

THE BEGINNING OF A NATION.*

BY EDWARD EGGLESTON.

ENGLISH NOTIONS OF AMERICA AT THE * TIME OF SETTLEMENT.

THE age of Elizabeth and James was a new point of beginning in the history of the people who speak English. The revival of learning, the invention of printing, and the reformation of religion, had awakened the men of that time to unprecedented intellectual activity, while the discovery of America by Columbus, and the dazzling adventures of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, had profoundly stimulated their imaginations. At this period of renaissance, English literature found the glory of a magnificent spring-time in Shakspeare and the group about him; the principles of modern scientific investigation were first formulated in the writings of Lord Chancellor Bacon, while men of action were everywhere set upon deeds of adventure and discovery. The world had regained the vigor and spontaneity of its youth. Much, also, of youthful credulity and curiosity it had at the same time, delighting in marvelous stories the more in proportion to their incredibility. Books of travel suited the prevailing taste; the great black-letter folios of Hakluyt's *Voyages* and "Purchas His Pilgrims," were favorite literature with those who could afford to buy them, and the popular taste was gratified by little fly-leaf publications and pamphlets, describing remarkable voyages and remote countries, with the strange peoples and animals inhabiting them. After the austerities and other-world speculations of the middle age, the jocund earth had been newly discovered by its inhabitants, and men were as full of knightly fervor in efforts to redeem the remote parts of the world from the oblivion of human ignorance as they had been before to recover Jerusalem from the infidel.

America was discovered in the first instance because it lay between Europe and India by the westward route, and Columbus, seeking the less, found the greater by stumbling upon it in the dark. Most of the succeeding explorers of the American coast regarded the continent chiefly as an obstruction. Purchas suggests that it might rather be called Cabotia than America, since Cabot, the famous pilot, under the patronage of Henry VII. of England, visited North America in 1497, before Columbus or Amerigo Vespucci saw the main-land of South America. But Cabot meant to find no other land but China, and thence to turn toward India, and he sailed along the American coast, not exulting in that he was first finder of a great and fertile continent, the future home of nations, but "ever with the intent to find said passage to India."

For a century the notion of a passage to the Pacific by means of some undiscovered strait severing the continent of America possessed the minds of navigators and geographers, and promoted discovery; though the hope of finding such a passage, and of coming thus into a new and rich commerce, blinded the adventurers to the real value of America, and retarded colonization. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth this South Sea theory had become a superstition, probably from the belief that in 1524, Verrazano, in sailing down the eastern coast of America, in the employ of Francis II. had seen in latitude 40° a narrow isthmus about five miles wide, with the ocean beyond it. This isthmus was incorporated into some of the maps of the sixteenth century, and Verrazano's sea, as a part of the Pacific, is shown upon charts published long after the discoveries on both coasts of America had rendered it impossible. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who spent and lost his life in the exploration of the American

* This paper is one of several intended to form together "A History of Life in the Thirteen Colonies." These papers will appear in this magazine, though not of necessity in consecutive numbers, since each will be upon a different topic and of independent interest. It is not advisable to cumber a magazine page with multitudinous references to authorities. I regret that the exigency of the present form prevents me from giving credit in all the cases in which I happen to be indebted to living writers, and particularly where my obligation is to the industrious special student. For the most part, however, I have drawn direct from books, tracts, letters, documents, and records the writers of which were contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events narrated, and I have not intentionally neglected any authority within my reach in the endeavor to make the work accurate as to fact and truthful in generalization. It is not possible that I have wholly escaped error, and I will be grateful to any one who will point out, in public print or by private communication, any slip in matter of fact or detail.—E. E.

coast, wrote a treatise to prove "that there is a passage on the north side of America to go to Cataia, China, and to the East Indies," and this he demonstrated elaborately, first, by authority; secondly, by reason; thirdly, by experience of sundry men's travels; and fourthly, by circumstance. But, though the argument was so exhaustive, devout Sir Humphrey sailed in vain through the cold Newfoundland seas to find a way to China, as others did about the same time,—Sir Martin Frobisher, for instance, who was so possessed with this one thought that he believed the discovery of the north-west passage to be "the only thing of the world that was yet left undone, by which a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate."

The failure—often disastrous—of the many explorers of the sixteenth century to find a quick passage through America to China, did not lessen the hopes of the English. No matter how difficult the voyage to China by the north-west, "it will become as plausible as any other journey if our passenger may return with plenty of silver, silkes and pearle," jauntily writes Richard Willes in 1577. But the most remarkable setting forth of the general faith of learned cosmographers on the subject is found in the "Discourse on Western Planting," written in 1584, by that great advocate of American colonization, the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, apparently for the express purpose of persuading the miserly Queen Elizabeth to aid in sending forth colonies. He tells his readers that a man of St. Malo had, that very year, according to report, discovered the sea "on the backside of Hochelaga,"—the island on which Montreal now stands,—and quotes the report which Jacques Cartier heard from the Indians at Montreal, of a river navigable three months to the southward, by which we clearly recognize the Mississippi. But Hakluyt thinks that this report confirms not a little the existence of the South Sea in that vicinity. Not only is the Mississippi transmuted into a tributary of the Pacific in this argument, but the great Laurentian lakes suffer a sea-change as well, for the Indians, he says, had told Cartier of a sea of fresh water beyond Montreal, "the head and end of which was never man found that had searched." Hakluyt also has recourse to old maps, and thus reveals to us the geographical ignorance of his time. The King of Portugal had shown him "a great olde round carde," that had the north-west strait plainly set down in latitude 57°. He had also seen "a mightie large old map in parchment," traced all along the coast with Italian names, which map showed in latitude 40° a little neck of land "much like the streyte neck or isthmus of Darienna." On an old globe in the Queen's

privy gallery at Westminster, he had seen the same isthmus, "with the sea joyning hard on both sides, as it doth on Panama," and adds: "which were a matter of singular importance, if it should be true, as is not unlikely." In another paper, Hakluyt mentions, under his breath, the proximity of the South Sea to Florida, and says that it is not good that the report be made too common!

Nor did the South Sea delusion vanish when the period of colonization was reached. Ralph Lane, the governor of Raleigh's first plantation on the Island of Roanoke, having probably inquired of the savages for some trace of that sea which Hakluyt had seen so plainly laid down "on the mightie olde mappe in parchment," was told by the inventive savages that the Roanoke River sprang from a rock so near to a westward sea, that the waves in time of storm often dashed into this fountain, making the river brackish for some distance below. They mentioned at the same time that there was gold there, and that the walls of a town in that land were made of pearls. Nothing dispirited by the extravagance of these tales, Lane and some of his men, like boys seeking the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow, set out to immortalize and enrich themselves by ascending the Roanoke to find the Pacific Ocean, the Indians meantime plotting the destruction of the colonists left behind. Lane and his followers pursued their quest until they were obliged to eat their dogs, and then returned fasting, just in time to rescue the colony from destruction. But Lane went back to England believing that the Roanoke rose near to the Bay of Mexico "that openeth out into the South Sea," and the map of the country which the colony brought back shows a strait leading into the Pacific from Port Royal.

The Jamestown colonists were gravely instructed to explore that branch of any river that lay toward the north-west—perhaps because the charmed latitude of 40° might be reached in this way. The colonists were especially to ascend any river running out of a lake, in hope of finding another river having its head in the same lake and "running the contrary way toward the East India Sea." Even John Smith could not but hope that his second exploration of the Chesapeake might lead him into the Pacific. This notion of a passage into the South Sea in latitude 40°, just north of the limit of his own explorations, Captain Smith communicated to his friend Henry Hudson, who was so moved by the information that he sailed to America in direct violation of his orders, and it was in seeking the passage to the Pacific that he penetrated the solitudes of the beautiful river that bears

his name, and perished the next year in the great northern bay which is a second memorial to his courage.

In a time of such ignorance of geography on the part of learned men, when America was not so well known as the antarctic continent is to-day, popular notions of the lands to be colonized were yet more strange. New England was long believed to be an island and the same notion prevailed regarding Virginia. Ten years after Jamestown was settled we find Captain Smith assuring his readers that "Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine), but part of the continent adjoining to Florida." Official ignorance was probably the last to yield, for almost a century after the beginning at Jamestown, and when almost the whole eastern margin of America had been planted with prosperous English colonies, an order of the Privy Council appointed Dudley Digges a member of the council of the "island of Virginia."

As the mistake made by Columbus, through the common misapprehension in his time of the size of the earth, had left behind an almost ineradicable passion for a way to Japan and China through the American continent, so the vast treasures of gold and silver, which the avaricious Spaniards had drawn from Mexico and Peru, produced a belief in the English mind that a colony planted anywhere in America would find gold. Here, too, the geographer Hakluyt, and many others were ready with ingenious and learned deductions from very slender premises. If an Indian had been seen wearing a head-piece of copper which "bowed easily," this flexibility proved it to be tarnished gold. If a savage told a voyager that the copper of a certain country was too soft for use, was somewhat yellow, or was of a good luster, it was enough to demonstrate that the country was rich in the precious mineral. The geographer Purchas even expounds the divine purpose in thus endowing a heathen land with gold,—that the Indian race might, "as a rich bride, but withered and deformed, * * * find many suitors for love of her portion," and thus the pagans be converted. Again and again ships were laden with shining earth or worthless stones, believed to contain gold even by the clumsy goldsmiths who were sent with the explorers as assayers or experts. The seekers after South Sea passages brought home ship-loads of glittering earth from arctic islands,—"fool's gold," as the mineral is now called. Captain Newport well-nigh ruined the Jamestown plantation by consuming its supplies while he took a lading of the "dust-mica," so abundant in the Virginia sands. One of the earliest of the documents relating to the planting of colo-

nies, in the English State Paper Office, is the fragment of a report about America, made in 1580, the extravagance of which puts burlesque out of countenance. The American women are spoken of as "wearing great plates of gold covering their whole bodies like armour." "In every cottage" pearls were to be found, "and in some houses a peck. About the bar of St. Maries"—perhaps the Chesapeake, so called at that time—are to be seen fire-dragons, "which make the air very red as they fly." In these we recognize the fire-fly, while the buffalo is no doubt intended by an animal "as big as two of our oxen." But these faint resemblances to truth vanish quickly when we learn that the streets in this region are broader than the London streets, that there are banqueting-houses built of crystal, with pillars of massive silver and some of gold. "Pieces of clean gold as big as a man's fist are found in the heads of some of the rivers; there are also iron and silk-worms in abundance, and one mountain, thirty leagues farther northward, is very rich in mines."

