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## Virginia Voyage, 1606-1607

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### Voyage to Virginia, 1606-1607

#### Sources:

(Use browser "Bookmark" or "Back" to return to this page.)

- (1) "[The Cradle of the Republic](#)", pages 9-10
- (2) "[Hotten's Lists](#)", pages 155-
- (3) "[Bristol and America](#)", pages 9-13
- (4) "[Cavaliers and Pioneers](#)", pages xi-xx.
- (5) "[The Virginia Adventure](#)".
- (6) "[Ships of the World](#)", p. 425; citing "The Colonial Merchantman 'Susan Constant' 1605", Brian Lavery, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1988

***"On Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606, the fleet fell from London . . . ." - George Percy, settler***

Due to taking a longer route around the Canary Islands to the West Indies, and exceptionally stormy weather, they didn't arrive at the "caples of Virginia" until April 26, 1607. (Dates of various voyage events given below.) Driven by another storm into refuge in what is now Hampton Roads, they sailed up a river they named the James. After exploration in a shallop, searching for a proper site for settlement, they finally landed the settlers at "Jamestown island" on May 14, 1607. Thus did the first settlers arrive at [Virginia](#). See list of [The First Settlers](#).

**Note that various dates of "arrival" are given in different sources. This depends on the particular interpretation of "arrival", since the significant dates are well documented. In some cases the date is that of arrival at the "capes", the first landing at "Cape Henry", and the opening of the sealed box containing the names of the Councillors (all on April 26). Some refer to the setting up of a cross at "Cape Henry" (April 29). Others give the date of arrival at James island (May 13) or the disembarking of the passengers (May 14).**

**Similarly, the number of "planters" (settlers) is most often stated as being 104 men plus crews, but there is considerable variation amongst source information. Gentlemen have been listed as 42 or 54, craftsmen as 28 or 31, and "others" as 18 or 38. The total ranges from 82 (from John Smith's letter) to 144 (cit. 4 & 5, below). In some instances the mariners who returned to England may have been included. (Some, such as Captain Newport, may be included as settlers, since they were often present due to making various voyages. In others, some who died within a short time of arrival may not have been included. It is doubtful that an actual count will ever be resolved.**

### **Voyage Dates:**

**December 20, 1606** The first three ships ("*104 men and the crews*", cit. 1) departed London for Virginia.

**January 5, 1606/7**, the ships of the Virginia expedition anchored at the Downs (England). They were stormbound for about a month.

**"About" February 8, 1606/7**, the Virginia expedition left the coast of England. (cit. 1, pp. 9-10)

**February 21, 1606/7\***, they reached the Canary Islands. (cit. 6)

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**Because "*the colonists went by way of the West Indies, they were four months on the voyage.*". (cit. 1) February 23, 1606/7\*, they reached Martinique. (cit. 5)**

**\* One of these dates is doubtless wrong, since a voyage from the Canary Islands to Martinique would certainly have taken more than two days. Having arrived at the Canary Islands on the 21st, February 23 is likely to have been the date of departure from there.**

**April 26, 1607, they reached the "Capes of Virginia" and some landed at "Cape Henry". Captain Gabriel Archer and Mathew Morton were wounded in a fierce attack by Indians. A sealed box, containing the names of the appointed Councilmen, was opened that night.**

**The Councilmen named were:**

**Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield  
Captain Bartholomew Gosnold  
Captain Christopher Newport  
Captain John Smith  
Captain John Ratcliffe  
Captain John Martin (Martine)  
Captain George Kendall**

**April 29, they set up a cross at Cape Henry.**

**April 30, they visited the Indian town of Kecoughtan on the east side of the "Hampton River".**

**April 30 - May 12, some of the settlers explored the James River in a shallop under the command of Captain Newport, going as far as the "Appomattox River". During their return, on May 12, they found a point of land which they named Archer's Hope (for Captain Gabriel Archer): "*if it had not been disliked because the ships could not ride neare, we (would have) settled there to all the colonies contentment.*"**

**On May 13 the ships reached the west end of a peninsula about 5-8 miles upriver from Archer's Hope, in Paspahegh country, where they chose to settle and named it James Town in honor of the king. (cit. 1) ("Arrival" date of May 13 in cit. 4)**

**May 14, 1607, the passengers were landed on "Jamestown island". See list of [The First Settlers](#).**

**Go to the [Virginia](#) page or to the [Susan Constant](#) page.**

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**This page was last updated on March 13, 2005**

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## Virginia People, 1607

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### Virginia People

#### The First Settlers

##### Sources:

- (1) Virginia Company, list written by Captain John Smith, 1607 and including other notes here.
- (2) "[The Cradle of the Republic](#)", pages 8-9 and 33
- (3) "[Hotten's Lists](#)", pages (Virginia Musters)
- (4) "[The Virginia Adventure](#)"
- (5) "[Book of Emigrants](#)", citing *Calendars of State Papers, American Series, 1574-1660*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury, Longman & Green,
- (6) "Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia, 1606", George Percy.
- (7) "A True Relation ...", Captain John Smith, 1608
- (8) "English Estates of American Colonists" (Vol.1), by Peter V. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980.
- (9) "[Adventurers of Purse and Person](#)", Jester.

Other information is available at the main page for [Virginia](#)

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### Jamestown Settlers, 1607

104 men remained (cit. 2,6).

82 passengers listed by Smith.

Total of 93 and 2 "possibles" listed below.

Those in ( ) added from Musters and other sources.

Except as noted, none of these were killed in the massacre in March 1610 nor are they listed in the Virginia Musters in 1623/4 or 1624/5. If you are here without one of those links, notation of death, or departure in

either had returned to England, departed for other locations, or died at the first Musters.

Adling, Henry	Gentleman
Alicock, Jeremy (Standard bearer, died of wounds <sup>4,6</sup> )	Gentleman
Archer, Captain Gabriel (wounded by Indian attack at first landing, Cape Henry, April (Also member of Gosnold's 1602 expedition to New England. See <u>Gosnoll</u> , below.)	Gentleman, Lawyer
(Asbie, John - August 6, 1607, died of the "bloudie Fluxe" <sup>4,6</sup> )	
Beast, Benjamin (September 5, 1607, died of unspecified cause. <sup>6</sup> )	Gentleman
Behethland, Robert	Gentleman
Brinto, Edward	Mason
Brookes, Edward	Gentleman
Brookes, John	Gentleman
Browne, Edward (August 15, 1607, died of unspecified cause <sup>4,6</sup> )	Gentleman
Brumfield, James (boy)	
Bruster, William (August 10, 1607, died of a wound <sup>4</sup> ; buried August 11 <sup>6</sup> )	Gentleman
(Buckler, Andrew - petition in May, 1609, stating intent to return after having gone "to Virginia two years ago" <sup>5</sup> . Note: It is possible he arrived in the "First Supply" inst	
Cassen, George	Laborer
Cassen, Thomas	Laborer
Cassen, William	Laborer
Clovill, Eustace	Gentleman
Collier, Samuel (boy)	(Captain John Smith's page)
Cooke, Roger	Gentleman
Cowper, Thomas	Barber
Crofts, Richard	Gentleman
Dixon, Richard	Gentleman
Dods, John (Arrived on the <u>Susan Constant</u> , 1606-7)	Laborer (Age about 18)

Jacob, Thomas (Sergeant<sup>6</sup>) Gentleman  
 (September 4, 1607, died of unspecified cause.<sup>6</sup>)

Johnson, William Laborer

Kendall, Captain George Councilman  
 (Cousin of Sir Edwin Sandys. Tried, convicted, and shot for  
 in mid-November 1607, sometime after Captain Gosnold's dea

Kingston, Ellis Gentleman  
 ("Kinistone" - September 18, 1607, died of starvation & c

Laxon, William Carpenter

Laydon, John Laborer (Carpenter<sup>2</sup>)  
 (Arrived on the *Susan Constant*, 1606-7)  
 (Also listed in the Musters of "Elizabeth Cittie" on February  
 and February 7, 1624/5.)

Love, William Tailor

Martin, Captain John Councilman  
 (Martine, by his signature. Commanded one of Drake's vessels  
 (Returned to England on the *Phoenix* in 1608. May have return  
 on the *Swan* in 1624.)

Martin, John (or Martine<sup>6</sup>) Gentleman  
 (August 18, 1607, died of unspecified cause<sup>4,6</sup>)

Midwinter, Francis Gentleman  
 (August 14, 1607, "died suddenly" of unspecified cause<sup>6</sup>)

Morish, Edward (Moris) Gentleman  
 (1607, Corporal Edward Moris, gentleman,  
 "died suddenly" of unspecified cause<sup>4,6</sup>)

(Morton, Mathew - wounded by Indian attack at first landing, Cape 1

(Mounslic, Thomas - August 17, 1607, died - <sup>4,6</sup>)

Mouton, Thomas Gentleman  
 (September 19, 1607, died of starvation & cold.<sup>6</sup>)

Mutton, Richard (boy)



(Newport, Captain Christopher, Commander of the Susan Constant, 1606 and Councilman. Did not remain as one of the original settlers)

Old Edward	Laborer
Pecock, Nathaniell (boy)	
Pennington, John	Gentleman

(Pennington, Robert - August 18, 1607, died of unspecified cause<sup>4,6</sup>)

Percie, Mr. George	Gentleman
(Brother of the Earl of Northumberland)	

Pickhouse, Drue (Pigasse <sup>6</sup> )	Gentleman
(August 19, 1607, died of unspecified cause <sup>6</sup> )	

Pising, Edward	Carpenter
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Powell, Nathaniell	Gentleman
Captain Nathan Powel, Esq., Councilman, and his wife, were in the "Good Friday" massacre, March 22, 1621/2, at "Powel	

Profit, Jonas	Sailor
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Ratcliffe (alias), Captain John	Councilman
(Commander of the <u>Discovery</u> , 1606-7)	
(Actual name: Sicklemore <sup>4</sup> )	
(September 11, 1607, made Council President when Wingfield	

Read, James	Blacksmith
(Ca. November 14, 1607, sentenced to be hung for threatening Ratcliffe; from scaffold, implicated <u>Captain Kendall</u> in co	

Robinson, John	Gentleman
(Jehu Robinson sued Wingfield for slander on September 17, 1607, recovering £100. One of two first jury trials in America.)	
(Mid-November, 1607, killed by natives at time of Smith's capture)	

Rodes, William	Laborer
("William Roods", August 27, 1607, died of unspecified cause)	

Sands, Thomas	Gentleman
Scott, Nicholas	Drummer
Short, John	Gentleman

Simons, Richard	Gentleman
(September 18, 1607, died of starvation & cold. <sup>6</sup> )	

Small, Robert	Carpenter
Smethes, William	Gentleman
Smith, Captain John	Councilman (Cape Merchant)
(Captain John Smith sued Wingfield for slander on September 1 recovering £200. One of two first jury trials in America.)	
Snarsbrough, Francis	Gentleman
Stevenson, John	Gentleman
Studley, Thomas	Gentleman (& Cape Merchant)
("Thomas Stoodie", August 28, 1607, died of unspecified cause)	
Tankard, William	Gentleman
Tavin, Henry	Laborer
Throgmorton, Kellam	Gentleman
("Kenelme Throgmortine", August 26, 1607, died of unspecified cause)	
(Todkill, Anas - Councilman Martin's servant, possible although not confirmed. See the <u>Phoenix</u> , 1608 for further information.)	
Unger, William	Laborer
Walker, George	Gentleman
(August 24, died of unspecified cause, buried the same day)	
Waller, John	Gentleman
Webbe, Thomas	Gentleman
White, William	Laborer
(Lived with the natives and learned some of their customs.)	
Wilkinson, William	Surgeon
Wingfield, Mr. Edward Marie	Councilman & First President
(Edward Maria, by his signature.)	
(September 11, 1607, deposed as Council President & from Council)	
Wotton, Thomas	Surgeon

From Captain Smith's "True Relation ...", 1608<sup>7</sup>

A boy, name not stated, on the pinnace (*Discovery*) was slain about the end of April, 1607

5 mariners sailed the pinnace during exploration, probably on board and are not listed here

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Charles E Hatch, The Frost Seveneen Years  
(1607-1624 (Charlottesville: University of  
Virginia Press; 1957) 8th edn 1987

# 395 0813901308

104-107

Butler says Compa there is a return for losses  
Sawys reminds them they are a particular joy

## DOCUMENTS

### *Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613-1631, I.*

LIONEL CRANFIELD, first earl of Middlesex, was lord treasurer from September 30, 1622, to May 13, 1624, and thus during nearly all the *Sturm und Drang* period of the history of the Virginia Company, and before that he had been for several years surveyor general of the customs. Many papers respecting the company and respecting Virginia came therefore into his hands, and when he retired from office he took many with him, according to the custom of the time. The second and third earls dying, these papers came to the hands of his daughter Frances, who married Richard, fifth earl of Dorset, whose father Edward, fourth earl, had, as Sir Edward Sackville, played an important part in the Virginia Company. Therefore Charles, the sixth earl, the poet, son of Richard Sackville and Frances Cranfield, may have inherited Virginian papers from the Sackville house as well as from that of his mother. From him Cranfield's papers descended to his son, grandson, and great grandson, the first, second, and third dukes of Dorset. While they were in the hands of the third duke, who was ambassador to France from 1783 to 1789, and died in 1799, they were examined by Dr. Peter Peckard, master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, when he was preparing his *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1790).<sup>1</sup>

