

CHAPTER 1

DOCUMENT SET 1

The Lost Colony: The 1590 Relief Expedition and the Fate of the Roanoke Colony

The English first tried to colonize the New World during the Elizabethan era when Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh sponsored North American expeditions. Gilbert's Newfoundland effort ended in 1583 when he died without having established a colony. Raleigh's Roanoke attempts in 1585 and 1587 resulted in colonies, but the settlements were not permanent. These explorations were not in vain, however, as they stimulated an interest in colonization that assured the eventual creation of permanent, New World English colonies.

Raleigh, upon the death of his half-brother Gilbert, took up Gilbert's patent to establish a colony and in 1585 sent one hundred men, including John White, a painter, and Thomas Hariot, a mathematician and historian, to study the land and prepare for a more complete settlement. The adventurers landed at Roanoke Island (just off the coast of present-day North Carolina) and survived there about a year. They explored, gathered information, and eventually reached the decision that the Chesapeake Bay area north of Roanoke should be the site of the next settlement. Difficulty getting adequate food, conflict with the Indians, and bad weather brought the exploratory effort to a premature end.

Less than a year later, in 1587, Raleigh sponsored

another expedition. Better planned, it included well over one hundred men, women, and children under the governorship of John White, the artist who had explored Roanoke earlier. With instructions to establish a colony in the Chesapeake Bay area, the party arrived along the Virginia coast in the middle of July, stopping at Roanoke Island to check on fifteen men left there the previous year (they found no signs of any of the fifteen still living). Instead of proceeding to the Chesapeake, as instructed, the party remained at Roanoke and established a colony. About a month after arrival, White sailed for England to secure more supplies, with the intention of an immediate return; but the encroaching Spanish Armada (1588) and war with Spain prevented another voyage until 1590.

The document below includes portions of John White's account of the 1590 relief expedition, detailing what he found when he again reached Roanoke. After reviewing your textbook's account of the Roanoke colony, examine the document, noting the route taken and the experiences of White and others who made the voyage. Modern historians remain uncertain about the fate of the "lost colony." Do the documents provide any clues to the mystery?

Questions for Analysis

1. Using the document as a guide, trace both the chronology and the route of John White's relief expedition in 1590 from Plymouth, England, to the Roanoke colony and back. How many days did it take White to reach Roanoke and return to Plymouth? Why did he return to England the way he did?
2. En route to Roanoke, the relief expedition was delayed several times. Why? Explain.
3. Discuss the experiences of White and the relief expedition in the Roanoke Island area. How did they proceed? What did they find? What did White assume about his fellow Virginia colonists?
4. How would you explain the fate of Raleigh's lost colony of Roanoke? Compare your textbook's account of the Roanoke colony with White's narrative. Speculate on an explanation for the outcome. Support your view with evidence drawn from White's account.
5. The efforts of neither Sir Humphrey Gilbert nor Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1580s resulted in a permanent English colony in the New World. Despite their failure, what historical significance did their efforts have, and what realities did the fate of the Roanoke colony illustrate? What relationship can you establish between the Roanoke experience and future British colonial efforts? What were the implications of Roanoke for the establishment of meaningful cross-cultural relations?

1. John White's Relief Expedition, 1590

. . . The fift voyage of *Master* Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

The 20 of March the three shippes the *Hope-well*,¹ the *Iohn Euangelist*,² and the *Little Iohn*,³ put to Sea from Plymmouth⁴ with two small Shallops. . . .

On Saturday the 4 [of April] we saw *Alegranza*, the East Ile of the Canaries. . . .

On Munday the 6 we saw *Grand Canarie*, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from *Grand Canary*, and framed our course for *Dominica*.

The last of Aprill we saw *Dominica*, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof. . . .

On the 14 [of May] we departed from *Mona*, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called *Saona* . . . lying on the Southside of *Hispaniola* neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take [attack] some of the *Domingo* fleete

The second of Iuly *Edward Spicer* whom we left in England came to vs at *Cape Tyburon*, accompanied with a small *Pinnesse*, whereof one *Master Harps* was *Captaine*. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of *Santo Domingo*, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselues scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the *Admirall* and the *Moonelight* happened to be together the same night at the fetching vp of the *Vizadmirall* of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our *Viceadmirall*, our *Pinnesse*, and *Prize*, and two *Frigates*, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the *Prize* to be sailed with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we saw *Iamayca* the which we left on our larboord, keeping *Cuba* in sight on our starboord. . . .

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying too and fro betweene the *Matanças* and *Hauana*, we were espied of three small *Pinnasses* of *S. Iohn de Vllua* bound for *Hauana*, which were exceeding richly loaden. These 3 *Pinnasses* came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be *Captaine Harps* pinnesse, and two small *Frigats* taken by *Captaine Harpe*: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, & kept themselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot & powder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, wee might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as *Hauana*: wherefore not finding any of our consorts at y^e *Matanças*, we put ouer again to the cape of *Florida*, & from thence thorow the chanel of *Bahama*. . . .

