A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia

Thomas Hariot
A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia

Thomas Hariot
This online electronic text edition of the first book published by an English colonist in America. Its author, Thomas Hariot or Harriot, was a cartographer, mathematician, astronomer, linguist, and philosopher, who was a participant in Sir Walter Raleigh’s first attempt to establish a colony in “Virginia,” on Roanoke Island in modern-day North Carolina, from June 1585 until June 1586. Hariot had learned the rudiments of the Algonkian language from two natives brought back to England from an earlier exploratory voyage, and he served as interpreter and liaison with the native peoples of the surrounding region. His Brief and True Report focuses largely upon the native inhabitants, giving much valuable information on their food sources, agricultural methods, living arrangements, political organization, and religion. Published in 1588, with Raleigh’s support, to help incite both investment and settlement, Harriot’s 13,000-word account also gives many details of the “merchantable commodities,” plants, animals, and economic opportunities to be found there. Written by an ethnographer and natural scientist who was an integral part of the first English attempt at American colonization, the Brief and True Report is by far the most important early English account of North America.

This online edition contains some essential annotations, a textual note, and links to other important online materials relating to the Roanoke colony.
A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found and to be rayfed, as well mar-
chantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessa-
rice vses for those that are and shalbe the planters there; and of the na-
ture and manners of the naturall inhabitants: Discouered by the
English Colony there feated by Sir Richard Grenouile Knight in the
yeere 1585, which remained vnder the gournement of Rafe Lane Esqui-
er, one of her Maiesties Equieres, during the space of twelve monethes: at
the speclall charge and direc[on of the Honourable SIR
WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of
the ftaneries; who therein hath beene favou-
red and authori[ed by her Maiestie and
her letters patents:

Directed to the Adventurers, Fauourers,
and Welwillers of the a[ion, for the inhabi-
ting and planting there:

By Thomas Hariot; feruaut to the abouenamed
Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and
there employed in discouering.

Imprinted at London 1588.
Rafe Lane one of her Maiesties Equieres and Gouvernor of the Colony in Virginia aboue mentioned for the time there resident. To the gentle Reader, wisheth all happines in the Lord.

Lbeit (Gentle Reader) the credite of the reports in this treatise contained, can little be furthered by the testimonie of one as my selfe, through affection judged partiall, though without desert: Neuerthelesse forsomuch as I have beene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same; not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true enformation of anie other whoseuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: Thus much upon my credit I am to affirme: that things vniuersally are so truly set downe in this treatise by the author thereof, an Actor in the Colony & a man no lesse for his bonesty then learning commendable: as that I
dare boldly avouch it may very well passe with the credit of
truth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which
as for mine own part I am readie any was with my word
to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured
by mine owne experience) with this my pub-
like assertion, I doe affirm the same.
Farewell in the Lorde.

To the Adventurers, Faouourers,
and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inha-
biting and planting in Virginia.

Ince the first undertaking by
Sir Walter Raleigh to deale
in the action of discovering of that Countrey which is
now called and known by the
name of Virginia; many voy-
agees hauing bin thither made
at sundrie times to his great
charge; as first in the yeere
1584, and afterwarde in the yeeres 1585, 1586, and now
of late this last yeare of 1587: There haue bin diuers and
variable reportes with some slaunderous and shamefull
speeches bruited abroade by many that returned from
thence. Especially of that discouery which was made
by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinule in
the yeare 1585, being of all the others the most principal
and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the
countrie being a whole yeare, when as in the other voy-
age before they staied but sixe wekes; and the others
after were onelie for supply and transportation, nothing
more being discouered then had been before. Which re-
ports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured & adventured in the action, to the honour and benefite of our nation, besides the particular profite and credite which would redound to them selues the dealers therein; as I hope by the se-quele of euenets to the shame of those that haue au-
ouched the contrary shall be manifest: if you the adven-
turers, fauourers, and welwillers do but either encrease in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing bin doubt-
full renewe your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the worthinesse thereof alreadye found and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisitse. Touching which woorthines through cause of the diuersitie of relations and reportes, manye of your opin-
ions coulde not bee firme, nor the mindes of some that are well disposed, bee setled in any certaintie.

I haue therefore thought it good beeing one that haue beene in the discouerie and in dealing with the naturall inhabitantes specially imploied; and hauing therefore seene and knowne more then the ordinarie: to imparte so much vnto you of the fruities of our labours, as that you may knowe howe injuriously the enterprise is slaundered. And that in publike manner at this present chiefelie for two respectes.

First that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is suf-
ficient cause why the cheefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiestie, notwithstanding suche reportes; hath not onelie since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replaunting this last yeere a new Colony; but is also readie, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the contin-
uance of the action by the view hereof you may gener-
ally know & learne what the countrey is, & thervpon consider how your dealing therein if it proceede, may returne you profit and gaine; bee it either by inhabiting & planting or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie: I will first open the cause in a few wordes wherefore they are so different; referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adjudged of as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our companie that returned some for their mis-
demenour and ill dealing in the countrey, haue beene there worthily punished; who by reason of their badde natures, haue maliciously not onelie spoken ill of their Gouernours; but for their sakes slaundered the count-
rie it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some beeing ignorant of the state thereof, notwith-
standing since their returme amongst their friendes and acquaintance and also others, especially if they were in companie where they might not be gainesaidie; woulde seeme to knowe so much as no men more; and make no men so great trauailers as themselves. They stood so much as it maie seeme vpon their credite and reputation that hauing been a twelve moneth in the countrey, it woulde haue beene a great disgrace vnto them as they thought, if they coulde not haue saide much whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw or otherwise knew to bee there; oth-
ersome haue not bin ashamed to make absolute deniall of
that which although not by them, yet by others is most
certainly and there plentifully knowne. And othersome
make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were
of that many that were never out of the Iland where wee
were seated, or not farre, or at the leastwise in few places
els, during the time of our aboade in the countrey; or of
that many that after golde and siluer was not so soone
found, as it was by them looked for, had little or no care
of any other thing but to pamper their bellies; or of that
many which had little understanding, lesse discretion,
and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities
or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seen the
world before. Because there were not to bee found any
English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne
wish any of their olde accustomed daintie food, nor any
soft beds of downe or feathers; the countrey was to them
miserable, & their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the
cause of the variety of such speeches; the particulari-
ties of them, and of many envious, malicious, and slaun-
derous reports and deuises els, by our owne countrey
men besides; as trifles that are not worthy of wise men
to bee thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you with-
all: but will passe to the commodities, the substance of
that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The treatise whereof for your more readie view &
easier understanding I will divide into three speciall parts.
In the first I will make declaration of such commodities
there alreadie found or to be raised, which will not onely
serve the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall bee

the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus suffi-
ciently to bee yelded, or by men of skill to bee provided,
as by way of traffick and exchange with our owne na-
tion of England, will enrich your selues the prouiders;
those that shal deal with you; the enterprisers in general;
and greatly profit our owne countrey men, to supply the
with most things which heretofore they haue bene faine
to prouid, either of strangers or of our enemies: which
commodities for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second, I will set downe all the commodities
which wee know the countrey by our experience doeth
yeld of it selfe for victuall, and sustenance of mans life;
such as is vseually fed vp by the inhabitants of the coun-
trey, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of
such other commodities besides, as I am able to remem-
ber, and as I shall thinke behooffull for those that shall
inhabite, and plant there to knowe of; which specially
concerne building, as also some other necessary vses:
with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the
people of the countrey.