The proposed conversion of the natives to Christianity was often a cloak to more selfish enterprises, but religious zeal was also an active motive at the time of the first planting of North America. Europeans regarded the Indians sometimes as sun-worshippers, but more commonly as worshippers of Satan himself, who, through the conjuring of the pow-wow, gave them knowledge of distant and future events, and frequently appeared to them visibly, either as a calf, or in some other beastly form.

The early explorers, from the time of Cabot, had a habit of kidnapping Indians without scruple, and transporting them to England, where the sight of such barbarians served to quicken greatly the interest in American adventures and colonization, and particularly to awaken a philanthropic desire to civilize and Christianize a people who were so benighted as not to wear trowsers. The Indian man and woman taken over by Frobisher excited great attention, and pictures of them were made for the queen and others. When Weymouth, on his return from the coast of Maine, in 1605, brought into Plymouth five kidnapped Indians, with "all their bows and arrows," and with two beautiful birch canoes, Sir Ferdinando Gorges took them into his own custody, and joyfully declared that "this accident had been the means of putting life into all our plantations." In our age of great commercial activity and extended geographical knowledge one can form but a weak conception of the excitement caused by Weymouth's reports, and

especially by the appearance of these outlandish creatures of another world. Other savages were brought, and some of these were exhibited for money. One of them was, perhaps, shown after he had died, if we may guess the fact from Shakspeare's contemptuous sneer at the idle curiosity and far-away philanthropy of the crowd, in Trinculo's assertion that, in England, "any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." Out of this interest in savages, no doubt, the fertile invention of the poet evoked the monster Caliban. One Indian thus brought away to England from Cape Cod, by a curious fate, "went a soldier to the wars of Bohemia"; another, from Martha's Vineyard, invented a gold mine, and, on going back to show the way to it, jumped off the ship and escaped.

The animals of America excited equally the wonder of the people in England, and no stories were so easily credited as extravagant ones. It was reported that the progress of Cabot's ships had been retarded by the multitude of codfish he had encountered off the American coast, and that the Newfoundland bears caught these fish "with their claws," and drew them to shore to eat them. King James's favor was won by a present of two living young alligators and a wild boar, and he was childishly eager to possess some of the flying-squirrels that had been introduced into English parks from Virginia. The flying-squirrel, the opossum, and the humming-bird were long considered the great wonders of America, and there was no end to the marvelous stories about them. It is hard to recognize the opossum, in one of the earliest descriptions, of "a monstrous deformed beast, whose forepart resembled a fox, the hinder part an ape, excepting the feet, which were like a man's; beneath her belly she hath a receptacle like a purse, wherein she bestows her young until they can shift for themselves." The humming-bird, on the highest authority, is declared to be a cross between a fly and a bird; the Dutch on the North River called it simply "the West India bee." They were prepared for exportation to Europe, in the New Netherlands by drying, and in Barbadoes by stuffing with fine sand and perfumery. They were considered in Europe "pretty delicacies for the ladies, who wore them at their breasts and girdles." The dogs of the Indians were said to be snouted like foxes, and were supposed to be quite unable to bark, though they could howl. The muskrat was expected to furnish musk, and the mathematician Hariot believed that the civet-cat would become a source of profit

to planters in America, but his description of the animal points to the skunk, whose perfume has never yet come into request. Some of the earliest authors speak of the raccoon as an ape. But the wild hogs of America were the strangest of all, for they "have their navels upon the ridge of their backs," says Purchas. So great was the number of new creatures revealed by the discovery of America, that European scholars were worried to get them all into the limits of Noah's ark.

The glimpses we have given here of the state of knowledge about America existing in England at the period of colonization, not only give an insight into some of the motives that prompted the planting of English communities in the New World, but also enable us to form a notion of some traits of English character at the time, and throw a light forward upon the early history of the American colonists. Out of an England stirred by the new-born intellectual life of modern times, and producing great poets, philosophers, statesmen, and adventurers, but still clinging tenaciously to the childish romances and superstitions of the middle ages, came the beginners of the new nation, such as the pleasure-seeking planters of Virginia, the rigorists of New England, and the philanthropic enthusiasts of Pennsylvania. Under every guise of sect and opinion there was present the wonder-loving, credulous, and aggressive Englishman of that age of seething religious and intellectual reaction. The mutually repellant Churchmen, Puritans, Papists, and Quakers, who spread themselves into separate communities along the wilderness coast of North America in the seventeenth century, had really more in common than they had of difference.

II.

RALEGH AND THE ROANOKE COLONIES.

IF one might believe the doubtful anecdote in which Walter Raleigh wins the favor of the queen by spreading his cloak to enable her to cross dry-shod the mud of the Strand, he might be said in that act to have made a bridge for English colonists to traverse the Atlantic; for, without the help of Raleigh's bold imagination, adventurous spirit, and statesmanlike foresight, there would hardly have been an English settlement in North America. In that time the difficulty of planting colonies was greater than we can well conceive. The elements of success were not yet understood; there was no recorded experience for a guide; gentlemen, soldiers, ecclesiastics,

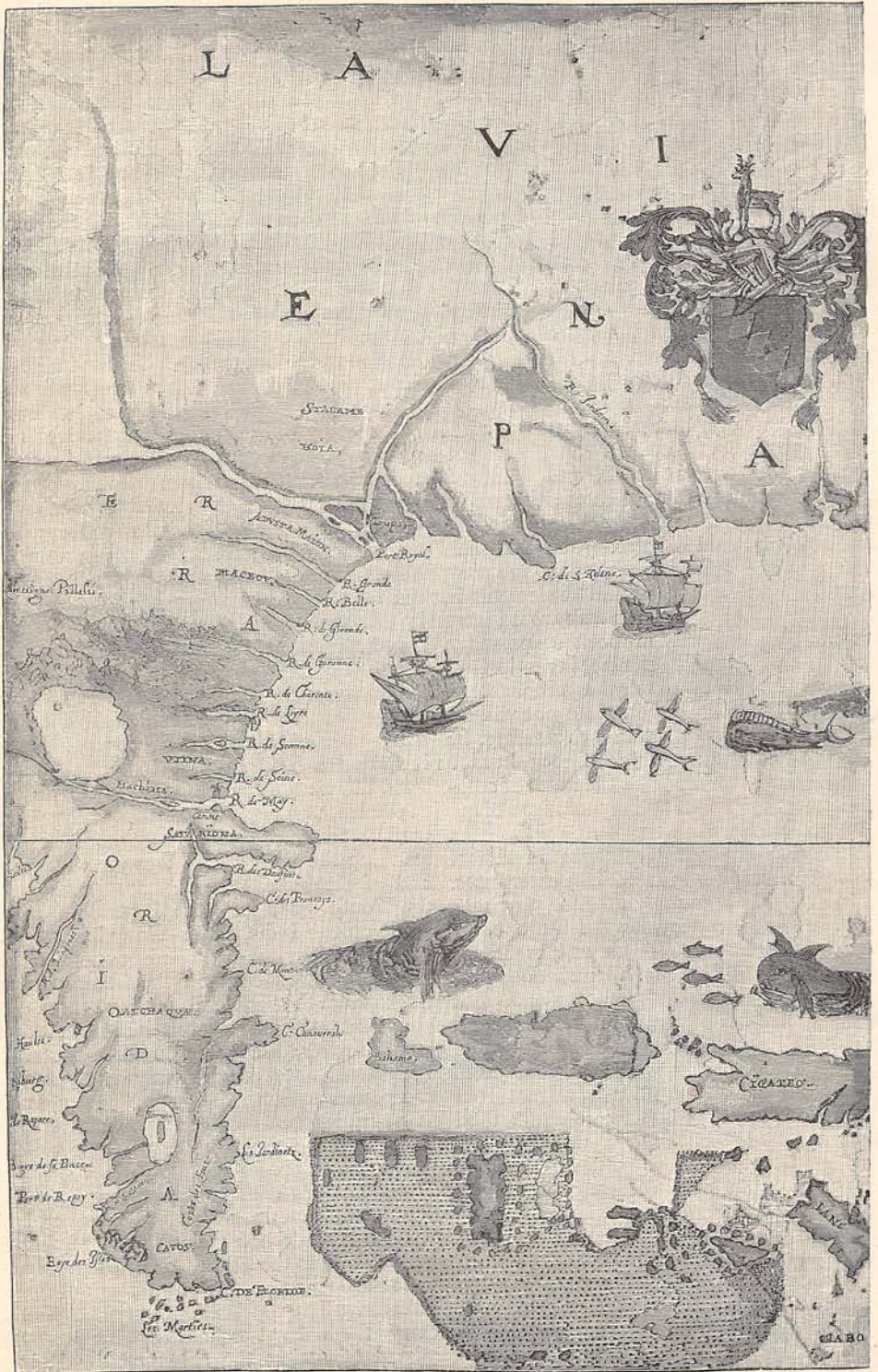
and gold-seekers, were sent out in most of the early European colonies, instead of farmers and laborers. Then, too, England was not yet the great commercial nation and dominant maritime power she has since become, but was a small and backward state, whose resources were undeveloped, and whose little ships were ill-adapted to make the perilous voyage across the Atlantic; moreover, all her sea-ventures must run the gauntlet of danger from the hostility of Spain, whose powerful armaments bullied English commerce and preyed upon English shipping. The people of that time, overcrowded as they were, did not understand the true benefits of colonization, and Englishmen were loth to move from home, except when they had a prospect of immediate wealth from mines or conquests. The lucky fortunes amassed by the piratical warfare carried on against Spanish commerce turned men's heads, and Raleigh's schemes were more than once overthrown by the avidity of his agents to engage in the plundering of Spanish ships. John Smith, in allusion to the difficulty he had in inducing men to undertake agricultural settlements in New England, says that his task would have been easy had his design been to persuade them to a gold mine or new invention, to reach the South Sea, to despoil a monastery, capture rich caracks, or rob some poor fishermen. People who engage in privateering, he adds, "do not seek the common good, but the common goods." Unluckily, the habit of seeking the common goods had demoralized many of the bravest spirits in England.

