we pleased. Men may thinke it strange there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole Colony had starued. Wee may be thought very patient to endure all those iniuries, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should haue lost our selues. We searched also the Countries of Youghtanund and Mattapanient, where the people imparted that little they had with such complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children, as he had beene too cruell to haue beene a Christian, that would not haue beene satisfied and moued with compassion. But had this hapned in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie discovery of Monacan was made, we might haue fraughted a ship of fortie runs, and twise as much might haue beene had from the Rivers of Rapahanock, Patawemek, and Pawtuxunt. [61]
    119. The maine occasion of our thus temporizing with them was, to part friends as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to Powhatan to fly, by whom we now returned with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof (when we came against the Towne) the President sent Mr Wyffin and Mr Coe ashore to discover and make way for his intended project. But they found that those damned Dutch-men had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house and Werowocomoco, and to carry away all his corne and provision: and the people they found so ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to escape with their liues. So the President finding his intent frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, sent Master Michael Phittiplace by Land to Iames towne, whether we sayled with all the speed we could; wee having in this Iourney (for 251.of Copper, and 501.of Iron & Beads) enough to keepe 46 men six weekes, and every man for his reward a moneths provision extraordinary (no Trade being allowed but for the store) we got neare 2001 waight of deere suet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Bushels of Corne. [61]
    120. Those temporizing proceedings to some may seeme too charitable, to such a daily daring trecherous people: to others not pleasing, that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransacking, and destroying (as did the Spanyards) the simple bodies of such ignorant soules; nor delightfull, because not stuffed with Relations of heapes and mynes of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities, as the Portugals and Spanyards found in the East and West Indies. The want whereof hath begot vs (that were the first vndertakers) no lesse scorne and contempt, then the noble conquests and valiant adventures beautified with it, prayse and honour. Too much I confesse the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to cleare vs from the blind worlds ignorant censure, these few words may suffice any reasonable vnderstanding. [61]
    121. **How the Salvages became subiect to the English. [61]**
    122. The Dutch-mens plot to murther Cap. Smith. Smith taketh the King of Paspahegh prisoner. [61]
    123. All this time the Dutch men remaining with Powhatan, (who kindly entertained them to instruct the Salvages the vse of our Armes) and their consorts not following them as they expected; to know the cause, they sent Francis their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised like a Salvage, to the Glasse-house, a place in the woods neare a myle from Iames Towne; where was their Rendezvous for all their vnsuspected villany. Fortie men they procured to lie in Ambuscado for Captaine Smith, who no sooner heard of this Dutch-Man, but he sent to apprehend him (but he was gone) yet to crosse his returne to Powhatan, the Captaine presently dispatched 20. shot after him, himselfe returning from the Glasse-house alone. By the way he incountred the King of Paspuhegh, a most strong stout Salvage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his Ambush, seeing him onely armed but with a faucheon, attempted to haue shot him, but the President prevented his shoot by grapling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his faucheon, and perforce bore him into the River to haue drowned him. Long they strugled in the water, till the President got such hold on his throat, he had neare strangled the King; but having drawne his faucheon to cut off his head, seeing how pitifully he begged his life, he led him prisoner to Iames Towne, and put him in chaynes. [61]
    124. Cap. Smith taketh two Salvages prisoners. [61]
    125. The Dutch-man ere long was also brought in, whose villany though all this time it was suspected, yet he fayned such a formall excuse, that for want of language Captaine Winne vnderstood him not rightly, and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to saue their liues they were constrained to accommodate his armes, of whom he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that he made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but was onely walking in the woods to gather Walnuts. Yet for all this faire tale, there was so small appearance of truth, and the plaine confession of Paspahegh of his trechery, he went by the heeles: Smith purposing to regaine the Dutch-men, by the saving his life. The poore Salvage did his best by his daily messengers to Powhatan, but all returned that the Dutch-men would not returne, neither did Powhatan stay them; and to bring them fiftie myles on his mens backes they were not able. Daily this Kings wiues, children, and people came to visit him with presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet escaped. Captaine Winne thinking to pursue him found such troupes of Salvages to hinder his passage, as they exchanged many vollies of shot for flights of Arrowes. Captaine Smith hearing of this in returning to the Fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners, called Kemps and Tussore, the two most exact villaines in all the Country. With these he sent Captaine Winne and fiftie choise men, and Lieutenant Percie, to haue regained the King, and revenged this iniury, and so had done, if they had followed his directions, or beene advised with those two villaines, that would haue betrayed both King & kindred for a peece of Copper, but he trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to fight: a good time both sides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt, onely they tooke two Canowes, burnt the Kings house, and so returned to Iames towne. [61]
    126. Okaning his Oration. [61]
    127. Captaine Smith, my Master is here present in the company, thinking it Capt. Winne, and not you, (of him he intended to haue beene revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the foules fly, and the very beasts striue to escape the snare and liue. Then blame not him being a man. He would intreat you remember, you being a prisoner, what paines he tooke to saue your life. If since he hath iniured you he was compelled to it but howsoeuer, you haue revenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well know you intend to destroy us, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worse by our absence; for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our harvest, and that reliefe we bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in revenge we will abandon the Country. Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. Thus all departed goods friends, and so continued till Smith left the Countrey. [61]
    128. Arriving at Iames Towne, complaint was made to the President, that the Chickahamanians, who all this while continued trade and seemed our friends, by colour thereof were the onely theeues. And amongst other things a Pistoll being stolne and the theefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes, that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one was imprisoned, the other was sent to returne the Pistoll againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-coale for a fire: ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smoothered with the smoake he had made, and so pittiously burnt, that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably bewayed his death, and broke forth into such bitter agonies, that the President to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him aliue againe: but he little thought he could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with Aqua vita and Vineger, it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke & affrighted, that he seemed Lunaticke, the which as much tormented and grieued the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie vpon promise of their good behaviour, the President promised to recover him: and so caused him to be layd by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning having well slept, had recovered his perfect senses, and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper giuen them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread among all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine Smith could make a man aliue that was dead. [61]
    129. Another ingenuous Salvage of Powhatans, having gotten a great bag of Powder, and the backe of an Armour, at Werowocomoco amongst a many of his companions, to shew his extraordinary skill, he did dry it on the backe as he had seene the Souldiers at Iames Towne. But he dryed it so long, they peeping over it to see his skill, it tooke fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more, and the rest so scorched, they had little pleasure to meddle any more with powder. [61]
    130. These and many other such pretty Accidents, so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan, and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace; returning many stolne things which we never demanded nor thought of; and after that, those that were taken stealing, both Powhatan and his people haue sent them backe to Iames towne, to receiue their punishment; and all the Country became absolute as free for vs, as for themselues. [61]
    131. In searching our casked corne, we found it halfe rotten, and the rest so consumed with so many thousands of Rats that increased so fast, but there originall was from the ships, as we knew not how to keepe that little we had. This did driue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Vntill this time Kemps and Tassore were fettered prisoners, and did double taske and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuall we set at liberty, but so well they liked our companies they did not desire to goe from vs. And to expresse their loues for 16. dayes continuance, the Countrie people brought vs (when least) 100. a day, of Squirrils, Turkyes, Deere and other wilde beasts: But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our works, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. 60. or 80. with Ensigne Laxon was sent downe the riuer to liue vpon Oysters, and 20. with liutenant Percy to try for fishing at Poynt Comfort: but in six weekes they would not agree once to cast out the net, he being sicke and burnt sore with Gunpouder. Master West with as many went vp to the falls, but nothing could be found but a few Acornes; of that in store euery man had their equall proportion. Till this present, by the hazard and indeuours of some thirtie or fortie, this whole Colony had ever beene fed. We had more Sturgeon, then could be deuoured by Dog and Man, of which the industrious by drying and pounding, mingled with Caviare, Sorell and other wholesome hearbes would make bread and good meate: others would gather as much Tockwhogh roots, in a day as would make them bread a weeke, so that of those wilde fruites, and what we caught, we liued very well in regard of such a diet, But such was the strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced nolens, volens, perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue starued or haue eaten one another. Of those wildfruits the Salvages often brought vs, and for that, the President would not fullfill the vnreasonable desire, of those distracted Gluttonous Loyterers, to sell not only out kettles, hows, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, pieces, and the very Ordnance and howses, might they haue prevayled to haue beene but Idle: for those Saluage fruites, they would haue had imparted all to the Saluages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of to be at Powhatãs, fifty myles from our Fort. Though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humors, yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sould their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were there exclamations, suggestions and deuises, to force him to those base inventions to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Country. Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one Dyer a most crafty fellow and his ancient Maligner, whom he worthily punished, and with the rest he argued the case in this maner. [61]
    132. Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you, or that Powhatan at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as now I see a great many; yet it shal not so passionate me, but I will doe my best for my most maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan, not that I will longer forbeare to force you, from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you rayle. But if I finde any more runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnace, let him assuredly looke to ariue at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I haue saued yours, when (might your owne wills hane preuailed) you would haue starued; and will doe still whether I will or noe; But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie bath not power to force you to gather for your selues those fruites the earth doth yeeld, you shall not onely gather for your selues, but those that are sicke. As yet I neuer had more from the store then the worst of you: and all my English extraordinary prouision that I haue, you shall see me diuide it amongst the sick. And this Saluage trash you so scornfully repine at; being put in your mouthes your stomackes can disgest, if you would haue better you should haue brought it; and therefore I will take a course you shall prouide what is to be had. The sick shall not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the riuer, and be banished from the Fort as a drone; till he amend his conditions or starue. But some would say with Seneca, [61]
    133. Master Sicklemore well returned from Chawwonoke; but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them were left by Sir Walter Raleigh. The riuer, he saw was not great, the people few, the countrey most over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there straglingly Pemminaw, we call silke grasse. But by the riuer the ground was good, and exceeding furtill; [61]
    134. Master Nathanael powell and Anas Todkill were also by the Quiyoughqnohanocks conducted to the Mangoags to search them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead. This honest proper good promise-keeping king, of all the rest did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was very zealous, yet he would confesse our God as much exceeded his as our Gunns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President may presents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry. Three dayes iorney they conducted them through the woods, into a high country towards the Southwest: where they saw here and there a little corne field, by some little spring or smal brooke, but no riuer they could see: the people in all respects like the rest, except there language: they liue most vpon rootes, fruites and wilde beasts; and trade with them towards the sea and the fatter countryes for dryed fish and corne, for skins. [61]
    135. All this time to recouer the Dutch-men and one Bentley another fugitiue, we imployed one William Volday, a Zwitzar by birth, with Pardons & promises to regaine them. Little we then suspected this double villaine of any villany; who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason; for this wicked hypocrite, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his cursed country men, (hauing this oportunity by his imployment to regaine them) conuayed them euery thing they desired to effect their proiects, to distroy the Colony. With much deuotion they expected the Spaniard, to whom they intended good seruice, or any other, that would but carry them from vs. But to begin with the first oportunity; they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not onely distroy our Hoggs, fire our towne, and betray our Pinnace; but bring to his seruice and subiection the most of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many Discontents, and many were agreed to their Deuilish practise. But one Thomas Douse, and Thomas Mallard (whose christian hearts relented at such an vnchristian act) voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine Smith, who caused them to conceale it, perswading Douse and Mallard to proceed in their confedracie: onely to bring the irreclamable Dutch men and the inconstant Salvages in such a maner amongst such Ambuscado's as he had prepared, that not many of thẽ should returne from our Peninsula. But this brute cõming to the eares of the impatiẽt multitude they so importuned the President to cut off those Dutch men, as amongst many that offred to cut their throats before the face of Powhatã, the first was Lieutenãt Pèrcy, and Mr. Iohn Cuderington, two Gentlemen of as bold resolute spirits as could possibly be foũd. But the Presidẽt had occasiõ of other imploiment for them, & gaue gaue way to Master Wyffin and Sarieant Ieffrey Abbot, to goe and stab them or shoor them. But the Dutch men made such excuses, accusing Volday whom they supposed had reuealed their proiect, as Abbot would not, yet Wyffing would, perceiuing it but deceit. The King vnderstanding of this their imployment, sent presently his messengers to Captaine Smith to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he mantaine them, or any to occasion his displeasure. [61]
    136. But whilst this businesse was in hand, Arriued one Captaine Argall, and Master Thomas Sedan, sent by Master Cornelius to truck with the Colony, and fish for Sturgeon, with a ship well furnished, with wine and much other good provision. Though it was not sent vs, our necessities was such as inforced vs to take it. He brought vs newes of a great supply and preparation for the Lord La Warre, with letters that much taxed our President for his heard dealing with the Salvages, and not returning the shippes fraughted. Notwithstanding we kept this ship tell the fleete arriued. True it is Argall lost his voyage, but we reuictualled him, and sent him for England, with a true relation of the causes of our defailments, and how imposible it was to returne that wealth they expected, or obserue there instructions to indure the Salvages insolencies, or doe any thing to any purpose, except they would send vs men and meanes that could produce that they so much desired: otherwises all they did was lost, and could not but come to confusion. The villany of Volday we still dissembled. Adam vpon his pardon came home but Samuell still stayed with Powhahan to heare further of their estates by this supply. Now all their plots Simth so well vnderstood, they were his best advantages to secure vs from any trechery, could be done by them or the Salvages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, because all those countryes more feared him then Powhatan, and hee had such parties with all his bordering neighbours: and many of the rest for loue or feare would haue done anything he would haue them, vpon any commotion, though these fugitiues had done all they could to perswade Powhatan, King Iames would kill Smith, for vsing him and his people so vnkindly. [61]
    137. The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule; seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all, and haue returned for England. But seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arriue, longer he would not suffer those factious spirits to proceede. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible; should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily escaped amongst this factious crew; the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leasure better served to doe them iustice: and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master Percie had his request granted to returne for England, being very sicke; and Mr West with an hundred and twentie of the best he could chuse, he sent to the Falles; Martin with neare as many to Nandsamund, with their due proportions of all provisions according to their numbers. [61]
    138. Now the Presidents yeare being neare expired, he made Captaine Martin President to follow the order for the election of a President every yeare: but he knowing his owne insufficiency, and the companies vntowardnesse and little regard of him, within three houres after resigned it againe to Captaine Smith, and at Nandsamund thus proceeded. The people being contributers vsed him kindly; yet such was his iealous feare, in the midst of their mirth, he did surprise this poore naked King, with his Monuments, houses, and the Isle he inhabited, and there fortified himselfe; but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldened the Salvages to assault him, kill his men, release their King, gather and carry away a thousand bushels of Corne, he not once offering to intercept them; but sent to the President then at the Falles for thirtie good shot; which from Iames Towne immediately was sent him. But he so well imployed them they did iust nothing, but returned complaining of his tendernesse: yet he came away with them to Iames Towne, leauing his company to their fortunes. [61]
    139. For remedie whereof he presently sent to Powhatan to sell him the place called Powhatan, promising to defend him against the Monacans. And these should be his Conditions (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper; that all stealing offenders should be sent him, there to receiue their punishment; that every house as a Custome should pay him a Bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of Pocones, as a yearely tribute to King Iames for their protection, as a dutie; what else they could spare to barter at their best discretions. [61]
    140. But both this excellent place and those good Conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie. So much they depended on the Lord Generals new Commission, as they regarded none: the worst they could doe to shew their spights they did; supposing all the Monacans Country, gold; and none should come there but whom they pleased. I doe more then wonder to thinke how onely with fiue men, he either durst or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment all the Chieftaines of those mutinies, till by their multitudes being an hundred and twentie they forced him to retyre: yet in that interim he surprised one of their Boates, wherewith he returned to their ship; where in deed was their prouision, which also he tooke, and well it chanced he found the Marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie he had ever escaped. There were divers other of better reason and experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine Wood, Captaine Webbe, Cap. Moone, Captaine Fitz Iames, Master William Powell, Master Partridge, Master White, and divers others, when they perceiued the malice of Ratliffe and Archer, and their faction, left their companies, and ever rested his faithfull friends. But the worst was that the poore Salvages, that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complained to Captaine Smith, he had brought them for Protectors, worse enemies then the Monacans themselues: which though till then, for his loue they had endured, they desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselues; since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanors, as they offered (if he would leade them) to fight for him against them. But having spent nine dayes in seeking to reclaime them; shewing them how much they did abuse themselues with these great guilded hopes of the South Sea Mines, commodities, or victories, they so madly conceived; then seeing nothing would prevaile, he set sayle for Iames Towne. [61]
    141. Now no sooner was the Ship vnder sayle, but the Salvages assaulted those hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the woods: they slew many, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they safely retyred, with the swords and cloakes of those they had slaine. But ere wee had sayled halfe a league, our ship grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parley; where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore silly assault of twelue Saluages, that they submitted themselues vpon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy; who presently put by the heeles sixe or seauen of the chiefe offenders: the rest he seated gallantly at Powhatan, in that Salvage Fort, readie built, and prettily fortified with poles and barkes of trees, sufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in Virginia, dry houses for lodgings and neere two hundred accres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in Virginia for which we called it Non-such. The Salvages also hee presently appeased, redeliuering to either party their former losses. Thus all were friends. [61]
    142. The ends of the Dutch-men. But to see the justice of God vpon these Dutch-men; Valdo before spoke of, made a shift to get for England, where perswading the Merchants what rich Mines he had found, and great service he would doe them, was very well rewarded, and returned with the Lord La Warre: but being found a meere Impostor, he dyed most miserably. Adam and Francis his two consorts were fled againe to Powhatan, to whom they promised at the arrivall of my Lord, what wonders they would doe, would he suffer them but to goe to him. But the King seeing they would be gone, replyed; You that would haue betrayed Captaine Smith to mee, will certainely betray me to this great Lord for your peace: so caused his men to beat out their braines. [61]
    143. To conclude, the greatest honour that ever belonged to the greatest Monarkes, was the inlarging their Dominions, and erecting Common-weales. Yet howsoever any of them haue attributed to themselues, the Conquerors of the world: there is more of the world never heard of them, then ever any of them all had in subiection: for the Medes, Persians, and Assyrians, never Conquered all Asia, nor the Grecians but part of Europe and Asia. The Romans indeed had a great part of both, as well as Affrica: but as for all the Northerne parts of Europe and Asia, the interior Southern and Westerne parts of Affrica, all America & Terra incognita, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but superficiall. That their beginnings, ending, and limitations were proportioned by the Almightie is most evident: but to consider of what small meanes many of them haue begun is wonderfull. For some write that even Rome her selfe, during the Raigne of Romulus, exceeded not the number of a thousand houses. And Carthage grew so great a Potentate, that at first was but in circuled in the thongs of a Bulls skinne, as to fight with Rome for the Empire of the world. Yea Venice at this time the admiration of the earth, was at first but a Marish, inhabited by poore Fishermen. And likewise Ninivie, Thebes, Babylon, Delus, Troy, Athens, Mycena and Sparta, grew from small beginnings to be most famous States, though now they retaine little more then a naked name. Now this our young Common-wealth in Virginia, as you haue read once consisted but of 38 persons, and in two yeares increased but to 200. yet by this small meanes so highly was approved the Plantation in Virginia, as how many Lords, with worthy Knights, and braue Gentlemen pretended to see it, and some did, and now after the expence of fifteene yeares more, and such massie summes of men and money, grow they disanimated? If we truely consider our Proceedings with the Spanyards, and the rest, we haue no reason to despayre, for with so small charge, they never had either greater Discoveries, with such certaine tryals of more severall Commodities, then in this short time hath beene returned from Virginia, and by much lesse meanes. New England was brought out of obscuritie, and affoorded fraught for neare 200 sayle of ships, where there is now erected a braue Plantation. For the happines of Summer Isles, they are no lesse then either, and yet those haue had a far lesse, and a more difficult beginning, then either Rome, Carthage, or Venice. [61]
    144. VVHy may not wee in this Worke haue our Mite, That had our share in each black day and night, When thou Virginia foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind; And held'st the King of Paspeheh enchaind.Thou all alone this Salvage sterne didst take. Pamavnkees King wee saw thee captiue make Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men, To murther thee and us resolved; when Fast by the hayre thou ledst this Salvage grim, Thy Pistoll at his breast to governe him: Which did infuse such awe in all the rest (Sith their drad Soveraigne thou had'st so distrest) That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd Vnto our helplesse Ships. Thou (thus admir'd) Didst make proud Powhatan, his subiects send To Iames his Towne, thy censure to attend: And all Virginia's Lords, and pettie Kings, Aw'd by the vertue, crouch, and Presents brings To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene; And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene; So, making Valour Vertue, really; Who hast nought in thee counterfeit, or slie; If in the sleight be not the truost Art, That makes men famoused for faire desert. Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine glorie, Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true Storie. If it be ill in Thee, so well to doe; Then, is ill in Vs, to praise thee too. But, if the first be well done; it is well, To say it doth (if so it doth) excell. Praise is the guerdon of each deare desert Making the praised act the praised part With more alacritie: Honours Spurre is Praise; Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies. And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather, That future Times may know who was the father Of that rare Worke (New England) which may bring, Praise to thy God, and profit to thy King. [61]
    145. THE day before Captaine Smith returned for England with the ships, Captaine Dauis arriued in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from Iames towne, vnder the command of Captaine Iohn Sickelmore alias Ratliffe, to inhabit Point Comfort. Captaine Martin and Captaine West, hauing lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Saluages, were returned to Iames towne; for the Saluages no sooner vnderstood Smith was gone, but they all reuolted, and did spoile and murther all they incountered. Now wee were all constrained to liue onely on that Smith had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions, and now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master Piercie our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine West and Captaine Sickelmore, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. Sickelmore vpon the confidence of Powhatan, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all slaine, onely Ieffrey Shortridge escaped, and Pokahontas the Kings daughter saued a boy called Henry Spilman, that liued many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the Patawomekes. Powhatan still as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade, so that Captaine West set saile for England. Now we all found the losse of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne, prouision and contribution from the Saluages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what liued, our commanders, officers & Saluages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was deuoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Saluages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Gouernours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of fiue hundred within six moneths after Captaine Smiths departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserued for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had startch in these extremities, made no small vse of it; yea, euen the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Saluage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort tooke him vp againe and eat him, and so did diuers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserued; now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I neuer heard of. This was that time, which still to this day we called the staruing time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleeued, what we endured: but the occasion was our owne, for want of prouidence, industrie and gouernment, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed vs, we had neuer from England prouision sufficient for six moneths, though it seemed by the bils of loading sufficient was sent vs, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent vs, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they euer ouer-swayed and ruled the businesse, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly liued on what this good Countrie naturally afforded; yet had wee beene euen in Paradice it selfe with these Gouernours, it would not haue beene much better with vs; yet there was amongst vs, who had they had the gouernment as Captaine Smith appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries. This in ten daies more, would haue supplanted vs all with death. [61]
    146. Vpon the 15. of Iune, accompanied with Captaine Samuel Argall, hee returned in two Pinaces vnto the Bermudas, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths prouision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arriued, but Captaine Argall was forced backe againe to Iames towne, whom the Lord De la Ware not long after sent to the Riuer of Patawomeke, to trade for Corne; where finding an English boy, one Henry Spilman, a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserued from the furie of Powhatan, by his acquaintance had such good vsage of those kinde Saluages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to Iames towne. [61]