The first part, of Merchantable
commodities.

Ilke of grasse or grasse Silke. There is a kind
of grasse in the countrey vppon the blades
whereof there groweth very good silke in
forme of a thin glittering skin to bee stript
of. It groweth two foote and a halfe high
or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and
half inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in
the selfe same climate as *Virginia*, of which very many of the silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in shorte time great profite to the dealers therein; seeing there is so great use and vent thereof as well in our countrey as els where. And by the meanes of sowing & planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentiful then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wilde. Which also by proof here in England, in making a piece of silke Grogran, we found to be excellent good.

*Worme Silke:* In manie of our iourneyes we found silke wormes fayre and great; as bigge as our ordinary walnuttes. Although it hath not beeue our happe to haue found such plentie as elsewhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of; yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breede and nourish them, there is no doubt but if art be added in planting of mulbery trees and others fitte for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing; and some of them carefully gathered and husbanded in that sort as by men of skill is knowne to be necessarie: there will rise as great profite in time to the *Virginians*, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turkes, Italians and Spaniards.

*Flaxe and Hempe:* The truth is that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld it of it selfe; and howsoever the leave, and stemme or stalke doe differ from ours; the stuffe by the iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours. And if not, as further proffee should finde otherwise; we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot bee shewed anie reason to the contrary, but that it will grow ther excellently well; and by planting will be yeelded plentifully: seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefite heereof may growe in cordage and linnens who can not easily vnderstand?

*Allum:* There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fourtie or fiftie miles, whereof by the judgement of some that haue made triall heere in England, is made good *Allum*, of that kinde which is called *Roche Allum*. The richnesse of such a commoditie is so well knowne that I neede not to saye any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld *White Capresse, Nitrum*, and *Alumen plumeum*, but nothing so plentifully as the common *Allum*; which be also of price and profitable.

*Wapels,* a kinde of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants; very like to *terra Sigillata:* and hauing beene refined, it hath beene found by some of our Phisitians and Chirurgeons to bee of the same kinde of vertue and more effectuall. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and woundes: there is in divers places great plentie, and in some places of a blewe sort.

*Pitch, Tare, Rogen, and Tarpentine:* There are those kindes of trees which yeelde them abundantly and great store. In the very same Iland where wee were seated, being fiftene miles of length, and fife or sixe miles in breadth, there are fewe trees els but of the same kind; the whole Iland being full.

*Sassafras,* called by the inhabitantes *Winauk*, a kinde of wood of most pleasant and sweete smel; and of most rare vertues in phisick for the cure of many diseases. It
A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia

is found by experience to be farre better and of more uses then the wood which is called Guiacum, or Lignum vitae. For the description, the manner of vsing and the manifold vertues thereof, I referre you to the booke of Monardus, translated and entituled in English, The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar, a very sweet wood & fine timber; wherof if nests of chests be there made, or timber therof fitted for sweet & fine bedsteads, tables, deskes, lutes, virginalles & many things else, (of which there hath beene proofe made already,) to make vp fraite with other principal commodities will yeeld profite.

Wine: There are two kinds of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally: the one is small and sowre of the ordinarie bignesse as ours in England: the other farre greater & of himselfe lushtious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commoditie of wines by them may be raised.

Oyle: There are two sortes of Walnutes both holding oyle, but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are milles & other devises for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised because there are infinite store. There are also three severall kindes of Berries in the forme of Oke akornes, which also by the experience and vs of the inhabitantes, wee finde to yeelde very good and sweete oyle. Furthermore the Beares of the countrey are commonly very fatte, and in some places there are many: their fatnesse because it is so liquid, may well be termed oyle, and hath many speciall uses.

Furres: All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which beeing taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, will yeelde good profite.

Wee hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people but that in some places of the countre there are store: although there were but two skinnes that came to our handes. Lucarnes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deare skinnes dressed after the manner of Chamoes or undressed are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yeerely by way of trafficke for trifles: and no more wast or spoile of Deare then is hath beene ordinarily in time before.

Civet catter: In our trauailes, there was founde one to haue beene killed by a salvage or inhabitant: and in an other place the smell where one or more had lately beene before: whereby we gather besides then by the relation of the people that there are some in the countrey: good profite will rise by them.

Iron: In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore and the other sixe score miles from the Fort or place where wee dwelt: wee founde neere the water side the ground to be rockie, which by the triall of a minerall man, was founde to holde yron richly. It is founde in manie places of the countrey else. I knowe nothing to the contrarie, but that it maie bee allowed for a good marchantable commoditie, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men: the infinite store of wood: the want of wood and deerenesse thereof in England: & the necessity of ballasting of shippes.

Copper: A hundred and fiftie miles into the maine in two townes wee founde with the inhabitants diuerse small plates of copper, that had beene made as wee vnderstood, by the inhabitantes that dwell farther into the countrey: where as they say are mountaines and
briefe and true report of the new found land of Virgini

Rivers that yeeld also whyte graynes of Mettall, which is to bee deemed Silver. For confirmation whereof at the time of our first arrivall in the Countrey, I sawe with some others with mee, two small peeces of siluer grosly beaten about the weight of a Testrone, hangyng in the eares of a Wirans or chiefe Lorde that dwelt about fourescore myles from vs; of whom thorowe enquirey, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his handes from the same place or neere, where I after understood the copper was made and the white graynes of mettall founde. The aforesaid copper wee also founde by triall to holde siluer.

Pearle: Sometimes in feeding on muscles wee founde some pearle; but it was our hap to meete with ragges, or of a pide colour; not haung yet discovered those places where wee hadrde of better and more plentie. One of our companie; a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the sauage people aboute fiue thousande: of which number he chose so many as made a fayre chaine, which for their likenesse and vniiformitie in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equalitie in greatnesse, were verie fayre and rare; and had therefore beeene presented to her Maiestie, had wee not by casualtie and through extremity of a storme, lost them with many things els in coming away from the countrey.