The character of the queen was an almost insuperable obstacle to American enterprises. Her policy was admirably adapted to check and wear out her enemies in Europe, by delays, intrigues, threats, promises, deceptions, and a steady avoidance of all ambitious projects beyond the bounds of England. But this politic evasion of risks and ventures, and the invincible stinginess of Elizabeth, were main hinderances to success in colonization. She was willing enough that her adventurous and patriotic subjects should consume their estates in plantations beyond the seas; she was lavish in cheap encouragement; she even sent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert "an anchor guided by a lady," whatever that may have been, when he sailed on his fatal voyage; but Gilbert died in the vain hope that the Queen might be induced to contribute a paltry ten thousand pounds toward founding a colony, an enterprise which "required a prince's purse to have thoroughly carried out." She graciously accepted the adroit flattery of Raleigh in naming the American coast Virginia for her as a "virgin queen," but the godmother of

Virginia "contributed nothing to its education," as was wittily said at the time.

When a young man, Raleigh served in the French civil wars, on the side of the Huguenots, as one of a body of gentlemen volunteers, led by a kinsman of his own. He had opportunity, at that time, to hear of the charms of Florida from those who had escaped destruction in the ill-fated Huguenot colony at Fort Caroline. He brought to London with him, and maintained at his own expense, Le Moyne, the artist, who had fled out of that fort into the wilderness the night of the Spanish massacre, and whose curious sketches of the tattooed Florida Indians are now to be seen in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, some of these we shall reproduce in future papers of this series. It was, perhaps, by the accounts that he had heard from the Huguenots that Raleigh was led to seek a location for his own colonies far to the south of the region explored by Frobisher and Gilbert, and certainly the change from Newfoundland to the coast of North Carolina and Virginia was a long step toward success.

In 1585, explorations having been made in the preceding year, Sir Walter sent out his first plantation under Ralph Lane. This colony deserved success far more than the ill-contrived expedition to Jamestown. It was in every way well-appointed, and contained many men of sagacity and courage. Raleigh instituted a healthy private interest from the start, in granting five hundred acres of land, at the least, to every man in the colony "only for the adventure of his person." Notwithstanding the unfortunate location on the Island of Roanoke, the wild-goose chase after the South Sea, and the imprudent attack made on the Indians, the colony had actually taken root, having, in despair of supplies from England, sowed corn on the island. In two weeks more the people would have eaten of an abundant American harvest, had not that valiant sea-rover, discoverer, and free-booter, Sir Francis Drake, on his way back from a prosperous sacking of Spanish towns in the West Indies, bethought him to visit his countrymen, the English colony in Virginia, in obedience to orders given him by the queen. Upon Drake's coming, and after the misadventure of a storm, which drove some of his vessels to sea, among which was one that he had allotted to the colony, the whole company were seized with a panic, or a frenzy of homesickness. They prevailed upon Drake to carry them to England again, and thus missed of seeing the ship sent by Raleigh, which arrived fifteen days later with supplies. Thus ended the first attempted settlement, in which were engaged such men as Thomas



MAP OF SOUTHERN PART OF ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, SHOWING THE STRAIT LEADING FROM PORT ROYAL TO THE SOUTH

Hariot, the distinguished mathematician, Thomas Cavendish, afterward renowned as a circumnavigator of the globe, and John White, a clever artist. Hariot wrote an account of the country and its products, on his return.

preserved in health." The colonists, he says, "learned to suck it after their manner," and they kept up this habit upon their return to England, "having found many virtues in it." Not only many men, but also "women of great calling," and learned physicians, had adopted it at the time of his writing.

John White, the artist of the expedition, who became governor of the second colony, made some admirable drawings of the Indians, which give us the first graphic representations of American savages made from life, and the only true pictures of the Indians of the coast between Pennsylvania and Florida. Some of these were reproduced on copper, with only moderate accuracy, in De Bry's famous *Voyages*, published in 1599, and have been thence copied into innumerable later works. In 1865, the very striking original drawings were discovered and they are now safely housed in the Grenville Collection of the British Museum, through the courtesy of whose officers we are able to reproduce a portion of them from photographs, as illustrations to the present series of papers.

Sir Richard Grenville, who arrived later than the supply-ship, was disappointed to find the colony deserted by those who had been transported thither with so much expense and trouble. He left fifteen men, with provisions for two years, to hold the country. But when Grenville came back the next year with more than a hundred settlers, these fifteen, having been attacked by a superior force of Indians, who killed one of them and burned their supplies, had fled away by boat, to meet a fate unknown.

The new colony also ended in darkness. Raleigh, having perceived that an island without a harbor, on a coast so



AN INDIAN CONJURER. (FROM JOHN WHITE'S ORIGINAL DRAWING, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

stormy as that near Cape Hatteras, was not a suitable place, had ordered them to establish the "city of Raleigh in Virginia," at Chesapeake,* but these orders were disobeyed, the seamen being very hungry for Spanish booty, and unwilling to carry them farther than Roanoke Island. Here was born, soon after their landing, Virginia Dare, the first English native of America. The governor, John White, on the entreaty of the colonists, went back to England for supplies, where he found the whole nation in a panic and uproar on account of the threatened Spanish invasion, so that his ships, with all others of force, were detained in har-

In this he describes at length the virtues of a plant which the Indians called *uppowoc*, but which took in Europe the Spanish name tobacco. He expatiates particularly on the esteem in which it was held by the natives, tells how it was sprinkled in their fish-weirs for good luck, and how it was considered an offering worthy of the acceptance of their gods in times of danger or thanksgiving;—"they think their gods marvellously delighted therewith," he says. He describes the manner in which the Indians were accustomed to take "the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it through pipes made of clay into their stomach and head, from whence it purgeth superfluous steam and other gross humors, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body*** whereby their bodies are notably

* The map drawn by White, which we reproduce on another page from the original, shows that Chesapeake, or *Chesepieuc*, was an Indian village just inside Cape Henry.

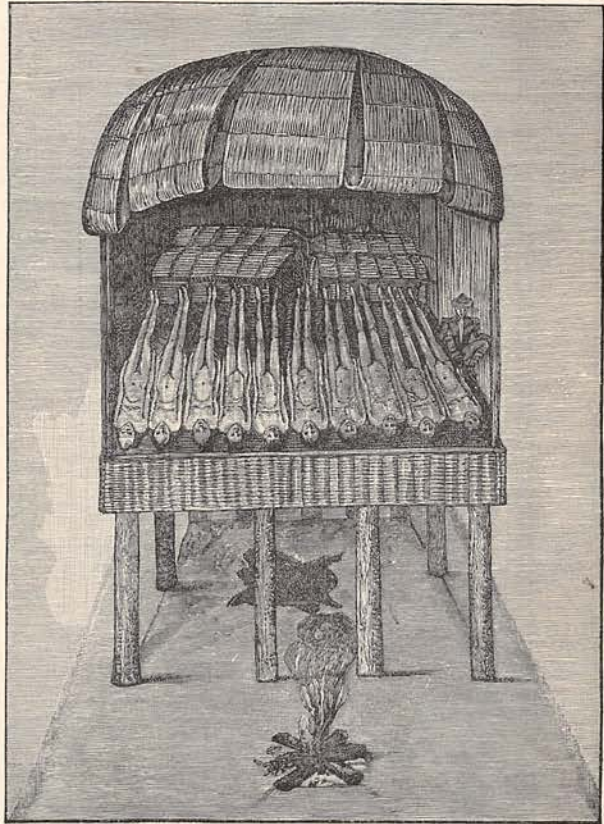
bor by the queen's order; and when at last two small barks were allowed to depart, they ran after prizes and came back stripped by French war-ships which they had encountered. At this point Raleigh found his means impaired. He had spent forty thousand pounds in American experiments, and vast sums in colonizing estates which the queen had granted him in Ireland. He therefore transferred his patent to a company of "merchants and adventurers," who undertook to care for and carry on the Roanoke colony, while he gave himself with his usual energy and daring to the defence of England against Spain. When the famous armada entered the Channel he hung upon its rear, harassing the cumbrous Spanish great galleons in an agile English man-of-war whose alert movements were compared to "a morrice dance upon the sea."

The ships of John White departed a year later, and for awhile, as a matter of course, gave themselves to profitable privateering, after which, being eager to seek yet other rich prizes in the West Indies, and having lost a boat-load of men in landing on the stormy coast, they made but a feeble search for the colonists, of whom no very definite trace was ever found, though vague rumors reached Jamestown, many years later, of a few living captives among the savages, and even these were said to have been murdered by Powhatan more than twenty years after their landing. As late as 1602, Raleigh sent an expedition at his own charge, to search for the unfortunates, if, perchance, any of them might yet be alive; but, with that infidelity so common in all expeditions of that mercenary time, the leaders of this one, neglecting the search, put forth their energies in buying sassafras, which valueless root was then so highly esteemed as a medicine, that it brought three shillings a pound in England. It was the prospective profit of a cargo of sassafras that defeated Gosnold's New England colony in the same year.

Raleigh was haughty, fond of magnificent display, and consequently unpopular. He was a favorite of the queen, doubtless, in a sense not at all honorable to that passionate daughter of Henry VIII.; but, by whatever

means he attained or held his power, he exercised it as a large-minded and patriotic statesman. Like many other pioneers in great undertakings, he gained only defeat and disgrace. But it was he who first broke ground in American colonization: his immense energy

The Tombs of their Cherokees or chiefe persons, their flesh cleane taken of, from the bones save the skyn and heare of their heads, w^{ch} flesh is dried and ynfolded in mats laide at thaire feete. their bones also being made dry, or covered wth deare skyns not altering thair forme or proportion. With thaire Kywash, which is an Image of woode keeping the dead. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~



TOMB OF THE CHIEFS. (FROM JOHN WHITE'S ORIGINAL DRAWING.)

and perseverance opened the door to the dark continent of America, and showed that a colony was desirable and practicable. Yet he reaped nothing from all his sowing but the fatal animosity of a king suspicious of all transcendent merit.