The 15 of August towards Eueing we came to an anker at *Hatorask*, in 36 degr. and one third, in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile *Raonoak* neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, & *Captaine Cooke*, & *Captain Spicer*, & their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at *Raonoak* where our countrey men were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our *Master gunner* to make readie 2 *Minions* and a *Falkon* well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the *Admirals* boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of *Kindrikers* mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second

¹ Alias the *Harry and John* of London, *Abraham Cocke*, captain, *Robert Hutton*, master, the admiral of the squadron.


² Of London, *William Lane* captain, a pinnace.

³ Alias the *John* of London, *Christopher Newport*, captain, vice-admiral of the squadron. All three belonged to 'John Wattes and Company of London merchants' and held letters of reprisal against the Spaniards from the Lord High Admiral.

⁴ Leaving, it was alleged, their consort, the *Moonlight*, behind.

smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieved vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hilles for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboard with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blew at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore, but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twice or thrise was turned the keele vpward; whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they sunke, & seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselues in deeper water and were saued by Captain Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their ouersetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed vnto them, & saued foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley,

Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we ouershot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland y^e light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwarde many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly ouer against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the Northpoint of the Iland, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden y^t night, and as we entred vp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in Anno 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse  in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with corynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron

sacker-shotte, and such like heauie things, thrown here and there, almost ouergrown with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: where we found fiue Chests, that had been carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed, digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieued me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had sene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our Shippes, with as much speede as we could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning; wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with fiue lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, vnpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates; for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for

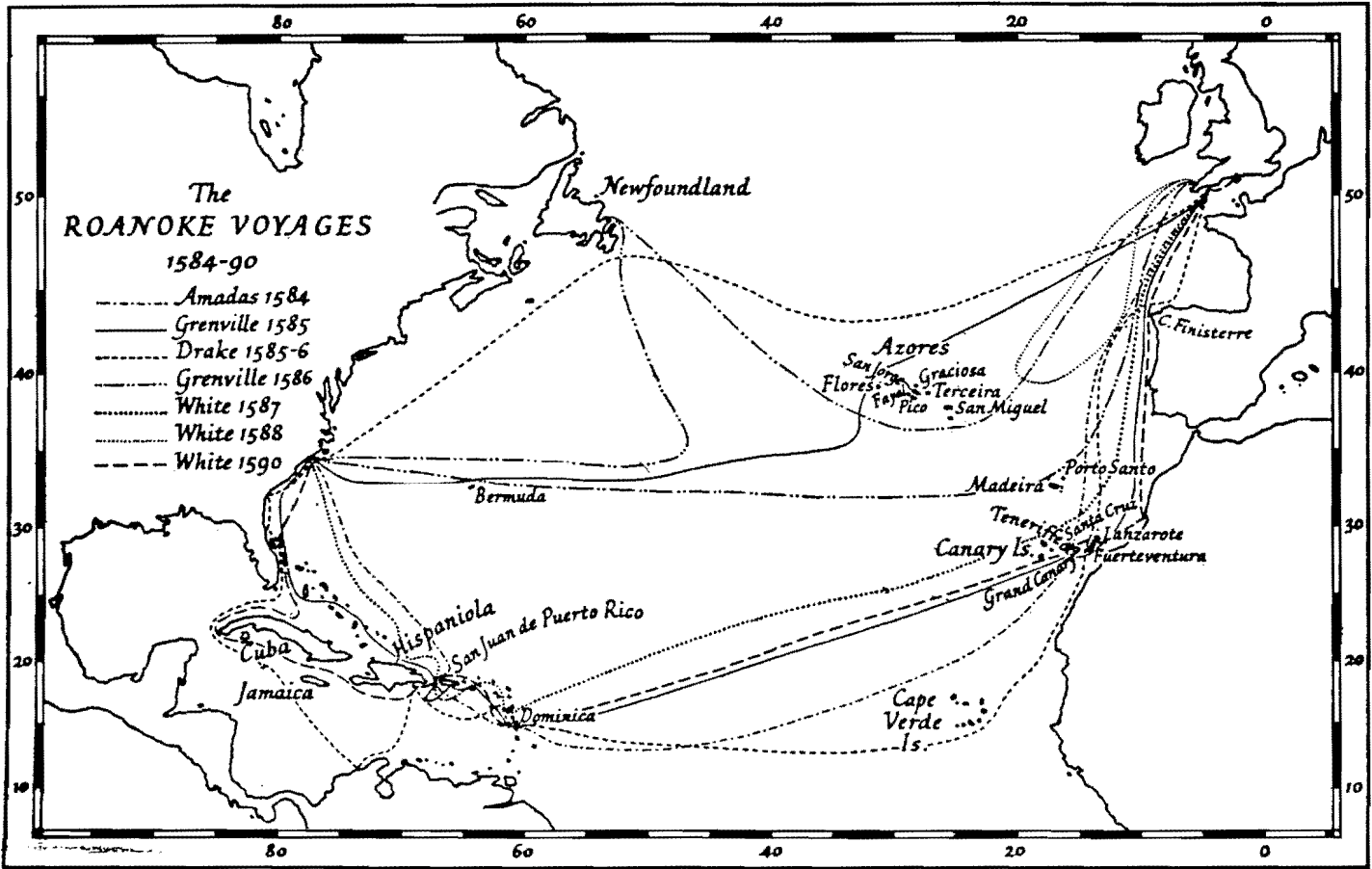
that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor; which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer have gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse; for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countrymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alleged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were dryuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. . . .