Sweete Gummes of diuers kindes and many other Apothecary drugges of which wee will make speciall mention, when wee shall receive it from such men of skill in that kynd, that in taking reasonable paines shall discover them more particularly then wee haue done; and than now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are nowe lost, with other thinges by causualtie before mentioned.

Dyes of diuers kindes: There is Shoemake well knowen, and used in England for blacke; the seede of an hearbe called Wassewong, little small rootes called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitaunts Tan-gomóckonmindge: which Dies are for diuers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remayne yet to be proued. The inhabitaunts use them onely for the dying of hayre; and colouring of their faces, and Mantles made of Deare skinnes; and also for the dying of Rushes to make artificiall worke withall in their Matte and Baskettes; haung no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not proue merchantable there is no doubt but the Planters there shall finde apte ses for them, as also for other colours which wee knowe to be there.

Oade: a thing of so great vent and vse amongst English Dies, which cannot bee yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground; may bee planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth therof need not to be doubted, when as in the Ilandes of the Asores it growth plentifully, which is in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger canes to plant which being not so well preserued as was requisit, & besides the time of the yere being past for their setting when we arriued, wee could not make that prowe of them as wee desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise
for Oranges, and Lemmons: there may be planted also Quinces. Wherby may grow in reasonable time if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmalades.

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

The second part, of suche commodities as Virginia is knowne to yeeld for victual and sustenance of mans life, usually fed upon by the natural inhabitants: as also by vs during the time of our aboad. And first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

*Agatowr*, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants; the same in the West Indies is called Mayze. English men call it Guinney wheate or Turkie wheate, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze and not much different in forme and shape: but of divers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweete flowre: beeing vsed according to his kinde it maketh a very good bread. Wee made of the same in the countrey some mault, whereof was brued as good ale as was to bee desired. So likewise by the help of hops therof may bee made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase; of a thousand, fifteene hundred and some two thousand fold. There are three sortes, of which two are ripe in an eleuen and twelue weekes at the most: sometimes in ten, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteeene, and is about ten foote high, of the stalkes some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and two: euery head containing five, sixe, or seuen hundred graines within a
fewe more or lesse. Of these granies besides bread, the
inhabitants make victuall eyther by parching them; or
seething them whole vntill they be broken; or boylng
the floure with water into a pappe.

*Okinigetir*, calld by vs *Beanes*, because in greatnesse
& partly in shape they are like to the Beanes in Eng-
land; sauing that they are flatter, of more dunders co-
lours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is
much different. In taste they are altogether as good as
our English peaze.

*Wickonzowr*, calld by vs *Peaze*, in respect of the
beanes for distinctiô sakes, because they are much lesse;
although in forme they little differ; but in goodnesse of
tast much, & are far better then our English peaze. Both
the beanes and peaze are ripe in tenne weekes after they
are set. They make them victuall either by boylng them
all to pieces into a broth; or boylng them whole vntill
they bee soft and beginne to breake as is vsed in Eng-
land, eyther by themselves or mixtly together: Some-
time they mingle of the wheate with them. Sometime
also beeing whole sodden, they bruse or pound them
in a morter, & thereof make loaues or lumps of dowishe
bread, which they vse to eat for varietie.

*Macleqwer*, according to their seuerall forms calld
by vs, *Pompions, Mellions*, and *Gourdes*, because they are
of the like forms as those kindes in England. In *Vir-
ginia* such of seuerall forms are of one taste and very
good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of
two sorts; one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the
other in two moneths.

There is an hearbe which in Dutch is calld *Molden.*
Some of those that I describe it vncto, take it to be a
kinde of Orage; it growtheth about foure or five foote
high: of the seede thereof they make a thicke broth, and
pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning
into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall
many vs sometimes to season their brothes; other salte
they knowe not. Wee ourselfes vsed the leaues also for
pot-hearbes.

There is also another great hearbe in forme of a
Marigolde, autht sixe foote in height; the head with the
floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to bee *Planta
Solis* of the seedes heereof they make both a kinde of
bread and broth.

All the aforesaide commodities for victuall are set
or sowed, sometimes in groundes a part and seuerally by
theselues; but for the most part together in one ground
mixtly: the manner thereof with the dressing and pre-
paring of the ground, because I will note vncto you the
fertilite of the soile; I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dounge
or any other thing; neither plow nor digge it as we in
England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A
fewe daies before they sowe or set, the men with wooden
instruments, made almost in forme of mattockes or hoes
with long handles; the women with short peckers or par-
ers, because they vse them sitting, of a foote long and
about fiue inches in breadth: doe onely breake the up-
per part of the ground to rayse vp the weeds, grasse, &
old stubbes of corne stalkes with their rootes. The which
after a day or twoes drying in the Sunne, being scrapte
vp into many small heapes, to saue them labour for car-
rying them away; they burne into ashes. (And whereas
some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better
the grounde; I say that then they woulde eyther dis-
perse the ashes abroad; which wee observed they doe
not, except the heapes bee too great: or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of:) And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they use.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines with that care they touch not one another, (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the mould againe: and so through out the whole plot, making such holes and vsing them after such maner: but with this regard that they bee made in ranke, every ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yarde, and the holes also in every ranke, as much. By this means there is a yarde spare ground betwene every hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze: in diuers places also among the seedes of Macócqwer Melden and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English Acre conteining fourtie pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doeth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, beanes, and peaze, at the least two hundred London bushelles: besides the Macócqwer, Melden, and Planta solis: Whenas in England fourtie bushelles of our wheate yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this vnto you, t y you which shall inhabite and plant there, maie know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: Besides the manifold waies in applying it to victuall, the increase is so much that small labour and pains is needful in respect that must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made proffe of, one man may prepare and husband so much grounde (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twentie houres labour, as shall yeelde him victuall in a large proportion for a twelue moneth, if hee haue nothing else, but that which the same ground will yeelde, and of that kinde onelie which I haue before spoken of: the saide ground being also but of fife and twentie yards square. And if neede require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfsame ground two harvestes or ofcomes; for they sowe or set and may at anie time when they thinke good from the middest of March vntill the ende of Iune: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two harvests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne nevertheles whether to vse or not to vse it, you that inhabite maie do as you shall haue farther cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for barlie, oates and peaze, we haue seene proof of; not beeing purposely sowne but fallen casually in the worst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer seene here in England. But of wheat because it was mistie and had taken salt water wee could make no triall: and of rye we had none. Thus much haue I digressed and I hope not vnnecessary: nowe will I returne againe to my course and intreate of that which yet remaineth appertaining to this Chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed a part by it selfe & is called by the inhabitants eppówoc: In the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places & countries where it groweth and is vsed: The Spaniards generally call it Tobacco. The leaves thereof being dried
and brought into powder: they use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of clay into their stomack and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame & other grosse humors, openeth all the pores & passages of the body: by which means the use thereof, not only preserveth the body from obstructions; but also if any be, so that they have not beene of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, & know not many greenious diseases wherewithall wee in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This *Vppówoc* is of so precious estimation amongst the, that they think their gods are maruely delighted therewith: Wherupon sometime they make hallowed fires & cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a ware for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, somtime dauncing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, & staring vp into the heaues, uttering therewithal and chattering strange words & noises.