III.

JOHN SMITH AND JAMESTOWN.

IN December, 1606, there lay at Blackwall, below London, three vessels: the *Susan Constant*, of one hundred tons: the *God-speed*,

One of their Religious men.



PORTRAIT FROM LIFE, OF A MEDICINE-MAN ON THE COAST OF NORTH CAROLINA. (FROM A DRAWING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY JOHN WHITE.)

of forty, and the little pinnace *Discovery*, of but twenty tons. These three puny ships were to carry the germ of a new English nation across the Atlantic. There was much excitement in London, and public prayers were offered for the success of the expedition. We may imagine that Richard Hakluyt, who had waited long for the fulfillment of his hopes, was among those most interested. Raleigh, in confinement for years in a gloomy cell of the Tower, from which he was only allowed to go out for a promenade in the twilight of the corridor, may have intermitted for a time his labors on the "History of the World," when he heard of this new beginning of the enterprise to which he had given his best endeavors in vain for so many years. And it is probable that nobody in all the English metropolis was more busy and excited over these preparations than the fussy and pedantic king, who had done his best to mar the enterprise which he believed himself to be furthering. On the 19th of that stormy December, the vessels weighed anchor

and ran out on an ebb tide, no doubt,—as one can nowadays see the ships go swiftly down the Thames, past Blackwall to the sea. But, once in the channel, their troubles began, and for three weeks they lay off the Downs, tossed by contrary winds, and tormented with their own discords. It was six weeks before they lost sight of the coast of England.

The misfortunes of the colony were foreordained; that it finally succeeded seems miraculous, for those who shaped its destinies left nothing undone that inventive stupidity could suggest to assure its failure. In particular had the frivolous monarch set himself to make laws or orders which carefully guarded the supremacy of the sovereign and the dominance of the Church, but which were quite inadequate to the protection of life and liberty in the colony. The private interest of the colonist, the most available of all motives to industry, was sunk in that of the company: all trade and profit were to be put into a common stock for five years, and the emigrants, men without families, were thrown into a semi-monastic community, like a Hanseatic trading agency with its better traits omitted; and thus, indolence and the natural proneness to dissension of men in hard circumstances were much increased. The people sent over were utterly unfit. In the first hundred there were four carpenters, one blacksmith, one tailor, one barber, one bricklayer, one mason, one drummer, and four boys.

Fifty-five ranked as gentlemen, and but twelve as laborers. "Those we write as laborers," says one of the colonists, "were for the most part footmen." "Poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth than either to begin one, or but help to maintain one," is the description given by a member of the colony. In the second supply the proportion was much the same, except that this time six tailors came, besides a jeweller, two "refiners" of metal, a goldsmith, a perfumer, and a tobacco-pipe maker. There were sent, at some time, lapidaries, stonecutters, embroiderers, and silkmen, "with all their appurtenances except materials," as Captain Smith sarcastically says. "A hundred good laborers," he cries out, "were better than a thousand such gallants as they sent me." For the most part they appear to have been unthrifty young men, or broken-down older men, incorrigibly idle and discontented. "Much they blamed me," says Smith, "for not converting the savages, when



CORRIDOR IN THE TOWER, SHOWING DOOR OF RALEGH'S CELL AT THE LEFT.

those they sent us were little better, if not worse."

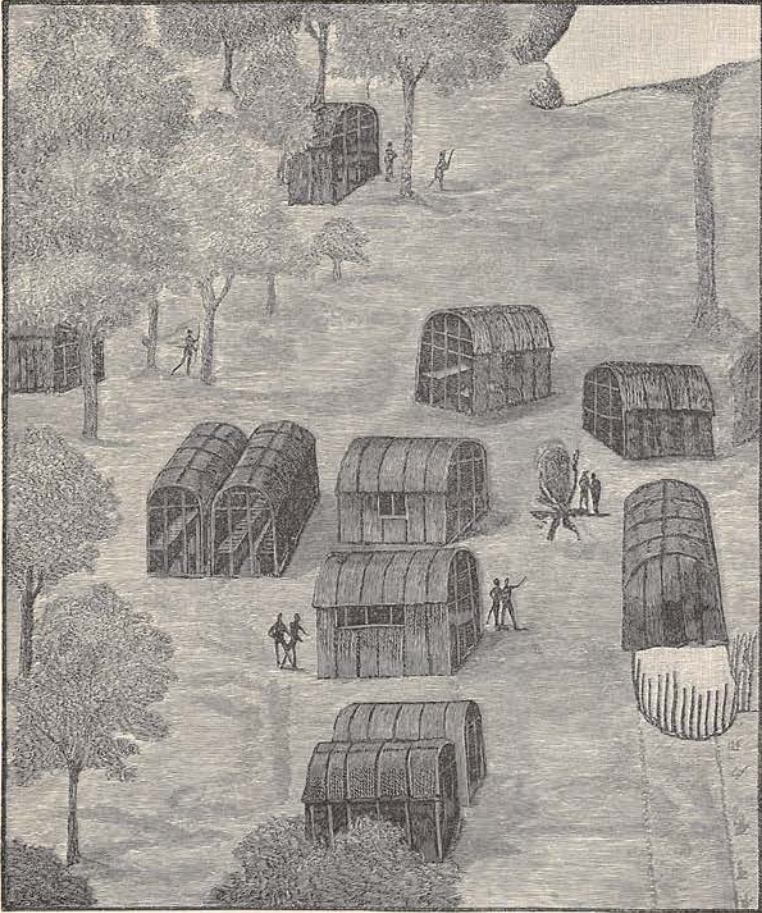
If this company, so unfit for any good purpose, had had a sagacious governor at the outset from England, there would still have been hope of accomplishing something by strict discipline and strong leadership. But the king, with the ingenious folly of a petty tyrant, bent on retaining a sort of power in his own hands as long as possible, sealed up the names of the councilors in a box, not to be opened until after the arrival in America. Thus was the disorderly crew left without a head during the long voyage. For, with adverse winds and the circuitous route taken to reach America by the Canaries and West Indies, whereby they doubled the distance, and with their foolish loitering at divers places to "refresh themselves" and quarrel, they did not reach the coast until the month of April, when, by the good luck of their bad reckoning and a fortunate storm, they missed the fatal Roanoke Island, their original destination, and were carried into Hampton Roads, and so sailed up the wide mouth of the river, which they named the James, as in duty bound. At this season of the year the banks were magnificently covered, then as now, no doubt, by an endless profusion of the large white flowers of the dogwood, alternated with vast masses of the rich, pink-purple blossoms of the redbud, set against a dark background of pines and other trees, so that the sea-weary voyagers thought that "heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation."

On the first landing of a small party, they were attacked by five Indians creeping in the grass like bears, who fled in dismay at the discharge of muskets. At their second landing they came upon a deserted fire, roasting in the ashes of which they found and ate for the first time the luscious oyster of the Chesapeake region, which they pronounced "large and delicate." At another place they were kindly received by the chief of the Rapahannas, who came piping on a reed flute, at the head of his train. His face was fantastically painted and besprinkled with what, to the greedy eyes of the English, seemed to be silver ore, and they surmised that his copper ornaments might be gold.

After seventeen days of voyaging in the river, they selected, in spite of the opposing judgment of Captain Gosnold, the first projector of the colony, a low-lying peninsula, upon which they founded their new city, calling it Jamestown. This unfortunate location brought them malarial disease; the neglect of the London company and the long loitering of the sea-



A CHIEF'S WIFE. (FROM THE DRAWING BY JOHN WHITE, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)



INDIAN HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE OF SECOTAN. (FROM JOHN WHITE'S ORIGINAL DRAWING, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

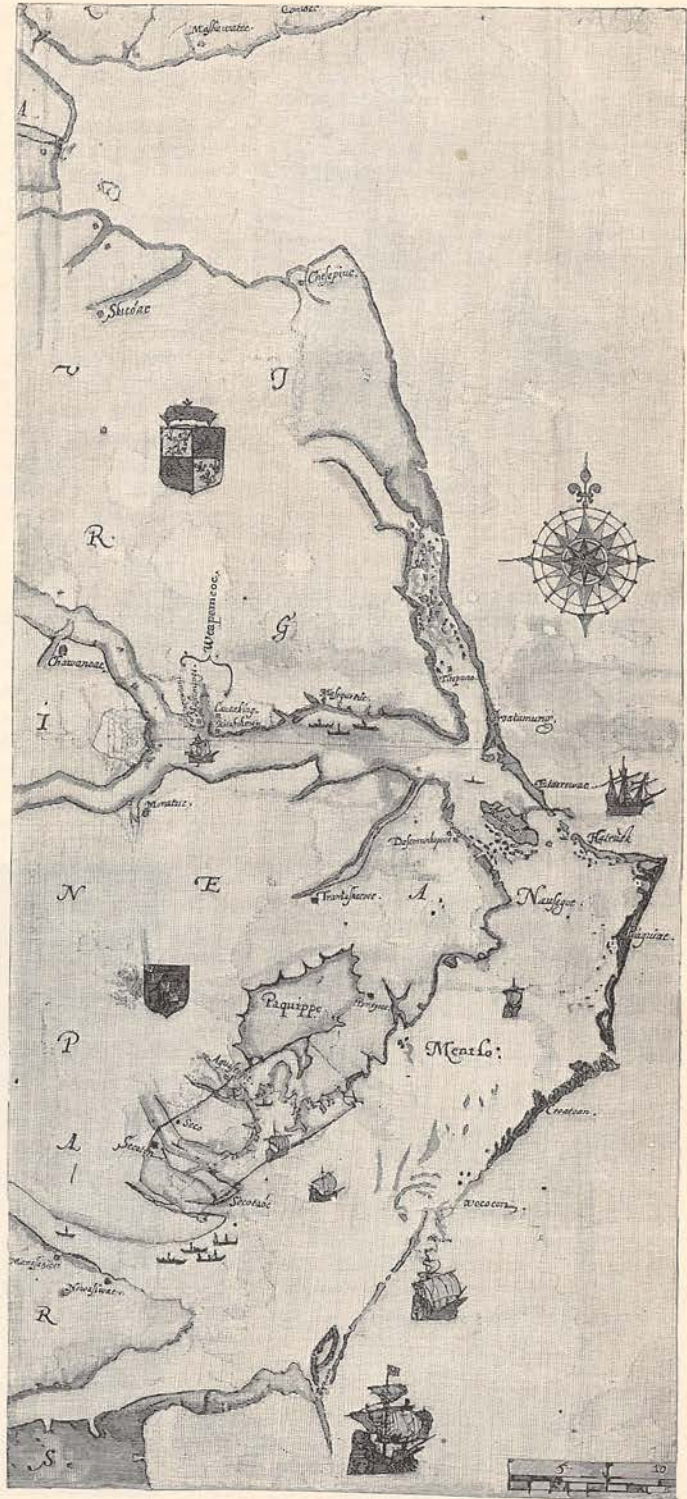
men had left the newly landed colonists, at the outset of their enterprise, on the very verge of famine. Seed-time had passed, while they were "refreshing themselves" in the West Indies and exploring the river; there was now no opportunity of planting until the following year. "There never were Englishmen left in any country in such misery as we were, in this new-discovered Virginia," says George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and one of the most brave and trustworthy of the men at Jamestown. A pint of worm-eaten barley or wheat was the allowance of each man for a day. "Had we been as free from all other sins as [from] gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints," says Smith. "Our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air."