John Ferrar, in the biographical sketch which is the foundation of Peckard's book, in speaking of the two volumes of records of the Virginia Company, which Nicholas Ferrar had prepared for the Earl of Southampton (the same volumes which are now in the possession of the Library of Congress, and which it has printed under the editorship of Miss Kingsbury), says that Southampton entrusted them to Sir Richard Killigrew, and he to the fourth Earl of Dorset, "and it is hoped that this noble family still hath them in safe keeping".<sup>2</sup> Upon this, Peckard says in a foot-note, "On application to the [third] Duke of Dorset, his Grace with the utmost liberality of mind and most polite condescension, directed his library to be searched for this manuscript. The search was fruitless; but some

<sup>1</sup> Peckard, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> John Ferrar, writing after 1646, in Peckard, *ibid.*

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Lord Sackville's Papers Respecting Virginia, 1613-1631, I.  
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Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s-1900s

Name:	<b>Thomas Bargrave</b>
Year:	1621
Place:	Virginia
Source Publication Code:	8925
Primary Immigrant:	Bargrave, Thomas
Annotation:	Alphabetical list of immigrants to Virginia, 1635-1800, from a variety of sources.
Source Bibliography:	STANARD, WILLIAM GLOVER. <i>Some Emigrants to Virginia: Memoranda in Regard to Several Hundred Emigrants to Virginia during the Colonial Period Whose Parentage is Shown or Former Residence Indicated by Authentic Records</i> . Richmond [Va.]: Bell Book and Stationery Co., 1911. 2nd ed., enl., 1915. Reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1983. 94p.
Page:	10

Source Citation: Place: Virginia; Year: 1621; Page Number: 10.

**Source Information:**

Gale Research. *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s-1900s* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 2005. Original data: Filby, P. William, ed. *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s-1900s*. Farmington Hills, MI, USA: Gale Research, 2005.

**Description:**

Updated annually, this database is an index to passengers who arrived in United States and Canadian ports from the 1500s through the 1900s. It contains listings of approximately 4,461,000 individuals and references thousands of different records compiled from everything from original passenger lists to personal diaries. For each individual listed, you may find the following information: name, age, year and place of arrival, and the source of the record. [Learn more...](#)

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Washington, prince Charles's page, in Spain, 1623 ; -Certificate of the Judges touching the jurisdiction of the County Palatine of Chester, 20 Jan. 1619

Notes of Sir J. Cæsar on Ecclesiastical writers, Latin, with an alphabetical list of the Fathers ; -Letter of Henry Cæsar, D.D. Dean, and the Chapter of Ely, to Sir J. Cæsar, touching the fine of a copyhold, 22 Oct. 1628 ; -Letter of [Robert Bertie] Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain, to the same, respecting the suing out of liveries, 28 July, 1628 ; -Letter of Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to the same, respecting a suit in Chancery, 31 Oct. 1626 ; -Case in Chancery between Thomas Pynden and Robert Bateman, chamberlain of London ; -Agreement between Humfrey Staverton and Walter Sambourne, about the registership of Ireland, 21 Sept. 1585 ; -Theological notes, etc. ; -Note by Sir J. Caesar of two enemies ships of war quarrelling in our King's harbour, Feb. 1528 ; -Abstract of a writing presented to the Emperor by the Electors and Princes of the Diet at Ratson [Ratisbon] 21 Feb. 1623 ; -First draft of a Petition of the Commons to the King against Popish Recusants ; -Sentence given against Lionel, Lord Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer, 13 May, 1624 ; -Question by Dr. Walwood, " An legatus in territorio principis, ad quem missus est, delinquens, in jus citari et puniri possit," 7 May, 1624 ; -Notes of Instructions for ships sent to sea, 1576-1578, in Sir J. Caesar's writing ; -Declaration of James I at Whitehall, to both houses of Parliament, 23 March, 1623 ; -Writ for summoning the Parliament, 18 James I. Lat. ; -Copy of a Letter of George [Abbot] Archbishop of Canterbury, II Aug. 1622, with the articles concerning preachers and the Lord Keeper's [John Williams, Bp. of Lincoln] letter for the release of recusants, 2 Aug. 1622 ; -Dr. Donne's verses on the shortness (of man's life, 20 Aug. 1625 ; -Petition of Lewes Hughes to the Privy Council, against abuses in the Summerr Islands ,(printed) ; -" Considerations touching the new contract for Tobacco," 1625 *printed*) ; -Notes by Sir J. Cæsar of the patents granted to the Adventurers to Virginia ; -Letter of James 1. tu the Council, touching the decree in Chancery for Sir Thomas Smith against Bargrave, 17 June, 1622 ; -Proposals of

The solemnity at Perghen for the Earl of Southampton and his son, 1 Dec. 1624 ; -Petition of Jacob Stoit to the Justices of Middlesex, for setting the poor at work, 18 Oct. 1626; -Mr. Williamson's opinion, touching some provision for the poor, 26 Aug. 1624; -Minute of a circular letter from the Privy Council, touching Vagrants, 23 Dec. 1623; -Orders and Directions of the Council respecting the Poor, 1630, (*printed by Barker*) ; -Notes of Sir J. Cæsar touching the amending of the Highways in Islington and Highgate, 7 July, 1623 ; -Proclamation for the repeal of certain Letters patent, 30 March, 1621, (*printed*) ; -Distribution of the Shires between the Commissioners for the relief of the poor, 5 Jan. 1630 ; -State of the manufacture of gold and silver thread, 1624, (*printed*) ; -Dr. Walwood's notes touching the pretended irregularity of the Abp. of Canterbury, 17 Oct. 1621, *Latin* ; -List of Commissioners for Mr. Sutton's Hospital [the Charter House] 9 James 1. ; -Assignment by Sir J. Cæsar, of a trust for Sir William Button and his lady, 7 July, 17 James I.; -Notes by Sir J. Cæsar of the knighthood of himself in 1603, of Sir Charles Caesar, in 1613, and Sir John Caesar, in 1617 ; -Act for the grant of two entire subsidies, 1 Car. 1. (*printed*) ; -Receipts against the stone, strangury, ulcer, etc. communicated to Sir Julius Cæsar by various persons ; -Instructions for the use of D. [Stephen?] Bradwel's medicines against the plague; -Letter of Capt, Thomas Allen, to Sir J. Cæsar, 20 Oct. 1629 ; -Speech of Charles I. at the prorogation of Parliament, 26 June, 1628; -Letter of John [Williams] Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, to Sir J. Cæsar, on Lady Bulkley's case, 9 Nov. 1623 ; -Letter from the King to the Commissioners for Trade, on reforming the book of rates, 26 Dec. 2 Car. 1. ; -Protestation of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, concerning toleration of religion, 31 May, 1627 ; -Commission of Charles I. touching fees in courts of Justice, 1623, (*printed by Norton*) Acts for. confirmation of the Decrees of the Exchequer and Duchy, touching the Kin.'s lands in Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc. 7 James I.; -Papers respectin., the license to the town of Yarmouth, co. Nor<sup>£</sup> for the transportation of herrings, 1624, 1625; -Epitaphial verses upon the death of young Mr. Thomas

field, to Sir J. Cæsar, relative to the minister of the Alum works, 21 April, 1619;-Considerations for the planting of common brewhouses in all cities; -Petition of Jeffery Duppa and Thomas Stanley, to the King, touching breweries, 4 Feb. 1619;-Affidavit of Richard Vines in the matter of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, Knt., and Andrew Batten, 1626 ;-Draft of Certificate of Sir J. Cæsar to the Lords of Council, in the same case, 7 Feb. 1626 ;-Notes of Exchequer faults, delivered by Sir Henry Woodhouse, 16 June, 1607;- Notes by Sir J. Cæsar on the Case of Sir John Michell against Alderman Rothram and others, 9 Sept. 1620;-Petition of Will. Richardson and Will. Cockaine to the King, respecting the office of Auditor in the Chancery, 27 June, 1621 ;-Two Letters of Sir Sydney Mountagu, Master of Requests, to Sir J. Cæsar, touching a habeas corpus for Sir John Michell, Master of the Court of Chancery, 24 June, 1621 ;-Petitions to the King from Dr. Francis Hering, M.D., June, 1621 ; John Pitt, May, 1620; John Sawier, of Dudcott, co. Berks, July, 1621 ; John Andrewes, May, 1621 ; John Owfeilde, July, 1623; Richard Erswicke and William Potter, June, 1621 ; and William Wicke, and Thomas Smethwicke;-Two Letters of John Suckling to Sir J. Cæsar, 17 April, 5 May, 1621 ;-Letter of thanks from the Vice-chancellor and Senator of Cambridge, to the same, 6 id. Dec. 1623, *Lat.*;- Papers in the case of Sir Thomas Blakiston against Henry Robinson, 1626 ; -Acrostic Verses addressed by Nathanael Richards to Sir J. Cæsar;-Letter of John Rychers, to the same, inclosing Orders of the Justices of peace at Aylesham and Repham, respecting corn, Dec. 1622;- "Relacion of our Princes entertainment in Madrid, with a breefe of his voyage, till he was lodged in the king of Spaynes pällace, where he hath quarter, per S. D." [1620] ;-Reasons for the maintenance of the patent for the lights at Wintonnesse, co. Linc. to be lawfull, and no grievance, 21 James I.;-Letter of [Henry Cary] Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Sir J. Cæsar, respecting his brother, Sir Philip Carey, and John Williams, the goldsmith, 15 Aug. 1624;-Case of Dr. Thomas White's will, 28 May, 1628;-Notes of Sir J. Cæsar on the Case of Daniel and Isaac Pennington, May, 1628;-

Jan. 1624 ; -Questions respecting the office of Earl Marshal, 11 July, 1622, in Sir J. Cæsar's writing ; -Notes by Sir J. Cæsar, on the Star Chamber; -Cases of Thos. Perkin of Lincolnshire, late servant to the Earl of Lincoln, and of Sir Francis Englefield, Bart., for slander, 13 Feb. 1623 ; -Proceedings in the Star Chamber against Sir John Bennet, 27 Nov. 1622 ; - Notes by Sir J. Cæsar on various Cases in the Star-Chamber, viz., Case of Holt against Asshley, 14 Feb. 1625; use of carts with four wheels, against the statute, 6 Aug. 1622 ; Cases to be heard 2 May, 1623 ; Case of Sir H. Fines against Harrison and others, 7 May, 1623; Case of the transport of wool into foreign parts, 9 May, 1623; Case respecting buildings in and about London, 21 June, 1621 ; Case of Sir James Reynoldes and his son, for forging and interlining the son's name into the commission of the peace, 11 July, 1622 ; and Case of Lady Winwood against More, 23 June, 1621 ; -Letter of Anne Pecke to her brother, Sir J. Cæsar, requesting him to pay a bond for her, 14 Oct. 1629; -Two Letters of John Coke, Secretary of State, to the same, committing the Earl of Bedford to the custody of Sir Julius Caesar, Nov. 1629; -Accompts in the case of Sir Henry Reeves against Denny, 13 Dec. 1629; -Petition of [Henry Cary] Viscount Falkland to the King, on behalf of his son, Sir Lucius Carey ; -Letter of Samuel Brooke, master of Trin. Col]. Cambridge, to Sir J. Cæsar, 29 March, 1630; -Letter of Nathanael Snape, Steward of St. Katharine's Hospital, to the same, 30 Jan. 1629; -Letter of Edward Lord Zouche, to the same, 20 July, 1621 ; -Reasons for defence of the glass patent, granted successively to Vercelline, an Italian, Sir Jerome Bowes, and Sir Robert Mansell, 21 Dec. 1621 ; -The three Creeds, in *Italian*, 7 Jan. 1627; -The Ten Commandments, in *Greek*; -Notes by Sir J. Cæsar on the case of Robert Ayre against Sir Francis Wortley, Oct. 1626, with the will of Christopher Ayre annexed, 15 Jac. I. ; -List of the ships and men set out of Plymouth to the sea, Oct. 1625 ; -Case in the Star chamber of a complaint against Francis Basset, Esq., Vice-Admiral of Cornwall, and his deputy, 18 May, 1625; -Petition of George Lowe, Esq., to the King, respecting the Alum works; -Letter of Edmund, Lord Shef-