The 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vshant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.



2. The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590

Chapter 1:

Document Set 1 References

1. John White's Relief Expedition, 1590
Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages of the English Nation*, III (1600), pp. 288–295.
2. The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590. “The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590” (map), in David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590, Documents to*

Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584, Vol 1 (Lessingdruckerei Wiesbaden, Germany: Hakluyt Society, 1955; rep. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), inset.

CHAPTER 1

DOCUMENT SET 2

Trying Times at Jamestown: The Early Months of the First Permanent English Colony

A generation after the failure of Roanoke Island, the English established a permanent colony in the New World. The colony had a difficult beginning, barely surviving its early years. One hundred forty-four men commanded by Captain Christopher Newport departed England for Virginia in December 1606. One hundred four completed the crossing, reaching the Virginia capes in late April of the next year. A few weeks later, Jamestown was under way, the colonists having located fifty miles up the James River. In June, Captain Newport left for England to replenish supplies and secure more settlers. When he returned in January 1608, only 38 of the colonists were still living. In six short months, more than half had perished, and many of the survivors wanted to return home. *Why?*

The following documents, which recount the Jamestown experience during these early months, help answer the question. Included are selections from George Percy's *Observations* (1607) and John Smith's *General History* (1624). Both men made the initial trip to Jamestown, witnessed events during the critical months, and functioned as important leaders in the colony. Smith was a member of the governing council, presiding as president from September 1608 to September 1609. When the council was first created, however, he was excluded by other members; and in early 1608, Smith was nearly condemned to die by council members who alleged he was responsible for the death

of two men. Although a controversial figure during the early years, many historians accept Smith's personal account of his own central role in the colony's survival. Smith justified dictatorial methods as necessary to obtain provisions from the Indians and to organize and motivate the colonists to work.

Percy faced similar problems as council president from September 1609 to May 1610, during the horrible "starving time" described in your textbook, a period when the population dwindled from some 500 to fewer than 100, and again from March to May of 1611. The writings of these two leaders are among the most important sources available concerning England's first permanent colony in the New World. Compare their observations with your textbook's account of Virginia's origins.

These documents reveal more than the details of the settlers' struggle for survival. They also provide information and insight into the early social and political history of Jamestown. As you study them, determine how the colony's inhabitants worked, lived, governed themselves, and interacted with an alien environment. Be aware of Smith's and Percy's personal reasons for recounting the story of early Jamestown. Make a judgment about their reliability as sources of information on the true character of Virginia society. Finally, use these accounts as resources in developing an explanation for the acute hardship of the colony's early years.

Questions for Analysis

1. What provisions were made for governance in the Jamestown colony? What problems of governance emerged? How were they resolved?
2. Drawing on the evidence in the documents, explain why the Jamestown colonists had such a difficult time in the colony's first seven months. What problems in addition to leadership difficulties confronted them? How did they attempt to deal with these challenges?
3. How did John Smith and George Percy account for the Jamestown colony's survival, despite the problems? What is your evaluation of Smith and Percy as witnesses? Were they in agreement on the "facts"? Explain.
4. What personal experiences did John Smith have en route to the New World and during the first seven months of the colony's existence? According to his account, what role did he play in the colony's early history? Evaluate the accuracy of his narrative. What factors influenced Smith's portrayal of events?
5. In what ways did the native Americans and the colonists interact? Describe and account for the attitude of the colonists toward the Indians. Speculate on the Indians' attitude toward the colonists, using evidence from the documents to support your views. What were the implications of these contacts for the future?

6. Paraphrase the last paragraph of the John Smith selection. What is the meaning of Smith's observation? Why did he conclude with this remark? What is its significance for an understanding of the company's and the colony's internal politics?
7. What do the 1625 population statistics reveal about the quality of life in early Virginia? How does the data illuminate the facts of life in the first stage of colonization?

1. George Percy's Observations on Jamestown's Early Months, 1607

... The sixt of August [1607], there died *John Asbie*, of the bloudie Flixie.

The ninth day, died *George Flowre*, of the swelling.

The tenth day, died *William Bruster* Gentleman, of a wound giuen by the Sauages, and was buried the eleuenth day.

The fourteenth day, *Ierome Alikock*, Ancient [*i.e. Ensign*], died of a wound. The same day, *Francis Midwinter* [died], [and] *Edward Moris* Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, their died *Edward Browne* and *Stephen Galthorpe*.