To increase their misery, they lived in mortal terror of an attack from the Indians. During Captain Newport's stay in the country, he had taken a strong force and gone to explore the James River as far as the present site

of Richmond, in hope of finding the Pacific Ocean thereabout. The colonists left behind, with thoughtful imprudence deposited their awkward matchlock guns in dry vats for security, and were surprised by Indians, who wounded seventeen men and killed one boy. The savages were driven off by a cross-bar shot from a ship lying in the river, which cut down a bough of one of the trees over their heads and gave them a wholesome fright. But, now the ships were gone, the fear of the Indians made it necessary for each man to watch every third night, "lying on the cold, bare ground," and then to remain on guard the day following. This, with the small allowance of bad food and the necessity for drinking of the river-water, which was brackish at flood and slimy and filthy at low tide, brought on swellings, dysenteries, and burning fevers. Sometimes there were not five able-bodied men to defend the place in case of attack, and the sufferers were night and day groaning pitifully from famine

and sickness in every corner of the fort. "If there were any conscience in men it would make their hearts bleed," says Percy, "to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men, without relief, every night and day, for the space of about six weeks." Sometimes as many as three or four died in a single night: in the morning their bodies were "trailed out of their cabins like dogs, to be buried," and sometimes the living miserable wretches were scarcely able to bury the dead. The "tents were rotten and the cabins worse than nought." Some of the famished men and boys fled in despair to the Indians, who, not wishing to incur the displeasure of men of powers so supernatural as the English seemed, treated them well and sent them back again. Those who survived the first famine lived on sturgeon and crabs caught in the river. But one-half of the hundred colonists died, and, among the rest, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, the first navigator who had the courage to cross the Atlantic by sailing directly west without seeking the trade-winds of the tropics, and the founder of the first, ineffectual New England colony on Elizabeth Island, in 1602, as well as the earliest advocate of the enterprise in which he lost his life. When the sturgeon had left the river, and the worm-eaten grain was spent, the Indians began to bring in supplies of corn, game, persimmons, and other food, to exchange for the trinkets of the settlers.

Adversity and peril bring the hero to the front. As the period of hunger and death drew to a close, and the reviving colonists set to work to build better shelter



MAP OF THE REGION OCCUPIED AND EXPLORED BY RALEGH'S COLONY. (FROM JOHN WHITE'S DRAWING, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)



JOHN SMITH. (FROM THE ENGRAVING ON SMITH'S MAP OF VIRGINIA.)

than their rotten tents and earth-covered cabins, the speculating president, Wingfield, who had appropriated stores to his own use, was deposed, and Captain Ratcliffe, a man no better, took his place. But the actual leadership passed by natural gravitation into the hands of the strongest man, who fills so large a space in the history of Jamestown for the next two years that it seems to become an epic. The hero of the story was John Smith, whom the council, on landing and opening King James's mysterious ark, had solemnly expelled from their body, of which he had been named a member in the king's orders. During the five months' voyage, the emigrants had naturally fixed their eyes on Captain Smith, a young man, twenty-eight years of age, who had been, next to Gosnold, the earliest promoter of the present colony, and the fame of whose adventures in foreign travel and exploits in battle with the Turks had already brought him into notoriety.

Engaged while yet a mere lad in the wars in the Low Countries, he was afterward shipwrecked, and again, according to his own account, was robbed at sea; he became a wanderer in France, and was near to perishing; he was thrown overboard by Catholic pilgrims, who believed the heretic passenger to be the Jonah that caused the storm, but he escaped to the shore; he was in a sea-fight between a French ship and a rich Venetian argosy; and at length he distinguished himself in the war against the Turks under the Duc de Mercœur. Here he displayed skill in engineering, and fought and killed three Turks successively in single combat, receiving from Sigismund II., of

Transylvania, a patent of nobility, with a coat of arms bearing three Turks' heads in a shield. In a later battle he was wounded and made prisoner by the Turks, who sold him with others into slavery. Smith prided himself as highly upon winning the favor of ladies as he did on his skill in taking Turks' heads, and he tells how his young Mohammedan mistress, Charatza Tragabigzanda, who could speak some Italian, fell in love with her slave. Her relatives persecuted him, and Smith, degraded and abused, with a collar of iron about his neck, at length, in a fit of desperation, slew Tragabigzanda's brother, the Pasha of Nalbritz, with a flail, concealed his body in the straw, clothed himself in the pasha's garments, filled a knapsack with grain, mounted the dead pasha's horse, and made off into the uninhabited plain. After sixteen days of wandering he reached the Russian frontier, where his iron collar was removed, and where another kind lady, the good Calamata, took an interest in his welfare and liberally supplied his wants. Covered with honors on his return into Transylvania, he was now eager to get back into his "own native land." After some adventures in Morocco, and a sea-fight by the way, he returned at length to England, like a veritable hero of romance. This last of the knights-errant, on his arrival in his own country, enlisted of course in the most difficult and



THOMAS, LORD DE LA WARE. (FROM A COPY MADE AT THE BOURNE, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, FROM THE ORIGINAL, FOR THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, NOW IN THE STATE LIBRARY, RICHMOND.)

dangerous enterprise he could find, which happened to be the colonizing of America, to which object his best endeavors were devoted for the rest of his life.

The fame of Smith, his manifest ability and winning address, as well as his military and sea-faring experience, made him a natural rallying-point for the allegiance of the colony, the names of whose lawful governors were sealed up in the well-filled box of Pandora. His popularity excited the jealousy of the other ambitious spirits of the expedition, and, as he was a high-spirited man, yet young, and at no time remarkable for modesty, it is probable that he did not conciliate his rivals by soft speeches or reticent manners. He seems to have been put under a sort of arrest during the voyage, and there was talk of hanging him on a charge of conspiring to make himself a king. When Newport with the ships was about to return, it was proposed to send him back to England to be mildly reprimanded, rather than subject his life to peril by trying him in the colony, the real object being to get rid of so influential and so clever a man with as little trouble as possible. With characteristic courage and tact, Smith demanded a trial, proved his innocence and exposed the conspiracy by the mouths of the witnesses who had been suborned against him; so that Wingfield, the president, was sentenced to pay him two hundred pounds damages, which Smith generously turned into the common store of the colony. The effect of this was to compel Captain Smith's admission to the council.

At the close of the period of suffering, he carried forward the building of Jamestown, and all had thatched houses to dwell in before he made provision for himself. Having suppressed a mutiny, he now set out on the first of his trading and exploring expeditions, buying corn, or getting it by craft or force, at all hazards. But after awhile the council complained that he had not yet gone up the Chickahominy River, which came from the north-west, and at the head of which might be found—according to the directions taken from the box—the Pacific Ocean. It was in the expedition set on foot in consequence of these complaints that Smith, while exploring with an Indian guide the "slashes" toward the head of that river, was set upon and captured by the Pamunkey Indians, who had just before surprised and slain three of his men. Never did his dexterous management of slender resources stand him in better stead than in escaping the dangers of this captivity, as, for example, by showing a pocket-compass, and, if one may credit the story, attempting to expound the mysteries of the universe



GEORGE PERCY. (FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S ROOMS, RICHMOND, VA.)

to the curious savages, who, perhaps, estimating his wisdom by his incomprehensibility, took him to be a man of supernatural gifts. They afterward subjected him to some mysterious pow-wowing to discover his intentions. When he had been led from village to village, according to the Indian custom, he was brought before Powhatan, a chief whose prowess had awed the neighboring tribes into a sort of subjection to his leadership. Smith secured the favor of the chieftain and the affection of his little daughter, Pocahontas, who became the friend and frequent benefactor of Smith and the colonists. In the later narratives of his captivity, Smith says that she rescued him by laying her head on his when the warriors were about to beat out his brains. As the story does not occur in the earlier accounts, it has been doubted by some investigators and defended by others. It seems probable that Captain Smith gives an exaggerated account of a real interference on his behalf by this young girl.