addressed to the same;-Letter of [Thomas Howard] Earl of Arundel and Surrey, to the same, 24 Nov. 1621 ; -Letter of Jane Jewkes and Mary Forester to Thomas Joslyn, Esq., *n. d.*; - Letter of W. Maynard [afterwards Lord Maynard] to Sir J. Cæsar, 14 April, 1624;-Letter of [James Hay] Earl of Carlisle, to the same, 16 Sept. 1623;-Statement by Sir Wm. Wood of his case against Cockerom and Hill;-Letter of John Sotherton, Baron of the Exchequer, to Sir J. Cæsar, relative to his daughter's marriage, 17 Aug. 1622;-Letter of Elizabeth [daughter of Edward Boughton] Countess of Devonshire, to the same, 2 March, 1624;-Letter of Elizabeth, Lady Carey [of Lepington, afterwards Countess of Monmouth] to the same, *n. d.*;-Letter of [Robert Rich] Earl of Warwick, to the same, 29 Oct. 1622;-Sir Julius Cæsar's Answer in Chancery, in the case of Dame Martha Button, 14 Feb. 1625;-Proceedings in Chancery respecting the debts of Sir John Kennedie, 1623-4 ; -Richard Broughton's notes touching the alteration of coins ; -Case of Lord Stanhope and Mathew de Questre, touching the office of the foreign post, 1626 ; -Reasons offered to the committees for avoiding the corrupt mingling of coals, 1622;-Case between Lord Kerry of Ireland and his son, in 1621 ; -Case between the Turkey Merchants and Sir John Aires, Ambassador to Turkey, 1622, in Sir J. Cæsar's writing;-Petition to the King from the prisoners, on account of the late loan, 1627 ; -Case of division of profits from letters of reprisal against Spain, 1610 ; - Letter from the Bailiffs of Maldon, co. Essex, to Sir J. Cæsar, relative to the election of a burgess, 13 April, 1623 ; -Case of Michael Burton in the Star-Chamber, 11 Jun. 22 Jac. I. ; -Letter of Thomas Gurlyn to Sir J. Cæsar, inclosing his Petition to the King, 31 Jan. 1620;- " The briefe of the ministers bill for London tithe," Nov. 1621, (*printed*); - Memorial of Sir Thomas Ridley, in the matter of Sir John Mychell;-Notes by Sir J. Cæsar on the tax of 3d. per ton, for the repairing of Dover Haven; -" Project for the reestablishing and renewinge of a mynt in the Kingdome of Ireland, demonstrated by Peter French, of Galway in Ireland, Alderman," 1 March, 1618;-Letter from James I. to the Commissioners for Trade, 23




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A VOLUME of the Collections made by Sir Julius Caesar, Judge of the

High Court of Admiralty, and Master of the Rolls, *temp.* James I

containing the following miscellaneous Papers and Letters, for the  
most part Originals:

Papers respecting the petition of Thomas Hutchins and others against

John, Lord Stanhope, Master of the Posts, etc., 1610-1623 ; -Letter of Sir

W. Byrde, to Sir Julius Cæsar, respecting the will of John Love, 9 July,

1623; -Copy of the Warrant of James I. relative to a composition of Lord

St. Albans' debts, 14 Nov. 1622, endorsed in Bacon's own handwriting; -

Offers by Mr. Crawshaw, Mr. Seaton, and Mr. Trussel, for a lease of Barne-  
Elms, co. Surr., 27 Feb. 1622; certified by Sir J. Cæsar and E. Leche; -

Draft in Sir J. Cæsar's writing, of a Certificate to the Master of Requests,

touching John Dingley and his creditors, 19 May, 1623; -Notes of Sir

J. Cæsar respecting the church of Ireland, 1622 ; -Protest of John Gun-

ning, Richard Welldon, and George Broen, against the proceedings of

the Dutch in the East India Islands, dat. Batavia, 1623; -A Note of

the Lords and Ladies to attend his Majesty [Charles I.] to Dover, for

the reception of the Queen, 1625; -Letter of Nicholas Toke to Sir J.

Cæsar, 27 June, 1621 ; -Protest of the Governor and Council (Thomas

Brokedon, Henry Hawley, and John Gomring] of the English E. India Com-

pany, against the proceedings of the Dutch at Amboyna, dat. Batavia, 20 Dec.

1623 ; -Names of the English Officers and men of note slain at the Isle of

Rhé, in Nov. 1627 ; -Two Letters of [William Herbert] Earl of Pembroke,

to Sir J. Cæsar, 17 Nov. 14 Dec. 1623; -Latin Verses of G. Chamber,



Thomas Martin, [brother in law of Sir J. Cæsar], respecting the question between the Virginia Company and himself, 9 Dec. 1622; -Capt. Bargrave's project touching Virginia, 8 Dec. 1623 ; -" The manner howe Virginia mas, be made a royall plantation," by Thomas Martin; - Proclamation of the Commissioners for Virginia, 1624, (*printed*) ; -" The manner how to bringe in the Indians into subjection, without making an utter exterpation of them,." by Thomas Martin, 15 Dec. 1622 ; -Proclamation of James 1. prohibiting the importation of tobacco not grown in Virginia or the Summer Islands, 1624, (*printed*) ; -letter of Thomas Martin, in Virginia, to Sir J. Cæsar, 8 March, 1626 ; -Commission of James I. for the settlement of Virginia, 15 July, 1624. Folio. [12,496.]

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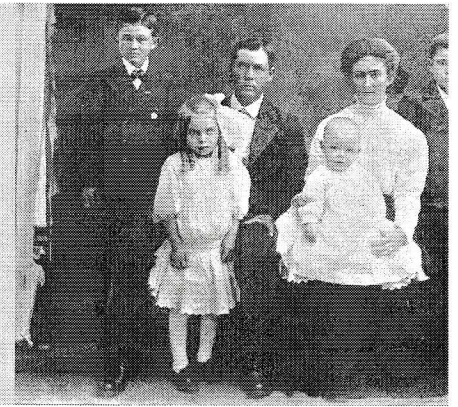
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## CHAPTER ONE (sample) [sample of contents and footnotes]

# Ricks Settlers in Colonial America: A Survey of Genealogical Records

## The Land Story

Captain John Martin owned and operated one of the earliest private plantations in Virginia, known as Martin's Brandon.<sup>1</sup> It was first settled about 1616-17, situated on the south side of the James River and northwest of the mouth of Upper Chippokes Creek. The original charter of the plantation made it initially independent of the Jamestown General Assembly, which first met 30 July 1619.<sup>2</sup> John Martin supposedly died at Brandon in 1632. On 5 August 1643, 4,550 acres of land, "commonly known by the name of Martin Brandon lying betwixt Chippokes Creek and Wards Creek" became the patent of Symon Sturges, John Sadler, and Richard Quincy, of London, Merchants.<sup>3</sup>

Martin's Brandon was originally a part of Weyanoke Parish when Charles City and seven other "Shires," immediately referred to as counties, were formed in 1634. The remaining seven were Accawmack, Charles River, Elizabeth City, Henrico, James City, Warrosquoyacke, and Warwick River. The Maryland Charter of 1632 set the northern boundary of the Virginia area. In 1634, James City County included the area south of James River now known as Surry County, which was formed in 1652. In 1637, Warrosquoyacke County became Isle of Wight County. In 1753, Sussex County was formed from the southwest part of Surry County.<sup>4</sup>

On 4 June 1655, the area of Martin's plantation became part of Martin Brandon Parish, Charles City County. In 1703, Prince George County was formed from the southwestern part of Charles City County, south of James River. Martin Brandon Parish remained in the new county. In January 1721, parts of Westover and Weyanoke Parishes united with Martin Brandon. Thereafter, Martin Brandon Parish remained predominantly in Prince George County.

To the northwest of Martin's Brandon and Upper Chippokes Creek, along and south of the James River, was another plantation called Ward's, established in 1619. To the east of Upper Chippokes Creek along and south of the river was Captain Lawne's Plantation at Lawne's Creek, south of Hogg Island, settled in 1619. The Parish of Lawne's

Creek, created in 1640, "...was the first of such organizations within the limits of colonial Surry County."<sup>5</sup> Southwark Parish lies along the western boundary of Surry County, and members of the Ricks family settled there after 1700.

Several James City County patents identify some of the earliest land owners along and in the vicinity of Upper Chippokes Creek. These individuals and their families formed the nucleus of the community:<sup>6</sup>

#### Book 1

- 462. Thomas Weekes, 21 August 1637. 100 acres abutting Chipokes Creek & c Wm Rookins<sup>7</sup> dividend lying on the west.
- 548. John Fludd [Flood], 12 May 1638. 2100 acres. Adjoining the land of Capt. Henry Browne, north upon the main river, west upon Benjamin Harrison's marked tree [being up the west side of Sunken Marsh Creek].<sup>8</sup>
- 554. William Rookins [Rookings], 5 March 1638. 150 acres. Upon the upper Chippokes Creek, northerly upon James river adjoining the land of Samuel Edmonds.
- 556. Benjamin Carrill, 16 May 1638. 700 acres. Beg.g [beginning] at Sandy point and extending down the river to Dancing point.<sup>9</sup>
- 557. Charles Foard [Ford], 19 May 1638. 250 acres. Over against Dancing point on the Southly side of the river.<sup>10</sup>
- 566. John Senior & Henry Carman, 10 May 1638. 150 acres. North upon upper Chippokes Creek, adjoin.g the land of Thomas Weekes.
- 583. Edward Minter, 25 July 1638. 300 acres. At the upper Chippokes, on the west side with a great swampe next to the land of Benjamin Harrison.

Others who later acquired property along Ward's Creek were: In 1655, William Bayly patented 400 acres;<sup>11</sup> Elias Osborne patented 200 acres on the south 1 January 1668;<sup>12</sup> and Ralph Rachell patented 200 acres on the southeast side 28 January 1670.<sup>13</sup>

While Richard<sup>1</sup> Ricks arrived in the New World very early, he was not one of those early land owners in this area of Charles City and Surry Counties. There were few Rickses documented in Virginia before about 1650, and it appears that this family resided in the Ward's-Upper Chippokes Creek area as early as that year, perhaps earlier. Life was difficult for those early immigrants; and at one point, after the devastating Indian massacre in 1622, the mortality rate for the settlers was about seventy-five percent.<sup>14</sup> While there is no confirmation of the Ricks surname in extant colonial records during that infamous attack, they were certainly there during the second massacre that occurred 18 August 1644. "The Indians fell upon the settlers along the frontier near the head of the rivers and south of the James River."<sup>15</sup> The total number killed-at least 500-was more than the losses suffered in the 1622 massacre.<sup>16</sup> A peace treaty was signed in 1646, a peace that lasted until 1676. Richard<sup>1</sup> Ricks, his wife Elizabeth and their children probably lived in the Charles City County area in 1644.<sup>17</sup>

Colonial Virginia was predominantly Anglican, but "Puritans were influential in Southside Virginia, south of the James River, where immigrants came largely from southern and southwestern England, the center of Puritanism in the latter country."<sup>18</sup> It is not known if any Rickses in Virginia were Puritans, but most lived south of the James

River in areas known as Prince George and Surry Counties. Isaac Ricks settled in colonial Isle of Wight County by 1682, and he was a Quaker.<sup>19</sup> John<sup>2</sup> Ricks (Richard<sup>1</sup>) owned land in Martin Brandon Parish, Charles City County, between Upper Chippokes Creek and Ward's Creek, but only in the 1680s and later.

The following history is the only known genealogy published for this branch of the Ricks family. While the surname spelling appears in early records as Reeks or Reekes-other variations include Rooks, Ricks and Rix. The name spelled "Ricks" became more common after 1700, especially within the Isaac Ricks family, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia. Hereinafter, the surname spelling "Ricks" will be used in discussion, the exception being the name as presented in original and abstract records. All counties mentioned are in Virginia, except where noted.

[The following material in this chapter includes a thorough discussion and survey of records associated with Richard Ricks, Isaac Ricks, and Richard Rooks. Several other Ricks men are discussed briefly.]

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#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 1, "The Tidewater Period, 1607-1710" (Chapel Hill, NC: University of N. C. Press, 1960), pp. 58, 62, 63, published for The Virginia Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Francis Cocke, *Parish Lines, Diocese of Southern Virginia* (Richmond: Va. State Library, 1964), pp. 89-91; 84-85 for the discussion of Westover and Weyanoke Parishes.

<sup>3</sup>"Charles City County: Patents Issued During the Regal Government," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (hereinafter *WMQ*), Ser. 1, Vol. 9, No. 4 (April 1901), p. 233. *WMQ*, Ser. 1, Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 220, states that these three merchants obtained the estate called Brandon from Robert Bargrave, son of George Bargrave and Dorcas Martin, daughter and heir of John Martin. The land later descended to Robert Richardson, who in 1720 conveyed Brandon to Nathaniel Harrison.

<sup>4</sup>The information for this brief survey of Virginia county boundaries was taken from the computer program "AniMap Plus," Version 1.6, County Boundary Historical Atlas, © 1991-1995, State Group #1, revised March 1995, by Adrian B. Ettliger, The Gold Bug Company, P. O. Box 586, Alamo, CA 94507.

<sup>5</sup>Cocke, *Parish Lines, Diocese of Southern Virginia*, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup>"Patents Issued During The Regal Government," *WMQ*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 67-74.