The sixteenth day, their died *Thomas Gower* Gentleman.

The seuenteenth day, their died *Thomas Mounslie*.

The eighteenth day, there died *Robert Pennington*, and *John Martine* Gentlemen.

The nineteent day, died *Drue Piggase* Gentleman.

The two and twentieth day of August [1607], there died Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, one of our Councill: he was honourably buried, hauing all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot.

After Captaine *Gosnold*'s death, the Councill could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine *Kendall*; which [*who*] afterwards was committed about hainous matters which was proued against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died *Edward Harrington* and *George Walker*; and were buried the same day.

The sixe and twentieth day, died *Kenelme Throgmortine*.

The seuen and twentieth day, died *William Roods*.

The eight and twentieth day, died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September [1607], died *Thomas Iacob* Sergeant.

The fift day, there died *Beniamin Beast*.

Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres; and some departed suddenly: but for the most part, they died of meere famine.

There were neuer *Englishmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered *Virginia*. Wee watched euery three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soeuer came; [and] warded all the next day: which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod[den] in water, to fieve men a day. Our drinke, cold water taken out of the Riuer; which was, at a floud, verie salt; at a low tide, full of slime and filth: which was the destruction of many of our men.

Thus we liued for the space of fieve months [*August* 1607–*8 Jan.* 1608] in this miserable distresse, not hauing fieve able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and out-cries of our sick men without reliefe, euery night and day, for the space of sixe weekes [*? 8 Aug.*–*19 Sept.* 1607]: some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their bodies [being] trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges, to be buried. In this sort, did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies, to releue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie; which was the setting vp of our feeble men:

otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by diuers Kings in the Countrie, bringing vs store of prouision to our great comfort.

The eleuenth day [of *September*, 1607], there was certaine *Articles* laid against Master *Wingfield* which was then President: thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councill. Afterwards Captain *Iohn Ratcliffe* was chosen President.

The eighteenth day [of *September*], died one *Ellis Kinistone*, which was starued [frozen] to death with cold. The same day at night, died one *Richard Simmons*.

The nineteenth day [of *September*], there died one *Thomas Mouton*. . . .

2. John Smith's Impressions of the Jamestown Experience, 1607

. . . Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants ; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Master *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Master *Robert Hunt*, and diuers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents [10 April 1606], gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here ; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia*.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of *England* ; all which time, Master *Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. . . .

— We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica* ; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selues amongst these west-India Isles ; in *Guardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time ; where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn [*Iguana*], Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marri-

ners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land ; so that Captaine *Rat[c]liffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull at night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations ; for never any of them had seene that coast.

The first land they made they called *Cape Henry* ; where thirtie of them recreating themselues on shore, were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously.

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Rat[c]liffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a lury, but determined by the maior part of the Councill, in which the President had two voyces.

Vntill the 13 of May [1607] they sought a place to plant in ; then the Councill was sworne, Master *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councill as the rest.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councill contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents ; some provide clappbord 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 diuers small habita-

tions they passed . . . 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.

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, and 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 Councill, 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 [24 Mar.—10 June 1607, he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commiserations, to referre him to the Councill in *England* to receiue a check, rather than by particulating his designs [to] 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 vttermost of their crueltie ; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress 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 [*Wingfield*] was adiudged

to giue him 200*l.* ; 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 Master *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councel [20 June, or rather on 10 June].

The next day all receiued the Communion, the day following [June 22] the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes ; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 [or rather 22] of Iune 1607. . . .

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortunated that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst vs could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sickness oppressed vs. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this.

Whilst the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for money, Saxefras, fures, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might haue beene canonized for Saints ; But our President [*Wingfield*] would never haue beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private [*i.e., his own use*], Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, *Aquavitæ*, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell ; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes [Dec. 1606—June 1607] in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines ; so that we might truely call it rather so much bran then corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre.

With this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natieue Countrey, or any other place in the world.

From May, to September [1607], those that escaped, liued vpon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnacle by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickness) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him [10 Sept. 1607] ; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead [22 Aug. 1607]) *Kendall* deposed [? Sept. 1607]. *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratcliffe* was by his care preserved and re-

lieued, and the most of the souldiers recovered with the skilfull diligence of Master *Thomas Wotton* our Chirurgian generall.

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages ; when God the patron of all good indevours, in that desperat extremitie so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainly they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits ; first, the fault of our going was our owne, what could be thought fitting or necessary we had ; but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke ; we were at Sea fiue moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time and season to plant, by the vnskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that vnderstood not at all, what they vndertooke.

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing so difficult as to establish a Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither doe well themselves, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

The new President [*Ratcliffe*], 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 [he] (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe [9 Nov. 1607] in the *Shallop* to search the Country for trade. . . .

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 aboard 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 [*Ratcliffe*] and captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which proiect also was curbed, and suppressed by *Smith*. . . .