Smith so managed the Indians, that they released him and sent him back to the fort. Every four or five days, for some time thereafter, the chief's daughter came with provisions; presents for Smith and articles for barter were brought in, for which the captain exchanged trinkets at such prices as he pleased. Smith's rivals became jealous even of his influence with the Indians, and spoiled the trade from which they lived, by paying more liberally than he for what was bought. Then arrived a second time Cap-



Matoaka als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkemouck als virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the worth. M.^r. Johⁿ. Roloff. Compro. Holland excudit

POCAHONTAS. (FROM THE ENGRAVING IN THE FIRST EDITION OF JOHN SMITH'S GENERAL HISTORY.)

tain Newport, who was as helpless on dry land as a sea-turtle.

The marplot council in London sent over by Newport a crown, a bedstead, a robe, and an ewer for the unwashed chief, who kindly gave in exchange only his cast-off garments and moccasins, while he played so sharp a trick in trade that Newport secured only eight bushels of corn in exchange for all he had brought. But Captain Smith dangled before the eyes of the childish savage some blue beads, at first refusing to sell them, saying they were made of a substance like the sky, and were intended only for the greatest kings and chiefs to wear. By this ruse he secured enough corn to load his vessels for two pounds of glass beads, which were always kept sacred to chiefs and their families. Thus, with unflinching tact, now by bravado, now by cajolery, and again by judicious severity, did Smith keep the colony alive from the trade or the tribute of the savages, whose arrows were almost harmless against the armor of the English. When

an Indian tried to take his sword, Smith imprisoned and then forgave him. Finding his trade with the Indians destroyed by the non-intercourse order of Powhatan, he was compelled to get food by force, and, in a last extremity of want, he chose the boldest course, and essayed to capture Powhatan himself; but the wily chief, by corrupting the foreigners sent over to make glass and potash, discovered the plot and avoided it. Powhatan's brother, Opechancanough, having stationed about a wigwam, in which he was parleying with Smith and his handful of men, hundreds of warriors whose arrows were "nocked" ready to shoot, Smith seized the chief by the hair, put a pistol to his breast, and dragged him out before them all, and so made peace at the muzzle of a loaded firearm. When, later, Opechancanough sent him poisoned meat, which sickened, but did not kill the white men, the captain contented himself with kicking and beating the Indian who brought the poison. Smith was adroit in avoiding blood-

shed while spreading the terror of his name among the tribes about him. He was like a stout champion in the days of the Hebrew anarchy: a great fear of him fell on all the heathen round about.

Next to the preservation of the Jamestown colony, the most permanent benefit conferred on the world by Captain Smith's exertions was the exploration of Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers, which he made in two voyages in an open boat,—sailing, if one might trust his own estimate, three thousand miles. He sent to the company in London a map of this region marvelously correct, if we consider his facilities and circumstances,—a map that was the starting-point for all charts and surveys of this coast. In these two voyages of exploration, the little company endured many hardships, sleeping in the boat, eating damaged food, stripping off their very shirts to renew their sails after a storm, and suffering such thirst that, eager as they were to find gold, they would have refused "two barricoes of gold for one of puddle-water." In winter trips it was their habit to remove the fire two or three times in a night, to get warm ground to lie on. They were sometimes forced to fight with ten times their number of savages. It is a curious picture we get, in the compiled writings of Smith and his companions, of their life along the coast, in the rivers, and among the savages, exercising themselves in psalm-singing, praying, fighting, trading, maneuvering, lying, or evangelizing, as occasion required, like good Englishmen of the seventeenth century. Whenever Smith could win the Indians to friendliness by kind treatment, he did so. Often, by a mere display of force, he avoided bloodshed; but, when betrayed or attacked, he fought with so much address as not to lose a single man in battle, and to leave a profound respect for the English in every tribe with which he came into contact. His unflinching vigilance prevented surprise; he exacted that every company of Indians trading with the English should deposit their arms, or exchange hostages with him. He was full of expedients: knew how to hang hats on sticks to increase the apparent number of his men, and knew how to deceive the savages by politic devices or point-blank lies of great ingenuity and unblushing boldness. He showed the highest generalship in the conduct of a petty force of twelve or fourteen men; he evinced rare diplomatic tact in bringing the most hostile tribes to parley and trade; he won the affection and allegiance of his men, whose comfort he always preferred to his own; and in the broils at Jamestown, the gentlemen and soldiers who had explored

or campaigned with him after corn were his loving friends and staunch partisans.

A historian of Virginia aptly applies to Smith the words of Dean Swift: "When a great genius appears in the world, the dunces are all in confederacy against him." Three times he crushed plots, on the part of members of the council and others, to flee to England with the pinnace, and thus abandon the colony to perish. When he came back from his seven weeks' captivity the conspirators fully intended to hang him for the death of two of the three men slain by the Indians in that expedition,—twisting some provision of the Levitical law to accomplish this murder. Newport's arrival the day before the execution was all that saved him. His hand was heavy when discipline required it; but when he found his enemies subject to his power, he treated them with magnanimity. He dealt hard blows in battle, fighting lustily and with a soldierly relish; he knew how indispensable is sternness in managing savages; but he always avoided putting to death the Indians whom he had occasion to punish; he left no blood account to be settled with neighbors, though he sometimes made the savages believe for awhile that he had executed an offender. When at last Smith had "beaten the path" for a successful settlement, had awed the Indians and made friends with them, had set the colonists to planting, and fortified and built up Jamestown, digging a well of good water, had seized for his hungry colonists the supplies brought in an illicit trading-ship by the rascally Captain Argall, had established a new settlement and sent some of the colonists to live with the Indians, there came from London the "third supply." The company, having secured a new charter and new subscriptions, now sent out five hundred men and women, of whom some were worthy people, others of the same class of scrapethrift gentlemen and bankrupts of which Virginia had already too many, with "decayed tapsters, and ostlers trade-fallen, the cankers of a calm world and long peace." The officers under the new commission, jealous of one another, had all sailed in the same ship with their three commissions, lest one should get advantage by a first arrival, and had all together gone ashore, in a hurricane, on the Bermudas. The unruly crew that got safely to Jamestown had with them, as ship-captains, Smith's old enemies, the corrupt Ratcliffe and Archer, the very couple who had essayed to hang him under the Levitical law, because the Indians had killed his men. Having neither head nor authority, these hundreds were landed like an avalanche upon the little, poverty-stricken, but now experienced and weather-hardened colony. All the old disor-

ders were set a-going again by the resolution of the newly arrived not to submit to Captain Smith's authority. With much labor he essayed to bring to subjection this mob, refusing to resign his presidency until the commissions should arrive, until, at length, he was injured by the accidental explosion of a bag of powder. As he was now no longer able to awe the mutinous by his presence, the other party gained the ascendancy; an attempt was even made to assassinate him in his bed. He probably saw the danger and uselessness of remaining longer to wrangle with the newcomers, for, under color of seeking surgical aid, he consented to go to England, and the ship was detained until charges of various misdemeanors could be made out and sent with him.

The best evidence of the importance of Captain Smith's services at Jamestown is the melancholy fact that the four hundred and ninety who were in the colony at his leaving were reduced in eight months to sixty "miserable, poor wretches," by Indian war and by desertion, but chiefly by sheer famine. When the strong hand was withdrawn, the colony quickly fell to ruin.

In his aggressive temper, ceaseless conflicts and sturdy achievements, Captain Smith reminds one of the Greek heroes; but in magnanimity and rude justice he was more modern than they. In answer to all assaults upon his fame, it is sufficient to say that his character and services commanded the homage of Percy, Strachey, and all the best and most judicious in the colony; and even his enemy, Wingfield, reluctantly paid a tribute to his diligence. He had the ardent friendship of many of the best men in England. He was a good hater, it must be confessed, though not implacable. Like most ambitious men, he had a sensitive vanity; like many travelers of his time, he shows an unpleasant tendency to exaggeration and self-laudation in his writings. His private life was pure and honorable, free from "dice debts and oaths," as one testifies; his official life was ambitious, but with a certain lofty, public spirit, and an entire freedom from the faintest blot of covetousness. He is the first of the heroes of our national history. Though it was said by a contemporary that he "loved actions better than words," yet his words are often pregnant with a keen wit, and there is a vast fund of practical wisdom in his terse and sententious writings. His views on public affairs have the breadth and good sense of statesmanship. He foresaw the importance of the coming colonial trade, and especially of the fisheries, in "breeding mariners," and thus promoting the greatness of England;

and he urged that the colonies should not annoy those who come to trade "with pilotage and such like dues." Low customs, he says, enrich a people. He was a remarkable man who could so clearly understand great economical principles in an age when almost everybody else misconceived them. In mental and physical hardihood and shiftiness, as well perhaps as in his proneness to overstatement of fact, he was in some sense a typical American,—the forerunner of the daring and ready-witted men who have subdued a savage continent, of which subjugation John Smith, of Jamestown, was the true beginner.

IV.

EARLY LIFE AT JAMESTOWN.

WITH the first company that came to Jamestown was a clergyman, Robert Hunt, to whom, if to any man, might be applied the words, "a light shining in a dark place." He had been a vicar in Kent, and during all the weeks that the storm-tossed and discontented emigrants lay in their little vessels in the English Channel, off the Downs, he was almost in sight of his home, and so sick that recovery seemed impossible; but he uttered no word about returning. As soon as he was able, he devoted himself to soothing the discords of the leaders and heartening the discontented. It was he who, after their landing, persuaded Captain Smith and the hostile councilors to make peace, solemnly administering the communion to them the next day, in pledge of mutual forbearance and forgiveness. In all the famine and suffering that came upon the badly provided colony immediately after their landing, he was with them; and when the wretched habitations of Jamestown were burned up, in the middle of the first winter, he lost all his books, whose companionship must have been his solace in such a wilderness and among such men. "Yet none ever heard him complain." He was as ready to bear arms in defense as any, and cheerfully shared the dangers and hardships of the colonists until he died, at some time during the first two years.

The first church of the colonists was an old sail hung upon neighboring trees to keep off the sun; for walls there were wooden rails, the pews were unhewn logs, the pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees. "In foul weather," says Captain Smith, "we shifted into an old, rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by way of adventure for a new one." After awhile they built a church, "a homely little

thing, like a barn," the roof of it set upon croches covered with rafters, sedge, and earth. Their houses were made after the fashion of the church, but were worse,—too poorly built to keep out either wind or rain.