We ourselves during the time we were there vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, & haue found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation woulde require a volume by it selfe: the use of it by so manie of late, men & women of great calling as else, and some learned Phisitions also, is sufficient witnes.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life that I know and can remember they use to husband: all else that followe are founde growing naturally or wilde.

---

**Of Rootes.**

*Penauk* are a kind of roots of round forme, some of the bignes of walnuts, some far greater, which are found in moist & marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, or as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden they are very good meate.

*Okeepenauk* are also of round shape, found in dry groūds: some are of the bignes of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground, for by reason of their drinessse they will neither roste nor seeth. Their tast is not so good as of the former rootes, notwithstanding for want of bread & somtimes for varietie the inhabitants use to eate them with fish or flesh, and in my judgement they doe as well as the houshold bread made of rie heere in England.

*Kaishúcpenauk* a white kind of roots about the bignes of hen eggs & nere of that forme: their tast was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and manner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding used to boile & eate many.

*Tsinar* a kind of roote much like vnto ʒ which in England is called the *China root* brought from the East Indies. And we know not anie thing to the contrary but that it maie be of the same kind. These roots grow manie together in great clusters and doe bring forth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape far vnlike; which bee-ing supported by the trees it groweth neerest vnto, wil reach or clime to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh beeing chopt into small pieces & stampt, is strained with water a juice that maketh bread, & also being boiled, a very good spone-
meate in manner of a gelly, and is much better in tast if it bee tempered with oyle. This *Tinaw* is not of that sort which by some was caused to be brought into England for the *China root*, for it was discouered since, and is in vse as is aforesaid: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowne neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose; although the rootes in shape are very like. *Cosúsham*, some of our company tooke to bee that kinde of roote which the Spaniards in the West Indies call *Cassauy*, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddie poolees and moist groundes. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it ma-keth a good bread, and also a good sponemeate, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants: The iuice of this root is poison, and therefore heede must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: Either the rootes must bee first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being pounded into floure wil make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to bee pared, cut into pieces and stampt; loues of the same to be laid neere or ouer the fire vntill it be soure, and then being well pounded againe, bread, or spone meate very god in taste, and holsome may be made thereof.

*Habascon* is a roote of hoat taste almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parseneepe, of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe beeing boiled together with other meates.

There are also *Leekes* differing little from ours in England that grow in many places of the countrey, of which, when we came in places where they were, wee gathered and eate many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

**Of Fruites.**

*Hestnuts,* there are in divers places great store: some they use to eate rawe, some they stampe and boile to make spoonemeate, and with some being sodde they make such a manner of downe bread as they use of their beanes before mentioned.

*Walnuts:* There are two kindes of Walnuts, and of the infinit store: In many places where very great woods for many miles together the third part of trees are walnut-trees. The one kind is of the same taste and forme or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater and hath a verie ragged and harde shell: but the kernell great, verie oylie and sweete. Besides their eating of them after our ordinarie maner, they breake them with stones and pound them in morters with water to make a milk which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonmeate; also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompiions which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste. *Medlars* a kind of verie good fruit, so called by vs chieflie for these respectes: first in that they are not good vntill they be rotten: then in that they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different: for they are as red as cherries and very sweet: but whereas the cherie is sharpe sweet, they are lusious sweet.

*Metaquesúnnauk,* a kinde of pleasant fruite almost of the shape & bignesse of English peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaues are verie thicke and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that haue bin in the Indies, where they haue seen that kind of red
die of great price which is called Cochinile to grow, doe describe his plant right like vnto this of Metaqesún-nauk but whether it be the true cochinile or a bastard or wilde kind, it cannot yet be certified; seeing that also as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruite but founde on the leaues of the plant; which leaues for such matter we have not so specially obserued.

Grapes there are of two sorts which I mentioned in the marchantable comodities.

Straberries there are as good & as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Appelcrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as wee haue in England.

Sacquenúmmener a kinde of berries almost like vnto capres but somewhat greater which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or herb that is found in shalow waters: being boiled eight or nine hours according to their kind are very good meate and holesome, otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantick or extremely sicke.

There is a kind of reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our rie or wheat, & being boiled is good meate.

In our trauailes in some places wee founde wilde peaze like vnto ours in England but that they were lesse, which are also good meate.

Of a kinde of fruite or berrie in forme of Acorns.

There is a kind of berrie or acorne, of which there are five sorts that grow on seuerall kinds of trees; the one is called Sagatémener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckóner. These kind of acorns they vse to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds with fire vnderneath almost after the maner as we dry malt in Englad. When they are to be vsed they first water them vntil they be soft & then being sod they make a good victual, either to eate so simply, or els being also pounded, to make loaues or lumpes of bread. These be also the three kinds of which, I said before, the inhabitants vsed to make sweet cyle.

An other sort is called Sapúmmener which being boiled or parched doth eate and taste like vnto chest-nuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fifth sort is called Mangümmenauk, and is the acorne of their kind of oake, the which beeing dried after the maner of the first sortes, and afterward wa-tered they boile them, & their seruants or sometime the chiefe theselues, either for variety or for want of bread, doe eate them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beastes.

Deare, in some places there are great store: neere vnto the sea coast they are of the ordinarie bignes as ours in England, & some lesse: but further vp into the countrey where there is better feed they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer and the snags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies, Those that we have seen & al that we can heare of are of a grey colour like vnto hares: in some places there are such plentie that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those they usuall take.

Sacquenúckot & Maquówoc, two kindes of small beastes greater then conies which are very good meat. We never tooke any of them our selues, but sometime eate of such as the inhabitants had taken & brought vnto vs.
Squirrels which are of a grey colour, we haue takē & eatē. Beares which are all of black colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat; the inhabitants in time of winter do use to take & eate manie, so also somet ime did wee. They are taken commonlie in this sort. In some Ilands or places where they are, being hunted for, as soone as they haue spiall of a man they presently run awaie, & then being chased they clime and get vp the next tree they can, from whence with arrows they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed; we sometime shotte them downe with our caleeuers.