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 *Comædies* never endured long without a Tragedie. . . .

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith*, to haue concluded with any of those severall proiects, to haue abandoned the Country, with some ten or twelue of them, who were called the better sort, and haue left Master *Hunt* our Preacher, Master *Anthony Gosnoll*, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master *Thomas Wotton*, and some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Country ;) or starue himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging : or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserue the action, and saue all their liues ; I leaue to the censure of all honest men to consider. . . .

3. Virginia Population Characteristics, 1625

*Ages Given for 750 Persons out of 1,210 Living in
January and February, 1625
(Figures in parentheses are percentages)*

Age	Male	Female	All
1-5	30 (4.7)	23 (19.8)	53 (7.1)
6-9	5 (0.8)	9 (7.8)	14 (1.9)
10-15	41 (6.5)	10 (8.6)	51 (6.8)
16-19	81 (12.8)	4 (3.4)	85 (11.3)
20-24	212 (33.4)	32 (27.6)	244 (32.6)
25-29	106 (16.7)	14 (12.1)	120 (16.0)
30-34	65 (10.3)	11 (9.5)	76 (10.1)
35-39	41 (6.5)	5 (4.3)	46 (6.1)
Over 39	53 (8.4)	8 (6.9)	61 (8.1)
Total	634 (100)	116 (100)	750 (100)

Chapter 1: Document Set 2 References

- George Percy's Observations on Jamestown's Early Months, 1607.
Samuel Purchas, ed., *Observations Gathered Out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606: Written by that Honorable Gentleman, Master George Percy* (from Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iv, 1685-1690), in Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith: President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631*, a New Edition, with a Biographical and Critical Introduction by A. G. Bradley, Part I (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), pp. lxxi-lxxiii.
- John Smith's Impressions of the Jamestown Experience, 1607.
John Smith, *The General Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (1624), in Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith: President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631*, a New Edition, with a Biographical and Critical Introduction by A. G. Bradley, Part II (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), pp. 385-389, 391-395, 402.
- Virginia Population Characteristics, 1625.
Patent Books, Virginia State Library, in Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), Table 2, p. 408.

CHAPTER 2

DOCUMENT SET 1

The Clash of Cultures: The Pequot War

When the English established permanent settlements at Jamestown, Plymouth, and Boston, they did not occupy an empty continent. Already the Spanish were present, the French and Dutch were beginning to arrive, and native Americans had been living on the land for centuries. Consequently, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed extensive cultural conflict as the English, other Europeans, and native Americans struggled for control of North America. The English colonists' initial wars focused on the native Americans. The Pequot War of 1637–1638, New England's first, illustrates the issues at stake in these early Anglo-Indian confrontations.

In the middle 1630s, Massachusetts settlers began moving southwest to the Connecticut Valley. With the aid of several of the Massachusetts Bay gentry, John Winthrop, Jr., founded the town of Saybrook near the mouth of the Connecticut River in 1635. The same year Thomas Hooker, pastor of the Newton (Cambridge) Church, and his congregation, who were interested primarily in finding better farmland, received permission from the Massachusetts Court to establish plantations upstream on the Connecticut River. By 1636 the Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield plantations were also under way.

Earlier in 1634, the Pequots had signed a treaty with Massachusetts giving up claim to the Connecticut Valley. Among the native Americans in the area, including Mohegans and Narragansetts, the aggressive Pequots were dominant. As Puritan colonists migrated in,

their relations with the Pequots deteriorated, and reports of Indian raids against the encroaching whites increased. Consequently, Massachusetts sent troops under the command of John Endicott on a pacification mission, an encounter that soon escalated into open warfare.