The rotten tent, "that came by way of adventure for a new one," is a reminder that the poor little colony was continually swindled by the merchants and tradesmen who were subscribers to the company,—“such juggling there was betwixt them, that all the trash they could get in London was sent to Virginia.” The treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, was suspected of peculation, the mariners who brought supplies plundered the stores, the men in power at Jamestown often appropriated the best to themselves, so that the colony was a skeleton that had been picked by more than one flock of vultures. Besides these, there were renegades—foreigners sent over to make potash and glass, and some of the lower sort among the English—who had run away to Powhatan, flying from the deadly misery of Jamestown; and, tempted by the liberal bribes which the chief offered, of wigwams, food, and women, these men, by the aid of accomplices in the fort, succeeded in stealing a great many swords and other arms from Jamestown; while the Dutchmen whom Smith sent to build a house for Powhatan, the capacious Dutch chimney of which is still standing, betrayed to him the weakness and plans of the colonists.

When Smith went home,—or was sent home, whichever it was,—Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers having been wrecked on the Bermudas, the government fell into the hands of Percy, a good man in feeble health and deficient in will; with West (who was brother to Lord De la Warre), Ratcliffe, and Martin in the council. West ran away with the best ship to England. Ratcliffe went in one of the vessels, with thirty men, to trade in Powhatan's country, where, from lack of vigilance, he was killed with his whole party.

And now set in “the starving time,” as it was always afterward called. There was nothing to eat but roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, and berries, with sometimes a little fish. As the distress increased, all the animals brought for breeding were eaten,—even the skins of the horses were consumed. Those who had starch ate that. An Indian, who had been killed in an attack on the fort, was dug up and eaten by the poorer sort, and some ate even their own dead. The perishing settlers bartered away arms to the savages, who soon grew boldly hostile, so that the English could not move abroad without being shot down. The shiftless and despairing people burned for fire-wood the

houses of the dead and the palisades that defended the town, sparing only the block-house for refuge, so that Jamestown looked like the ruins of “some ancient fortification.”

Of nearly five hundred colonists in October, but sixty famine-smitten wretches were found in Jamestown in the following June, and of these not one could have survived ten days longer, had not succor arrived. In three years of suffering and death since the first planting, the colony had gained only a foot-hold with much valuable experience. Unfitted for their environment, the earlier immigrants perished by that pitiless law which works ever to abolish from the earth the improvident, the idle, and the vicious. But, indeed, it would have wrought evil beyond remedy, to have planted a new land with so vile a seed.

Help came to the little remnant from an unexpected quarter. Gates and Somers, cast on the Bermudas, built for themselves two cedar vessels, rigging them with what they had taken from their wrecked ship, and thus reached Jamestown, only to find the gaunt skeleton of a colony, clamoring in the bitterest despair to be taken away from the site of so many misfortunes and horrible miseries. With such formality as the Englishmen of that time never omitted, even when they were perishing, the new chaplain, Mr. Buck, made a zealous and sorrowful prayer in the little church. Percy delivered up his authority to Sir Thomas Gates, who found himself installed a governor of death, famine, and desperation. There was not food for three weeks, the Indians were bitterly hostile, the badgered and homesick colonists had neglected to plant, and there was nothing for it but to be off as soon as possible in the forlorn hope of finding some English vessels fishing on the coast of Newfoundland. The settlers hated even the sight of Jamestown, and they would have burned its shabby remains to the ground, had not Sir Thomas Gates himself stood guard over the place, embarking last of all.

But, before the colonists, carrying the destiny of the English race in America in their retreating boats, could get out of the mouth of the river, they were encountered by Lord De la Warre—or Delaware, as it is written now—sailing in with a new batch of immigrants, abundant supplies for a year, and a commission as governor. He turned Gates' party about, and landed with them at Jamestown. Again they all repaired to the little church, where there was a new formality,—first a sermon, and then the reading of his lordship's commission, and an address from the new governor. Under De la Warre's gov-

ernment the state and ceremony were very amusing, and the witty Captain Smith, who sought his ends in a direct way, without flummery, does not fail to laugh at the many well-paid dignitaries in so slender a colony,—“as many great and stately officers and offices as doth belong to a great kingdom.” Such strutting of lieutenant-generals and admirals over a hamlet of log-cabins in a wilderness is ludicrous, and one can hardly help suspecting that the king had a hand in these pompous devices. There were also privileges for cities, charters, corporations, universities, free schools, glebe-land,—“putting all these in practice before there were either people, students, or scholars, to build or use them, or provision or victual for them that were there.”

Lord De la Warre took immediate precaution against future want. Gates was dispatched to England for supplies, whence he returned with one hundred cattle and other provisions; the aged but indomitable Somers, in his own cedar vessel, set sail for the Bermudas to seek provision, and died there. Argall traded successfully in the Potomac, where an English lad, who had been saved from death by Pocahontas, acted as interpreter; and Percy was sent to chastise the neighboring Paspheghs. These fled at his approach, so that he captured only the chief's wife and children, who were afterward put to death in cold blood, to punish the husband and father,—an act of barbarous inhumanity that could not have occurred under the ruler, but juster government of Smith, “who never shed one drop of Indian blood by way of punishment,” says Stith.

But if De la Warre sometimes forgot justice and mercy in dealing with the savages, he nevertheless paid much attention to religion. He almost rebuilt the little church, so that it was sixty feet long, with chancel and pews of fragrant cedar, and a wooden font, hewed out like a canoe. The governor had the church kept constantly adorned with the lovely wild flowers of Virginia, which were renewed every day. His lordship must have impressed the imaginations of his few subjects, as, on Sundays, he walked to the little church, attended by the councilors, officers, and gentlemen, and guarded by fifty men with halberds, wearing his lordship's livery of showy red cloaks. His seat in church was a chair covered with green velvet; a red velvet kneeling-cushion was before him to enable him to worship the Maker in a manner becoming the dignity of a great lord over a howling wilderness. More than one-fourth of all the able-bodied men in Jamestown were required to get the governor to church, and back again to his cabin, with propriety.

But Lord De la Warre's dignity seems to have served a good purpose in stilling the voice of faction, and during his brief rule there was quiet. He appointed certain hours for labor, which were light enough for men beset with enemies and in danger of famine. From six to ten in the forenoon, and from two to four in the afternoon, were spent in work. At the close of the morning's task all assembled in the church for prayer, and again, at four in the afternoon, prayers were read. The remainder of the day was spent in recreation. The one hundred and fifty men whom his lordship had brought over were mostly laborers, and he wrote to the company, on his arrival, that “a hundred or two debauched hands, dropt forth by year after year, ill-provided for before they come, and worse governed when they are here,” were not fit to be “carpenters and workers in this so glorious a building.” Jamestown in De la Warre's time was surrounded with a palisade of posts and plank, having a gate at every bulwark, and a main gate toward the water; at every gate was a demi-culverin—a long gun carrying a nine-pound shot. The cabins were roofed with bark, after the manner of wigwams; they had large fire-places, which in that boundless forest were kept well filled in winter time. All that could be done in the way of elegance was to hang about the interiors the Indian mats, brightly colored with the blood-red juice of the puccoon root.

The settlers early learned to like the native food. Strachey, who was secretary to the colony under De la Warre, boasts of seeing oysters in Virginia thirteen inches long, and adds: “The wild turkey, I may well say, is an excellent fowl.” The colonists ate the land-turtle daily, and had learned to eat the green snake, as the savages did. The raccoon or “arrachoune” was esteemed an excellent meat. They cooked the maize after the Indian methods, in ash-cakes, mush, and pones, and the sugary persimmon in their “baked and sodden puddings.” The colony sent out shoots in the way of new plantations, when the number of immigrants increased. All the earlier settlements were inclosed with pales—made probably of plank and logs—except on sides where they were protected by the river. The malarial Jamestown was destined never to become the center of trade and influence its projectors intended it to be. In 1614 it had three rows of framed houses; to-day it has long been a ruin.

The coming of Sir Thomas Dale to the governorship, after the brief rule of De la Warre, marks the beginning of the permanent establishment of the plantation. For, though he was a harsh governor and put in force a

martial law, yet his practical wisdom and energy, and even his harshness, brought about an order and a prosperous expansion, that the scoundrelism of Argall, his successor, could not overthrow. When Dale arrived on the 10th of May, 1611, the colonists, with their usual improvidence, had planted no seed, trusting to the three months' store of corn, and to such luck as might happen when that should be exhausted. At Jamestown he found most of the company "at their daily and usual work, bowling in the streets." But the firm hand had come at last, and, late in the season as it was, he set all to planting and building defenses.

The five years of common stock prescribed by the king's order had now expired, and Dale took advantage of it to bring in private interest, though at first in a niggardly way. The old colonists were allowed three acres, on which they might work one month in the year for their own support; the other eleven months they must serve the company, from whose common store they received only two barrels of corn. But the new immigrants in Dale's own settlement at Bermuda Hundred were allowed to reverse this arrangement, giving the common store one month, and spending eleven on their own land, from which they paid a tribute of two barrels and a half of corn yearly to the store. Even this introduction of individual interest, restricted and mean as it was, drove away the fear of famine from the colony.

But the danger of want came presently from an unlooked-for prosperity. In the year after Sir Thomas Dale's arrival, John Rolfe planted some tobacco, thinking Virginia might compete with the Spanish colonies in the growing of a commodity which had at this time come into demand in Europe. The foolish lawmakers and councilors, imagining that they could with advantage bind trade by artificial restrictions, fixed the price of corn, as an article of necessity, at two shillings sixpence the quarter, about a fourth of the cost of grain brought from England. Tobacco having been found far more profitable than corn at so low a price, the latter was neglected, and the prosperous tobacco-growing colony was obliged to depend on the Indians for food. As is always the case where such an arbitrary interference with the law of demand and supply is attempted, a new one had to be devised to remedy the evil of this; so that it was enacted, in Sir Thomas Dale's time, that every farmer should plant a certain amount of land to corn, or suffer the confiscation of all his tobacco. But, when Argall arrived in 1617, he found Jamestown falling to ruins, the very streets planted with tobacco,

and the dispersed people engaged in the culture of the profitable plant. Thus early was shown the tendency of tobacco-planting to check the growth of cities and villages.