<sup>7</sup>William Rookings, son of William Sr. (in this record), was one of Bacon's majors. Rookings had family ties to the William Short and Nicholas Wyatt families. Nicholas was another of Bacon's officers, and he was the brother-in-law of Capt. William Rookings (*WMQ*, Ser. 1, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 191; Ser. 1, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 261-64).

<sup>8</sup> "Some Old Surry Families," *WMQ*, Ser. 1, Vol. 16, No. 4 (April 1908), pp.

221□225. This is an excellent discussion of the Flood family.

<sup>9</sup>Dancing Point is located on the north side of James River, in Charles City County, due east about five miles from the mouth of Upper Chippokes Creek, opposite Stoop Point in the northwest corner of Surry County.

<sup>10</sup>Another reference for Dancing Point is that of a sharp point of land on the north side of James River directly across the river from Sunken Meadow Lake. The wording of this patent suggests the land was in the vicinity of Sunken Marsh.

<sup>11</sup>WMQ, Ser. 1, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Oct. 1915), p. 142.

<sup>12</sup>WMQ, Ser. 1, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Oct. 1904), p. 117.

<sup>13</sup>WMQ, Ser. 1, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Oct. 1904), p. 119.

<sup>14</sup>Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 88.

<sup>15</sup>Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 153.

<sup>16</sup>Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 156.

<sup>17</sup>For more on early colonial life, read Richard L. Morton's informative book *Colonial Virginia*.

<sup>18</sup>Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 151.

<sup>19</sup>This Ricks family is well documented in the minutes of Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting (MM) and in the Quaker abstracts by William Wade Hinshaw. Some new information on this family follows after the Richard Ricks material.

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**Dinsmore Documentation presents Classics of American Colonial History****Author:** Cheyney, Edward P.**Title:** "Some English Conditions Surrounding the Settlement of Virginia."**Citation:** *American Historical Review* 12 (April 1907): 507-28

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**SOME ENGLISH CONDITIONS SURROUNDING THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA**

To Americans the settlement of Jamestown presents itself as something unique, the birth of the nation, the first scene in the drama of American history. Looked at from the European side, however, it was but a single occurrence connected with a long line of preceding events and surrounded by a group of others with which it had mutual relations. Under the conditions existing in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century the establishment of the Virginia colony was the natural next step to take, and its form reflected the group of influences active there. In these times of reminiscence it may be of interest to examine more closely some of the steps that led up to the formation of the Virginia Company and some of the contemporary circumstances under which the settlement was made.

England came late into the colonizing movement. The example of two great colonial empires had long been before her. When the settlement of 1607 took place, more than a century had passed since the nearly contemporary voyages of Vasco da Gama in 1497 and of Columbus in 1492 had established the dominion of Portugal and of Spain respectively in the East and the West Indies. In the years immediately succeeding 1497 the Portuguese government, in a wonderful series of naval and trading expeditions, extended its dominion along the coasts of the Indian Ocean far beyond what would have seemed inherently possible for so small a nation. A line of able commanders not only successfully fought Indian, Arab, and Turkish fleets and the armies of petty Indian rajahs and island chieftains, but carried out a policy of seizing and holding the strategical military and commercial ports that soon gave them virtual command of all the Eastern seas. By 1520 the east coast of Africa, the land at the outlet of the Persian Gulf, the west coast of India, the island of Ceylon, Java, and the Spice Islands were lined by a scattered series of Portuguese fortified stations, and most of the princes of these regions had been forced to accept dependent alliances with the king of Portugal. From Quiloa and Mombassa on the African coast, through Ormuz, Diu, Goa, and Calicut, to Malacca and the Spice Islands, no vessel could trade without a



Goa, and two governors with stations at Mozambique in the west and Malacca in the east were given the oversight of the outlying parts of these 15,000 miles of coast dominion. Every year a fleet averaging twenty sail passed around the Cape of Good Hope between Portugal and her eastern dominions, its great galleons, caravels, and carracks loaded with the most valuable articles of commerce. Lisbon became a great commercial centre and Portugal enjoyed a period of unwonted intellectual, economic, and international prominence. Her king along with his other titles called himself "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India."

The construction by Spain in the latest years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century of a still more extended, more powerful, and more profitable empire in the West is an even more impressive if also more familiar story. By some such date as 1540 the *conquistadores* had explored and largely subjugated a great part of the island and continental regions of America south of what is now the United States. This dominion had been organized under the systematic administration of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratacion in Spain and of two viceroyalties with a number of subordinate governments in America. Certain municipal institutions had been established and constant communication took place with the home government. The vast geographical extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, with a Spanish-born population of perhaps 150,000 and native-born of possibly 5,000,000: the productivity of the silver and gold-mines, unexampled before in human history; the size of the fleets carrying between Spain and the Indies emigrants, military and civil officials, troops, bullion, European and American goods, and all the interchange of two parts of an advanced empire; the reaction of these things on the importance of the mother-country in Europe—all these, like the East-Indian empire of Portugal, had grown practically to maturity by the middle of the sixteenth century, long before England had established her first colony.

We know that the existence of these imposing political structures exercised a powerful influence on the thought of Englishmen. It was not merely that they had a natural human interest in the newly-discovered lands, with their savage men, new animal and vegetable productions, and peculiarities of climate and physical conformation; nor was it merely that the mystery, the glamor, and the romance of the distant and the unknown touched poetic imaginations amongst

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them; but it was true that many Englishmen of influence had a vivid realization that two nations of Europe, one far smaller, the other not inordinately larger than England, had obtained a great inheritance in the East and the West that England might have had, might even yet rival. The very first reference to the New World in English general literature is an expression of regret and vexation on that account:

O what thynge a had be than  
Yf that they that be englyshe men  
Myght have ben the furst of all  
That there shulde have take possessyon  
And made furst buyldynge and habytacion

A memory perpetuall.  
And also what an honorable thyng  
Bothe to the realme and to the kynge  
To have had his domynyons extendynge  
There into so farre a grounde.<sup>1</sup>

An early historian makes one party in the council of Henry VIII., as early as 1511, say, "The Indies are discover'd, and vast treasure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and if the Spanish and Portuguese suffer us not to join with them, there will be yet region enough for all to enjoy."<sup>2</sup> The well-known memorial sent by Robert Thorne, an English merchant resident in Seville, to Henry VIII. in 1527, after speaking of the islands and territories belonging to the kings of Spain and Portugal, declares that in some of the earlier English expeditions, "if the marriners would have been ruled, and folowed their pilot's mind the lands of the West Indies from whence all the gold commeth had beene ours", and that even yet England might find lands under the equator no less rich in gold and spicery and no less profitable to her than theirs were to the kings of Spain and Portugal.<sup>3</sup> Richard Eden in the dedication of his *Treatyse of the New India*, published in 1553, again expresses regret that the faint-heartedness of the early English navigators prevented its coming to pass that the rich Peruvian treasury of the Spanish king at Seville was not in the Tower of London.<sup>4</sup> In his *Decades of the New World*, published two years later, he refrains, naturally enough, from such a pious wish, as his book is dedicated

<sup>1</sup> *An Interlude of the Four Elements*, written probably in 1519; printed in E. Arber, *First Three English Books on America*, pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *History of Henry VIII.*, under the year 1511.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, II, 177.

<sup>4</sup> E. Arber, *First Three English Books on America*, p. 6.

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to Philip of Spain, now king also of England, but he does go so far as to say in his "Preface to the Reader":

Besyde the portion of lande perteynyng to the Spanyardes and beside that which pertaineth to the Portugales, there yet remayneth an other portion of that mayne lande reachynge towarde the northeast, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet knowen but only by the sea coastes, neyther inhabyted by any Christian men.

Then still more exactly indicating the very region which was destined long afterward to become Virginia and New England, he declares that it is a reproach to the English race that they who are the nearest people in Europe to that land have not attempted to christianize or occupy it, nor "to doo for owr partes as the Spaniardes have doone for theyrs, and not ever lyke sheepe to haunte one trade, and to doo nothyng woorthy memorie amonge men or thankes before god".<sup>1</sup>

Similarly through the growing familiarity of the Englishmen with the Indies during the reign of Elizabeth runs the thought that England also should have an Indian empire. The residence of English merchants and the experience of travellers in Spanish and Portuguese cities, their home correspondence, and their translations of Spanish works on the Indies;<sup>2</sup> the productions of pamphleteers and writers of travels, culminating in the work of Hakluyt in 1589; the unwelcome visits of English adventurers to the Indies; the capture by Drake in 1587 and 1592 of the *San Felipe* and the *Madre de Dios*, the two great Portuguese carracks on their way home from the East Indies; the minute description of the Portuguese East Indies by Linschoten in his work published in England in 1598; the wide experience and thoughtful observation of many English statesmen and ambassadors—all these strengthened “imperialist” sentiment in England. Men of visionary temperament, like Sidney, Raleigh, Drake, Captain John Smith, Sir Thomas Smythe, and many humbler names among London merchants or restless adventurers, felt their imaginations stirred by the thought of distant dominions of such extent, interest, and value to the European powers that ruled them. It is not to be believed that in a period of strong national self-consciousness and increasing power, when ambition for distant possessions had been growing through more than one generation, a vigorous and effective effort to establish some such colony as Virginia could have been long delayed.

Projects indeed were early formed and colonists sent out, but their history is a record of failure. A desire for the possession

<sup>1</sup> Arber, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, chap. 5.

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of a colonial empire and enthusiasm for the plantation of colonies are not enough; a practicable plan must be found.

English exploitation of America was begun on mistaken and impracticable lines. A large proportion of the expeditions that were sent from England to America in the last two decades of the sixteenth century were sent out by single individuals or small groups of individuals. The first expedition which carried men intended as settlers, that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, was a private venture of his own, with the aid of a few friends, and that on which he lost his life five years afterward was on scarcely a broader basis. The contemporary annalist, Camden, speaking of Gilbert's failure and death, says, “learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countreys upon private mens Purses, than he and others in an erroneous Credulity had persuaded themselves, to their own Cost and Detriment”.<sup>1</sup> Or as some one a few years later says, “Private purces are cowlde compfortes to adventurers, and have ever ben fownde fatall to all interprises hitherto undertaken by the English, by reason of delaies, jeloces and unwillingnes to backe that project which succeeded not at the first attempt.”<sup>2</sup> The multiplicity and extent of costs involved in procuring and fitting out vessels, in providing military equipment and all other supplies for mariners and colonists, and in

supporting employees and settlers; the long waiting for any returns; the slight development of instruments of credit—these made demands beyond the means of any individual gentleman or group of gentlemen, burdened as they already were by the living expenses of their rank. The efforts of the Gilberts, the Raleighs, and the Sidneys were along mistaken and hopeless lines. Their efforts were more useful as a warning than as an example. There is no instance of a successful settlement in America carried out by private persons till well toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Until the day when settlers for religious or economic reasons went out at their own cost, the only hope of meeting the expenses incident to founding a colony was either to draw on the resources of the whole community through the government, or to meet them by the combined means and the organized credit and effort of the merchant class. At the close of the sixteenth century the English government was not in a position financially or politically to furnish the funds for colonization, so the only remaining practical method was

<sup>1</sup> *History of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> "Reasons or Motives for the Raising of a Publique Stocke," sect. 5. Printed in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 37.

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the formation of a trading company, with its much more extended resources and its corporate life. The £40,000 which Raleigh spent on the six or eight expeditions he sent out nearly ruined him and his friends, while the East India Company spent more than £160,000 on its first voyage to the East alone,

The true line of descent of the plan for the successful settlement of Virginia is through the early trading companies of the Old World, not through the early failures in the New. In fact the whole advance of English discovery, commerce, and colonization in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was due not to individuals but to the efforts of corporate bodies. The development of such companies is a familiar story. It began almost an even half-century before the settlement of Jamestown. In 1553 a group of London merchants sent out an expedition to the northeast to seek a new outlet for trade. As a result a line of connection was formed with Moscow in the centre of Russia, and in 1555 a charter was given to the merchants engaged in the trade, forming them into the body that had a long and influential history under the familiar name of the Muscovy Company. "Muscovy House", their hall, was long the customary meeting-place for adventurers interested in new trading movements. Twenty-five years later the merchants who were engaged in the trade with Scandinavia and the lands to the east of the Baltic Sea secured a charter guaranteeing to them the monopoly of English commerce there, and became known as the Baltic or Eastland Company. From a time early in the century other merchants had been interested in trade with Venice and the eastern Mediterranean possessions of Venice. Now they proceeded to develop a trade with the possessions of Turkey, in 1581 were chartered as the Levant or Turkey Company, and shortly afterward absorbed the smaller company trading to the northern Mediterranean.