I haue the names of eight & twenty severall sortes of beasts which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the coutrie, especially in the maine: of which there are only twelve kinds that we haue yet discouered, & of those that be good meat we know only them be fore mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kil the Lyon & eat him: & we sometime as they came to our hands of their Wolves or woluih Dogges, which I haue not set downe for good meat, lest that some woulde vnderstand my judgement therin to be more simple than needeth, although I could allege the difference in taste of those kindes from ours, which by some of our company haue beene experimented in both.

Of Foule.

Turkie cockes and Turkie hennes: Stockdoues. Partridges: Cranes. Herne: & in winter great store of Swannes & Geese. Of al sortes of foule I haue the names in the countrie language of fourescore and sixe of which number besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, & haue the pictures as they were there drawne with the names of the inhabitaunts of severall strange sortes of water foule eight, and seuenteeone kinds more of land foule, although wee haue seen and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose coulde not bee pictured: and after wee are better furnishe and stored vpon further discouery, with their strange bestes, fishe, trees, plants, and hearbes, they shall bee also published.

There are also Parats, Faulcons, & Marlin haukes, which although with vs they bee not vsed for meate, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fishe.

Or foure monethes of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plentie of Sturgeon: And also in the same monethes of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eightene, twentie inches, and some two foote in length and better; both these kindes of fishe in those monethes are most plentifull, and in best season, which wee founde to bee most delicate and pleasant meate.

There are also Troutes: Porpoises: Rays: Oldwiues: Mullets: Plaice: and very many other sortes of excellent good fishe, which we haue taken & eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrie language; wee haue of twelue sorts more the pictures as they were drawn in the countrie with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take the two maner of wayes, the one is by a kind of warde made of reedes which in that countrey are very strong. The other way which is
more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one ende, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irishmen cast darte; either as they are rowing in their boates or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plentie of these kindes which follow.

Sea crabbes, such as we haue in England.

Oysters, some very haue, and some small; some rounde and some of a long shape: They are founde both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are far better than the other as in our owne countrey.

Also Muscles: Scalopes: Periwinkles: and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crustie shell fishe which is good meate, about a foote in breadth, hauing a crustie tayle, many legges like a crab; and her eyes in her backe. They are founde in shallowes of salt waters; and sometime on the shoare.

There are many Tortoyes both of lande and sea kinde, their backes & bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feete, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly as though they were members of a serpent or venomous: but notwithstanding they are very good meate, as also their egges. Some haue bene founde of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sortes of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre foorth as I knowe and can remember or that are specially worthy to bee remembred.
Boxes, Bedsteedes, Lutes, Virginals, and many things els, as I haue also said before. Some of our company which haue wandered in some places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus which for such and other excellent vses, is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Witch-hazel, wherof the inhabitants vse to make their bowes.

Holly a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weelles to take fish after the English manner, although the inhabitants vse only reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, do serue for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske, hoopes: and if neede require, plow worke, as also for many things els.

Elme.

Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in tast and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardus describeth to bee Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

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

Now for Stone, Bricke and Lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to bee found (except a fewe small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as haue bene brought from farther out of the maine. In some of our voiages wee haue scene diuers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of grey stone like vnto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleene wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrie were of all sortes verey many, although of Quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vse of any store whereupon they should haue occasion to seeke any. For if euery housholde haue one or two to cracke Nuttes, grinde shelles, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they haue enough: neither vse they any digging, but onely for graves about three foote deepe: and therefore no maruaile that they know neither Quarries, nor lime stones, which both may bee in places neerer than they wot of.

In the meane time vntill there bee discouerie of sufficient store in some place or other conuenient, the want of you which are and shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by Bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie; and also by lime made of Oister shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Iles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowne to bee as good as any other. And of Oister shels there is plentie enough: for besides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallowe sounde along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the grounde is nothing els beeing but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

This much can I say further more of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side
of a hill was founde by a Gentleman of our company, a
great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good
to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and manners of
the people.

T resteth I speake a word or two of the nat-
urall inhabitants, their natures and maners,
leaving large discourse thereof vntill time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in re-
spect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall have cause both to feare
and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made
of Deere skins, & aprons of the same rounde about their
middles; all els naked; of such a difference of statures
only as wee in England; havin no edge toole or weap-
ons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither know
they how to make any: those weapons they haue, are
onlie bowes made of Witch hazle, & arrowes of reeds;
flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long,
neither haue they any thing to defe"d the"selves but tar-
gets made of barks; and some armours made of stickes
wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, & neere the sea coast
but few, some containing but 10. or 12. houses: some
20. the greatest that we havseene haue bene but of 30.
houses: if they be walled it is only done with barks of
trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed
vpright and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles made fast
at the tops in rounde forme after the maner as is vsed
in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most
townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificiall
mattes made of long rushes; from the tops of the houses
downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly
double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12.
and 16. yards long, and in other some wee haue seene of
foure and twentie.

In some places of the countrey one onely towne be-
longeth to the gouvernment of a Wirôans or chiefe Lorde;
in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, & more;
the greatest Wirôans that yet we had dealing with had
but eightene townes in his gouvernment, and able to
make not aboue seuen or eight hundred fighting men at
the most: The language of euery gouvernment is differ-
ent from any other, and the farther they are distant the
greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselues is either
by sudden surprising one an other most cōmonly about
the dawning of the day, or moone light; or els by am-
bushes, or some suttle deuises: Set battels are very rare,
except it fall out where there are many trees, where ey-
ther part may haue some hope of defence, after the de-
liverie of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres between vs & them, what
their fight is likely to bee, we havinge advautes against
them so many maner of waies, as by our discipline, our
strange weapons and deuises els; especially by ordinar
great and small, it may be easily imagined; by the experi-
ence we haue had in some places, the turning vp of their
heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.
In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we haue, they seeme very ingenuous; For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as we; yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by howe much they vpon due consideration shall finde our manner of knowledges and craftes to exceede theirs in perfection, and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendships & love, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped if meanes of good governement bee vsed, that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true religion.