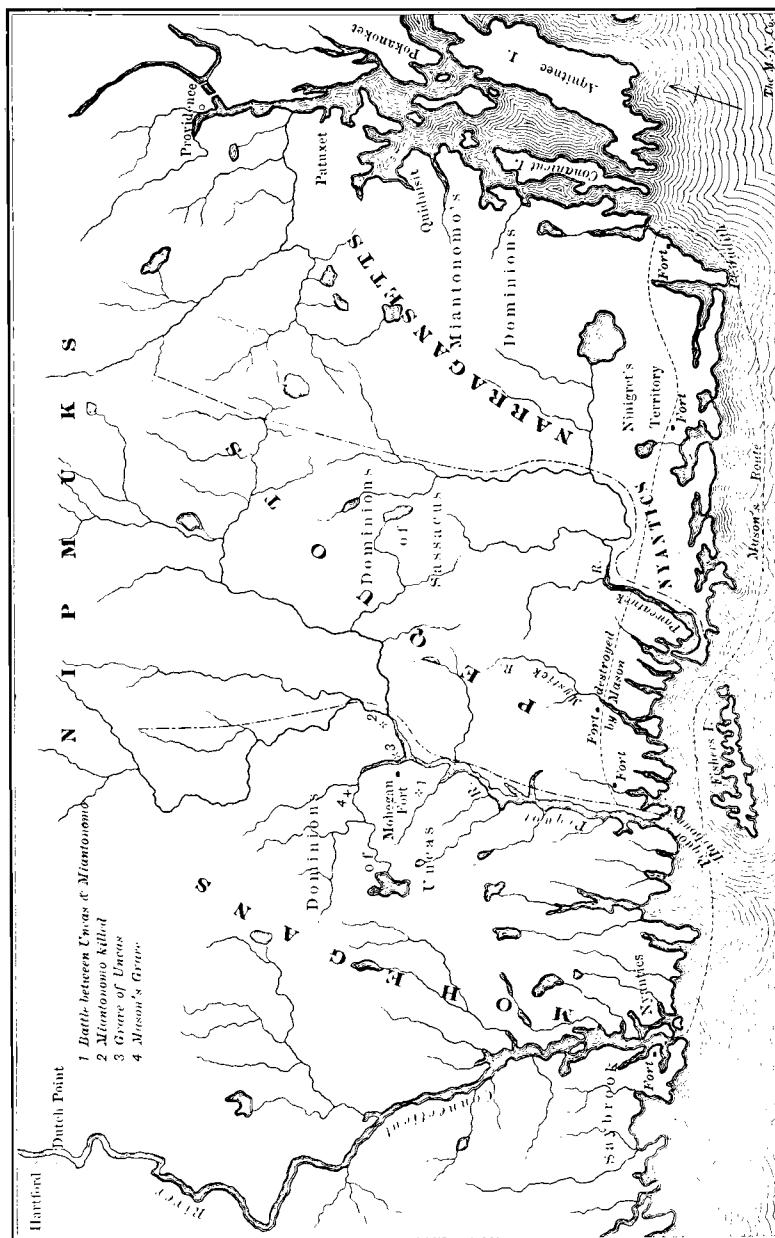
The colonial military subdued the Pequots, who were virtually exterminated. Over 800 were killed, wounded, or captured, whereas the colonists suffered fewer than thirty casualties. The few surviving Pequots were either enslaved or driven from their land to be absorbed by other tribes. An uneasy truce between the remaining Indians and the whites ensued, lasting until King Philip's War in the 1670s.

What follows are excerpts from Major General John Mason's first-hand account of the Pequot War. Mason was then captain of the Connecticut militia and the leader of the attack on the Pequot's Fort Mystic. After the war he was made major general of all Connecticut forces, and from 1660 until his retirement in 1670 he served as the Connecticut deputy governor. This account, not initially intended for print, was made public at the request of the Connecticut General Court and is based on Mason's recollections, rather than on documents. As you study the account, be aware not only of the chronology of events during the war, but also of Mason's interpretation and presuppositions. Think about the significance of the confrontation for the future of white–native American relations on the colonial frontier.

Questions for Analysis

1. What does John Mason's account reveal about him and his intent in relating the narrative? Is the story presented objectively? Is objectivity possible for anyone writing as an historian?
2. What judgments did Mason make about the Pequots as a people? Are they justified by the evidence provided? What assumptions are made about the English colonists?
3. According to Mason, why did the English colonists attack the Pequots? What possible unstated reasons or unconscious motivations may have contributed to the decision to attack? In what way did the Puritans' religious convictions influence their opinions of the Indians? Under the circumstances might the English colonists have adopted a different strategy than the extermination of the Pequots?
4. What reasons did the Pequots have for fighting the English?
5. What role did the Narragansetts play in the war? Why did they side with the English? What were the implications of the Narragansetts' collaboration with the New Englanders?
6. Compare and contrast your textbook's description of the Pequot War with Mason's observations, and identify factual or interpretive differences in the two accounts. What are the correct "facts"? Explain.

1. Connecticut and Rhode Island, 1637



2. A Puritan Account of the Pequot War, 1637

To The Honourable The General Court of Connecticut. Honoured Gentlemen, . . .

I shall endeavour in plainness and faithfulness impartially to declare the Matter, not taking the Crown from the Head of one and putting it upon another. There are several who have Wrote and also Printed at

random on this Subject, greatly missing the Mark in many Things as I conceive. I shall not exempt my self from frailties, yet from material Faults I presume you may pronounce it not Guilty, and do assure you that

if I should see or by any be convinced of an Error, I shall at once confess and amend it. . . .

Judge of me as you please; I shall not climb after Applause, nor do I much fear a Censure; there being many Testimonies to what I shall say I desire my Name may be sparingly mentioned: My principal Aim is that God may have his due praise. . . .

I shall therefore, God helping, endeavour not so much to stir up the Affections of Men, as to declare in Truth and Plainness the Actions and Doings of Men; I shall therefore set down Matter in order as they Began and were carried on and Issued; that so I may not deceive the Reader in confounding of Things, but the Discourse may be both Plain and Easy. . . .

Some Grounds of the War Against the Pequots.