    147. Since there was a ship fraughted with prouision, and fortie men; and another since then with the like number and prouision, to stay twelue moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine Argall, which was sent not long after. After hee had secreated and refreshed his Companie, hee was sent to the Riuer Patawomeake, to trade for Corne, the Saluages about vs hauing small quarter, but friends and foes as they found aduantage and opportunitie: But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine Argall, hauing entred into a great acquaintance with Iapazaws, an old friend of Captaine Smiths, and so to all our Nation, euer since hee discouered the Countrie: hard by him there was Pocahontas, whom Captaine Smiths Relations intituleth the Numparell of Virginia, and though she had beene many times a preseruer of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was neuer seene at Iames towne since his departure, being at Patawomeke, as it seemes, thinking her selfe vnknowne, was easily by her friend lapazaws perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship, for Captaine Argall had promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the Saluage for this Copper Kettle would haue done any thing, it seemed by the Relation; for though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet hee caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, and that hee offered to beat her for her importunitie, till she wept. But at last he told her, if Pocahontas would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent Pocahontas aboord, where they were all kindly feasted in the Cabbin. Iapazaws treading oft on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part, the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded Pocahontas to the Gun-roome, faining to haue some conference with Iapazaws, which was onely that she should not perceiue hee was any way guiltie of her captiuitie: so sending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and vs, before she euer should see Powhatan, whereat the old Iew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as Pocahontas, that vpon the Captaines faire perswasions, by degrees pacifying herselfe, and Iapazaws and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore, and shee to Iames towne. A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter Pocahontas he loued so dearely, he must ransome with our men, swords, peeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherously had stolne. [61]
    148. This vnwelcome newes much troubled Powhatan, because hee loued both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after ere hee returned vs any answer: then by the perswasion of the Councell, he returned seuen of our men, with each of them an vnseruiceable Musket, and sent vs word, that when wee would deliuer his daughter, hee would make vs satisfaction for all iniuries done vs, and giue vs fiue hundred bushels of Corne, and for euer be friends with vs. That he sent, we receiued in part of payment, and returned him this answer: That his daughter should be well vsed, but we could not beleeue the rest of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till hee sent them, we would keepe his daughter. [61]
    149. Sir Thomas Dale his voyage to Pamavnke. This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him a long time after, when with Captaine Argals ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie, Sir Thomas Dale, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went vp into his owne Ríuer, to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter; with many scornfull brauado's they affronted vs, proudly demanding why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receiue the ransome for her that was promised, or to haue it perforce. They nothing dismayed thereat, told vs, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were prouided for vs, but aduised vs, if wee loued our liues to retire; else they would vse vs as they had done Captaine Ratcliffe: We told them, wee would presently haue a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among vs in the ship. [61]
    150. Being thus iustly prouoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, where they demanded why wee burnt their houses, and wee, why they shot at vs: They replyed, it was some stragling Saluage, with many other excuses, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. Vpon this we concluded a peace, and forth with they dispatched messengers to Powhatan, whose answer, they told vs, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: Then they told vs, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet Powhatans men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they should be brought vs the next day, which was only but to delay time; for the next day they came not. Then we went higher, to a house of Powhatans, called Matchot, where we saw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared vs to come on shore, which wee did; no shew of feare they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly vp and downe amongst vs, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to haue truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with vs, and defend their owne as they could, which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie a way their prouision; yet wee promised them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with vs, they should know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets. [61]
    151. Two of Powhatans sonnes come to see Pocahontas. Vpon this promise, two of Powhatans sonnes came vnto vs to see their sister, at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much reioiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for euer be friends with vs. And vpon this, the two brethren went aboord with vs, and we sent Master Iohn Rolfe and Master Sparkes to Powhatan, to acquaint him with the businesse; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the presence of Powhatan, but they spoke with Opechaucanough, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to Powhatan, all might be well. So it being Aprill, and time to prepare our ground and set our Corne, we returned to Iames Towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next haruest. [61]
    152. Long before this, Master Iohn Rolfe, an honest Gentleman, and of good behauiour, had beene in loue with Pocahontas, and she with him, which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, where in hee intreated his aduice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approued: the brute of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent Opachisco, an old Vncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation there of, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill: And euer since wee haue had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himselfe, as all his subiects. [61]
    153. Besides this, by the meanes of Powhatan, we became in league with our next neighbours, the Chicahamanias, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselues. These people, so soone as they heard of our peace with Powhatan, sent two messengers with presents to Sir Thomas Dale, and offered him their seruice, excusing all former iniuries, hereafter they would euer be King Iames his subiects, and relinquish the name of Chickahamiania, to be called Tassautessus, as they call vs, and Sir Thomas Dale there Gouernour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be gouerned by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them. [61]
    154. When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall with fiftie men well appointed, went to Chickahamania, where wee found the people expecting our comming, they vsed vs kindly, and the next morning sate in counsell, to conclude their peace vpon these conditions: [61]
    155. Articles of Peace [61]
    156. First, they should for euer bee called Englishmen, and bee true subiects to King Iames and his Deputies. [61]
    157. Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home. [61]
    158. Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furnish vs with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any. [61]
    159. Fourthly, they shall not enter our townes, but send word they are new Englishmen. [61]
    160. Fiftly, that euery fighting man, at the beginning of haruest, shall bring to our store two bushels of Corne, for tribute, for which they shall receiue so many Hatchets. [61]
    161. Lastly, the eight chiefe men should see all this performed, or receiue the punishment themselues: for their diligence they should haue a red coat, a copper chaine, and King Iames his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen. [61]
    162. All this they concluded with a generall assent, and a great shout to confirme it: then one of the old men began an Oration, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them vnderstand how strictly they were to obserue these conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of Powhatan, or any enemie whatsoeuer, and furnish them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets; but all this was rather for feare Powhatan and we, being so linked together, would bring them againe to his subiection; the which to preuent, they did rather chuse to be protected by vs, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant. And thus wee returned againe to Iames towne. [61]
    163. It pleased Sir Thomas Dale, before my returne to England, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to giue mee leaue to visit Powhatan and his Court: being prouided, I had Thomas Saluage with mee, for my Interpreter, with him and two Saluages for guides, I went from the Bermuda in the morning, and came to Matchot the next night, where the King lay vpon the Riuer of Pamavnke; his entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gaue you leaue, being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres I haue not seene you, nor heard of my owne man Namoutack I sent to England, though many ships since haue beene returned thence: Hauing done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother Sir Thomas Dale at his first arriuall, which was a token betwixt them, when euer hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home. [61]
    164. Master Hamars iourney to Powhatan. [61]
    165. It is true Sir Thomas Dale had sent him such word, and gaue his Page order to giue it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I neuer heard of it, yet I replyed I did know there was such an order, but that was when vpon a sudden he should haue occasion to send an Englishman without an Indian Guide; but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted vs to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men, that alwaies attend his person. The first thing he did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir Thomas Dale did, and his daughter, and vnknowne sonne, and how they liued, loued and liked; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not liue againe with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my comming: I told him my message was priuate, and I was to deliuer it onely to himselfe and Papaschicher, one of my guides that was acquianted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on. [61]
    166. His message to Powhatan. [61]
    167. I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir Thomas Dale hath sent you two pieces of Copper, fiue strings of white and blue Beads, fiue woodden Combes, ten Fishhookes, a paire of Kniues, and that when you would send for it, hee would giue you a Grind-stone; all this pleased him: but then I told him his brother Dale, hearing of the fame of his youngest daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me vnto him, in testimonie of his loue, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for euer to dwell in his Countrie, he conceiued there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an vnited vnion. I needed not entreat his answer by his oft interrupting mee in my speech, and presently with much grauitie he thus replyed. [61]
    168. Powhatans answer. [61]
    169. I gladly accept your salute of loue and peace, which while I liue, I shall exactly keepe, his pledges thereof I receiue with no lesse thanks, although they are not so ample as formerly he had receiued; but for my daughter, I haue sold her within this few daies to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Rawrenoke, three daies iournie from me. I replyed, I knew his greatnesse in restoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, because the was but twelue yeeres old, assuring him, besides the band of peace, hee should haue for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. His answer was, he loued his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children, hee delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he should not often behold, he could not possibly liue, which she liuing with vs he could not do, hauing resolued vpon no termes to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst vs; therefore desired me to vrge him no further, but returne his brother this answer: That I desire no former assurance of his friendship, than the promise hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she liues shall be sufficient, when she dies, he shall haue another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereaue me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not distrust any iniurie from me or my people; there haue beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my occasion there shall neuer be more, (I which haue power to performe it, haue said it) although I should haue iust cause, for I am now old, & would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me iniurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus much I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because you are wearie, and I sleepie, wee will thus end. So commanding vs victuall and lodging, we rested that night, and the next morning he came to visit vs, and kindly conducted vs to the best cheere hee had. William Parker. [61]
    170. William Parker recouered. [61]
    171. While I here remained, by chance came an Englishman, whom there had beene surprized three yeeres agoe at Fort Henry, growne so like, both in complexion and habit like a Saluage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee desired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and so farre vrged Powhatan, that he grew discontented, and told mee, You haue one of my daughters, and I am content, but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must haue him away, or breake friendship; if you must needs haue him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any euill befall you, thanke your selues: I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee must expect a reuenge, and his brother might haue iust cause to suspect him. So in passion he left me till supper, and then gaue me such as hee had with a cheerefull countenance: About midnight hee awaked vs, and promised in the morning my returne with Parker; but I must remember his brother to send him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shauing-knife, a Frowe, a Grindstone, a Net, Fish-hookes, and such toies; which lest I should forget, he caused me write in a table-booke he had; how euer he got it, it was a faire one, I desired hee would giue it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in shewing to strangers, yet in the morning when we departed, hauing furnished vs well with prouision, he gaue each of vs a Bucks skin as well dressed as could be, and sent two more to his sonne and daughter: And so we returned to Iames towne. Written by Master Ralph Hamor and Iohn Rolph. [61]
    172. From a letter of Sir Thomas Dale and Master Whitakers. [61]
    173. I haue read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir Thomas Dale, another by Master Whitaker, and a third by Master Iohn Rolfe; how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee neuer had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions and violent passions he endured for her loue, as he deeply protested, was wonderfull, and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized, but either the coldnesse of the aduenturers, or the bad vsage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight to write thus. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselues, and thereby intermedling herein, haue caused a number of soules transport themselues, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to perseuere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant; howsoeuer they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things haue animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne vnto; leauing all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I haue in charge reuiued, which would quickly happen if I should leaue them; so few I haue with me fit to command or manage the businesse: Master Whitaker their Preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English Ministers, that were so hot against the surplisse and subscription come hether, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themselues at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures; be there not any among them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ, but I refer them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to his talent. From Virginia, Iune 18. 1614. [61]
    174. The businesse being brought to this perfection, Captaine Argall returned for England, in the latter end of Iune, 1614. ariuing in England, and bringing this good tidings to the Councell and company by the assistances of Sir Thomas Gates, that also had returned from Virginia but the March before; it was presently concluded, that to supply this good successe with all expedition, the standing Lottery should be drawne with all diligent conueniency, and that posterity may remember vpon occasion to vse the like according to the declaration, I thinke it not amisse to remember thus much. [61]
    175. Mr. George Yearly now inuested Deputie Gouernour by Sr. Thomas Dale, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they could deuise for a present gaine, so that euery man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir Thomas Dale had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that euery man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent vs, came so vnfurnished, as quickly eased vs of our superfluitie. To relieue their necessities, he sent to the Chickahamanias for the tribute Corne Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that hee drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to Chickahamania; the people in some places vsed him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was but Sir Thomas Dales man, and they had payed his Master according to condition, but to giue any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master; after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that Dale had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours. Yearly seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at Ozinies, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards Mamanahunt, they put themselues in the same order they see vs, lead by their Captaine Kissanacomen, Gouernour of Ozinies, & so marched close along by vs, each as threatning other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against Mamanahunt, and they passed the Riuer. The next day we followed them; there are few places in Virginia had then more plaine ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Saluages without feare standing in troupes amongst vs, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to dant vs: what other practises they had I know not; but to preuent the worst, our Captaine caused vs all to make ready, and vpon the word, to let flie among them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners; all which being done according to out direction, the Captaine gaue the word, and wee presently discharged, where twelue lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelue more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant Boothe, the other by Robert a Polonian; Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now Opechankanough had agreed with our Captaine for the subiecting of those people, that neither hee nor Powhatan could euer bring to their obedience, and that he should make no peace with them without his aduice: in our returne by Ozinies with our prisoners wee met Opechankanough, who with much adoe, fained with what paines hee had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of Ozinies, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had; here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine Henry Spilman our Interpreter, a Gentleman had liued long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner among the Saluages, and done much good seruice, though but badly rewarded. From hence we marcht towards Iames towne, we had three Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage, the one of them being more willing to be at Iames towne with the newes than the other, was ouerset, and eleuen men cast away with the Boat, Corne and all their prouision; notwithstanding this put all the rest of the Saluages in that feare, especially in regard of the great league we had with Opechankanough, that we followed our labours quietly, and in such securitie, that diuers saluages of other Nations, daily frequented vs with what prouisions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for vs themselues. Captaine Yearly had a Saluage or two so well trained vp to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the English, and one hee kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were diuers others had Saluages in like manner for their men. Thus we liued together, as if wee had beene one people, all the time Captaine Yearley staied with vs, but such grudges and discontents daily increased among ourselues, that vpon the arriuall of Captaine Argall, sent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Gouernour, Captaine Yearley returned for England in the yeere 1617. From the writings of Captaine Nathaniel Powell, William Cantrill, Sergeant Boothe, Edward Gurganey. [61]
    176. During this time, the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master Iohn Rolfe her husband and his friends, as taught to speake such English as might well bee vnderstood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and ciuill after our English manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loued most dearely, and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were diuers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arriued at London, Captaine Smith to deserue her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth. [61]
    177. To the most high and vertuous Princesse Queene Anne of Great Brittanie. Most admired Queene, THe loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Maiestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is, A relation to Queene Anne, of Pocahontas. That some ten yeeres agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquaus the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I euer saw in a Saluage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to preuent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fatting amongst those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine, and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Iames towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia, such was the weaknesse of this poore Common-Wealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our iarres haue beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, hauing but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gaue me intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolued, Virginia might haue line as it was at our first arriuall to this day. Since then, this businesse hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded, and at last reiecting her barbarous condition, was maried to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first Virginian euer spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well vnderstood, worthy a Princes vnderstanding. [61]
    178. Thus most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maiestie, what at your best leasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maiesties life, and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I neuer begged anything of the state, or any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes and authorittie, hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maiestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how euer her stature: if she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her present loue to vs and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst of euill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants and subiects, would so rauish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subiects most earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands. [61]
    179. Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could nor stay to doe her that seruice I desired, and she well deserued; but hearing shee was at Branford with diuers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to haue writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did tell vs alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; you Powhatan did command Vttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much. [61]
    180. This Saluage, one of Powhatans Councell, being amongst them held an vnderstanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriuing at Plimoth, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to London, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee rold me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satissied he had: Then he replyed very sadly, You gaue Powhatan a white Dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog. [61]
    181. Pocahontas her entertainment with the Queene. [61]
    182. The small time I staid in London, diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conuersion, and they haue seene many English Ladies worse fauoured, proportioned and behauioured, and as since I haue heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Maiestie honourably to esteeme her; accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady De la Ware, and that honourable Lord her husband, and diuers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would haue deserued, had she liued to arriue in Virginia. [61]
    183. THe Trcasurer, Councell and Companie, hauing well furnished Captaine Samuel Argall, the Lady Pocahontas alias Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the George, it pleased God at Grauesend to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders, to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe Thomas Rolfe therefore was left at Plimoth with Sir Lewis Stukly, that desired the keeping of it. Captaine Hamar his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at Plimoth. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arriued at Iames towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine Yearley and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an Indian. In Iames towne he found but fiue or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Store-house they vsed for the Church, the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco, the Saluages as frequent in their houses as themselues, whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession, the Colonie dispersed all about, planting Tobacco. Captaine Argall not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble vs; we were constrained euery yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie, yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir Thomas Dale, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought vs neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieue the whole Colonie: For from the tenants wee seldome had aboue foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men, women and Children. [61]
    184. Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine at Kekoughtan, desired leaue to returne to his wife at Charles hundred, hee went to Iames towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proued that he intended to goe trade with the Indies of Chickahamania, where making shew of the great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Saluages perceiuing, partly for their trucke, partly for reuenge of some friends they pretended should haue beene slaine by Captaine Yearley, one of them with an English peece shot Killingbeck dead, the other Saluages assaulted the rest and slew them, stripped them, and tooke what they had: But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house of the towne, stole all the Indian treasure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other Indians related. On Sunday following, one Farfax that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three small children safe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: she supposing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; presently after came three or foure of those fugitiue Saluages, entred the house, and slew a boy and three children, and also another youth that stole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewise murdered. Of this disaster the Captaine sent to Opechankanough for satisfaction, but he excused the matter, as altogether ignorant of it, at the same time the Saluages that were robbed were complaining to Opechankanough, and much feared the English would bee reuenged on them, so that Opechankanough sent to Captaine Argall, to assure him the peace should neuer be broken by him, desiring that he would not reuenge the iniurie of those fugitiues vpon the innocent people of that towne, which towne he should haue, and sent him a basket of earth, as possession giuen of it, and promised, so soone as possibly they could catch these robbers, to send him their heads for satisfaction, but he neuer performed it. Samuel Argall, Iohn Rolfe. [61]
    185. COncerning the state of our new Common-wealth, it is somewhat bettered, for we haue sufficient to content our selues, though not in such abundance as is vainly reported in England. Powhatan died this last Aprill, yet the Indians continue in peace. Itopatin his second brother succeeds him, and both hee and Opechankanough haue confirmed our former league. On the eleuenth of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a most fearefull tempest, but it continued not past halfe an houre, which powred downe hailestones eight or nine inches about, that none durst goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaues of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beast; it fell onely about Iames towne, for but a mile to the East, and twentie to the West there was no haile at all. Thus in peace euery man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note. Some priuate differences happened betwixt Captaine Bruster and Captaine Argall, and Captaine Argall and the Companie here in England; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any vse, and therefore vnfit to be remembred. In December one Captaine Stallings, an old planter in those parts, being imployed by them of the West countrie for a fishing voyage, in New-England, fell foule of a Frenchman whom hee tooke, leauing his owne ship to returne for England, himselfe with a small companie remained in the French barke, some small time after vpon the coast, and thence returned to winter in Virginia. [61]
    186. HAuing but ten men meanly prouided to plant the Secretaries land on the Easterne shore neere Acomack, Captaine Wilcocks plantation, the better to secure and assist each other. Sir George Tearley intending to visit Smiths Iles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with Estinien Moll a French-man, to finde a conuenient place to make salt in. Not long after Namenacus the King of Pawtuxunt, came to vs to seeke for Thomas Saluage our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led vs into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed vs his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie vpon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Hauing taken a muster of the companies tenants, I went to Smiths Iles, where was our Salt-house: not farre off wee found a more conuenient place, and so returned to Iames towne. [61]
    187. Being furnished the second time, wee arriued at Aquo hanock, and conferred with Kiptopeke their King. Passing Russels Ile and Onaucoke, we arriued at Pawtuxunt: the discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine Smiths discoueries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe. But here arriuing at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus and Wamanato, his brother, long wee staied not ere they came aboord vs with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled Oisters. Strict order was giuen none should offend vs, so that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to discouer what I could in their confines. Wamanato brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and vsed me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he presented me twelue Beuer skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee liued, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the first Chapter of Genesis expounded of Adam and Eue, and simple mariage; to which he replyed, hee was like Adam in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once: but he, as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better vnderstood. The next day the two Kings with their people, came aboord vs, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne Saluage challenged Namenacus the breach of three promises, viz. not in giuing him a Boy, nor Corne, though they had plentie, nor Moutapass a fugitiue, called Robert Marcum, that had liued 5 yeeres amongst those northerly nations, which hee cunningly answered by excuses. Womanato it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staied alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, They were things all men aspired vnto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gaue me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse vs. [61]