Some religion they haue alreadie, which although it be farre from the truth, yet beyng as it is, there is hope it may bee the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleue that there are many Gods which they call Montóac, but of different sortes and degrees; one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who as they affirme when hee purposed to make the worlde, made first other goddes of a principall order to bee as meane and instruments to bee vsed in the creation and governement to follow; and after the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as pettie goddes and the instruments of the other order more principall. First they say were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

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

But how manie yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relatiō, hating no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe recordes of the particularities of times past, but onelie tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, & therfore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewásōwok one alone is called Kewás; Them they place in houses appropriate or temples which they call Machicómuck; Where they worship, praiie, sing, and make manie times offerings vnto them. In some Machicómuck we haue seene but one Kewás, in some two, and in other some three; The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the bodie according to the worke it hath done, it is eyther carried to heauen the habitation of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to bee in the furthest partes of their part of the worlde towards the sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde mee two stories of two men that had been lately dead and resuited againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the countrey of a wicked man which hating beeene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave beeing seene to moue, was taken vp againe; Who made declaration where his soule had
beene, that is to say very neere entring into Popogosso, had not one of the gods saued him & gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should doe to avoid that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the same yeere wee were there, but in a towne that was threescore miles from vs, and it was tolde mee for straunge newes that one beeing dead, buried and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his bodie had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was alieue, and had travailed farre in a long broade waie, on both sides whereoef grewe most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruities then euer hee had seene before or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which hee met his father, that had beene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe and shew his friends what good they were to doe to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtily sooner be in the Wiroances and Priestes, this opinion worketh so much in manie of the common and simple sort of people that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gournours, and also great care what they do, to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy blisse; although notwithstanding there is punishment ordained for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers; some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnes of the factes.

And this is the summe of their religiö, which I learned by hauing special familiarity with some of their priestes. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories but through confersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more than we had means for want of perfect utterance in their language to expresse.

Most thinges they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea compasses, the vertue of the loadstone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed manie strange sightes, burning glasses, wildfire workes, gunnes, bookes, writing and reading, spring clocks that seeme to goe of themselues, and manie other thinges that wee had, were so strange vnfo them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bin givun and taught vs of the gods. Which made manie of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the truth of god and religion already, it was rather to be had from vs, whom God so specially loued then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was givun vnfo that we spake of concerning such matters.

Manie times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the con-tentes of the Bible; that therein was set foorth the true and onelie GOD, and his mightie workes, that therein was contayned the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with manie particularities of Miracles and chiefe poyntes of religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fitte for the time. And although I told them the booke materially & of itself was not of anie such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine
therein contained; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their brests and heades, and stroke ouer all their bodie with it; to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with vs at our prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalms; hoping thereby to bee partaker of the same effectes which wee by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuously sicke that he was like to die, and as hee laie languishing, doubting of anye helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking he was in such daunger for offending vs and thereby our god, sent for some of vs to praie and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requestes of manie others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drouth which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many woulde come to vs & desire vs to praie to our God of England, that he would preserue their corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruite.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurtes, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes therof for offending or not pleasing vs.

One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, will I mention before I ende, which movued the whole countrey that either knew or hearde of vs, to have vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where we had any subtile devise practised against vs, we leauing it unpunished or not reuenged (because wee sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a fewe dayes after our departure from euerie such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in some townes about twenty, in some fourtie, in some sixtie, & in one sixe score, which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that wee coulde learne but where wee had bene, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time; The disease also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; the like by report of the oldest men in the countrey never happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves.

Insomuch that when some of the inhabitantes which were our friends & especially the Wiroans Wingina had observed such effects in foure or fiue towns to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that wee by him might kil and slai whom wee would without weapons and not come neere them.

And thereupon when it had happened that they had understandeing that any of their enemies had abused vs in our journeyes, hearing that wee had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, & fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that we woulde bee a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die; alleaging howe much it would be for our credite and profite, as also theirs; and
hoping furthermore that we would do so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professe them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodlie, affirming that our God would not subject him selfe to anie such praiers and requestes of men: that in deede all thinges haue beene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordained: and that we to shew our selues his true seruant and ought rather to make petition for the contrarie, that they with them might liue together with vs, bee made partakers of his truth & serue him in righteousnes; but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that as all other thinges, to bee done according to his diuine will & pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordained to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so sodainly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, and that we in vsing such speeches vnto them did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to give vs thankes in their manner that although wee satisfied them not in promise, yet in deeds and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This maruelous accident in all the countrie wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to think vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that wee were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an old generation many yeeres past then risen againe to immortalitie.

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

Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet invisibell & without bodies, & that they by our intreaty & for the loue of vs did make the people to die in that sort as they did by shootinge invisibell bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion their phisitions to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease, would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithal the invisibell bullets were tied and cast.

Some also thought that we shot them our selues out of our pieces from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any such towne that had offended vs as we listed, how farre distant from vs soeuer it were.

And other some saide that it was the speciall woorke of God for our sakes, as wee our selues haue cause in some sorte to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe or maie imagine to the contrarie, specially some Astrologers knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which wee saw the same yeere before in our voyage thytherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which beganne to appeare but a few daies before the beginning of the said sickness. But to conclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are farther reasons then I thinke fit at this present to bee alleaged.

These their opinions I haue set downe the more at large that it may appeare vnto you that there is good
hope they may be brought through discreet dealing and
gouvernement to the imbracing of the truth, and conse-
sequently to honour, obey, fear and love vs.

And although some of our companie towards the
ende of the yeare, shewed themselves too fierce, in slay-
ing some of the people, in some towns, upon causes that
on our part, might easily enough have been borne with-
all: yet notwithstanding because it was on their part
justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions gene-

eral & for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be
doubted. And whatsoeuer els they may be, by careful-
nesse of our selves neede nothing at all to be feared.

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

The Conclusion.

Now I have as I hope made relation not of so fewe
and smal things but that the countrey of men
that are indifferent & wel disposed maie be suf-

ficiently liked: If there were no more known then I
have mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is
nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, nei-
ther the soile, nor commodities. As we have reason so to
gather by the difference we found in our travailes: for al-
though all which I have before spoken of, haue bin dis-
covered & experimented not far fro the sea coast where
was our abode & most of our travailing: yet somtimes as
we made our journies farther into the maine and coun-
trey; we found the soyle to bee fatter; the trees greater
and to growe thinner; the grounde more firme and
deepere mould; more and larger champions; finer grasse
and as good as ever we saw any in England; in some
places rockie and farre more high and hillie ground;
more plentie of their fruietes; more abundance of beastes;
the more inhabited with people, and of greater policie
& larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from
the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of
other things, as of those which we have alreadie dis-
covered? Vnto the Spaniardes happened the like in dis-
covering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of
this countrey of Virginia, extending some ways so many
cundredes of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation
of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge
of, where yet no Christian Prince hath any possesion or
dealing, cannot but yeeld many kinds of excellent com-
modies, which we in our discoverie haue not yet seen.

