

to the memorable story Smith told later in his life, he was ordered to be executed but saved at the last minute by Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas. But he did not mention Pocahontas in an account of his experiences written soon after his safe return to the colony, a letter published in London as *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Hath Happened in Virginia* (1608). Smith also sent off to London a map of the area and information he had gathered from other colonists, which were later published as *A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Countrey* (1612). In the meantime, conditions were becoming increasingly difficult at Jamestown, where Smith was elected president of the governing council in 1608. Many of the colonists were unprepared for either the hard work of settlement or the hostility of the native population, and disease and the lack of food contributed to their low morale. As a result of the strict discipline and labor policies instituted by Smith, the situation in the colony began to improve. Nonetheless, he became increasingly unpopular. After being badly burned in a gunpowder explosion, he was forced to sail to England for treatment in 1609.

Although Smith wanted to return, reports of his unpopular leadership made it impossible, and he never again set foot in Virginia. He consequently turned his attention elsewhere: to New England. In 1614, Smith sailed there in order to conduct a survey for the establishment of a new colony. On his return voyage in 1615, he was captured by pirates. During his captivity, he wrote *A Description of New England* (1616), a book that encouraged others to establish settlements there, notably the Pilgrims, to whom Smith offered his services as a guide on their voyage in 1620. But the Pilgrims did not consider Smith to be sufficiently religious, and he never again participated in a colonial settlement. Instead, the former soldier, explorer, and adventurer spent his remaining years in England, devoting himself to writing. During the final decade of his life, he published *New England's Trials* (1620, 1622), his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624), and an autobiography, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* (1630). Smith did not live to complete his final work. *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters in New England, or Anywhere*, another attempt to promote successful colonial settlement in North America, was published shortly after his death in 1631.

Reading Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*. The most famous of Smith's books, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, is among the first histories of the English colonies in North America. In April 1621, members of the Virginia Company in London proposed publishing a history of its colony in Jamestown that would generate interest among English readers and consequently encourage additional settlers to immigrate. At the time, Jamestown was beginning to thrive, largely because of the export of tobacco, which had turned the struggling colony into an increasingly profitable venture. In the following year, the

This bushy-bearded, high-foreheaded, trusting man.

Who could turn his hand to anything at a pinch, Braggling, canny, impatient, durable

And fallen in love with the country at first sight. For that is something which happens or does not.

It did to him.

—Stephen Vincent Benét

always uneasy relations between the colony and the native population once again broke down, and nearly four hundred colonists were killed in an attack on settlements around Jamestown. Although Smith wanted to return to Virginia to assist in the preservation of the colony, his request was turned down by the Virginia Company. Nor is it clear that the company had Smith in mind as the author of its history of Virginia. In an effort to gain support for his return to the colony, however, Smith completed much of the first book of his *Generall Historie* by September 1622, when he published a prospectus in order to raise funds for its publication. The Duchess of Richmond and Lenox agreed to serve as his patron, and Smith dedicated the book to her when *The Generall Historie* was first published in 1624. Six more editions appeared between 1626 and 1632.

The Generall Historie is divided into six books, which include a detailed account of the Virginia Colony, as well as briefer histories of the exploration and English settlement of New England and the Summer Isles, also known as the Bermuda Islands. The main character in the book is Smith, who refers to himself in the third person. Much of his lengthy account was based on personal experiences and observations, but Smith also made liberal use of published sources, including material he had earlier gathered together in his *A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Countrey* (1612). In fact, Smith probably viewed himself, and is viewed by most scholars, as the compiler or editor rather than the sole author of *The Generall Historie*. Certainly, the book is a miscellany, combining personal history, accounts written by others, editorial commentary on actions and events, adventure stories, digressions on the flora and fauna, and descriptions of the native peoples of North America. Smith's most original contribution is the third

Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624)

The title page of Smith's history was illustrated by engravings of several of his exploits and adventures, including his rescue by Pocahontas. The caption reads: "King Powhatan commands C. Smith to be slayne, his daughter Pokahontas begs his life [.] his thankfulness and how he subjected 39 of their kings. reade ye history."



book of *The Generall Historie*, in which he narrates the events in Virginia from 1607 through 1609, especially his account of the strained relations between the English colonists and the confederacy of Indian tribes ruled by Powhatan. That part of *The Generall Historie* is, in turn, probably most famous for Smith's account of being saved from execution by Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas. Whether the incident actually took place and, if so, whether Smith either exaggerated its significance or simply misunderstood its meaning have been matters of dispute ever since he published his history and gave rise to one of the most enduring myths of early America. With only minor adjustments, the text of the following selections is taken from *The Generall Historie* from *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, edited by Philip L. Barbour (1986).

From THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA, NEW-ENGLAND, AND THE SUMMER ISLES

From The Third Book

CHAPTER II

WHAT HAPPENED TILL THE FIRST SUPPLY

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortun'd that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst us could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed us. And thereat none need marvel, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this; whilst the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for money, Saxefras,¹ furrer, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavernne, beere-house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell.² Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might have beene canonized for Saints. But our President would never have beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private,³ Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, Aquavitae,⁴ Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corne,⁵ our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre: with this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes,⁶ so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakened us,

1. Saxefras: Leaves from the sassafras tree were used to make tea and medicines.

2. common Kettell: Shared resources.

3. ingrossing to his private: The president of the colony, Edward Maria Wingfield (c. 1560-1613), took many of the common supplies for his own use.

4. Aquavitae: Brandy.

5. corne: Grain.

6. Pallisadoes: Rows of fences made of wooden stakes, used for defense.

as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped, lived upon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace⁷ by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickness) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliffe in his place, (Gosnoll being dead) Kendall deposed, Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliffe was by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the soldiers recovered, with the skilfull diligence of Master Thomas Wotton our Chirurgian⁸ generall. But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages;⁹ when God the patron of all good endeavors, in that desperate extremitie so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this intractable reason will shew them plainly they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our owne, what could be thought fitting or necessary we had, but what we should find, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall¹⁰ to live, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we were at Sea five moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time, and season to plant, by the unskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that understood not at all, what they undertooke.

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

The new President and Martin, being little beloved, of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine Smith: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the Shallop¹¹ to search the Countrey for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apprell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but six or seven in company he went downe the river to Kecoughtan,¹² where at first they scorned him, as a famished man, and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like

7. Pinnace: A small sailboat.

8. Chirurgian: Surgeon.

9. Salvages: Savages, the name given to Indians.

10. victuall: Food or provisions.

11. Shallop: A light sailboat primarily used for fishing.

12. Kecoughtan: Tribal village near the mouth of the James River.

proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforded, though contrary to his Commission: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore, whereat they all fled into the woods. So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of corne: as it happened he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from present taking of it, expecting most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order,¹³ singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an Idoll made of skinnes, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner being well armed, with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly received them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers¹⁴ lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their *Quiyoughkasoucks*¹⁵ to offer peace, and redeeme their *Okee*. Smith told them, if onely six of them would come unarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their *Okee*, and give them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild fowle, bread, and what they had, singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed. In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of Warraskoyack.¹⁶

Thus God unboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kind, would us devour.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnacle to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. Journies and discovered the people of Chickahamania:¹⁷ yet what he carefully provided the rest carelesly spent. Wingfield and Kendall living in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of Smith, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small love to Martins never mending sicknes, strengthened themselves with the sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes aboard the Pinnacle, (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for England. Smith unexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre¹⁸ and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the river, which action cost the life of captaine Kendall. These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good judgement will conclude, it were better their

13. square order: In a military formation.

14. divers: Several or many.

15. *Quiyoughkasoucks*: Priests or gods.

16. Warraskoyack: Tribal village on the Pagan River.

17. the people of Chickahamania: The Chickahominy tribe lived in villages along the Chickahominy River, near Jamestown.

18. sakre: Shot for a small cannon.

basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The President and capitaine Archer not long after intended also to have abandoned the country, which project also was curbed, and suppressed by Smith. The Spaniard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of Corne in the river of Chickahamania where hundreds of Salvages in divers places stood with baskets expecting his coming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, ducks, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia peas, pumpions, and putchamins,¹⁹ fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists²⁰ desired to goe for England. But our Comaedics never endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Capitaine Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the Councell, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sun-der he made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went up higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government, gave both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprize one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to have cut of the boat and all the rest. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall, who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the aid of a Salvage his guide, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and used him as a buckler,²¹ yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner. When this newes came to James towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued. Sixe or seven weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and conjurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprizing the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more than their owne *Quiyouckosucks*.²² The manner how they used and delivered him, is as followeth.

The Salvages having drawne from George Cassen whether Capitaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that oportunitie they followed him with 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee,²³ who in divisions searching the turnings of the river, found Robinson and Emry by the fire side, those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Capitaine, as is said, that used the Salvage that was his guide as his shield (three

19. putchamins: Persimmons.

20. Tuftaffaty humorists: Obstinate colonists, dressed in inappropriately ornate clothes.

21. buckler: A shield.

22. *Quiyouckosucks*: Alternate spelling for the term for priests or gods; see note 15.

23. King of Pamaunkee: Powhatan's half brother, Opechancanough.

of them being slaine and divers other so gauld²⁴) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more than his way, slipped up to the middle in an oasie²⁵ creeke and his Salvage with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition²⁶ they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs. He demanding for their Capitaine, they shewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall.²⁷ Much they marvelled at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Jewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the sphaere of the Sunne, Moore, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding up the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks,²⁸ where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used.

Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselves all in file, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Capitaine Smith was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remove as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him, the souldiers first all in file performed the forme of a Bissonne²⁹ so well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serjeants to see them keepe their order. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselves in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace;³⁰ their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and *Pocones*³¹ mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snakes tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while Smith and the King stood in the middest guarded, as before is said, and after three dances they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did

24. gauld: Galled or harassed in warfare, especially by arrows or shot.