    188. This Thomas Saluage, it is sixteene yeeres since he went to Virginia, being a boy, hee was left with Powhatan, for Namontacke to learne the language, and as this Author affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe hath serued the publike without any publike recompence, yet had an arrow shot through his body in their seruice. This laughing King at Accomack, tels vs the land is not two daies iourny ouer in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people, so that by the narrownesse of the Land there is not many Deere, but most abundance of Fish and Fowle. Kiptope his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who seeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himselfe, freely resigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himselfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree, nor is hee carelesse of any thing concernes the state, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counceller, as hee is an affectionated Brother, bearing the greater burden in gouernment, though the lesser honour, where cleane contrary they on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Those are the best husbands of any Saluages we know: for they prouide Corne to serue them all the yeare, yet spare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the most ciuill and tractable people we haue met with, and by little sticks will keepe as iust an account of their promises, as by a tally. In their mariages they obserue a large distance, as well in affinitie as consanguinitie; nor doe they vse that deuillish custome in making black Boyes. There may be on this shore about two thousand people: they on the West would inuade them, but that they want Boats to crosse the Bay, and so would diuers other Nations, were they not protected by vs. A few of the Westerly Runnagados had conspired against the laughing King, but fearing their treason was discouered, fled to Smiths Iles, where they made a massacre of Deere and Hogges; and thence to Rickahake, betwixt Cissapeack and Nansamund, where they now are seated vnder the command of Itoyatin, and so I returned to Iames Towne, where I found the gouernment rendred to Sir Francis Wyat. In February also he trauelled to the South Riuer Chawanock, some sixtie miles ouer land, which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleasant Country, yeelding two haruests in a yeare, and found much of the Silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly vsed by the people, and so returned. [61]
    189. THis lamentable and so vnexpected a distaster caused them all beleeue the opinion of Master Stockam, and draue them all to their wits end: it was twenty or thirty daies ere they could resolue what to doe, but at last it was concluded, all the petty Plantations should be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good fiue or six places, where all their labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible vpon such a sudden to bring also their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in possession with them; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined and destroyed by the Saluages. Only Master Gookins at Nuports-newes would not obey the Commanders command in that, though hee had scarce fiue and thirty of all sorts with him, yet he thought himselfe sufficient against what could happen, and so did to his great credit and the content of his Aduenturers. Master Samuel Iorden gathered together but a few of the straglers about him at Beggers-bush where he fortified and liued in despight of the enemy. Nay, Mistrisse Procter, a proper, ciuill, modest Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the English Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselues, as the Saluages did when they were gone, in whose despight they had kept it, and what they had a moneth or three weekes after the Massacre; which was to their hearts a griefe beyond comparison, to lose all they had in that manner, onely to secure others pleasures. Now here in England it was thought, all those remainders might presently haue beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places most conuenient with what they had, hauing such strong houses as they reported they had, which with small labour might haue beene made inuincible Castles against all the Saluages in the Land, and then presently raised a company, as a running Armieto torment the Barbarous and secure the rest, and so haue had all that Country betwixt the Riuers of Powhatan and Pamavnke to range and sustaine them; especially all the territories of Kecoughtan, Chiskact and Paspakege, from Ozenies to that branch of Pamavnke, comming from Youghtaxund, which strait of land is not past 4. or 5. miles, to haue made a peninsula much bigger then the Summer Iles, inuironed with the broadest parts of those two maine Riuers, which for plenty of such things as Virginia affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then sufficient for ten thousand men. This, were it well vnderstood, cannot but be thought better then to bring fiue or six hundred to lodge and liue on that, which before would not well receiue and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but spend that they haue vpon hopes out of England, one euill begetting another, till the disease is past cure: Therefore it is impossible but such courses must produce most fearefull miseries and extreme extremities; if it proue otherwise, I should be exceeding glad. I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other mens actions being not present, but they haue done as much of me; yea many here in England that were neuer there, & also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed, and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for speaking my opinion, seeing the old Prouerbe doth allow losers leaue to speake; and Du Bartas faith, [61]
    190. AMongst the multitude of these seuerall Relations, it appeares Captaine Nuse seeing many of the difficulties to ensue, caused as much Corne to be planted as he could at Elizabeths city, & though some destroyed that they had set, fearing it would serue the Saluages for Ambuscadoes, trusting to releefe by trade, or from England, which hath euer beene one cause of our miseries, for from England wee haue not had much, and for trading, euery one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and prouisions to performe it, and those that haue, vse them onely for their owne priuate gaine, not the publike good, so that our beginning this yeere doth cause many to distrust the euent of the next. Here wee will leaue Captaine Nuse for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine Norton, a valiant industrious Gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, besides Physicke and Chirurgery, which for the publike good he freely imparted to all gratis, but most bountifully to the poore; and let vs speake a little of Captaine Croshaw amongst the midst of those broiles in the Riuer of Patawomeke. [61]
    191. Being in a small Barke called the Elizabeth, vnder the command of Captaine Spilman, at Cekacawone, a Saluage stole aboord them, and told them of the Massacre, and that Opechancanough had plotted with his King and Country to betray them also, which they refused, but them of Wighcocomoco at the mouth of the riuer had vndertaken it; vpon this Spilman went thither, but the Saluages seeing his men so vigilant and well armed, they suspected them selues discouered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, so contented his desire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but seeing no more to be had, Croshaw went to Patawomek where he intended to stay and trade for himselfe, by reason of the long acquaintance he had with this King that so earnestly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine and director against the Pazaticans, the Nacotchtanks, and Moyaons his mortall enemies. Of this oportunity Croshaw was glad, as well to satisfie his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to Opechancanough, and adhere him vnto vs, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies; so onely Elis Hill stayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to Elizabeths City; here shall they rest also a little, till we see how this newes was entertained in England. [61]
    192. It was no small griefe to the Conncell and Company, to vnderstand of such a supposed impossible losse, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible; and yet hauing such warnings, especially by the death of Nemattanow, whom the Saluages did thinke was shot-free, as he had perswaded them, hauing so long escaped so many dangers without any hurt. But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not so discourage the noble aduenturers, nor diuers others still to vndertake new seuerall Plantations, but that diuers ships were dispatched away, for their supplies and assistance thought sufficient. Yet Captaine Smith did intreat and moue them to put in practise his old offer, seeing now it was time to vse both it and him, how slenderly heretofore both had beene regarded, and because it is not impertinent to the businesse, it is not much amisse to remember what it was. [61]
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    194. All men thinking Captaine Croshaw dead, Captaine Hamer arriuing with a Ship and a Pinnace at Patawomeke, was kindly entertained both by him and the King; that Don Hamar told the King he came for Corne: the King replied hee had none, but the Nacotchtanks and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would giue them 40. or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them. Those Saluages with some of the English they sent, who so well played their parts, they flew 18. of the Nacotchtanks, some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them; where the Patawomeks were so eager of reuenge, they driue them not onely out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to Patawomek, where they left Captaine Croshaw, with foure men more, the rest set saile for Iames towne. Captaine Croshaw now with fiue men and himselfe found night and day so many Alarums, he retired into such a conuenient place, that with the helpe of the Saluages, hee had quickly fortified himselfe against all those wilde enemies. Captaine Nuse his Pinnace meeting Hamar by the way vnderstanding all this, came to see Captaine Croshaw: after their best enterchanges of courtesies, Croshaw writ to Nuse the estate of the place where he was, but vnderstanding by them the poore estate of the Colony, offered if they would send him but a bold Shallop, with men, armes and prouision for trade, the next Haruest he would prouide them Corne sufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of Iune, there was little or none in all the Country. [61]
    195. This being made knowne to the Gouernour and the rest, they sent Captaine Madyson with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those Croshaw a good time taught the vse of their armes, but receiuing a letter from Boyse his Wife, a prisoner with nineteene more at Pamavnke, to vse meanes to the Gouernour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to Iames towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to Pamavnke, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade Opachankanough to send two of his with two of the Patawomekes, to treat about those prisoners, and the rest should remaine their hostage at Pamavnke; but the Commanders, at Iames towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the Patawomekes backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine Croshaw to his owne habitation. [61]
    196. This being made knowne to the Gouernour and the rest, they sent Captaine Madyson with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those Croshaw a good time taught the vse of their armes, but receiuing a letter from Boyse his Wife, a prisoner with nineteene more at Pamavnke, to vse meanes to the Gouernour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to Iames towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to Pamavnke, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade Opachankanough to send two of his with two of the Patawomekes, to treat about those prisoners, and the rest should remaine their hostage at Pamavnke; but the Commanders, at Iames towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the Patawomekes backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine Croshaw to his owne habitation. [61]
    197. About this time Captaine Madyson passed by vs, hauing taken Prisoners, the King of Patawomek, his sonne, and two more, and thus it happened; Madyson not liking so well to liue amongst the Saluages as Croshaw did, built him a strong house within the Fort, so that they were not so sociable as before, nor did they much like Poole the Interprer; many Alarums they had, but saw no enemies: Madyson before his building went to Moyaones, where hee got prouision for a moneth, and was promised much more, so he returned to Patawomek and built this house, and was well vsed by the Saluages. Now by the foure great men the King sent to Pamavnke for the redemption of the Prisoners, Madyson sent them a letter, but they could neither deliuer it nor see them: so long they stayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad vsage, that hee swore by the Skyes, if they returned not well, he would haue warres with Opechankanough so long as he had any thing: at this time two of Madysons men ranne from him, to finde them he sent Master Iohn Vpton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the Necosts, enemies to the Patawomeks; this expulsed King though he professed much loue to the Patawomeks, yet hee loued not the King because he would not helpe him to reuenge his iniuries, but to our Interpreter Poole hee protested great loue, promising if any treason were, he would reueale it, our guide conducted this Bandyto with them vp to Patawomek and there kept him; our Fugitiues we found the Patawomeks had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from Pamavnke; not long after, this expulsed King desired priuate conference with Poole, vrging him to sweare by his God neuer to reueale what hee would tell him, Poole promised he would not; then quoth this King, those great men that went to Pamavnke, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with Opechankanough how to kill you all here, and these are their plots. [61]
    198. A Saluages policy. First, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fishing to their furthest towne, and there set vpon them, and cut off the rest; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many strangers would trade their Furres, where they will perswade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile also, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set vpon you, yet of all this, said he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Coniurer. [61]
    199. This being made known to the Captain, we all stood more punctually vpon our guard, at which the Saluages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the Pamavnkes, whereat they seemed contented, and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fishing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from Iames towne with the two Saluages, went home with Captaine Croshaw: by those the Gouernour sent to Madyson, that this King should send him twelue of his great men; word of this was sent to the King at another towne where he was, who not comming presently with the Messenger, Madyson conceited hee regarded not the message, and intended as he supposed the same treason. The next morning the King comming home, being sent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to Iames towne, the King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leaue him destitute of aid, hauing so many enemies about him; the Captaine told him he would leaue a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelue great men for the Gouernour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them, then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne, said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall haue, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, whereupon Madyson went forth and locked the doore, leauing the King, his sonne, and foure Saluages, and fiue English men in the strong house, and setting vpon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children; the King demanding the cause, Poole told him the treason, crying out to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but hauing slaine and made flye all in the towne hee returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend. Then Madyson willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboord, which he presently did, and it was performed: so Madyson departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should returne at libertie; notwithstanding he brought them to Iames towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine Hamer, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land. [61]
    200. Euer since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of Spaine would inuade them, or our English Papists indeuour to dissolue them. But neither all the Counsels of Spaine, nor Papists in the world could haue deuised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there euer haue beene a better plot, to haue ouerthrowne Opechankanough then Captaine Chroshaws, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see Virginia made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory. [61]
    201. Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer little was done, but securing themselues and planting Tobacco, which passes there as current Siluer, and by the oft turning and winding it, some grow rich, but many poore, notwithstanding ten or twelue ships or more hath arriued there since the massacre, although it was Christmas ere any returned, and that returne greatly reuiued all mens longing expectation here in England: for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recouered, and finding the Saluages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. To lull them the better in securitie, they fought no reuenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best Souldiers they could, that would leaue their priuate businesse, and aduenture themselues amongst the Saluages to surprize their Corne, vnder the conduct of Sir George Yearley, being imbarked in conuenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprise, they went first to Nandsamund, where the people set fire on their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry; so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for reuenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses remained vnburnt, and so departed. Quartering about Kecoughtan, after the Watch was set, Samuell Collyer one of the most ancientest Planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Gouernor of a Towne, when the Watch was set going the round, vnfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine. [61]
    202. Thence they sailed to Pamavnke, the chiefe seat of Opechankanough, the contriuer of the massacre: the Saluages seemed exceeding fearefull, promising to bring them Sara, and the rest of the English yet liuing, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to giue them any satisfaction they could. Many such deuices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelue daies, till they had got away their Corne from all the other places vp the Riuer, but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Saluages that fled before thẽ, some few of those naked Deuils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they lifted, burning their empty houses before them as they went to make themselues sport: so they escaped, and Sir George returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enioyned before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges. Thus by this meanes the Saluages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations. [61]
    203. What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully reuenged of the Saluages before they returned, I know not; nor could euer heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy Ferdinando Courtus had scarce three hundred Spaniards to conquer the great Citie of Mexico, where thousands of Saluages dwelled in strong houses: but because they were a ciuilized people, had wealth, and those meere Barbarians as wilde as beasts haue nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion, which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not liue to put in practice, yet it may be hereafter vsefull for some, but howsoeuer I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is. [61]
    204. How to subiect all the Saluages in Virginia. Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would haue sent first one hundred to Captaine Rawley Chroshaw to Patawomek, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would haue struck that loue and admiration into the Patowomeks, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated vpon the other side the Riuer, they would willingly haue beene friends, or haue giuen any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare. [61]
    205. Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them, Captaine Argall, Chroshow, nor Hamar, neuer found themselues in fifteene yeares trials: nor is it likely now they would haue so hostaged their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany; but suppose they had, who would haue desired a better aduantage then such an aduertisement, to haue prepared the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but fiue men in it durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as well to iealous as to carelesse; Such another Lope Skonce would I haue had at Onawmanient, and one hundred men more to haue made such another at Atquacke vpon the Riuer of Toppahanock, which is not past thirteene miles distant from Onawmanient: each of which twelue men would keepe, as well as twelue thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily haue beene done, if not by courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wilde Fowle began to repaire to euery creeke, that men if they would doe any thing, could not want victuall. This done, there remained yet one hundred who should haue done the like at Ozinieke, vpon the Riuer of Chickahamania, not past six miles from the chiefe habitations of Opechankanough. These small Forts had beene cause sufficient to cause all the Inhabitants of each of those Riuers to looke to themselues. Then hauing so many Ships, Barks, and Boats in Virginia as there was at that present, with what facility might you haue landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely fiue or six Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of Mattapanyent, fortie more that of Toughtanund, and fortie more to keepe their randiuous at Pamavnke it selfe. All which places lie so neere, they might heare from each other within foure or fiue houres, and not any of those small parties, if there were any valour, discretion, or industry in them, but as sufficient as foure thousand, to force them all to contribution, or take or spoile all they had. For hauing thus so many conuenient randeuous to releeue each other, though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they rest, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houses vpon all those Riuers in two or three daies? Then without fires they could not liue, which they could not so hide but wee should finde, and quickly so tire them with watching and warding, they would be so weary of their liues, as either fly all their Countries, or giue all they had to be released of such an hourely misery. Now if but a small number of the Saluages would assist vs, as there is no question but diuers of them would; And to suppose they could not be drawne to such faction, were to beleeue they are more vertuous then many Christians, and the best gouerned people in the world. All the Pamavnkes might haue beene dispatched as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to haue dealt with any other enemies at our pleasure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation. [61]
    206. If you think this strange or impossible, 12 men with my selfe I found sufficient, to goe where I would adaies, and surprise a house with the people, if not a whole towne in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath beene related: And it seemes by these small parties last amongst them, by Captaine Crashow, Hamar, and Madyson, they are not growne to that excellency in policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wiues and children apprehended. I know I shall bee taxed for writing so much of my selfe, but I care not much, because the iudiciall know there are few such Souldiers as are my examples, haue writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my selfe. [61]
    207. Some againe finde as much fault with the Company for medling with so many Plantations together, because they that haue many Irons in the fire some must burne; but I thinke no if they haue men enow know how to worke them, but howsoeuer, it were better some burne then haue none at all. The King of Spaine regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes vnder his obedience, and for the Saluage Countries he hath subiected, they are more then enow for a good Cosmographer to nominate, and is three Mole-hills so much to vs; and so many Empires so little for him? For my owne part, I cannot chuse but grieue, that the actions of an Englishman should be inferior to any, and that the command of England should not be as great as any Monarchy that euer was since the world began, I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Christendome, but to suppresse her disturbers, and conquer her enemies. [61]
    208. In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this, Captaine Henrie Spilman a Gentleman, that hath liued in those Countries thirteene or foureteene yeares, one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men, hee was sent to trucke in the Riuer of Patawomek, where he had liued a long time amongst the Saluages, whether hee presumed too much vpon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be reuenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately, or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all seuerall relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for then returned report they left him ashore about Patawomek, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but fiue in the Barke, the Saluages ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gaue fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Saluages leapt ouer-boord, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes and swum a shore; and presently after they heard a great brute amongst the Saluages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke, whereupon they weighed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is vncertaine. [61]
    209. The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from England we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions, cause Powhatan fly his Countrey, and take the King of Pamavnke Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of Paspahegh in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages sent to Iames towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares I staied there, I had not a man slaine. [61]
    210. The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from England we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions, cause Powhatan fly his Countrey, and take the King of Pamavnke Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of Paspahegh in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages sent to Iames towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares I staied there, I had not a man slaine. [61]
    211. Betwixt Sagadahock, & Sawocatuck, there is but two or three Sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape Iames very many: especially the Coast of the Massachusets is so indifferently mixed with high Clay or Sandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and Quaries of stones in other places, so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as Free-stone for building, Slate for tyling, smooth stone to make Furnasses and Forges for Glasse and Iron, and Iron Ore sufficient conueniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of Deuonshire, I thinke most of the clifts would make such Lime-stone: if they bee not of these qualities, they are so like they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine: all which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good Iron and Steele in those parts as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare ingage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the Simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building and rigging of ships of any proportion and good Merchandise for their fraught, within a square of ten or foureteene leagues, and it were no hard matter to proue it within a lesse limitation. [61]
    212. Naiemkeck, though it be more rocky ground, for Augoan is sandy, not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceiue but the multitude of people: from hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland Tragabigzanda, now called Cape An, fronted with the three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads; to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and Corne fields, they report a faire Riuer and at least 30. Habitations doth possesse this Country. But because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discouer it: the Iles of Mattahunts are on the west side of this Bay, where are many Iles and some Rocks that appeare a great height aboue the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongst them many good Harbours, and then the country of the Massachusits, which is the Paradice of all those parts, for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groues, Mulberies, saluage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coast is for the most part high clayie sandy clifts, the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all along large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the Inhabitants relations, viz. if there be three thousand people vpon those Iles, and that the Riuer doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country: we found the people in those parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant, for vpon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their Canowes, which towards the euening they ransomed for Beuer skinnes, and at Quonahasit falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger, yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his thigh. [61]
    213. doth possesse this Country. But because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discouer it: the Iles of Mattahunts are on the west side of this Bay, where are many Iles and some Rocks that appeare a great height aboue the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongst them many good Harbours, and then the country of the Massachusits, which is the Paradice of all those parts, for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groues, Mulberies, saluage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coast is for the most part high clayie sandy clifts, the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all along large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the Inhabitants relations, viz. if there be three thousand people vpon those Iles, and that the Riuer doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country: we found the people in those parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant, for vpon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their Canowes, which towards the euening they ransomed for Beuer skinnes, and at Quonahasit falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger, yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his thigh. [61]
    214. Who can desire more content that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if hee haue but the taste of vertue and magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by Gods blessing and his owne industry without preiudice to any, if hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple require thy charge and paine; what so truly sutes with honour and honesty as the discouering things vnknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, reaching vertue and gaine to our natiue mother Country a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe, so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise; consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother City? For example: Rome, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the iustice and iudgement out of their experiences when they grew aged; what was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience in Maiestrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealousies, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse; finally in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their Predecessors got in many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their case and vices became slaues to their seruants; this is the difference betwixt the vse of armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones, the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making common weales, and marring common weales, the fruits of vertue, and the conclusions of vice. [61]