What hope there is els to be gathered of the nature
of the climate, being answerable to the Island of Japan, the
land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilandes of Cyprus and Candy,
the South parts of Greece, Italy, and Spaine, and of many
other notable and famous countreis, because I meane not
to be tedious, I leave to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the ayre
there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and
ever so violentely hot, as sometimes is vnder & between
the Tropikes, or nere them; cannot bee vnknowne vnto
you without farther relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus
much: that for all the want of provision, as first of Eng-
lish victual; excepting for twentie daies, wee liued only
by drinking water and by the victual of the countrey, of
which some sorts were very straunge vnto vs, and might
haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort as to haue brought vs into some greenous and dangerous diseases: secodly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fishe, and foule, which by the helpe only of the inhabitants and their meanes, coulde not bee so suddenly and easily provided for vs, nor in so great numbers & quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also wee had of clothes. Furthermore, in all our trauailes which were most speciall and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the grounde. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere and that but at the latter ende thereof and vpon none of the aforesaid causes. For all foure especially three were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knewe them much marueled that they liued so long beeing in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the ayre there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile and yeelding such commodities as I haue before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro beeing sufficiently experimented, to bee perfourmed thrise a yeere with ease and at any seasion thereof: And the dealing of Sir W ater Raleigh so liberaull in large giuing and graunting lande there, as is alreadie knowen, with many helpes and furtherances els: (The least that hee hath granted hath beeene fine hundreds acres to a man onely for the adventure of his person): I hope there remaine no cause wherby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably prouided for the first yeere as those are which were transported the last, and beeing there doe vse but that diligence and care as is requisite, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following they may haue victuals that is excellent good and plentie enough; some more Englishe sorts of cattaile also hereafter, as some haue bene before, and are there yet remaining, may and shall bee God willing thither transported: So likewise our kinde of fruiter, rootes, and hearbes may bee there planted and sowed, as some haue bene alreadie, and proue wel. And in short time also they may raise of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruites of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: what els concerneth the nature and manners of the inhabitants of Virginia: The number with the particularities of the voyages thither made; and of the actions of such that haue bene by Sir Water Raleigh therein and there imployed, many worthy to bee remembred; as of the first discoverers of the Countrey: of our generall for the time Sir Richard Greinuile; and after his departure, of our Gouernour there Master Rafe Lane; with diuers other directed and imployed vnder theyr gouernement: Of the Captaynes and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation; of the Gouernour and assistants of those alreadie transported, as of many persons, accidents, and thinges els, I haue ready in a discourse by it self in maner of a Chronicle according to the course
of times, and when time shall be thought convenient shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good success of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and governour not only of this but of all things els, I take my leave of you, this moneth of February. 1588.

FINIS.
He joined the exploring expedition led by his half-brother Humphrey Gilbert 1578–79 as captain of the ship *Falcon*. He served in the army in Ireland in 1580–81, when he returned to court and caught the attention of Queen Elizabeth. He was knighted in 1585 and appointed vice-admiral and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, giving him judicial and military power over Cornwall. He secured a patent for settlement of Virginia in 1584, and worked with Thomas Hariot and the Hakluyts to prepare for and publicize the attempt. Leadership of the expedition was entrusted to Raleigh’s cousin, Sir Richard Grenville. Raleigh also sponsored the 1587 settlement attempt under John White, and probably aided in the publication of Hariot’s “Brief and True Report.”

After the attempted settlements in Virginia, Raleigh continued to invest in privateering, organize military defenses, and undertake diplomatic commissions. However, in 1592 his secret marriage to one of the queen’s maids of honor, Elizabeth Throckmorton (1565–1647), was discovered, and he was stripped of his honors and, along with his wife, imprisoned in the Tower for several months. He was banned from the court until 1597. He was elected to Parliament in 1593, and again in 1597 and 1601. In 1595 he financed and led an expedition that sacked the Spanish colony at Trinidad and explored the Orinoco River. On his return he published *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*. In 1596 he helped command the successful assault on Cadiz, and was wounded in the action. In 1597, he served under the Earl of Essex in an expedition against Spain and commanded the capture of Fajal in the Azores. In 1600 he was appointed governor of the isle of Jersey. He was in London February 8, 1601, where he helped quell the rebellion of Essex, and he officiated at his execution later that month. After the death of Elizabeth in 1603, Raleigh was stripped of his titles and estates by James I, and imprisoned in the Tower for his alleged participation in the “Main plot.” He remained in the Tower 13 years, until released in 1616 to lead an expedition to discover and claim gold mines on the Orinoco. This expedition failed to find any gold, and the Spanish settlement at San Thomé was stormed and burnt in January 1618, endangering the temporary peace with Spain. On his return to England, Raleigh was again charged with treason and imprisoned in the Tower, and was executed October 29, 1618.

1.18 *Thomas Hariot* [sometimes spelled Harriot (c.1560–1621), colonist, cartographer, mathematician, and natural philosopher. He was born in Oxford, attended the college at St Mary Hall, and was awarded a BA degree in 1580. He was employed by Sir Walter Raleigh to teach mathematics and navigation to Raleigh and his sea captains in London. He learned the rudiments of the Algonquian language from two Indians brought back from an exploratory voyage to Virginia in 1584. He was a member of the first English colony that settled at Roanoke Island in June 1585 and returned to England with Sir Francis Drake in June 1586.

After the publication of this account of Virginia, Hariot participated briefly in Raleigh’s Irish colonization attempts before returning to London. In the mid-1590s, he settled at Syon, on an income endowed by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. There he engaged in mathematical, astronomical, and scientific researches, but, although he corresponded with many leading European men of science, he never published any of his discoveries. His surviving papers established his reputation as a pioneer in the development of calculus, optics, and astronomical observation.

1.21 Imprinted at London 1588. ] R. G. Adams has identified the printer (on the basis of the ornament) as Robert Robinson, although there is no entry in the Stationers’ Register for the publication.
3.2 *Equieres*] Equerry of the Great Stable, a minor post in the royal household.

5.14 this last yeare of 1587] The second colonizing attempt, led by John White, also occupied Roanoke Island. White returned to England for supplies in the fall, but was prevented from returning, first by the Spanish Armada, and then by bad weather, until 1590. He found the settlement deserted and the settlers, including his daughter and granddaughter (Virginia Dare, the first English child born in America) disappeared.

5.21–22 other voyage ... sice weokes] In 1584, Ralegh had sent two ships, commanded by Philip Amadis and Arthur Barlow, who explored the coastal regions of present-day North Carolina during July-August, claimed the lands in the name of the queen, traded with the native inhabitants, and brought back two Algonkins, Manteo and Wanchese.