In the meantime a Barbary or Morocco Company had been formed. Then, as an Elizabethan chronicler says, "The searching and unsatisfied spirits of the English, to the great glorie of our nation, could not be contained within the banckes of the Mediterranean or Levant seas, but that they passed far towards both the articke and anarticke Poles, enlarging their trade into the West and East Indies".<sup>1</sup> English trade with the west coast of Africa was resented by the Portuguese, and in 1561 Queen Elizabeth was induced to issue the following proclamation:

Although we know no reasonable cause why our subjects may not saile into any country or province subject to our good brother, being in

<sup>1</sup> John Speed, *Chronicle*, II. 852.

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amytie with us, paying such tributes and droytes as may belong to their traffique, yet at the instant request of the said king, made to us by his ambassador, we be pleased for this tyme to admonish all manner our subjects to forbear anie entry by navigation into any said ports of Ethiopia in which the said king hath presently dominion and tribute.<sup>1</sup>

Many changes occurred in the next twenty-five years, and when all the possessions of the Portuguese had come into the hands of the king of Spain and war had broken out between them and the queen, there was no longer any reason for such self-restraint, so that in 1588 the first Guinea or African Company was chartered. In 1589 a petition was laid before Lord Treasurer Burleigh asking for the queens authorization to a group of adventurers to establish a trade in the Far East, on the ground that "the Portugales of long tyme have traded the East Indies and the countries to them adjoyning to the great benefytte and enriching of themselves and their countrie . . . and the tyme doth now offer greater occasion for the attempting of trade in those countries than at any tyme heretofore yt hath done."<sup>2</sup> This project resulted in the Raymond and Lancaster expedition to India in 1591 and ultimately in the establishment in 1600 of the East India Company, the most ambitious of all the chartered companies of the period.

In the same year with this petition, however, that is to say 1589, a memorial of even greater boldness, breadth of view, and interest was submitted to the queen. It is headed, "A Discourse of the Commodity of the taking of the Strait of Magellan."<sup>3</sup> It is based on the anticipated peril to all Europe arising from the possession of both the West and the East Indies by the king of Spain and his shutting other nations entirely out from both their products and their trade. It proposes that the narrowest part of the Strait of Magellan be occupied and fortified by the English, calmly suggesting that "Clarke the pyrott" may be sent there on promise of pardon, or rather, may go there as of him selfe and not with the countenance of the English state", and take some cannon and a man skilled in fortification. If later a few good English soldiers are placed there, no doubt "they will soon make subject to them all the golden mines of Peru and all the

coste and tract of that firm of America." As additions to the soldiers and the native population may be sent "condemned Englishmen and women in whom there may be found hope of amendment". Then the author contemplates, probably for the first time, an independent America. "But admitt that we could

<sup>1</sup> Dyson, *Proclamations*, No. 34.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, East Indies, I., No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom., Eliz., ccxxix, 97.

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not enjoy the same longe, but that the Englishe there would aspire to government of themselves, yet were it better that it should be soe then that the Spaniardes should with the treasure of that countrie torment all the countries of Europe with warres." This and much more equally audacious and impracticable brought no response from the thrifty and cautious powers then in charge of the English government. And indeed such a project is to be looked upon rather as an indication of the expansive spirit of England than as a proposal anywhere within the realm of success.

Thus the century and the reign of Elizabeth closed without the possession by England of a foothold on the western continent. Yet the way was obvious. Six chartered commercial companies had divided most of the available Old World between them; next to be chartered was the Virginia Company. In fact the three next succeeding companies, the Guiana, the Newfoundland, and the Bermuda Companies, established in 1609, 1610, and 1612 respectively, all had their sphere of operation in America. The connection of the older companies with the Virginia Company was very close. More than one hundred members of the Virginia Company were already members of the East India Company. Sir Thomas Smythe was at the same time governor of both the Muscovy and the East India Companies, a member of the Levant Company, and treasurer of the Virginia Company. John Eldred, a director, and Sir William Romney, a governor of the East India Company, were members of the first council of Virginia. Richard Staper, who is described on his tombstone in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, as "the cheefest actor in the discoverie of the trades of Turkey and East India", was much interested in the Virginia project, but died in June, 1608, just too soon to have his name inscribed with the others on the second charter. The same connection existed in the case of Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Thomas Roe, and many others. There was also a distinct lapping over in time. The second charter of the Virginia Company was signed on the twenty-third and the second charter of the East India Company on the thirty-first of May, 1609. The vessels for the third voyage to India and those for the first voyage to Virginia were both loading at the wharves of London at the same time; and the two ships of one of the expeditions of the Muscovy Company had returned to Gravesend but three months before the first Virginian fleet left it.

Close however as was the connection of the Virginia Company with preceding trading companies, in many ways the closest analogy with its action and its nearest congener among the movements of the time is to be found in the

plantation of Ireland then in progress.

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An English colony had been established in Ireland in the twelfth century, and additional settlers had come from England and Wales during the thirteenth and the earliest years of the fourteenth century, but after that time immigration had with small exceptions come to an end.<sup>1</sup> This "first colonization" had however been largely absorbed into the native population or had returned to England, and the end of the fifteenth century had seen the English occupation and domination in Ireland reduced to its lowest limits. Within the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, however, a great reaction took place, first in the government, which became more vigorous and extended its power more widely in the island; then in the population, into which with great labor an English and Scottish element was injected. The colonization of Ireland with Britons may indeed be looked on as largely a part of the political policy of the government. The maintenance of an armed body in Ireland was an expensive necessity; if this could be provided by the military services exacted from a body of English settlers, money would be saved and the end more effectively reached. Again, the evident failure to induce the native population or the old English element to abandon Catholicism made it highly desirable for political reasons to introduce a Protestant element from the outside. Since the only conception of orderly government which English statesmen of the time could form was the system already in existence in England, with its county and parish administration, its justices of the peace, grand and petty juries, and town corporations; and since these could only be counted on to act in accordance with the desires of the administration if they were made up of Englishmen and Protestants, this requirement made a still further need for settlers. Therefore the government was more than ready to respond to the enterprise, the adventurous spirit, and the acquisitiveness of the times; and as a matter of fact an extensive colonization by English and Scots took place nearly if not quite contemporary with the earliest settlement of America.

There was much that was alike in the two movements. The simultaneity of dates is striking. It is true that in Ireland the process began sooner, but these first efforts were hardly more successful than the tentative sixteenth-century settlements in America. In 1566 a "plantation" was begun in Leix and Offaly in the centre of Ireland in the lands of the O'Mores and O'Conors, far earlier than any definite project of English settlement in America was mooted, unless it were Stukely's plan for the settlement of Florida in 1563 and the

<sup>1</sup> Bonn, *Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, I. 83-89; *English Historical Review*, October, 1906, p. 774.

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suggestions for colonization included in Gilbert's pamphlets of 1565. But this colonization in Ireland went forward very haltingly, and it was not till the very close of the century that the few English settlers had permanently taken the place

of the natives.<sup>1</sup> There was also a series of attempts at settlements in the southwestern counties in 1569 and in the northeast in 1567, 1570, and 1573, but the native Irish were too strong and the intruding elements too weak to gain success as settlers.<sup>2</sup> The most direct parallel to the efforts at American settlement by Gilbert and Raleigh between 1578 and 1588 is to be found in the plantation of Munster, which was begun in 1584. Extensive grants were at that time made to Raleigh, Spenser, and other courtiers, and detailed conditions were published by which these and other broad lands confiscated from the natives were to be occupied by English adventurers and their tenants. But there were many difficulties, the colonization proceeded slowly; in 1592 only two hundred and forty-five English families could be found actually settled there; in 1598 even these were temporarily swept away in the storm of Tyrone's rebellion, and in 1602 Raleigh disposed of his grant in disgust. Munster was provided with a certain number of new settlers, but they were almost lost among the surviving native population.

The English colonization of Ireland that really succeeded, like the successful colonization of Virginia, occurred in the early years of the seventeenth century. In the fall of 1605 Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, was formulating the first plans for an extensive settlement of the lately forfeited lands in Ulster; and at the same time Gates, Somers, and others were drawing up the petition which led to the grant of the first charter of the Virginia Company; Weymouth had just returned from New England; and the populace of London was laughing at the jests on the Virginia voyagers, on Captain Seagull and the Scotchmen in *Eastward Hoe*. The year 1606 saw the first settlement of County Down and the continued occupation of Antrim by Scotchmen,<sup>3</sup> and the departure from London on December 30 of the first colonists of Virginia. In the years immediately following, while successive expeditions were taking out the small and unfortunate groups of early victims to the diseases, dissensions, and massacres of Virginia, steps were being taken for the plantation of Ulster on a large scale. In May, 1611, the first settlers of Ulster proper began to arrive and take up their lands.

Emigration now went on to both countries alike. Ulster having

<sup>1</sup> Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, I. 385, etc.; Bonn, *Kolonisation*, 280-287.

<sup>2</sup> Bagwell, II., chaps. xxv.-xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> George Hill, *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, 229, etc.; *The Montgomery Manuscripts*, 54, etc.

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been at least partially populated, new plantations were carried out in Wexford, Longford, Leitrim, and Westmeath, and several parts of the old Munster settlement were recolonized, while to Virginia were added New England, Maryland, the Bermuda Islands, and other American settlements.

A bond between Virginia and Ireland is also to be found in the men who had a common interest in both. The Carews, Grenvilles, Courtenays, and Chichesters



who planned a great colonizing expedition from Somerset and Devon into Ireland in 1569 were the same men who were interested in the earliest attempts to colonize America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been a captain in Ireland in 1566 before he presented to the queen his first address advocating colonization in America; he returned to Ireland in 1567 in an unsuccessful attempt, along with Sir Henry Sidney, to make a settlement on Lough Foyle; some years later he went again to Ireland in connection with a similar scheme for a settlement in Munster, and remained in military service in that province as colonel in the final campaign of the Desmond rising. All this occurred before he made his first voyage to America in 1578, and he was still again in Ireland between his return and his departure on his last and fatal voyage of 1583.<sup>1</sup>

Raleigh's career had begun in Ireland, and when he abandoned his rights in Virginia in 1589 it was to return with new interest to the effort for the development of his estates in Cork and Waterford. Two years afterward, when this like the rest of the Munster plantations failed, it was again to an American project, the exploration of Guiana, that he turned. Sir John Popham took a deep interest both in the plantation of Munster and in that of Virginia. Sir Francis Bacon was similarly interested in both countries, submitting plans for the settlement of Ireland, and as solicitor-general helping to draw up the charter of 1609 for Virginia. He was also a member of the royal council for Virginia. His valuation of the settlement of Ireland was the higher of the two. In his *Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland*, presented to King James on New Year's day, 1609, he treats the colonization of Virginia as a somewhat visionary scheme, that of Ireland as a serious reality, the former being "an enterprise in my opinion differing as much from this as Amadis de Gaul differs from Caesar's Commentaries". At the same time he goes on to recommend the establishment of two councils for the Irish plantation, one to sit in London, the other in Ireland, similar to the two councils for Virginia; and long afterward he speaks of the plantations of Ireland and of Virginia as two of the greatest glories of King James's reign.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, article on Gilbert.

<sup>2</sup> Spedding, *Lord Bacon's Letters and Life*, IV. 123; VII. 175.

Other similarities existed. In the colonization of Ireland as of America, organized and chartered companies are not unknown. In 1611 the East India Company purchased certain lands near Dundaniel on the southern coast of County Cork, where they erected iron-works, built dwellings for 300 workmen, cut down woods, established a ship-yard, and within the next two years spent £7,000 and built two vessels of 500 and 400 tons.<sup>1</sup> In 1609, after prolonged negotiation between the Privy Council and the officers of the city of London, an agreement was entered into by which the whole county of Derry in Ireland was handed over to the city, to be colonized under its control and to its profit. In order to carry out this work the "Honorable Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster within the Realm of Ireland" was formed by the court of mayor and aldermen of the city, the Wardrobe in the

Guildhall was set apart for its meeting-place, and a charter of incorporation granted it by the crown, May 29, 1613.<sup>2</sup> The society proceeded immediately to divide the land among the twelve city companies for sale and settlement, reserving to itself only the possession of the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine, their contiguous lands, and the woods, ferries, and fisheries.<sup>3</sup> But this was scarcely a genuine trading company; it existed, indeed still exists, only as an intermediary between the government and the settlers. The distant commerce that lay at the basis of the other companies which carried out schemes of colonization had no place in the relations between England and Ireland, and such companies could therefore hold here hardly any appreciable place.

On the other hand, both in Ireland and in Virginia we hear much of groups or combinations of men or "consortships", formed to carry out independent settlements. It was an associated group of twenty-seven volunteers from the southwestern counties of England, under the headship of Sir Peter Carew, who in 1569 petitioned the queen for a grant of the southwestern counties of Ireland. During the colonization of Munster in 1586, we hear of "nineteen men who desire in one consort with the writer, Henry Ughtred, to plant the counties of Connollo and Kerry"; of the gentlemen of one association of Cheshire, Lancashire, Somerset, and Dorset; and of another of Hampshire and Devon.<sup>4</sup> In connection with the plantation of Ulster "consorts of undertakers" are authorized, and the name of

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1611-1614*, pp. 170, 369, 381.