1. **William Strachey’s “The History of Travel into Virginia Britania” (1612)**:
   * **Strachey’s Writings**: As a secretary for the Virginia Company, William Strachey wrote extensively about the early colonial period, including interactions with the Powhatan and descriptions of their society.
2. **George Percy’s “A Trewe Relacyon of the Proceedyngs and Occurrences of Momente Which Have Happened in Virginia” (1607-1608)**:
   * **Percy’s Account**: Percy’s account provides insights into the early interactions between the Powhatan and the Jamestown settlers, including descriptions of events and conflicts.
     1. In this excerpt from “A Trewe Relacyon of the precedeings and ocurrentes of Momente which have hapned in Virginia from the Tyme of Sir Thomas Gates was Shippwrackte uppon the Bermudes Anno 1609 untill my departure owtt of the Cowntry which was in Anno Domini 1612,” [George Percy](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/percy-george-1580-1632-or-1633/) describes the events at [Jamestown](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/jamestown-settlement-early/) in the spring of 1610, just after the [Starving Time](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/starving-time-the/), until the end of summer. During this time, the colonists, led by Governor [Thomas West, baron De La Warr](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/west-thomas-twelfth-baron-de-la-warr-1576-1618/), and Lieutenant Governor [Sir Thomas Gates](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gates-sir-thomas-d-1622/), attack the Indians in revenge for the deaths the previous winter, escalating what has come to be called the [First Anglo-Powhatan War](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/first-anglo-powhatan-war-1609-1614/) (1609–1614). Percy’s account was written in the mid-1620s but not widely published until 1922. [62]
3. **Thomas Hariot’s “A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia” (1588)**:
   * **Hariot’s Observations**: Hariot, an early English explorer and ethnographer, documented his observations of the indigenous peoples of Virginia, including the Powhatan. [63]
   * During the winter of 1584–1585, Hariot learned some elements of the [Algonquian language](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/languages-and-interpreters-in-early-virginia-indian-society/) from two Native Americans, Manteo and Wanchese, who were brought back from an expedition to Roanoke Island in 1584. [63]
   * During the winter of 1585–1586, Hariot or White (or both) accompanied a group of English colonists north to the Chesapeake Bay, where they encountered the Virginia Indians of [Tsenacomoco](https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tsenacomoco-powhatan-paramount-chiefdom/). [63]
   * **Legal Documents and Court Records**: Records from colonial and early American courts involving disputes or cases related to Powhatan tribes.
   * **Historical Narratives and Accounts**: Writings and histories by early settlers and historians about the Powhatan tribes and their interactions with European settlers.
   * **Correspondence with British Officials**: Letters and documents between British officials and Powhatan leaders or colonial authorities.
   * **Records from the Virginia Company of London**: Documents from the company responsible for early colonization efforts in Virginia, including interactions with Powhatan tribes.
   * **Historical Documents and Federal Records:** Historical records, such as those from Captain John Smith’s accounts and Virginia Assembly records, reflect the acknowledgment of Powhatan tribes in the context of their political and social structures. These documents provided a foundation for understanding the Powhatan Confederacy’s historical significance and its interactions with colonial and early federal authorities.
4. **Current Status and Efforts for Federal Recognition:**
   * Ongoing Efforts: In recent years, the Powhatan Confederacy has made formal efforts to secure federal recognition as a tribe. This includes petitions for federal acknowledgment submitted to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the State of New Jersey, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and every state in the United States of America with the exception of Hawaii.
     1. These petitions seek to formalize the recognition of the Powhatan Confederacy as a federally and state recognized tribe, building on the historical relationships and agreements established in previous centuries.
5. **Previous Interactions with Federal Entities:**
   * Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA): The Powhatan Confederacy has engaged with the BIA to assert its claims and seek acknowledgment. This includes submitting detailed petitions that outline the historical and continuous presence of the Powhatan tribes, as well as their contributions to American history.
6. **Historical Acknowledgment in Federal Legislation:**
   * Legislative References: Some historical references and legislative actions have acknowledged the Powhatan Confederacy’s significance. While these do not constitute formal federal acknowledgment, they reflect the historical importance of the Powhatan tribes in the broader context of American Indian affairs.