25. oasie: Boggy.

26. composition: Early term for an agreement or prior arrangement.

27. Dyall: Dial.

28. Orapaks: A temporary hunting village.

29. Bissonne: Alternate spelling for *besom*, a broom-like shape.

30. vambrace: A piece of armor for the forearm.

31. Oyle and *Pocones*: Red dye made from a vegetable root, mixed with oil.

guard him, and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would have served twentie men, I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one Maocassater brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toys Smith had given him at his first arrivall in Virginia.

Two dayes after a man would have slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover³² the poore man then breathing his last. Smith told them that at James towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to assault James towne, craving his advice, and for recompence he should have life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke³³ he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to James towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

But when they came to James towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had told them they should receive an answer, and such things as he had promised them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake: then they led him to the Youghtanunds, the Mattapanients, the Payankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds, and Onawmanients³⁴ upon the rivers of Rapahanock, and Patawomek, over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunkee, where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Conjurations;³⁵

As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell.

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house,³⁶ and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other, on the one they caused him to sit, and all the

32. recover: Revive or restore to life.

33. Table booke: A small notebook.

34. Youghtanunds . . . Onawmanients: Several tribes in the confederacy ruled by Powhatan.

35. Conjurations: Invoking of spirits. The following lines are from Martin Fotherby's *Atheomastix* (1622), a collection of translations of ancient writers such as Seneca, Solon, Lucretius, and Euripides. Smith frequently quotes from Fotherby (1549?-1619) in *The Generall Historie*.

36. long house: Communal dwelling house.

guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique³⁷ tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red streaks like Mutchato's;³⁸ along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest; with red eyes, and white streaks over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe five wheat cornes: then straying his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gave a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incircled the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they used this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher,³⁹ and they in the midst. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. Opitchapam⁴⁰ the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, fowle, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to Opechancanoughs, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes,
Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.⁴¹

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco,⁴² where was Powhatan their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had

37. antique: Variant spelling for *antix*, or grotesque.

38. Mutchato's: Moustaches.

39. trencher: A wooden plate or platter.

40. Opitchapam: Powhatan's half brother; see note 23.

41. But . . . makes: Lines from *Altheimastix*; see note 35.

42. Meronocomoco: Powhatan's village, north of Jamestown.

beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries.⁴³ Before a fire upon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun⁴⁴ skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck⁴⁵ was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That lives in feare and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.⁴⁶

Two dayes after, Powhatan having disguised himselfe in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Captaine Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefulllest noyse he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devill then a man with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to James towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would give him the Country of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquoud. So to James towne with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne Barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where Smith having used the Salvages with what kinnesse he could, he shewed Rawhunt, Powhatans trusty servant two

43. braveries: Finery or fine clothes.

44. Rarowcun: Early spelling for raccoon.

45. Queene of Appamatuck: Opossunoquonuske was the leader of the Appamatuck, who lived in a small village west of Jamestown.

46. They . . . lead: Lines from *Atheomastic*; see note 35.

demi-Culverings⁴⁷ and a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the ice and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toyes, and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in generall full content. Now in James Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon⁴⁸ and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sinke. Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to have put him to death by the Levitical law,⁴⁹ for the lives of Robinson and Emry, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England. Now ever once in foure or five dayes, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their lives, that else for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
The sweete asswager of all other grieffe.⁵⁰

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bountie of Powhatan, (which till that time was unknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all mens feare was abandoned. Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good endeavour: and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choice, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition. And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to have any mention made of those inormities, let them peruse the Histories of the Spaniards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissentions have accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserve a more worthy respect.

Now whether it had bene better for Captaine Smith, to have concluded with any of those severall projects, to have abandoned the Countrey, with some ten or twelve of them, who were called the better sort, and have left Master Hunt our Preacher, Master Anthony Gosnoll, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and

47. demi-Culverings: Small cannons.

48. Sakre falcon: A small cannon, named after the saker falcon, a Middle Eastern bird of prey.

49. Levitical law: That is, the law of retribution as laid down in the Old Testament, for example Leviticus 24:21: "and he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death."

50. Thus . . . grieffe: The first line is Smith's, while the second is from *Atheomastix*; see note 35.

all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Country;) or starve himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to pre-serve the action, and save all their lives; I leave to the censure of all honest men to consider. But

We men imagine in our Iollitie,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be.
But then anone wee alter this againe,
If happily wee feele the sence of paine;
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.⁵¹

Written by Thomas Studley, the first Cape Merchant in Virginia,
Robert Fenton, Edward Harrington, and J. S.⁵²
[1624, 1986]

51. We . . . vaine: Lines from *Atheamasrte*; see note 35.

52. Written by . . . and J. S.: J. S. is John Smith, but little is known about the other authors or their possible contributions to this portion of *The Generall Historie*. They may have provided notes to Smith, or he may have invoked their names in order to affirm the authenticity of his account.