About the Year 1632 one Capt. Stone arrived in the Massachusetts in a Ship from Virginia; who shortly after was bound for Virginia in a small Bark with one Capt. Norton ; who sailing into Connecticut River about two Leagues from the Entrance cast Anchor; there coming to them several Indians belonging to that Place whom the Pequots Tyrannized over, being a potent and warlike People, it being their Custom so to deal with their neighbour Indians; Capt. Stone having some occasion with the Dutch who lived at a trading House near twenty Leagues up the River, procured some of those Indians to go as Pilots with two of his Men to the Dutch: But being benighted before they could come to their desired Port, put the skiff in which they went, ashore, where the two Englishmen falling asleep, were both Murdered by their Indian Guides: There remaining with the Bark about twelve of the aforesaid Indians; who had in all probability formerly plotted their bloody Design; and waiting an opportunity when some of the English were on Shoar and Capt. Stone asleep in his Cabbin, set upon them and cruelly Murdered every one of them, plundered what they pleased and sunk the Bark.

These Indians were not native Pequots, but had frequent recourse unto them, to whom they tendered some of those Goods, which were accepted by the Chief Sachem of the Pequots: Other of the said Goods were tendered to Nynigrett Sachem of Nayanticke, who also received them.

The Council of the Massachusetts being informed of their proceedings, sent to speak with the Pequots, and had some Treaties with them: But being unsatisfied therewith, sent forth Captain John Endicot Commander in Chief, with Captain Underhill, Captain Turner, and with them one hundred and twenty Men: who were firstly designed on a Service against a People living on Block Island, who were subject to the Narragansett Sachem; they having taken a Bark of one Mr. John Oldham, Murdering

him and all his Company: They were also to call the Pequots to an Account about the Murder of Capt. Stone; who arriving at Pequot had some Conference with them; but little effected ; only one Indian slain and some Wigwams burnt. After which, the Pequots grew enraged against the English who inhabited Connecticut, being but a small Number, about two hundred and fifty, who were there newly arrived; as also about twenty Men at Saybrook, under the Command of Lieutenant Lyon Gardner, who was there settled by several Lords and Gentlemen in England. The Pequots falling violently upon them, slew divers Men at Saybrook ; keeping almost a constant siege upon the Place; so that the English were constrained to keep within their pallizado Fort; being so hard Beset and sometimes Assaulted, that Capt. John Mason was sent by Connecticut Colony with twenty Men out of their small Numbers to secure the Place: But after his coming, there did not one Pequot appear in view for one Month Space, which was the time he there remained.

In the Interim certain Pequots about One Hundred going to a Place called Weathersfield on Connecticut; having formerly confederated with the Indians of that Place (as it was generally thought) lay in Ambush for the English; divers of them going into a large Field adjoining to the Town to their Labour, were there set upon by the Indians: Nine of the English were killed outright, with some Horses, and two young Women taken Captives.

At their Return from Weathersfield, they came down the River of Connecticut (Capt. Mason being then at Saybrook Fort) in three Canoes with about one hundred Men, which River of necessity they must pass: We espying them, concluded they had been acting some Mischief against us, made a Shot at them with a Piece of Ordnance, which beat off the Beak Head of one of their Canoes, wherein our two Captives were: it was at a very great distance: They then hastened, drew their Canoes over a narrow Beach with all speed and so got away.

Upon which the English were somewhat dejected: But immediately upon this, a Court was called and met in Hartford the First of May, 1637, who seriously considering their Condition, which did look very Sad, for those Pequots were a great People, being strongly fortified, cruel, warlike, munitioned, &c. and the English but an handful in comparison: But their outrageous Violence against the English, having Murdered about Thirty of them, their great Pride and Insolency, constant pursuit in their malicious Courses, with their engaging other Indians in their Quarrel against the English, who had never offered them the least Wrong; who had in all likelihood Espoused all the Indians in the Country in their Quarrel, had not God by more than an ordinary Providence

prevented: These Things being duly considered, with the eminent Hazard and great Peril they were in; it pleased God so to stir up the Hearts of all Men in general, and the Court in special, that they concluded some Forces should forthwith be sent out against the Pequots; their Grounds being Just, and necessity enforcing them to engage in an offensive and defensive War; the Management of which War we are nextly to relate. . . .

An Epitome or brief History of the Pequot War.

In the Beginning of May 1637 there were sent out by Connecticut Colony Ninety Men under the Command of Capt. John Mason against the Pequots, with Onkos an Indian Sachem living at Mohegan,* who was newly revolted from the Pequots

Upon a Wednesday we arrived at Saybrook, where we lay Windbound until Friday; often consulting how and in what manner we should proceed in our Enterprize, being altogether ignorant of the Country. At length we concluded, God assisting us, for Narragansett, and so to March through their Country, which Bordered upon the Enemy; where lived a great People, it being about fifteen Leagues beyond Pequot

By Narragansett we should come upon 'their Backs, and possibly might surprize them un-awares, at worst we should be on firm Land as well 'as they.' All which proved very successful as the Sequel may evidently demonstrate. . . .