#### B. Description of Evidence to Demonstrate Previous Federal Acknowledgment \*

1. Treaty Relations with the United States (Includes Treaty Negotiations for Unratified Treaties)
   * Treaty of 1646 [1]: This treaty, signed following the end of the Anglo-Powhatan War, was an early recognition of the Powhatan tribes' rights and established boundaries. It laid the groundwork for future negotiations and interactions with the English Crown, which influenced the early Federal Government's approach to Indian tribes. [1]
   * Treaty of Middle Plantation (1677) [1]: Signed between the British and several tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy, this treaty marked the end of hostilities and set forth terms for coexistence. This treaty was a significant formal acknowledgment of the Powhatan tribes and their political entities. [1]
2. Denomination as an Indian Tribe by Act of Congress or Executive Order
   * Historical Context: While there were no specific acts of Congress or executive orders recognizing the Powhatan Confederacy as a tribe in the manner of modern federal recognition, the Federal Government's interactions through treaties and agreements recognized the Powhatan tribes as distinct political entities. Historical references to the Powhatan Confederacy and its members in congressional records and federal documents acknowledge their existence and status during the early years of the United States.
3. Federal Government Treatment as Having Collective Rights in Tribal Lands or Funds
   * Land Agreements and Treaties: Federal treaties and land agreements, including those made with various tribes within the Powhatan Confederacy like the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, Chickahominy Indian Tribe–Eastern Division, Nansemond Indian Nation, [Pamunkey Indian Tribe](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pamunkey_Indian_Tribe), Rappahannock Tribe, Inc., and the Upper Mattaponi Tribe, demonstrate the recognition of collective rights to land and resources. These agreements often included provisions for land cessions and compensation, acknowledging the tribes' rights to their traditional territories.
4. Federal Reservation of Land Held for an Indian Tribe or Its Collective Ancestors
   * Powhatan, Virginia is and has always been an Unincorporated community, like Puerto Rico.
   * Historical Land Reservations: While specific federal reservations were not established for the Powhatan Confederacy as seen with other tribes, historical land agreements and the establishment of reservations for related tribes reflect the broader recognition of the Powhatan tribes' historical territories. The treaties and agreements with tribes such as the Pamunkey\* and Mattaponi\* are indicative of the ongoing recognition of their ancestral lands and collective rights.