9.24 *Silke of grasse*] This probably refers to bear grass (*Yucca flaccida*), or possibly the spoon-leaf yucca (*Y. filamentosa*), Spanish bayonet (*Y. aloifolia*), or mound-lily yucca (*Y. gloriosa*), also common in the region.

10.13 *Grogan*] Gragram or grosgrain: a coarse fabric woven of silk, wool, mohair, or a mixture of these.

10.14 *Worme Silke*] Silkworms were not native to North America, and Hariot may be describing various tent caterpillars or web-worms.

10.27 *Flaxe and Hempe*] Several species of wild flax (*Linum virginianum* and *L. medium*) are found in the region, but heimp is not native to eastern North Carolina.

11.12 *Roche Allum*] rock alum or alum de rocca

11.14–15 *White Copresse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum*] white copperas: protosulphate of zinc; nitre: sodium carbonate (natron) or potassium nitrate (saltpeter); alumen plumeum: plume or feather alum.

11.17–18 *Wapeib ... terra Sigillata*] The native term suggests “white clay”; the Latin is a term for Lemnian earth.

12.5 *Monardus*] Nicholas Monardes; the work was a 1577 translation by John Frampton of La historia medicinal de las cosas que se trae de nuestras Indias Occidentales que se siruen en medicina (Seville, 1574).

12.9 *virginalles*] a keyed musical instrument resembling a spinet without legs

12.31 *weares*] weirs, also weels: traps, usually for taking fish

13.1 *Marterne*] obs. form of marten

13.4 *Lucarnes*] lucernes, lynxes

13.11 *Ciuet cattes*] The scent glands of the African civet cat were a valuable commodity used in the manufacture of perfume. Hariot’s context suggests that the animal here referred to is the skunk. No commercial applications of skunk scent have yet been developed.

14.5 *Testrone*] The teston of Henry VIII, a sixpence coin

15.6 *Wasewowr*] The native term suggests “shiny seeds”; one possibility is the berry of the pokeweed (*Phytolacca americana*), used for purple dye.

15.8 *Tangomóckonomindge*] perhaps bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis*).

15.19 *Oade*] Woad: blue dye made from *Istatis tinctoria*

15.25 *Madder*] *Rubia tinctoria*, or various other plants yielding red dye
dowishe] i.e., dough-ish

Melden] Dutch for plants of the spinach family

Orage] Orache or orach: plants of the genus *Atriplex*, also known as goosefoot.

spanne] distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger; about 9 inches (22 cm)

*Planta Solis*] sunflowers

pearches] perch: a rod of 5 1/2 yards (16 1/2 feet) used in measuring land; the measures mentioned are standard for an English acre

offcome] offcome (obs.)—product or produce

fleame] phlegm

Openauk] probably the ground nut (*Apios tuberosa*)

Okeepenauk] probably wild potato or man-root (*Ipomea pandurata*)

Kainihstpenauk] probably arrow-head or duck potato (*Sagittaria latifolia*)

Tininaw] probably a native pronunciation of “China”; the plant was probably woody smilax.

Corúshaw] The natives used two species—the arrow arum (*Peltandra virginica*) and the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*)—that fit this description.

Habascon] possibly the cow parsip (*Heracleum lanatum*)

hoat] obs. form of “hot”

Medlars] The Eurasian medlar tree (*Mespilus germanica*) bears a fruit resembling the crab-apple; Hariot refers here to the persimmon.

Metaquesûnnauk] prickly pear cacti

Cochinile] red dye made from dried crushed bodies of an insect parasite of the nopal cactus

Hurts or Hurtleberries] Whortleberries were not native to America; probably blueberries, huckleberries, or cranberries are meant.

Sacquénûmmener] possibly arrow arum (*Peltandra virginica*) or pepper-vine (*Ampelopsis arborea* or *A. cordata*)

reed ... seed] probably wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*)

flue] down or fluff

Saquenûckot & Maquówoc] possibly raccoons, opossums, or muskrats

caleeuers] calibers or firearms

also published] Hariot’s longer account of the colony and the country was never published and has not survived among his papers.

wear] weir; see note to 12.31

Creuises] crayfish or lobsters

Seekanauk] the horseshoe crab or king crab (*Limulus polyphemus*), known in several native languages along the Atlantic as sekonk

Rakíock] The native word suggests “soft wood,” possibly the tulip or cypress tree.

Iles of Tenet and Shepy] in Kent, England

champions] champaigns—open level country

a Chronicle] never published; see note to 29.9
Note on the Text


The text of this online electronic edition of Hariot’s *A Brief and True Report* is based on the first quarto edition of 1588, transcribed from digitized images of the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, accessed in the Early English Books Online series, and collated against the published facsimile edition (1951) of the William L. Clements Library copy. The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and use of italics in Hariot’s 1588 quarto edition have been preserved in this online electronic text. The typeface used is IM Fell English, originally cut in the late sixteenth century, probably by Christoffel van Diijck (roman & small caps) and Robert Granjon (italic). Electronic versions of the face were digitized and furnished by Igino Marini (http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html). To accommodate modern users, and to improve searching capacity, the long s (f) and its ligatures (ft, fi, ff, fh, and fl) have not been used. The ornaments, initials, and headpieces are reproductions or reconstructions of those used in the 1588 quarto.

Emendations listed in Hariot’s original “Faults escaped” (printed at the end of the 1588 edition) have been made, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page, line</th>
<th>1588 reading</th>
<th>emended to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.7–8</td>
<td>Tangomóckoming</td>
<td>Tangomockonomindge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>also be</td>
<td>also may be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.23</td>
<td>god in taste</td>
<td>good in taste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following typographical errors have been corrected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page, line</th>
<th>1588 reading</th>
<th>emended to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>his plant</td>
<td>this plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>alter</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.24</td>
<td>inhabitants</td>
<td>inhabitants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>baue</td>
<td>haue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.30</td>
<td>Frst</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.15</td>
<td>but on</td>
<td>but one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.31</td>
<td>us,</td>
<td>us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.21</td>
<td>ob[ ]serued</td>
<td>observed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally, in the 1588 edition, the ornamental initial S on page 9, line 24, was printed upside down; it is here placed in its proper orientation.

Paul Royster
University of Nebraska-Lincoln
June 25, 2007
Online Resources

The plates of the De Bry edition, and samples of John White’s watercolor drawings on which the plates were based, can be seen online at:

http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/introduction.html

An extensive bibliography of works about Thomas Hariot can be seen online at:

http://www.rensoc.org.uk/ths/THSBibliography.htm