On Friday Morning we set Sail for Narragansett-Bay, and on Saturday towards Evening we arrived at our desired Port, there we kept the Sabbath.

On the Monday the Wind blew so hard at North-West that we could not go on Shoar; as also on the Tuesday until Sun set; at which time Capt. Mason landed and Marched up to the Place of the Chief Sachem's Residence; who told the Sachem, 'That we 'had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our 'coming Armed in his Country sooner; yet not doubting but it would be well accepted by him, there being 'Love betwixt himself and us; well knowing also that 'the Pequots and themselves were Enemies, and that 'he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable 'Wrongs and Injuries these Pequots had lately done 'unto the English; and that we were now come, God 'assisting, to Avenge our selves upon them; and that 'we did only desire free Passage through his Country.' Who returned us this Answer, 'That he did accept of 'our coming, and did also approve of our Design; only 'he thought our Numbers were too weak to deal

with 'the Enemy, who were (as he said) very great Captains 'and Men skilful in War.' . . .

On the Wednesday Morning, we Marched from thence to a Place called Nayanticke, it being about eighteen or twenty miles distant, where another of those Narragansett Sachems lived in a Fort; it being a Frontier to the Pequots. . . .

There we quartered that Night, the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the Morning there came to us several of Miantomo* his Men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our Expedition

On the Thursday about eight of the Clock in the Morning, we Marched thence towards Pequot, with about five hundred Indians . . . And having Marched about twelve Miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a Ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually Fish; there making an Alta, we stayed some small time: The Narragansett Indians manifesting great Fear, in so much that many of them returned

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about three Miles, and came to a Field which had lately been planted with Indian Corn: There we made another Alt, and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy: and being informed by the Indians that the Enemy had two Forts almost impregnable

We then Marching on in a silent Manner, the Indians that remained fell all into the Rear, who formerly kept the Van; (being possessed with great Fear) we continued our March till about one Hour in the Night: and coming to a little Swamp between two Hills, there we pitched our little Camp; much wearied with hard Travel, keeping great Silence, supposing we were very near the Fort; as our Indians informed us; which proved otherwise: The Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant: The Night proved Comfortable, being clear and Moon Light: We appointed our Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance; who heard the Enemy Singing at the Fort, who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed: They seeing our Pinnaces sail by them some Days before, concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them; the Burthen of their Song tending to that purpose.

In the Morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowed the Men with all

* Onkos: usually called Uncas, the Great Sachem of the Moheags.

* Miantomo: He was usually called Miantonimo the Great Sachem of the Narragansett Indians.

expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to God, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the Indians shewing us a Path, told us that it led directly to the Fort. . . . Then Capt. Underhill came up, who Marched in the Rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our Men: There being two Entrances into the Fort, intending to enter both at once: Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East Side; who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishmen! We called up our Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado; the Indians being in a dead indeed their last Sleep: Then we wheeling off fell upon the main Entrance, which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the Captain passed, intending to make good the Entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavoured to enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so entred, and with him about sixteen Men: We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entred a Wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their Beds: The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The Captain facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: The Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner: The Captain also said, We must Burn them; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the Fort was thoroughly

Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the Fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued. . . .

Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatning and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the English, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very Night before this Assault, One hundred and fifty Men from their other Fort, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate: They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one Hour's space was their impregnable Fort with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of six or seven Hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.*

Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded: Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning, and the want of such Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such a Case

And was not the Finger of God in all this? . . . What shall I say: God was pleased to hide us in the Hollow of his Hand; I still remember a Speech of Mr. Hooker at our going aboard; That they should be Bread for us. And thus when the Lord turned the Captivity of his People, and turned the Wheel upon their Enemies; we were like Men in a Dream; then was our Mouth filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Singing; thus we may say the Lord hath done great Things for us among the Heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord!

I shall mention two or three special Providences that God was pleased to vouchsafe to Particular Men; viz. two Men, being one Man's Servants, namely,

* The place of the Fort being called Mistick, this Fight was called Mistick Fight: And Mr. Increase Mather, from a Manuscript he met with, tells us; It was on Friday, May 26. 1637, a memorable Day!

John Dier and Thomas Stiles, were both of them Shot in the Knots of their Handkerchiefs, being about their Necks, and received no Hurt. Lieutenant Seeley was Shot in the Eyebrow with a flat headed Arrow, the Point turning downwards: I pulled it out myself. Lieutenant Bull had an Arrow Shot into a hard piece of

Cheese, having no other Defence: Which may verify the old Saying, A little Armour would serve if a Man knew where to place it. Many such Providences happened; some respecting my self; but since there is none that Witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

**Chapter 2:
Document Set 1 References**

1. Connecticut and Rhode Island, in Charles Orr, ed., *History of the Pequot War: The Contemporary Accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent and Gardner* (Cleveland: The Helman-Taylor Co., 1897; rep., New York: AMS Press, 1980), frontispiece.
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