#### C. Description of Documentary Evidence to Show That Current Group is the Same Group or Evolved Out of the Indian Tribe That the Federal Government Previously Acknowledged \*

* Historical Continuity: Documentation and historical records demonstrate that the current Powhatan Confederacy is a continuation of the historic Powhatan tribes. This includes evidence of continuous lineage, cultural practices, and social structures that have persisted from the pre-1900 period to the present. The genealogy and historical documentation link current members to the original Powhatan tribes.
* Historical Records and Treaties: The use of historical records, such as Captain John Smith’s accounts, the Virginia Assembly records, and other early documents, provides evidence of the Powhatan tribes' existence and their interactions with the Federal Government. These records show the continuity of the Powhatan identity and the evolution of the modern Powhatan Confederacy from its historical roots.

#### D. Provide Applicable Supporting Evidence \*

* Please see works cited.
* Please see attachments.

### IV. Seven mandatory criteria – thorough explanations of how cited supporting evidence applies to criteria \*

#### A. Criterion 83.11(a) – Identifications of Indian entity \*

1. Introduction – Provide a brief overview of how the petitioner meets criterion 83.11(a) from 1900 to present; the petitioner or its ancestral group, not individuals, must be identified as an Indian entity; external and self-identifications must be of the group as it existed contemporary to the time of the identifications. These identifications must be from 1900 to the present and should be no more than 10 years apart (as shown below). For each time period, provide photocopies or image scans from sources that identify the petitioning group as an Indian entity as required by 83.11(a). Thoroughly explain how each piece of evidence meets this criterion.
   1. We have maintained our largest reservation, a 66 acre plot, under tribe member and Chief William Miles for over 170 years.
      1. Please see attachment **Reservation Parcels**.
   2. We’ve maintained our original reservation on our ancestral lands, first documented by the English and the Spaniards in the 1500s. [32]
   3. The Powhatan Confederacy, including its modern descendants, has been continuously identified as an Indian or Native American, or to have Native American ancestry, from 1900 to the present.
2. Before 1900
   1. Document: Thomas Jefferson's census records [2]
   2. Explanation: Jefferson's census from the early 17th century provides a historical baseline of Powhatan tribal entities and their significance, supporting the claim of a continuous identity into the 20th century. This document helps establish the historical context of the Powhatan Confederacy and its members.
   3. Please see attachments **Thomas Jefferson’s Indigenous Census, #1.**
3. Before 1900
   1. Documents: Marriage certificates impacted by the 1924 Racial Integrity Act. [34]
   2. Explanation: We have a number of marriage certificates that are publicly available that demonstrate how our ancestral groups’ racial designations became “Colored” because they had less than ¼ Native American ancestry; had any amount of “Black” ancestry due to Powhatan Indians being enslaved and forced to breed with African slaves; and did not reside on a federally or state acknowledged reservation. [34]
      1. The Pamunkey faced similar issues with their ancestors being classified as “Colored” or “Black” when petitioning. [114]
   3. Please see attachments, **Genealogical Records**.
4. Before 1900
   1. Document: State of Virginia's designation of Powhatan, Virginia as an unincorporated community [5]
   2. Explanation: The preservation of Powhatan, Virginia as an unincorporated community reflects the ongoing recognition of the area as a significant site for the Powhatan people. This designation supports the continuity of the Powhatan presence and identity. [123] [124]
   3. Our status as an Unincorporated community puts us at equal status with San Juan, Puerto Rico [12] [126]. However, we don’t have the associated federal and state recognition to protect our interests as sovereign people. [5]
5. 1900 to current
   1. Document: Powhatan, Virginia census data
   2. Explanation: Census data shows the evolution of how the inhabitants of Powhatan, Virginia identified. The amount of people who were allowed to or did identify as Native American has always remained artificially low, whether by societal oppression, or an inability to read and write in English. [28] [114]
6. 1940 to 1949
   1. The descendants of the Powhatan Confederacy, the Powhatan Mohemencho and the Powhatan Tutelo spread into to New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and North Carolina.
   2. Following the footsteps of the Powhatan Renape (a tribe currently recognized by the State of New Jersey). [24]
7. 1980 to 1989
   1. Document: The death of Albert Green, the last Tutelo speaker. [28]
   2. Explanation: We hosted Albert Green in Powhatan, Virginia after he was released from slavery. [attachment **Miscellaneous, #9**] He passed away sometime after 1982. [28]
      1. The result of Indian slavery is documented in anonymous WIN tribes documented by journalists.
         1. This study of a group of Indian-white-negro... a group which has lived in the same locality in Virginia for more than a hundred years. [143]
         2. THIS study of a group of Indian-white-negro crosses is a sociological and eugenic study of a group which has lived in the same locality in Virginia for more than a hundred years. It originated from a white-Indian union, with later introductions of ‘mean-white’ and negro strains. The group consists of about five hundred individuals in an area approximately eight miles long by four miles broad. They are mostly living on the land. The original white family, judging from its social and economic position, was probably above the average. The descendants are almost without exception below the low white in average ability. [143]
8. 1980 to 1989
   1. The Powhatan Renape received state recognition from the State of New Jersey. [24]
9. 2010 to present
   1. The petitioner and other tribal members participate in a genetic study conducted by the tribe.
   2. The platforms chosen were 23andMe, GEDMatch and Genomelink.
   3. The genetic study proves the petitioner has Indigenous American DNA.
      1. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study,** **#5, #6, #7.**
   4. The genetic study proves contact with Indigenous Americans from Virginia and the invading Spaniards.
      1. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study,** **#18, #19.**
   5. The genetic study proves the King / Chief of the Powhatan Confederacy’s x-chromosome (which is passed from mother to daughter perpetually) [144] has Native American DNA. Which means the first enslaved woman in the petitioner’s maternal line was a Native American woman who was enslaved alongside Cameroonian royals.
      1. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study,** **#7.**
      2. Due to the x-chromosome [144] of an enslaved Colored woman from McDowell, West Virginia (near Powhatan, McDowell, West Virginia) containing Indigenous American DNA, and the famous drama with Plecker’s Racial Integrity Act, we assert that all of these people who were labeled ***Colored*** had Native American ancestry.
         1. The Pamunkey faced similar issues with their ancestors being classified as “Colored” or “Black” when petitioning: [114]
   6. The genetic study proves the petitioner’s DNA matches with the “Kennewick Man” or the “Ancient One.” [attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study,** **#35**]
      1. Because the Federated Tribes of Colville received the remains of the Kennewick Man on the basis of genetic analysis, the Powhatan Confederacy also has a claim to the remains of the Kennewick Man. [128]
      2. This places the Powhatan Confederacy in league with the Federated Tribes of Colville in the State of Washington. [128]
      3. The Powhatan Confederacy has a claim to the remains of the Kennewick Man, just as the Federated Tribes of Colville. However, we don’t have a federal trusted reservation to house them. [128]
      4. We have a claim for the remains of the Powhatan Kings that are on the Pamunkey Reservation. [130]
      5. We demand the return of Powhatan’s cloak from the Ashmolean Museum in the United Kingdom. [129]
      6. Please see attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study,** **#35.**
   7. The genetic study proves the petitioner’s DNA matches with the remains of Clovis people found in Montana.
      1. This proves the migration patterns of the paleo Native Americans that would become the Powhatan Indians.
      2. Evidence of the Clovis people has been found across the entirety of North America:
         1. Alabama [113]
         2. Alaska [attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study,** **#35**]
         3. Arkansas [68]
         4. Arizona [69]
         5. California [70]
         6. Colorado [69]
         7. Connecticut [71]
         8. Delaware [72]
         9. Florida [73]
         10. Georgia [74]
         11. Idaho [75]
         12. Illinois [76]
         13. Indiana [77]
         14. Iowa [78]
         15. Kansas [79]
         16. Kentucky [80]
         17. Louisiana [81]
         18. Maine [82]
         19. Maryland [83]
         20. Massachusetts [84]
         21. Michigan [85]
         22. Minnesota [86]
         23. Mississippi [87]
         24. Missouri [88]
         25. Montana [89]
         26. Nebraska [90]
         27. Nevada [91]
         28. New Hampshire [92]
         29. New Jersey [93]
         30. New Mexico [95]
         31. New York [94]
         32. North Carolina [96]
         33. North Dakota [97]
         34. Ohio [98]
         35. Oklahoma [99]
         36. Oregon [100]
         37. Pennsylvania [101]
         38. Rhode Island
         39. South Carolina [102]
         40. South Dakota [103]
         41. Tennessee [104]
         42. Texas [105]
         43. Utah [106]
         44. Vermont [107]
         45. Virginia [108]
         46. Washington [109]
         47. West Virginia [110]
         48. Wisconsin [111]
         49. Wyoming [112]
   8. The genetic study proves the petitioner’s DNA matches with the remains of Botocudo people of Brazil. [attachment **Powhatan Genetic Study, #35**]
      1. Powhatan’s father was known to have been driven from the West Indies by the Spaniards. [32]
      2. The West Indies includes countries like the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Colombia. [attachment **Maps, #2**]
      3. This establishes our previous presence in Latin America before we were driven to near extinction. [32]
10. The petitioner petitions every state in the United States of America, with the exception of Hawaii and Bureau of Indian Affairs.
11. The petitioner petitions Canada, Mexico, and the countries that now compose the West Indies.

#### B. Summary

The documentation provided for each time period demonstrates the Powhatan Confederacy's continuous recognition and identification as an Indian entity from 1900 to the present. The consistent presence and acknowledgment of Powhatan identity through historical records, census data, and community references confirm that the Powhatan Confederacy has maintained its status as an Indian entity.

#### C. Provide applicable supporting evidence for each decade. Clear, legible photocopy or scanned electronic copy of each piece of supporting evidence. Possible transcription and translation of supporting evidence. Bibliographical references of supporting evidence preferably on the face of the submitted copies, which would enable OFA to locate the evidence. \*

1. Please see citations.
2. Please see attachments.
3. Please see works cited.

#### D. Criterion 83.11(b) – Distinct Community

1. Introduction – Organize evidence in time periods that document the group’s social and cultural events and activities from 1900 to the present. These periods vary for each petitioner based on its specific history and circumstances, but 20-year periods may provide a useful framework (as shown below). Indicate the events that mark each time period’s beginning and end. Provide information for each period. First, describe the social group at different points in time by answering questions such as: Who are the actual group members? How are they related to one another and what is the group’s composition? Where do they live, socialize, and celebrate life events? What social institutions (churches, neighborhoods, schools, social clubs, interest groups, cemetery, or economic pursuits) support the member’s social interaction? Second, provide evidence describing what the members are doing with one another, particularly activities that distinguish its members from non-members. Some examples of social interaction include marriages between the group’s members, seasonal celebrations, informal get-togethers, and group reunions. Demonstrate that the petitioner’s membership participate in these activities. In addition, the petitioner may provide evidence of cultural practices specific to the group such as shared language, religious activities, or specific cultural knowledge and practices commemorating the group’s historical heritage that are not recent interpretations. Thoroughly explain how each piece of evidence meets this criterion.

1. 1900 - 1919

Group Composition and Social Interaction:

* Group Members: The Powhatan Confederacy and its descendants, particularly those residing in Powhatan, Virginia.
* Reservation: Chiefs maintained their reservation parcels with their own income.
* Relationships and Composition: The group included families with deep ancestral ties to the Powhatan Confederacy who intermarried only with other Native American families due to historical circumstances such as slavery.
  + The Pamunkey faced similar issues with their ancestors being classified as “Colored” or “Black” when petitioning. [114]
* Living and Socializing: Members primarily lived in Powhatan, Virginia, maintaining strong communal bonds through shared history and social institutions.
* Social Institutions: Churches, local neighborhoods, and informal social clubs were central to social interactions. The community also engaged in economic pursuits like farming and small-scale trades.
* Social Activities: Regular informal gatherings, church events, and communal celebrations. Members often married within the community, preserving cultural and familial ties.
* Schools: Pocahontas High School in Powhatan County, Virginia. Other local schools. We send our children to public schools.

Evidence of Cultural Practices:

* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see attachments: **Reservation Parcels**.

1. 1920 - 1939

Group Composition and Social Interaction:

* Group Members: Descendants of the original Powhatan Confederacy, with some families relocating to urban areas for economic opportunities.
* Relationships and Composition: Continued intermarriage within the community and with other Native American families.
* Living and Socializing: Expansion into nearby urban centers while maintaining reservation land in Powhatan, Virginia.
* Social Institutions: The community’s churches and social clubs adapted to urban settings, while still preserving traditional practices.
* Social Activities: Informal gatherings, church events, and family reunions. Participation in labor movements and other economic activities that distinguished members from non-members.
* Schools: Pocahontas High School in Powhatan County, Virginia. Other local schools. We send our children to public schools.

Evidence of Cultural Practices:

* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see attachments: **Reservation Parcels**.

1. 1940 - 1959

Group Composition and Social Interaction:

* Group Members: Continuation of the Powhatan descendants, with more families migrating to northern states like New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and North Carolina.
  + - * + Following the footsteps of The Powhatan Renape (NJ) [24], the Cayuga Nation (NY) [148] and Prairie Band Potawatomi (IL) [149].
        + North Carolina is ancestral to the Tutelo. [145]
* Relationships and Composition: Strong kinship ties maintained through regular communication and visits.
* Living and Socializing: Members lived on our reservation in Powhatan, Virginia and urban areas in New Jersey, New York and Chicago forming sub-communities within larger urban settings.
* Social Institutions: Establishment of new churches and social clubs in urban areas, while maintaining traditional institutions in Powhatan.
* Social Activities: Regular church events, cultural celebrations, and family reunions. Continued intermarriage within the community, preserving cultural identity.
  + - * Reservation land: Maintained by Chiefs and parcel owners.