The same Rolfe who, of the English settlers, ventured first to plant tobacco, was also the first Englishman to take an Indian wife in legal wedlock. Whether Pocahontas really took Captain Smith's head in her arms, and begged his life when he was about to be slain, or whether she intervened in his behalf in some less dramatic way, or not at all, it is certain that a friendly relation grew up between Smith and this extraordinary Indian child, during his stay with Powhatan, for soon afterward, the great chief, wishing to persuade Smith to release certain Indians whom he had detained for some offenses, sent Pocahontas, with others, to secure their liberation, which Smith granted, affecting that it was only the great love he bore to Pocahontas that induced him to let them go. And, indeed, he seems sincerely to have admired her, for he says, in his earliest account, that "not only for feature, countenance, and proportion," she "much exceeded any of the rest of Powhatan's people; but, for wit and spirit," she is "the only nonpareil of his country."

From her first meeting with Smith she became devotedly attached to the English, and rendered the settlers many services. She often secured supplies for them, and indeed seems to have haunted the fort, utterly naked as she was, after the manner of little girls among her people, who wore no clothes and showed no modesty until they were twelve or thirteen years of age, at which time they put on a deerskin apron, and were very careful not to be seen without it. The agile little barbarian would persuade the English lads to make wheels of themselves by turning upon their hands and feet, whereupon she would follow them, wheeling as they did, all through the fort.

Her real name was Matoax; but, by order of Powhatan, this was carefully concealed from the whites, lest by their supernatural enchantments they should work her some harm. When Richard Wyffin was sent from Jamestown to apprise the endangered Captain Smith, environed by foes among Powhatan's people, of the death of his deputy, Mr. Scrivener, and his ten companions by drowning, Pocahontas hid him, misdirected those who sought him, and, by extraordinary bribes and maneuvers, brought him safely to Smith, after three days' travel in the midst of extreme peril. So, also, when Ratcliffe was cut off with thirty men, she saved the lad Spilman, who was then living with Powhatan, and sent him to the Potomacs. But the most touching story

of all precedes in order of time the other two. In the same difficult adventure among Powhatan's people, in which Captain Smith was engaged when Scrivener was drowned, the treacherous chief had arranged to surprise Smith at supper, and cut off the whole party, when Pocahontas, the "dearest jewel and daughter" of the aged chief, "in that dark night came through the irksome woods" to warn the captain of Powhatan's design. Captain Smith offered to repay her kindness with such trinkets as the heart of an Indian maiden delights in; "but, with the tears running down her cheeks, she said she durst not be seen to have any, for, if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead; and so she ran away by herself as she came."

In 1613 Pocahontas was among the Potomac Indians. Captain Argall, a man of much shrewdness and executive force, but infamous for his dishonest practices, happened to be trading in the river at that time. He quickly saw the advantage the English would gain in negotiations with Powhatan for the return of the white prisoners held by him, if he could secure so valuable a hostage as the chief's daughter. With a copper kettle he bribed Japazaws, the chief with whom she was staying, to entice her on board the vessel, where he detained her, much to the sorrow of the daughter of the wilderness, whose life hitherto had been as free as that of the wild creatures of the woods. To Jamestown, where she had frolicked as a child, and whither she had so often come as a friend with food, she was now carried as an enemy and a prisoner. She had refused to enter the town since the departure of Captain Smith.

This transaction, not very creditable to the gratitude of the English, accomplished its purpose in causing Powhatan to return the white men held in slavery by him, with the least useful of the stolen arms. But he still contrived to evade some of the demands of the English, who therefore retained his daughter until the affair took a new turn. John Rolfe, who seems to have been a widower, became enamored of Pocahontas, now growing to womanhood, and wrote a formal letter to Sir Thomas Dale, proposing to convert her to Christianity and marry her, which pleased the governor, as tending to promote peace with the Indians, and was likewise acceptable to Powhatan. The chief sent an old uncle of Pocahontas and two of her brothers to witness the marriage.

This marriage brought about peace during the life of Powhatan, who, on one occasion at least, sent a present of buckskins to his daughter and her husband. A free intermingling of the two races took place, and Englishmen

were accustomed to hire Indians to live in their houses and hunt for them. This amity lasted eight years.

In 1616, more than two years after their marriage, Rolfe and Pocahontas went to England with Sir Thomas Dale. Powhatan sent some Indians with his daughter, one of whom was commissioned to count the number of the English. The arrival of the Lady Rebecca, as Pocahontas was called after her baptism, produced a great sensation. She was received by the king and many distinguished people, went to see a play, and, by help of her naturally quick wit, bore herself very well. But it became necessary to desist from calling her the wife of John Rolfe, for the king was very jealous, and it was seriously debated in the privy council whether, by marrying the daughter of a foreign potentate without the king's consent, Rolfe had not committed treason.

The climate of London, and perhaps also the uncongenial habits of civilization, affected Pocahontas very unfavorably, and she was taken to Brentford, where Smith, then busy with his preparations to sail for New England, visited her. In the successful efforts of Rolfe and others to win her to the Christian faith and to marriage, they had not scrupled to deceive her, by telling her that Captain Smith was dead, probably because they knew she would not marry another white man while she believed that great warrior alive. When, therefore, she saw the "brave" who had been the object of her maidenly admiration, she turned her face away and refused to speak for the space of two or three hours. When she did, it was to claim the privilege of calling him father, which Smith granted only after importunity, afraid, perhaps, of incurring the king's displeasure. Pocahontas went to Gravesend to take ship for her return to America, much against her will, for she had become weaned from her savage life and greatly attached to the English. At Gravesend she died of small-pox three years after her marriage, leaving one son, from whom some of the most prominent Virginia families trace their descent.

The peace ensuing upon the marriage of Pocahontas, with the prosperity that followed the establishment of individual interest in land and the raising of so profitable a commodity as tobacco, did not do more to promote the welfare and stability of the colony than the sending out of young women for wives to the colonists, which began in 1619, during which year ninety were sent over. Again, in 1621, one widow and eleven maids, carefully selected, were sent out to be married, it having been remembered, at a late day, "that the plantation can never flourish till

families be planted, and the respect of wives and children fix the people in the soil." The price charged in 1621 for each of this dozen, to be paid by the men whom they should freely accept, was one hundred and twenty pounds of the best leaf tobacco. If any of them died, the price of the remainder was to be raised, so as to protect the company from loss. For the next invoice of thirty-eight "maids and young women," the price demanded of settlers seeking wives was a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco. According to the cruel and arbitrary spirit of the times, some, at least, of these maids were "pressed,"—that is, torn from their homes by force, and a great

terror spread through parts of England, and many young girls concealed themselves. But this cruel violence, like the rape of the Sabine women in the Roman story, provided wives for the beginners of a great empire. When once there were house-mothers in the cabins of the colonists, and English children born in the country, the settlers no longer dreamed of returning to England. The new land became a home, Virginia was securely planted, and other settlements were probable. But the significance to the world of this little plantation on the margin of an unexplored continent could not be understood even by the most hopeful men of that time.

THE LADY, OR THE TIGER?

IN the very olden time there lived a semi-barbaric king, whose ideas, though somewhat polished and sharpened by the progressiveness of distant Latin neighbors, were still large, florid, and untrammelled, as became the half of him which was barbaric. He was a man of exuberant fancy, and, withal, of an authority so irresistible that, at his will, he turned his varied fancies into facts. He was greatly given to self-communing, and, when he and himself agreed upon anything, the thing was done. When every member of his domestic and political systems moved smoothly in its appointed course, his nature was bland and genial; but, whenever there was a little hitch, and some of his orbs got out of their orbits, he was blander and more genial still, for nothing pleased him so much as to make the crooked straight and crush down uneven places.

Among the borrowed notions by which his barbarism had become semified was that of the public arena, in which, by exhibitions of manly and beastly valor, the minds of his subjects were refined and cultured.

But even here the exuberant and barbaric fancy asserted itself. The arena of the king was built, not to give the people an opportunity of hearing the rhapsodies of dying gladiators, nor to enable them to view the inevitable conclusion of a conflict between religious opinions and hungry jaws, but for purposes far better adapted to widen and develop the mental energies of the people. This vast amphitheater, with its encircling galleries, its mysterious vaults, and its unseen passages, was an agent of poetic justice, in which crime was punished, or virtue rewarded, by the decrees of an impartial and incorruptible chance.

When a subject was accused of a crime of sufficient importance to interest the king,

public notice was given that on an appointed day the fate of the accused person would be decided in the king's arena, a structure which well deserved its name, for, although its form and plan were borrowed from afar, its purpose emanated solely from the brain of this man, who, every barleycorn a king, knew no tradition to which he owed more allegiance than pleased his fancy, and who ingrafted on every adopted form of human thought and action the rich growth of his barbaric idealism.

When all the people had assembled in the galleries, and the king, surrounded by his court, sat high up on his throne of royal state on one side of the arena, he gave a signal, a door beneath him opened, and the accused subject stepped out into the amphitheater. Directly opposite him, on the other side of the inclosed space, were two doors, exactly alike and side by side. It was the duty and the privilege of the person on trial to walk directly to these doors and open one of them. He could open either door he pleased; he was subject to no guidance or influence but that of the aforementioned impartial and incorruptible chance. If he opened the one, there came out of it a hungry tiger, the fiercest and most cruel that could be procured, which immediately sprang upon him and tore him to pieces as a punishment for his guilt. The moment that the case of the criminal was thus decided, doleful iron bells were clanged, great wails went up from the hired mourners posted on the outer rim of the arena, and the vast audience, with bowed heads and downcast hearts, wended slowly their homeward way, mourning greatly that one so young and fair, or so old and respected, should have merited so dire a fate.

But, if the accused person opened the other