<sup>2</sup> *A Concise View of the Origin . . . of the Governor and Assistants commonly called the Irish Society* (London, 1822); *Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Irish Society*, May 4, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> *Concise View*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1586-1588*, pp. 51, 242, 243.

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an individual, when it appears, is often used to represent such a group.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding process in Virginia is described as follows in the *Records of the Virginia Company*:

The Collony beinge thus weake and the Treasury utterly exhaust, Itt pleased divers Lords, Knights, gentlemen and Cittizens (greived to see this great Action fall to nothings) to take the matter a new in hand and at their pryvate charges (joyninge themselvs into societies) to sett upp divers particularr Plantacions.<sup>2</sup>

From this time forward a prominent part in the work of settlement in Virginia was taken by "Captain Samuel Argall and his associates", "Hamor and his associates", "Martin and his associates", "the Society of Smythe's Hundred", "the Society of Martin's Hundred", "Captain John Bargrave and his associates", William Tracy and his associates", "the company of John Smith of Nibley", and a number of other groups of adventurers.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the agreement made with the Virginia Company

under which the Pilgrims from Leyden sought the New World was a typical instance of these arrangements. In the fall of 1617 two representatives of this body came to London and entered into communication with the company. After long negotiations, the final grant under which the momentous voyage of the *Mayflower* was made was that to "John Pierce and his associates, their heirs and assigns", completed February 12, 1620.<sup>4</sup>

Some lesser analogies between the settlement of Ireland and of Virginia are noticeable. The statute *quia emptores* was suspended for the settlers in Ulster, and new manors and subtenancies could be created, as was true for Virginia and the other American colonies;<sup>5</sup> there were much the same privileges of export and import for a certain period of years free of duty;<sup>6</sup> the local division called a "precinct", not apparently in use in England, but rather widely spread in the southern colonies of America, was used in a similar technical sense in the north of Ireland. There is the same complaint of the low character of many of the colonists. A Presbyterian minister who came to Ulster at the beginning of the settlement says:

From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of them, generally the scum of both nations, who for debt, and breaking,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1611-1614, pp. 315, 317; Commission of July, 1609; George Hill, *Summary Sketch of the Great Ulster Plantation*, p. 18, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Records of the Virginia Company* (1906), I. 350.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 347, 404, etc.; Kingsbury, *Introduction to Records*, p. 95; Brown, *First Republic in America*, 245, 249, 256, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, 252, 262, 271, 341, 387, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Articles concerning English and Scotch Undertakers*, sect. 11; Lord Belmore, *Two Ulster Manors*, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> *Articles*, etc., sects. 14, 15; *Articles between the King and the City of London*, sect. 15.

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and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God.<sup>1</sup>

So Sir Thomas Dale describes those whom he took over with him in 1611 as "sutch disorderd persons, so prophane, so riotous, so full of mutinie and treasonable intendments, as I am well to witness in a parcell of 300 which I brought with me, of which well may I say not many give testimonie beside their names that they are Christians, besides of sutch diseased and crased bodies".<sup>2</sup> Fortunately for both settlements we have reason to know that they contained also far better elements. There is the same tendency in both colonizations to introduce that compulsion in order to secure colonists to which men so readily turned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Eventually the colonization of Ireland and of the American colonies became rival movements. This opposition had been felt by some from an early period. In 1605 Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote to the Earl of Salisbury of the absurd folly or wilful ignorance of those who run over the world in search of colonies in Virginia and Guiana whilst Ireland is lying waste and desolate.<sup>4</sup> Later, in speaking of the proposed colonization of the north of Ireland, he says, "My heart is so well affected unto it that I had rather labour with my hands in the plantation of Ulster than dance or play in that of Virginia."<sup>5</sup> At first the greater proximity of Ireland to Scotland and England was a point overwhelmingly in its favor; and in the second and third decades of the century, while hundreds were going to America, Irish immigration might count thousands. But there came a time when this proximity was looked upon as a disadvantage, and those emigrants who wanted to leave England at all wished to get entirely away from the mother-country. Puritans and Churchmen successively emigrated, but emigrated by preference to New England or Virginia, where the hostility of the dominant party in England had less effect than it might have in Ireland. Colonists for Ireland were never abundant. The plantations which were carried out just after that of Ulster, in the period from 1615 to 1630, and which it was intended to establish on the mountain slopes of the southeast and in the forests and bogs along the Shannon, had increasing difficulty in finding settlers.<sup>6</sup> When Wentworth

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Andrew Stewart, in Hill, *Summary Sketch*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Dale to Lord Salisbury, August 27, 1611, in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 508.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, *First Republic in America*, 248, 296, 346, 375, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 326.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1608-1610, p. 520.

<sup>6</sup> Bonn, *Kolonisation in Irland*, I.

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1621, 3,570; so that in the fifteen years in which Virginia was the only American colony there were altogether but few more than 5,000 emigrants from England thither. The devices that were proposed to secure colonists, some of which indeed were adopted, suggest the same paucity in the supply. In 1611 Sir Thomas Dale, writing home to Lord Salisbury and appealing for a supply of 2,000 men, says that he has "conceived that if it will please his Majestie to banish hither all offenders condemned betwixt this and then to die, out of common Gaoles, and likewise so continue that grant for 3 yeres unto the Colonie, (and thus doth the Spaniard people his Indies,) it would be a readie way to furnish us with men."<sup>1</sup> The company, as a matter of fact, followed this policy to a limited extent through the whole period of its existence, but at this time convict emigration played but a small part compared with the extent to which it was later carried.<sup>2</sup> Yet the company repeatedly asked the mayor of London for vagrant boys and girls of the city to be sent to the colony, and in 1621 had a bill introduced into Parliament which would have required each parish in England to send at its own expense a certain number of its paupers to Virginia.<sup>3</sup>

The most destructive forces that were keeping down population in England at this time were three: warfare, death penalties inflicted by the law, and pestilence. It is true that England was in 1607 at peace, and destined to remain so for the next seventeen years, but peace was recent and had been preceded by a long warlike period. The generation that could be counted on for purposes of emigration was that which had been growing up in the past, and this could not be replaced immediately. It is true also, as frequent experience has shown, that national warfare does not necessarily deplete population. But the warfare of Elizabeth's time was particularly destructive to life. The small body of English troops which according to the treaty of 1585 England bound herself to keep up in the Netherlands was like a leak in one of the Dutch dikes. Badly selected, badly equipped, badly fed, the soldiers died in Holland and Zealand almost faster than they could be recruited in England.<sup>4</sup> Those who were in France in 1591 and the succeeding years were the victims of an only slightly less fatality; those in Ireland perhaps of a greater. The naval expeditions were even more fatal than land campaigns. The sailors and soldiers on board the vessels returning from the

<sup>1</sup> Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 506.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Butler in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, II. 12-33.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Virginia Company* (1906), I. 270, 431, 479, 489, 583, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Leycester Correspondence*, Camden Society, 167, 285, 338, 374, 384, 389, etc.; Motley, *United Netherlands*, I., chap. vi.

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Armada fight "sickened one day and died the next" of ship-fever, until "many of the ships had hardly men enough to weigh their anchors." On the Portugal expedition of 1589 about 20,000 men embarked, less than 9,000 returned. Of 1,100 gentlemen volunteers on the expedition 700 died.<sup>1</sup> The subsequent expeditions of 1595, 1596, 1597, 1599, and 1601 were only somewhat less destructive to life. In 1598 Elizabeth ceased to pay the English troops in the service of the Netherlands, but they still remained there in the service of the States and were constantly recruited in England. Indeed the peace between England and Spain signed in 1604 made no change in their position except that the king made a barren and ineffective promise that he would try to persuade the Englishmen in the Netherlands service to return and would discourage others from going there.<sup>2</sup> English troops were kept in the cautionary towns in Holland and Zealand by the government till 1616, and English recruits were as a matter of fact obtained by the Dutch government. To these must be added those obtained for the archduke's service, in accordance with the permission given by the treaty. In 1610, the third year of the colonization of Virginia, there were 4,000 English troops in the Netherlands to be sent to the war in Cleves.<sup>3</sup> Thus notwithstanding the generally peaceful policy of James, there was still a steady drain of English population for military purposes going on, as well as the necessity for recuperation from the larger losses of Elizabeth's time.

The losses by legal execution (although impossible, from the records now

accessible, of statistical statement) can be roughly estimated, or at least can be discovered to have been considerable. In the years from 1608 to 1618, which cover the first decade of the settlement of Virginia, the court of jail-delivery of the county of Middlesex, which does not include the city and liberties of London, sent to execution 704 persons, an average of seventy a year. The number for that county for the whole of James's reign, so far as recorded, was 1,003, an average of about forty-five a year.<sup>4</sup> In the county of Devon in the year 1598, a chance year, at the Lent assizes seventeen persons were hanged, at the autumn assizes eighteen, at the four quarter-sessions thirty-nine, making altogether seventy-four persons executed in the year. In the year 1596, forty persons were executed in the county of Somerset.<sup>5</sup> To these are to be added 229

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Dom., Eliz., cxviii, No. 75; *Cal. St. Papers, Dom.*, 1581-1590, p. 534; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, II. 355, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Winwood, *Memorials*, II. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, II. 100, 183; I. 219; Motley, *United Netherlands*, IV. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, II. xvii-xx.

<sup>5</sup> Hamilton, *Devonshire Quarter-Sessions*, 30-31.

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Catholic recusants executed or allowed to die in prison under Elizabeth, and twenty-four under James;<sup>1</sup> and executions connected with special occurrences such as the rebellion of Essex and the Gunpowder Plot. When it is realized that, in each of the fifty-two shires of England and Wales, four times a year the justices of the peace and twice the justices of assize; and in each of the numerous chartered towns the corresponding judicial authorities were all busily applying a severe criminal code, it will be recognized that a check to overpopulation was being applied closely analogous to war and pestilence.

Yet there can be no doubt that the plague was the most destructive of all causes of the depletion of population at that time. At intervals approximating ten years this enemy, ill-understood, unprepared for, weakly opposed, invaded England and raised the death-rate for one or more years to many times its usual height. In 1593, in 1603, in the period from 1606 to 1610, and in 1625, London suffered losses that can be measured with considerable exactness; and during these and other years we have many glimpses of the ravages of the plague in other cities and in the rural parts of England. In the year 1593 there were 17,844 deaths in London and its immediate suburbs, of which 10,662 were attributed to the plague. Deaths from all other causes together were therefore but 7,182, and this was a larger number than usual. According to Stow, "There died in London and the liberties thereof, from the 23rd day of December 1602 to the 22nd day of December 1603, of all diseases 38,244, whereof of the plague 30,578."<sup>2</sup> The usual death-rate, according to these figures, was more than quadrupled; and there is other testimony to indicate that this is rather within than beyond the facts, another estimate, including some outlying districts, giving 42,945 deaths, whereof of the plague about 33,347<sup>3</sup> During the years from 1606 to 1610, the

initial years of the settlement of Virginia, the plague was constantly active, though not nearly so destructive as in 1593 and 1603. The deaths specifically from the plague were as follows: 1606, 2,124; 1607, 2,352; 1608, 2,262; 1609, 4,240; and 1610, 1,803.<sup>4</sup>

The last serious visitation of the plague in London in this period was in 1625, in which year there were 54,265 deaths, of which 35,417 were attributed to the plague.<sup>5</sup> In the middle of the summer the deaths from plague numbered more than 4,000 a week. In certain parishes where a maze of narrow streets, lanes, and alleys,

<sup>1</sup> Dodd-Tierney, *History of the Church of England*, III. 159-170; IV. 179-180.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales*, p. 857.

<sup>3</sup> Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, I. 478.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 494.

<sup>5</sup> *London's Remembrancer*.

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lined with tenements, was filled with a crowded mass of the poorest of humanity, the deaths ran up to astonishing numbers; as in the case of St. Giles, Cripplegate, from which there were buried 3,988 persons during the year, 2,338 of them having died of the plague. The population of London and its suburbs in 1607 was probably about 225,000, the mortality in ordinary years being between 7,000 and 9,000, a proportion of about one-thirtieth, which was raised in more than one plague year to one-fifth or one-sixth.<sup>1</sup>

The ravages of the plague in London were probably greater in degree than they were elsewhere, but not different in kind. Sometimes in entirely separate years, sometimes just preceding or succeeding the great London epidemics, we hear of the same desolating attacks on cities, towns, and villages scattered through all England. To estimate the effect of disease on population we must also add to the plague, technically so-called, other prevalent and fatal diseases, spotted fever, smallpox, flux, influenza, measles, and jail-fever or the "pining-sickness", all of which were exercising their full powers of destruction at this time.<sup>2</sup>

In view of all these conditions it is small wonder that early colonization could not command a very large body of emigrants from England. Indeed such material as it had to work with was provided rather by the displacement and disturbance of population in England than by its actual growth in numbers. This displacement was one of the most marked characteristics of the time. Economic and political causes had so far altered the equilibrium of large elements in the population that they were easily removable. Religious causes were to have the same effect in later times, indeed had already by the date of the settlement of Virginia begun their work. It was to this mobility of population that not only the possibility of colonization but the rapid growth of London was due. In an occasional favorable

year the baptisms, which were practically the same in number as the births, exceeded the number of deaths, as in 1580 when the baptisms were 3,568, the deaths 2,873 but any slight access of the plague or other disease reversed the conditions, as in 1579 when there were 3,370 baptisms and 3,406 deaths; while a bad plague year made the deaths preponderate overwhelmingly over the births, as in 1578 when there were 3,150 christenings and 7,830 deaths, or in 1625 when in the city and suburbs 6,983 persons were christened, but 54,265 died.<sup>3</sup> During a long period the deaths in London must have much exceeded the

<sup>1</sup> Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, I. 471-474.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chaps. vi.-x.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

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births, yet the population of the city during the same period was increasing. Obviously this was from the constant flow of outsiders into it: foreign immigrants, English adventurers, restless or evicted, occupationless, and often criminal vagabonds. It was this disproportionate and abnormal growth of London and perhaps of some other large cities and towns, the "infinite increasing greatness of this city", that gave contemporaries the impression that England was teeming and suffering with a superabundance of population.