Evidence of Cultural Practices:

* Document: Records of migration to New Jersey and establishment of new community institutions. (attachment **Miscellaneous, #14**)
* Explanation: Documentation of the community’s adaptation to urban environments while preserving cultural identity, including the establishment of new social institutions and continued communal activities.
* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see attachments: **Reservation Parcels**.
* Documentation regarding migration to New York and Illinois, please see **Membership Roll 2024**.

1. 1960 - 1979

Group Composition and Social Interaction:

* Group Members: Descendants of the Powhatan Confederacy, now with a significant presence in Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and North Carolina.
* Relationships and Composition: Continued intermarriage within the community and with other Native American families.
* Living and Socializing: Strong communal bonds maintained through regular social and cultural events.
* Social Institutions: Churches, social clubs, and community centers in both Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and Illinois.
* Social Activities: Church events, cultural celebrations, and family reunions. Participation in civil rights movements and other social justice activities.
* Reservation land: Maintained by Chiefs and parcel owners.

Evidence of Cultural Practices:

* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.
* Cousin marriages: Multiple members of the Royal Family (descendants of the Powhatan Mayos, or Paquiquineo or Opechancanough) had married a cousin within the tribe.
  + - * + My paternal grandparents Geraldine Louise Bolden and Arthur Lee Morris were 3rd cousins 1 generation removed and both descendants of Thomas Jefferson.

Thomas owned a bar named Swan’s Tavern in Powhatan, Virginia.

His father, Peter Jefferson, lived in Powhatan, Virginia.

His son, or grandson, Thomas Morris (Jefferson IV). was sold to Brockenbrough T. Morrison and Mary G. Royall with the help of an Eliza Hemings in My, Powhatan, Virginia.

* + - * + Arthur Lee Morris’ sister, Lena Morris married Geraldine’s 1st cousin Henry Johnson.
        + Arthur Lee Morris’ Ruth Virginia Bell married a distant cousin whose mother was a Morris (Jefferson).
        + Cousin marriages were an attempt to preserve royal blood and maintain the leadership of the tribe.
        + The incorporation of the bastard Jefferson line into the tribe was to implement a stronger and more modern sense of central authority within the tribe.

1. 1980 - 1999

Group Composition and Social Interaction:

* Group Members: Continuation of Powhatan descendants, with significant cultural and social cohesion in both Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and North Carolina.
* Relationships and Composition: Strong kinship ties and intermarriage within the community.
* Living and Socializing: Members lived in both rural and urban settings, maintaining strong cultural ties through regular communication and visits.
* Social Institutions: Churches, community centers, and cultural organizations.
* Social Activities: Regular cultural celebrations, family reunions, and community events. Increased involvement in advocacy for Native American rights.
* Powhatan Renape, descendants of Powhatan Rappahannock and Algonquian Lenape Indians, receive state recognition in New Jersey. [24]
  + - * Reservation land: Maintained by Chiefs and parcel owners.

Evidence of Cultural Practices:

* Document: The Death of Albert Green, the Last Tutelo Speaker. [28]
* Explanation: Hosting Albert Green demonstrates the community’s efforts to preserve linguistic and cultural heritage, showing the continuity of Powhatan identity. [attachment **Miscellaneous, #9**]
* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

1. 2000 - Present

Group Composition and Social Interaction:

* Group Members: Descendants of the Powhatan Confederacy, with an active presence in Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and North Carolina.
* Relationships and Composition: Continued intermarriage within the community and with other Native American and African American families.
* Living and Socializing: Members maintain strong communal bonds through modern means of communication and regular cultural events.
* Social Institutions: Churches, community centers, and cultural organizations.
* Social Activities: Regular cultural celebrations, family reunions, and community events. Active participation in genetic studies and advocacy for federal recognition.
  + - * Reservation land: Maintained by Chiefs and parcel owners.

Evidence of Cultural Practices:

* Document: Genetic Study Results.
* Explanation: The genetic study conducted by the tribe demonstrates a scientific basis for the community’s Native American ancestry, supporting hundreds of years of claims of continuous identity and social cohesion.
* Please see **Powhatan Genetic Study** section of **attachments**.

**Summary**

The documentation provided for each time period demonstrates the Powhatan Confederacy's continuous recognition and identification as an Indian entity and Unincorporated community from 1900 to the present. The consistent presence and acknowledgment of Powhatan identity through historical records, census data, community references, and genetic studies confirm that the Powhatan Confederacy has maintained its status as an Indian entity.

**Land Ownership**

Collectively, we own more than 140 acres of the Unincorporated community called Powhatan, Virginia. This is our reservation.

\* Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

#### E. Criterion 83.11(c) – Political Influence or Authority \*

1. Introduction – Organize evidence in periods that reflect the petitioner’s political

events and activities from 1900 to the present (as shown below). Indicate the

events that mark each period’s beginning and end. Include a description of the

political issues, events, and activities of the group, identifying specific leaders,

governing bodies, and notable members active during each period. Political

influence or authority may change depending on the changing economic, cultural,

and social environment confronting its members. Describe how a governing body

or political processes (including formal and informal leadership, peer pressure,

and factions) influence the behavior of members in significant ways. Describe in

detail how the group has made decisions affecting its members and has resolved

conflicts among its members. Discuss how the group has chosen its leaders. Give

details of the succession of named leaders from 1900 to the present, and describe

how leaders have represented the group and its members when dealing with

outsiders in important matters. Provide specific examples that support statements

made in the narrative. Thoroughly explain how each piece of evidence meets this criterion.

1. 1900 to 1919
2. Political Environment:

* Leaders and Governing Bodies: During this period, the Powhatan community has been primarily led by informal leaders who could afford to own and maintain reservation land. The issue is that this splinters the tribe into too many different clans who are dependent on appeasing the landowner-chief. If not, they risk being socially isolated from the tribe.
* Notable Members: Key figures included family heads and elders who had a significant influence on decision-making processes. Key members would be William Miles and Andrew Miles.
  + Andrew and William Miles combined bought 138 acres of reservation land for the tribe. [114]
    - However, we lacked the money to develop the reservations.
    - Without government recognition, we have to pay taxes.
    - Strangers can buy large acres of land nearby, or even next door.
    - Strangers break up the reservation.
  + Miles is also a common surname found in the Pamunkey tribe.
    - Miles is mentioned as a surname over 100 times in the Pamunkey tribe petition. [114]
  + Reservation land:
    - Attachments: **Miscellaneous,** **#57 – #67**
  + Photos:
    - Attachments: **Tribal Members**
* Political Issues and Activities: The community faced challenges related to racial segregation and disenfranchisement under Jim Crow laws. Efforts were made to maintain cultural identity and resist assimilation pressures. [34]
* Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution: Formal and informal leaders guided the community through this period, often using their positions to negotiate with external authorities on behalf of the community. Such as land sales in the cases of those who could not speak English.

1. Evidence of Political Influence:

* Document: Marriage Certificates impacted by the 1924 Racial Integrity Act. [34]
* Explanation: These certificates illustrate the community’s resistance to state-imposed racial classifications, demonstrating an early form of political organization and advocacy.
* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

b. 1920 to 1939

1. Political Environment:

* Leaders and Governing Bodies: Leadership changed hereditarily. The reservation owners families’ are the ones who manage tribal dealings. In terms of whom can take pictures of whom for press; to whom we should sell land to, etc.
* Notable Members: Leaders included prominent community members who advocated for selling more land, like Ralph Washington.
* Political Issues and Activities: The Great Migration saw many community members moving to urban areas, which led to the establishment of new community organizations and advocacy groups.
* Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution: Formal and informal leaders guided the community through this period, often using their positions to negotiate with external authorities on behalf of the community. Such as land sales in the cases of those who could not speak English.

1. Evidence of Political Influence:

* Document: Census Data from Powhatan, Virginia.
* Explanation: Census data showing the community’s composition. We were a collection of farmers, like our ancestors.
* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

c. 1940 to 1959

1. Political Environment:

* Leaders and Governing Bodies: Leadership continued to pass hereditarily.
* Notable Members: Leaders included individuals who took active roles in civil rights movements and local politics.
* Political Issues and Activities: The community faced issues related to segregation, voting rights, and economic opportunities. There was increased participation in the civil rights movement.
* Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution: Formal and informal leaders guided the community through this period, often using their positions to negotiate with external authorities on behalf of the community. Such as land sales in the cases of those who could not speak English.

1. Evidence of Political Influence:

* Document: Records of migration to New Jersey and establishment of new community institutions. [attachment **Miscellaneous #14**]
* Explanation: Documentation of the community’s adaptation to urban environments while preserving cultural identity, including the establishment of new social institutions and continued communal activities.
* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

d. 1960 to 1979

Political Environment:

* Leaders and Governing Bodies: Leadership continued to pass hereditarily.
* Notable Members: Leaders were still those who could afford to maintain our reservation lands.
* Political Issues and Activities: Key issues included civil rights, economic empowerment, and education.
* Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution: Formal and informal leaders guided the community through this period, often using their positions to negotiate with external authorities on behalf of the community. Such as land sales in the cases of those who could not speak English.

e. 1980 to 1999

Political Environment:

* Leaders and Governing Bodies: Leadership continued to pass hereditarily.
* Notable Members: Leaders included community activists, local politicians, and cultural advocates.
* Political Issues and Activities: Powhatan Renape receives recognition from the state of New Jersey. [24]
* Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution: Formal and informal leaders guided the community through this period, often using their positions to negotiate with external authorities on behalf of the community. Such as land sales in the cases of those who could not speak English.

Evidence of Political Influence:

* Document: The Death of Albert Green, the Last Tutelo Speaker. [28]
* Explanation: Hosting Albert Green demonstrates the community’s efforts to preserve linguistic and cultural heritage, showing the continuity of Powhatan identity. [attachment **Miscellaneous,** **#9**]
* Document: Powhatan Renape receives recognition from the state of New Jersey. [24]
* Explanation: Powhatan Renape’s state recognition shows the separation between the different branches of the original Powhatan Confederacy continuing to maintain their own distinct identities in modern times. [24]
* Documents: Reservation land.
* Explanation: Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

f. 2000 to Present

Political Environment:

* Leaders and Governing Bodies: Leadership has continued to pass hereditarily. However, with most of the elders now deceased there was a vacuum of power. Because of his technical and linguistic background, and ties to Indigenous communities from Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, and more, Ashton James Snow Jefferson (Morris) has taken on the mantle of restoring the Powhatan language.
* Following in the footsteps of the Pamunkey, Ashton wishes to restore the Powhatan Confederacy to its former glory formally with the government.
* Ashton has restored the Powhatan Royal family through genealogical research and has crowned himself Powhatan II to all known and available eligible tribal members remotely (online).
* Political Issues and Activities: The focus is on federal and state recognition, land claims, cultural preservation, and economic development.
* Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution: Decisions are made through formal councils and meetings, with leaders representing the community in legal and political matters.

Evidence of Political Influence:

* Document: Genetic Study Results.
* Explanation: The genetic study conducted by the tribe demonstrates a scientific basis for the community’s Native American ancestry, supporting claims of continuous identity and social cohesion.
* Document: Reservation land.
* Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

**Summary**

The documentation provided for each period demonstrates the Powhatan Confederacy's continuous political influence and authority from 1900 to the present. The consistent presence and acknowledgment of Powhatan leadership through historical records, census data, community references, and genetic studies confirm that the Powhatan Confederacy has maintained its political influence and authority. The collective ownership of over 140 acres in Powhatan, Virginia, further underscores the community’s physical and cultural continuity.

Supporting Evidence for Each Period

1. 1900 to 1919: Marriage Certificates impacted by the 1924 Racial Integrity Act. [34]
2. 1920 to 1939: Census Data from Powhatan, Virginia.
3. 1940 to 1959: Records of migration to New Jersey and establishment of new community institutions.
4. 1960 to 1979: Records of cultural celebrations and community activities.
5. 1980 to 1999: The Death of Albert Green, the Last Tutelo Speaker. [28] [attachment **Miscellaneous,** **#9**]
6. 2000 to Present: Genetic Study Results and records of petitions for recognition. [attachments **Powhatan Genetic Study**]

#### F. Criterion 83.11(d) – Governing document \*

The Constitution of the Powhatan Confederacy, a Constitutional Monarchy

**Preamble**

We, the people of the Powhatan Confederacy, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Powhatan Confederacy.

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**Article I: The Monarchy**

**Section 1: The King or Queen**

1. The executive power shall be vested in a Monarch of the Powhatan Confederacy, known as the King or Queen.

2. The King or Queen shall serve as the head of state for life unless abdicated.

3. The line of succession shall be determined by hereditary descent as established by the royal family.

4. The King or Queen shall take the name Powhatan. Thus making their Native American name and royal title “King Powhatan” or “Queen Powhatan”, however they wish to style themselves.

**Section 2: Powers and Duties**

1. The King or Queen shall:

- Represent the Empire in all diplomatic affairs.

- Have the power to issue royal decrees, provided they do not contradict this Constitution or laws enacted by the Parliament.

- Appoint ministers and other officials with the advice of the Council of Elders.

- The Emperor may issue executive orders at their discretion. These orders do not require prior consultation with the Council of Elders or any other advisory body.

- An executive order remains in effect until it is either rescinded by the Emperor or overturned by a majority vote of the Council of Elders and the House of Delegates.

2. The King or Queen shall open and dissolve the Parliament and summon extraordinary sessions as necessary.

**Section 3: Succession**

**1. Succession of the Emperor**

1.1 **Hereditary Principle**The title of Emperor is hereditary, passed down within the royal family of the Powhatan Confederacy. Succession follows a linear, patrilineal descent, prioritizing the eldest son of the reigning Emperor.

1.2 **Eligibility Criteria**To be eligible for the title of Emperor or King, the successor must:

* Be a direct descendant of the current Emperor.

1.3 **Designation of the Successor**The eldest child of the reigning Emperor or King automatically becomes the successor.

**2. Council of Elders**

2.1 **Role and Composition**The Council of Elders provides wisdom and guidance but does not influence the automatic succession process. It is composed of respected senior members of the tribe who have extensive knowledge of the tribe’s customs, laws, and history.

2.2 **Responsibilities**The Council of Elders is responsible for:

* Supporting the successor in their transition.
* Mediating disputes related to succession if any arise.
* Ensuring that the succession rules are strictly followed.

**3. In Case of No Direct Heir**

3.1 **Alternative Succession**If the Emperor has no direct male or female heir, the title may pass to the next closest relative within the royal family, as determined by the rules of patrilineal descent.

**4. Temporary Leadership**

4.1 **Interim Emperor/King**In the event of the Emperor's sudden incapacity or death, or the monarch is under the age of 30, the previous monarch becomes the regent; if the previous monarch or regent is not available, the legal guardians (if they are enrolled members of the tribe) of the current monarch become regent; otherwise the Vice President shall become the King or Queen regent.

**5. Ceremonial Transition**

5.1 **Inauguration Ceremony**The transition of leadership is marked by a formal inauguration ceremony, which includes traditional rituals and blessings. This ceremony is an important cultural event, symbolizing the continuity of leadership and the tribe’s heritage.

5.2 **Public Declaration**The new Emperor's appointment is publicly declared to the entire tribe, ensuring that all members are informed and can participate in the ceremonial aspects of the transition.

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**Article II: The Legislative Branch**

**Section 1: The Parliament**

1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Parliament of the Powhatan Confederacy, which shall consist of a Council of Elders and a House of Delegates.

**Section 2: The Council of Elders**

1. The Council of Elders shall be composed of five members, appointed by the King or Queen, serving six-year terms.

2. The Council shall advise the King or Queen and have the power to recommend approval or rejection of appointments and royal decrees by a majority vote.

**Section 3: The House of Delegates**

1. The House of Delegates shall be composed of representatives elected by the people, with one representative for every 50 citizens, serving two-year terms.

2. The House shall have the power to propose and pass laws, which must be approved by the King or Queen and the Council of Elders.

**Section 4: Legislation**

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Delegates; but the Council of Elders may propose or concur with amendments.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Delegates and the Council of Elders shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the King or Queen; if the King or Queen approves, they shall sign it, but if not, they shall return it with objections.

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**Article III: The Executive Branch**

**Section 1: The Vice President**

1. There shall be a Vice President of the Powhatan Confederacy, appointed by the King or Queen and approved by the Council of Elders.

2. The Vice President shall assist the King or Queen and perform such duties as may be assigned.

**Section 2: The Cabinet**

1. The King or Queen shall appoint a Cabinet to head various departments, with the advice and consent of the Council of Elders.

2. These ministers shall assist the King or Queen in the execution of laws and the administration of the government.

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**Article IV: The Judicial Branch**

**Section 1: The Supreme Court**

1. The judicial power of the Powhatan Confederacy shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Parliament may from time to time ordain and establish.

2. The judges of both the supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior and shall receive compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

**Section 2: Powers of the Judiciary**

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the Empire, and treaties made under their authority.

2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in cases involving ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a province shall be party. In all other cases, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction.

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**Article V: Rights and Liberties**

**Section 1: Fundamental Rights**

1. All citizens of the Powhatan Confederacy shall be entitled to the following rights:

- Freedom of speech, religion, and assembly.

- The right to a fair trial and due process of law.

- The right to privacy and protection from unreasonable searches and seizures.

- The right to equal protection under the law.

**Section 2: Protection of Rights**

1. The government of the Powhatan Confederacy shall ensure the protection and promotion of these fundamental rights for all citizens.

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**Article VI: Supremacy of the Constitution**

**Section 1: Supreme Law**

1. This Constitution, and the laws of the Powhatan Confederacy which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the Powhatan Confederacy, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every province shall be bound thereby.

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**Article VII: Amendment Process**

**Section 1: Amendment Process**

1. If the population of the Powhatan Confederacy exceeds 1,000 people, amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by a two-thirds majority in both the House of Delegates and the Council of Elders or by a convention called for by two-thirds of the provincial councils.

1b. Proposed amendments must be ratified by three-fourths of the provincial councils or by conventions in three-fourths of the provinces.

2. If the population of the Powhatan Confederacy is less than 1,000 people, amendments may be executed by the King or Queen alone.

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**Article VIII: Population Clause**

**Section 1: Transition to a More Complex Structure**

1. If the population of the Powhatan Confederacy exceeds 1,000 people, a constitutional convention shall be called per 1,000 members to consider amendments that expand the structure of the government to accommodate the larger population, ensuring it remains effective and representative.

#### G. Criterion 83.11(e) – Descent of current members from historical Indian tribe or

#### tribes that combined \*

1. Introduction – Identify the historical Indian tribe or tribes that combined and the historical lists or records naming members of the historical Indian tribe

1. The Powhatan Confederacy demonstrates descent of its current members from historical Indian tribes through extensive genealogical records, historical documents, and oral histories.
2. This criterion is met by identifying specific ancestors from historical tribes and providing evidence of lineage.
3. This criterion is met by identifying specific ancestors connected to modern reservation lands.
   1. Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.
4. The current tribe is made up of descendants from Powhatan, proper: the Powhatan Mayos. They are the descendants of the original Powhatan people.
   1. Please see **Powhatan Genetic study** section of the **Attachments**.
5. The current tribe is made up of descendants from the Powhatan Mohemencho. They are descendants of pre-colonial Powhatan people who mixed with the local original Monacan Mohemencho tribe.
   1. Some of our members like Tyree James Bolden, Belinda Craighead-Coleman, and Reginald Parker share names with Monacans on the Monacan Nation membership rolls. [127]
6. The current tribe is made up of descendants of the Powhatan Tutelo.
   1. The Tutelo were a Sioux tribe. [145]
   2. Some survivors joined the Powhatan [2] or the Saponi, while others escaped Virginia and joined the Sioux and to Canada.
   3. Albert Green, the last speaker of the Tutelo language [28], was found with the Powhatan Mohemencho tribe in 1870. [attachment **Miscellaneous #9**]
7. The current tribe is made up of descendants of the survivors of the Tuskaloosa Province from the unincorporated community, Snow Hill, Alabama.
   1. They were Choctaw speaking Indigenous Americans from Alabama. [146]

2. Description of the current membership list (full names including maiden names, current residential addresses, and full birth dates) and an explanation of the circumstances surrounding its preparation.

1. The list is attached.
2. This list was compiled through community records, genealogical research, and member applications.
3. The list is not exhaustive and other similar peoples may be added or be eligible to apply to join.

3. Description of past membership list(s) and, insofar as possible, an explanation of the circumstances surrounding the preparation of each.

1. Past memberships have included people associated with, such as the case of Albert Green with the Morris (Jefferson) family in Powhatan, Virginia, or blood relatives of Chiefs who owned and maintained reservation land.

4. Explanation of historical lists of members of historical Indian tribe (see II.D. above) and how current members descend from members of the historical Indian tribe.

1. Thomas Jefferson’s 1785 census featured in his “Notes on the State of Virginia. [1]
   1. The Royal Family are descendants of the Powhatan Mayos. They make up the main (endangered) body of the Powhatan Confederacy. [1]
      1. They moved to Powhatan, Virginia from Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia around 1828 with the birth of Morris Mayo.
      2. It appears that the white Mayo family held slaves that were later identified by the Commonwealth of Virginia as “Colored,” meaning they had Native American ancestry. Or at the least took some as concubines. [131] [134] [114]
         1. Thomas Jefferson noted that the Powhatan were mixing with Africans, and eventually became African-passing but retained their culture. [2]
         2. It has been documented that British colonials enslaved Powhatan Indians. [36]
         3. Morris Mayo was a Colored bastard. [34] [131][114]
         4. According to Powhatan Stone, Morris’ legitimate white sisters donated Powhatan stone to the Commonwealth of Virginia. [147]
   2. The Powhatan Mohemencho have never left their ancestral home, despite being excluded from census records and enslaved.
      1. Proof of enslavement: [135].
      2. Please see **Powhatan Genetic Study, attachments #45 – #56**.
   3. The Powhatan Tutelo have never left their ancestral homes, despite being excluded from census records and enslaved.
      1. Proof of enslavement:
         1. Please see **Powhatan Genetic Study, attachment #7**.
   4. The descendants of the Snow Hill Tuskaloosa have never left their ancestral homes, despite being excluded from census records and enslaved.

b. Identify specific members of the historical Indian tribe who are ancestral to the petitioning group’s members

1. Powhatan I [34]
2. Father of Powhatan I [32]
3. Paquiquineo or Opechancanough [33]
4. Pocahontas
5. Onusowa [145]
6. Descendants of Chiefs who have owned and maintained Reservation land.
   1. Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.

c. Provide a breakdown of current members by their claimed ancestors in the historical Indian tribe

1. The Powhatan Confederacy:
   1. Powhatan Mayos [2]
      1. Morris Mayo
   2. Powhatan I [34]
   3. Powhatan I’s father [32]
   4. Paquiquineo or Opechancanough [33]
2. The Powhatan Mohemencho:
   1. Residents of the unincorporated community of Powhatan, Virginia who were labeled Colored by the government. [114]
   2. Ancestors and descendents of Chiefs who bought and maintained reservation land.
      1. Please see the **Reservation Parcels** section of the **Attachments**.
3. The Powhatan Tutelo:
   1. Residents of Virginia who were labeled Colored by the government [114] and hailed from areas where the Tutelo, Manahoac, Saponi, Roanoke, Potawatomi and other Sioux-speaking Monacans, Algonquians, Iroquois, and other Indigenous Americans were historically known to occupy.
      1. This includes those near Powhatan, McDowell, West Virginia.
   2. Chief Onusowa. [145]
4. Snow Hill Tuskaloosa Province
   1. Residents of the unincorporated community of Snow Hill, Alabama and who were labeled Colored by the government. [114]
      1. Survivors of the Choctaw-speaking Indigenous Americans of Alabama.
      2. Please see **Genealogical Records, #22**, section of the **Attachments**.
   2. Cacique Tuskaloosa. [146]
5. Summary:
6. The Powhatan Confederacy lives on with their current King, Ashton. His paternal line combines the Powhatan Mohemencho and the Powhatan Mayos. His maternal line is Powhatan Tutelo and the survivors of the Tuskaloosa Province.

6. Provide current membership list, past membership lists, and current membership files including genealogical charts and evidence:

1. Please see attached 2024 membership roll.
2. Copies of any historical tribal rolls
   1. N/A
3. Copies of any tribal rolls directed by Congress or prepared by the Secretary on a descendancy basis
   1. N/A
4. Copies of all current membership applications and membership files – with each member’s statement of affiliation or non-affiliation with other recognized Indian tribe(s) and voluntarily consent to be a member of this petitioner.
   1. N/A

d. Ancestry Charts (BIA-8304, OMB 1076-0104) depicting each current member’s descent from the claimed historical Indian tribal member(s); alternatively, such charts may be generated from the petitioner’s genealogical program

1. This would be impossible due to the more than 100,000 estimated members we have. We would like eligible members to apply with this information and add them to the tribe formally for the government piecemeal.

e. Individual History Charts (BIA-8305, OMB 1076-0104) for each member showing name, parents, spouse(s), children, and siblings; not required if petitioner provides its genealogical database (see g. below)

1. This would be impossible due to the more than 100,000 estimated members we have. We would like eligible members to apply with this information and add them to the tribe formally for the government piecemeal.

f. Family group sheets for each current member showing parents, spouse(s), and children including birth, death, and marriage dates and places; chart may be generated from the petitioner’s genealogical program

1. This would be impossible due to the more than 100,000 estimated members we have. We would like eligible members to apply with this information and add them to the tribe formally for the government piecemeal.

g. Electronic genealogical database in its original format and in GEDCOM format. The database must include all of the current members and each previous generation linking members to the historical Indian tribe. The group also may include in its database other members of the group who were important members of the community but do not have descendants in the current group (such as, important leaders)

1. This would be impossible due to the more than 100,000 estimated members we have. We would like eligible members to apply with this information and add them to the tribe formally for the government piecemeal.

7. Copies of vital records (birth, marriage, death) or other reliable records that verify each child-to-parent link between the current member and the historical Indian ancestor(s); may be supplemented with copies of Federal or State censuses, tax lists, church records, and other records

1. This would be impossible due to the more than 100,000 estimated members we have. We would like eligible members to apply with this information and add them to the tribe formally for the government piecemeal.

#### H. Criterion 83.11(f) – Membership composed principally of persons not members

#### of any federally recognized Indian tribe

1. Introduction – provide a brief overview of how petitioner meets criterion 83.11(f)

1. None of the estimated more than 100,000 eligible members are members of any federally recognized Indian tribe, to my knowledge. This includes famous actor Edward Norton.

2. Provide written statement

1. None of the estimated more than 100,000 eligible members are members of any federally recognized Indian tribe, to my knowledge. This includes famous actor Edward Norton.

3. Summary

1. None of the estimated more than 100,000 eligible members are members of any federally recognized Indian tribe, to my knowledge. This includes famous actor Edward Norton.

4. Provide applicable supporting evidence such as members’ signed statements asserting their affiliation or non-affiliation with other groups, petitioning groups, or federally recognized Indian tribes (see E.6.c.).

1. None of the estimated more than 100,000 eligible members are members of any federally recognized Indian tribe, to my knowledge. This includes famous actor Edward Norton.

#### I. Criterion 83.11(g) – No congressional legislation that prohibits or terminated the Federal relationship. (OFA’s responsibility; the group has the option of providing a written statement and any documents to support its interpretation)

1. The Powhatan Confederacy, the Powhatan Mohemencho tribe and the Powhatan Tutelo tribe, and the Snow Hill Tuscaloosa tribe nor any of its members have never signed any document that prohibits or terminated the Federal relationship.

#### J. Bibliography – Include information: Author, title, date, number of pages, publisher or location (in archives or personal/group collection; where OFA may view it if a copy cannot be made).

1. Please see **Works Cited**.