Bacon in 1606 saw the conditions more fairly and expressed them in a speech in Parliament on the proposed union between England and Scotland:

I must have leave to doubt, Mr. Speaker, that this realm of England is not yet peopled to the full. For certain it is, that the territories of France, Italy, Flanders, and some parts of Germany, do in equal space of ground bear and contain a far greater quantity of people, if they were mustered by the poll. Neither can I see that this kingdom is so much inferior unto those foreign parts in fruitfulness, as it is in population; which makes me conceive we have not our full charge. Besides, I do see manifestly amongst us the badges and tokens rather of scarceness, than of press of people; as drowned grounds, commons, wastes, and the like; which is a plain demonstration, that howsoever there may be an overswelling throng and press of people here about London, which is most in our eye, yet the body of the kingdom is but thin sown with people.<sup>1</sup>

The more closely conditions in England in the years just preceding and contemporary with the foundation of Virginia are studied, the more natural does it seem that such a settlement should have been made, that it should have taken some such form as it did and suffered the difficulties it actually experienced. The whole movement was a natural, almost an inevitable one. But this naturalness does not diminish its significance. The grant of the charters to the Virginia Company, the settlement at Jamestown, the propaganda carried on in England in its interest, the activity of the company, the public discussion of the project, the attitude of the king toward it, make the whole movement one of the most



important of its time. The subject of colonization was now for the first time, and for all subsequent time, made one of popular interest. In the years between 1606 and 1620 many pamphlets were issued and numerous sermons preached on the subject; appeals for support and statements of plans were made to the general government, to town authorities, to the London companies, to churches, and to individuals; the members of the company were numbered by hundreds, the number of investors large and small rose to thousands; general collections were taken up and lotteries were carried on for its expenses;

<sup>1</sup> Spedding, *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, III. 312.

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it was the subject of discussion in the Privy Council, in Parliament, in the court of aldermen of London, and in the councils of various trading bodies. There must have been few persons in England who took any interest whatever in public questions who failed to become somewhat familiar with the subject of colonization and all later similar movements were carried on in the light of this familiarity.

The influence of the Virginia project on the political movement of the day was by no means insignificant. It worked itself into the rising conflict between King and Parliament, giving occasion for defining the differences of political views between the royal and the popular party; and the Virginia Company, while falling a victim to the hostility of the former, strengthened and gave unity to the latter.

Lastly, it influenced the literature of the time; not only the literature of voyages and travels, of practical proposals and patriotic or religious appeals, but the higher forms of imaginative writing. Bacon's essay "On Plantations" under its classic terms and general observations scarcely conceals his specific views and criticisms of the Virginia project as it was being carried on. In Drayton's "Ode to the Virginian Voyage" the familiar expressions of the devotees of colonization are put into the service of no mean poetry:

And the ambitious vine  
Crownes with his purple masse

The cedar reaching hie  
To kisse the skie,  
The cypresse, pine,  
And usefull sassafras.

. . . . .

Thy voyages attend,  
Industrious Hackluit,  
Whose reading shall inflame  
Men to seeke fame,  
And much commend  
To after-times thy wit.

Three excellent poets joined to immortalize the Virginian captain and the reckless adventurer in *Eastward Hoe*; and the changes are rung on "the Virginian continent", "Virginian priests", "Virginian princes", and "the noblest Virginians" in Chapman's mask played before the king by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court in 1613. The sights and sounds of the sea, the shipwreck, the boasting and roystering, the grace, the charm, and the high imagination of the *Tempest*, and much more that belongs to the literature of that time and of all time, are not without a close connection with the earliest voyages to Jamestown.

**EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.**

**Dinsmore Documentation presents Classics of American Colonial History**

**Spacer**

### **Captain John WARD**

John Ward's wife, Grace, also an immigrant, died and John married Elizabeth (—) Boates, the widow of George Boates. As John Warde, he represented Wardes Plantation in Virginia's first General Assembly (1619). They first refused to recognize him as a member because he had settled on Company land without the approval of the treasurer of the Virginia Company. The other burgesses reconsidered the matter in Ward's absence. They acknowledged that Ward had made contributions to the Colony and agreed to seat him if he would go through the proper channels of approval before the next Assembly.

Name: Captain John WARDE

ABT. 1570 in England 1

ABT. 1598 in (Wythe), England

BEF. 1636 in Wards Plantation, Henrico County, VA

16 FEB 1622/23 Captain John Ward was on the list of the living & the dead at Virginia 1619 At Elizabeth City across the Hampton River.

1619 Captain Ward fished off the New England coast to aid Virginia's food supply.

1619 Captain Ward was among those granted patents in Virginia; he was among 11 people who had undertaken to transport to Virginia great multitudes of people with store of cattle.

1619 He was associated with Captain John Bargrave, a trader & colonizer in Virginia.

JUL 1619 Member, 1st Legislative Assembly in America at Jamestowne, Virginia. 5

17 MAY 1620 His indenture was renewed in name of Capt. Warde and his associates.

1621 JOHN WARD on the ship Elizabeth, Muster, Elizabeth City

1622 Indian Massacre took place in the Colony, ending the Ward plantation story as it did others.

1622 Twelve persons killed in Indian Massacre at Lt. Gibbs Dividend, referring to Ward's plantation.

1633 Planter, Virginia; Captain of vessel that supplied fish & goods to settlers at Jamestown.

21 MAR 1632/33 John Ward, Planter of Varinas, lease 25 ac adj. his plantation.

BEF. 1636 He married 2ndly Mrs. Elizabeth Boates, who would later marry James Place.

BEF. 1636 He transported his first wife, GRACE, and 3 persons Cornelius DeHull, Vincent Dehall, Richard Tombs, Jon. Morgan, Tho. Robinson, Richard Greete.

1638 Rice Hooe patented Capt. Ward's plantation in Charles City Co. (Prince George County).

Emigration: 22 APR 1619 Captain John Ward arrived in Virginia on the ship named Sampson with 50 emigrants to establish a private plantation.

Reference Number: 52019

Note:

Charles E. Hatch, Jr. in his book, *The First Seventeen Years Virginia 1607-1624* (pp 73-74) writes that CAPTAIN JOHN WARD arrived in the Colony of Virginia on April 22, 1619 aboard the ship Sampson with about 50 emigrants to establish a private plantation. Samuel Argall later placed the date as 1618. He selected 1,200 acres west of Martin's Brandon, adjoining a creek on the south side of the James River which still bears his name. He was in some sort of association with CAPTAIN JOHN BARGRAVE who was involved in Virginia trade and colonization. Several members of the Bargrave family were with Captain Ward. CAPTAIN BARGRAVE in 1622 claimed the distinction of having "undertaken to be the first planter of a private colony in Virginia." [The plantation was located between Captain Spilmans Divident established before 1622 and Martin's Brandon, established in 1616. Captain Thomas Spilman came to Virginia in 1616 or

1617. Two people were slain in 1622 at his plantation and he relocated in Elizabeth City and by 1625 was established with his wife and child born in Virginia and 4 servants.]

Both CAPTAIN WARD and CAPTAIN BARGRAVE were among those granted patents in the year 1619. They were included in the eleven people "Who had undertaken to transport to Virginia great multitudes of people, with store of cattell."

Soon after arriving in the Colony, CAPTAIN WARD found himself on the New England coast fishing in order to aid Virginia's food supply. When he returned in July he made his contribution to the general store.

Captain Ward's plantation was among those that sent representatives to the first Assembly of Jamestown in July and August 1619. His Lieutenant, JOHN GIBBS, attended and CAPTAIN WARD served on the Assembly committee that examined the first and third books of the "Great Charter." Initially the Burgesses challenged his representation on the grounds that he had seated in Virginia without authority or commission. They did recognize his support of the Colony and that he had adventured his person. He was allowed to take his seat with the caveat that he agree to a lawful commission. Perhaps he fulfilled his obligation when his old indenture was passed again under the seal on May 17, 1620 in the name of "CAPT JOHN WARDE and his associates."

In the fall of 1620 <sup>Autumn</sup> Captain Ward was again trading on the Potomas. "The people there, are said, to have dealt falsely with him, so he took 800 bushels of corne per force." Such acts probably had a bearing on the massacre of 1622, which may have ended the Ward Plantation story as it did the story of other settlements in early Virginia. Most likely the twelve people killed at Lieutenant Gibbs' "Dividend" referred to the Ward Plantation. Mention of the plantation ceased after that date although CAPTAIN WARD received a new grant or reaffirmation of his old one in June 1623.

20 January 1625: Muster at Elizabeth City, VA

MUSTER OF JOHN WARD:

JOHN WARD in the Elizabeth 1621

ADAM RIMWELL aged 24 in the Bona Nova 1619

CHRISTOPHER WYNWILL aged 26 in the Bona Nova 1619

OLIVER JENKIN aged 40

JOANE JENKIN & a littell Child

HENRIE POTTER aged 50

ANN POTTER in the London Marchant

ROBART GOODMAN, aged 24 in the Bona Nova 1619

Provision: 20 barrells of corn; 500 ct. Fish

Armes: 8 peeces; 2 Armors; 8 pounds powder; 20 pounds lead

Two houses; Two stores

1633, March 21: Henrico County Patent Book 1, Part 1, page 146

JOHN WARD of VARINAS, planter, leased twenty five acres of land east upon his own land towards the land of THOMAS PACKER [PARKER] at the plantation of VARINA for 25 years (1658).

Note that on 1634, May 30: Virginia Patent Book No. 1, pp 146, 148, SEATH WARD, Planter of Varina in the upper part, obtains a 21 years lease for 60 acres in the upper part of the Corporation of Henrico abutting West upon land of DANIELL SHERLEY, East

towards a tree knowne as Powhatan's Tree, Sly upon 3 Mile Swamp and Northly into the maine woods.

1636, June 1: Henrico Patent Book 1, Part 1, p 405

JAMES PLACE, 550 acres, Henrico County. Upon a small creek a cleare feild called Pimasioes feild otherwise porridges feild, bounded upon the main river SW, Southerly & NW towards the falls of the great river and SE, Easterly towards land of ROBERT HOLLUM, NE into the woods. Due in right of his now wife, ELIZABETH [Elizabeth Boates Ward] to whom it was due, viz: 250 acres in right of her first husband, GEORGE BOATES, to whom it was due for transport of said ELIZABETH and 4 servants; 300 acres in right of her late husband, JOHN WARD, to whom it was due viz: 100 acres for his personal adventure as being an Ancient Planter in the time of SIR THOMAS DALE & 200 acres for transport of his first wife, GRACE WARD, and 3 persons: CORNELIUS DEHULL, VINCENT DEHALL, RICHARD TOMBS, JOHN MORGAN, THOMAS ROBINSON, RICHARD GREETE.

NATHANIEL POWELL served as Deputy Governor of Virginia in 1619. "The only matter of public interest that took place during Powell's brief administration was the coming of CAPTAIN JOHN WARD, with fifty immigrants, including REV. THOMAS BARGRAVE, nephew of DR. BARGRAVE, Dean of Canterbury. They made a settlement above Martin's Brandon on what is still known as Ward's Creek. [Source: Virginia Biography, Volume II, Colonial Presidents and Governors, page 42]

LIEUTENANT GIBBES was a Burgess from CAPTAIN WARD's planation in 1619. (Virginia Biography, Vol 4, p 442)

Lyon Gardiner Tyler in his book, The Cradle of the Republic, writes that Captain John Ward's patent called for 1,200 acres on the river side. The land east of Wards Creek appears to have been included in a grant to RICE HOOE in May 1638.

The relationship between SETH WARD and JOHN WARD has not been established. SETH WARD was the ancestor of the Ward family of Henrico, Virginia and later of Chesterfield, Amelia, Nottoway, and other locals in Virginia, and North Carolina.

Researcher Mary Ward states that a record found in The Compendium of American Genealogy traces Seth Ward of Henrico County, VA to this Captain John Ward; however, no record of John Ward has been found that names Seth Ward as his son. Note: Seth Ward was in Henrico County, Virginia no later than February 11, 1632 when he was granted a lease for 21 years in the upper parts of Henrico County.

Source: WFT/

Brenda H. Reed's Kith & Kin of VA, NC, TN, SC & Beyond

Entries: 47249 Updated: Thu Jan 9 17:45:37 2003 Contact: Brenda H. Reed Home Page: The Weberite Heresy & Murder of John George Smithpeter of Saxe Gotha, SC

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### **Captain John WARD**

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**Spacer**

**THE LAWRENCE F. BREWSTER**

**LECTURE IN HISTORY**

***Theory and Practice: Roanoke and  
Jamestown***

**Presented by David Beers Quinn**

**November 1985**

**EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY**

**GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, USA**

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***INTRODUCTION***

This is the second essay in the Lawrence F. Brewster Lectures in History series to be published. With this publication we hope the series, which bears the name of our esteemed emeritus professor of the Department of History, has now securely established itself both in the profession and the broader educational community. From its inception the lecture series has had four fundamental goals: to provide students, faculty, and members of the larger community with an opportunity to hear historians of distinction share their knowledge and mastery of some aspect of the discipline; to stimulate an exchange of ideas and to promote a continuing dialogue about issues of fundamental importance to man; and to illuminate the present state of human affairs through the reflective prism of the past; and to support a critical requirement in modern times, the continuing process of education.

Arthur S. Link of Princeton University inaugurated the series in 1982 as a part of East Carolina University's seventy-fifth anniversary celebration. Professor Link lectured on "Woodrow Wilson and a



Revolutionary World." The second lecture was presented by Professor Donald F. Lach, of the University of Chicago, and was entitled "Fantasy and Reality in the West's Response to Asia." Professor Hans Schmitt, of the University of Virginia, followed with "The First Year of the Nazi Era: A Schoolboy's Perspective" in 1984; his was the first lecture in the series to be published.

All of the lectures admirably fulfill the purpose of the series. We are pleased to continue this tradition of distinguished lectures with Professor David B. Quinn's "Theory and Practice: Roanoke and Jamestown."

Fred D. Ragan, Chairman  
Department of History

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Over the past fifty years Professor David Beers Quinn has held, and continues to hold, an impressive array of academic posts. He has served in and chaired a number of professional and intellectual societies, and by himself or in collaboration with his wife Alison has produced a prodigious number of books and articles. But Professor Quinn's standing in his field is based on more than his voluminous resume; it is the quality and coherence of his work that sets him apart. Individually, every book, every lecture glows with that rare combination of meticulous research and a disciplined imagination. Professor Quinn has spent a lifetime in the libraries and archives of Europe and America, and has come as close as anyone can to reading every extant document relevant to his field. When gaps occur in the documentary record, as they invariably do, he is not afraid to bridge them with carefully constructed arguments suggesting what might have happened. Collectively, his writings thus far constitute a true life's work. Layer by layer, David Quinn has painted a vivid portrait of Elizabethan colonization in all its breadth and richness, and has demonstrated more clearly, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries the colossal effort that went into those early expeditions.

It is this focus on the broad scope of English exploration and settlement that particularly distinguishes Professor Quinn's contribution to the early history of North Carolina. Among previous generations of historians it was all too common to dismiss Roanoke as an interesting sidelight—a dramatic tale of human tragedy that was

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## Notes

1. Robert S. Weddle, *The Spanish Sea: Discovery in the Gulf of Mexico, 1500-1685* (College Station, Tex., 1985), p. 413.
2. See, for example, the author's *Set Fair for Roanoke* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985).
3. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: 1975), p. 71.

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fascinating but irrelevant to the mainstream of English colonization. David Quinn, however, has lifted Roanoke out of that subordinate role and shown its true significance. He has demonstrated convincingly that the voyages sponsored by Walter Raleigh during the 1580s were part of a single process that began in Ireland in the 1570s and continued around the world for three centuries thereafter. Through numerous links of ideology, personnel, and practice, he has demonstrated clearly that Roanoke was not an isolated event; rather it was an integral and important step in England's journey to the New World.

Daniel P. Thorp, Assistant Professor  
Department of History

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## Theory and Practice: Roanoke and Jamestown

**David Beers Quinn**

I am privileged tonight to give the Lawrence F. Brewster lecture in the presence of its founder. I cannot believe that he or any of you have not been affected by the widespread efforts which have been made to celebrate, in one form or another, the four hundredth anniversary of the first English colonization of any part of North America. In this state the work of America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee has been outstanding and I am proud to see in the audience one of its begetters, Dr. H.G. Jones, and its secretary throughout, Dr. John D. Neville. The number of informative and scholarly works which have been produced by the Committee and by the Division of Archives and History at Raleigh in close co-operation have provided a substantial historical base on which the memory of the celebrations of the years 1984 to 1987 can be consolidated. I, and my wife Alison, are honored to have had some small part to play in this task.

There has been, however, in a few times and at a few places a rather selfish attitude toward these celebrations of which as historian I cannot wholly approve, namely that these voyages and colonies and the property in them resides today solely in North Carolina, that they are peculiarly the concern of North Carolinians, and do not belong to

and fit into the history of White intervention into native North America as a whole, and, in particular that they have nothing, or nothing much, to do with Virginia, North Carolina's closest neighbor in what we might, somewhat cynically perhaps, term the English colonization stakes. I think I can do nothing better than to quote from a very recent book by Robert S. Weddle, where he notes "the proclivity, especially among writers of state and local histories, for provincialism. History is no respecter of political boundaries, and historians attempting to confine themselves to such limits assume a built-in source of distortion."<sup>1</sup> I very much agree.

When I proposed in my writings<sup>2</sup> that the major part of the Lost Colony of 1587 met their end after nearly twenty years of peaceful living in what is now Virginia, and not in North Carolina, quite a number of North Carolinians took the view, and still do, I am sure, "We've been robbed." That is about the most unhistorical reaction that is possible. In the first place the whole of North America between Georgia and Maine was "Virginia" between 1584 and at least 1616. There was no North Carolina in any form until long after that—even the first definition of 1663 was not a finally-determined one. It is a little ironical that the location that I proposed for the Lost Colony—admittedly a conjectural one but, I believe, a probable one, on the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River—was part of a no-man's-land, perhaps Virginia, perhaps Carolina, between 1663 and 1728. It formally became Virginia only with the laying down of the Dividing Line in 1728 and even now is not many miles north of the modern boundary. Moreover, the first colonists at Jamestown considered that the whole Roanoke area was part of Virginia and they did what they could to look for the Lost Colonists in what to them was a southern part of the Virginia they had been granted by the English crown.

What can be said is that the Virginia colony at Jamestown in 1607 was in many respects a daughter colony of those attempted on Roanoke Island in the 1580s. Though many of the men involved had changed, not all had done so; though economic forces had altered and the political environment was different, yet the attempt to insert English settlers into a Native American environment had a direct continuity with the Roanoke ventures. Moreover, had the Lost Colonists survived until the new settlers arrived, as they very nearly did, being massacred very shortly before the arrival of Newport in

Raleigh's alternative strategy. The City of Raleigh would be an autonomous English community, not a dependent garrison. In 1609 the Virginia Company was faced with the likelihood that Virginia could not and would not pay its way under the terms so far planned and attempted. There was little if any profit, only financial loss, in attempting to continue with a settlement of one or two hundred people. But the remedy applied now was far different. It was to float colonization as a national enterprise, to send a large number of men and women to Virginia and attempt to gain profits by diversification, but with the ultimate objective of establishing a major English community in America. It was to take a long time, through many vicissitudes, before such a plan could take effect—it only began to do so in 1619, and even then the colony failed to take shape in the form that had been devised for it. E.S. Morgan uses as his chapter

heading on the first phases in Virginia—"The Jamestown Fiasco."<sup>3</sup> If we are cynical we might think too of "The Roanoke Fiasco." But the launching in 1587 of an experiment of removing a cross-section of English village society to a part of North America where there was land to spare and only friendly Indians nearby was a farsighted one that might well have succeeded. Indeed we can say that it did succeed in that the majority of those whom White left behind in 1587 managed to move to their intended location and did settle next to, and mix with, the Indians for nearly twenty years. The fact that they were destroyed, together with their hosts, on the eve of the Jamestown settlement was a tragedy, not only for themselves but for the new settlers. They knew by 1606 how to exist in North America without arousing Indian hostility, until the last days of Powhatan's unexpected attack. Had they survived, they could have taught the Jamestown settlers much and created the continuity in settlement which then and even now divides the two enterprises in the minds of students of the earliest experiments in English colonization. Yet each of these two ventures, very different in their outcome, has its own importance in the long process by which Englishmen learned to live in and profit from North America, even if it was at the cost of the Native American society which they virtually eliminated in the process, and on which we, nowadays, cannot look back on without some appreciable regret. Early modern England as an imperial colonizing power cut its teeth in these early colonial experiments in North America, not without loss and hardship to all concerned, but in the end to the material advantage of both later colonizers and colonists, if not to the Native Americans.

Jamestown, no hardships need have been suffered. On the other hand it is clear that Jamestown settlers dissipated their first supplies too rapidly (and this was partly the cause of, partly the result of, the epidemic which killed so many). There were, however, complaints from the leaders, notably Captain John Smith, that the supplies which arrived in 1608 were too small and many of them were used up by Newport's seamen during his stay in the colony. There is a strong suggestion that the London promoters were stingy in their supply arrangements and expected the colonists to raise much more by their own efforts and from Indian trade than proved practical in the early stages. Subsequently, in late 1608 and early 1609, Smith helped to secure more or less adequate corn supplies and to cut down deaths while also enlarging the area of land cultivated by the settlers.

What was vitally different was the question of financial resources. Raleigh and Grenville had to work on capital gathered in by themselves or their friends and could not rely on having sufficient resources to maintain a colony, since this took much longer to take root than had been assumed. In 1606-9 the situation was much altered. The merchants supporting the London Company, however cautious they were about expending too much for too small a return, could if necessary find the money to keep the colony going. Even under much more favorable circumstances, it is doubtful if private enterprise in the 1580s could have firmly established an American colony, hence the theoretical emphasis on a privateering base which could well provide continuing capital and goods. White's alternative of a self-supporting settlement was not known in England to have succeeded. In 1607-09 the London Company was, as we have seen, too optimistic about the value of the materials which the colony could profitably return. Smith, in November 1608, chastised the directors of the Company (personified in the person of the Treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith) for not waiting until a small viable colony was firmly in place before launching out on profit-seeking ventures. Commercial involvement was thus to have its liabilities as well as its advantages.

In 1609 the Virginia Company was back somewhat in the position that Raleigh found himself in at the end of 1586—there was no obvious means by which a colony manned by servants of an English proprietor or company could make a success of settlement unless some unexpected benefit accrued. The White venture of 1587 was

April 1607, the continuity would have been complete. Colonists with twenty years' experience could have given invaluable advice on how to live successfully in America and have led to the avoidance, or at least the mitigation, of many of the trials and tragedies which beset the Jamestown settlers. The accidents of history which fell upon the colonists of the years 1585 to 1587, also dogged the steps of the Jamestown settlers of 1607-1609. It does therefore make sense to compare the two ventures in order to see something of the limitations under which the earliest English colonies labored. I cannot expect to deal comprehensively with the whole history of the Jamestown colony, nor would you wish me to do so, but if we take the first two years, the years of the first Virginia charter, we can, I think, make some assessment of what happened. This may mean that we can see both enterprises in something of the broader setting of the settlement problems to which, perhaps, students here might wish to turn, now that the Four Hundredth Anniversary Celebrations are running towards their climax in 1987. North Carolinians might then alter some of their perceptions of their own history, see it not merely as a pioneer venture of local importance but as a staging-post toward much wider ventures, leading in the end to the emergence of the later colony and finally to the state of North Carolina itself.

If I was a modern business executive looking back on projects comparable in any respects with the Roanoke and Jamestown ventures I would be inclined to analyze the experience I had gained under several main, and probably a number of subsidiary, headings. The first, of course, would be assumptions—what did I know when I began, how far had these assumptions proved correct or incorrect, how had external conditions changed since I made these assumptions and embarked on the project? I would then, naturally proceed to performance, where I might ask if communications, leadership, supplies and production had satisfied my initial assumptions or had altered estimates made at the beginning through the intrusion of unexpected factors. Finally, I would look at results—did the project fulfill any of my objectives or none of them? If I was not on the right lines would I start over again in a different way, how far could I benefit by previous failings and anticipate better, or different, results next time?

They are indeed the kind of questions we might ask when comparing the Roanoke ventures of 1584 to 1587 with those at Jamestown in a

comparable period 1607 to 1609. But if I put all the information we have on each of these subjects into a computer and asked for answers I could only expect the reply "Data insufficient" or something of that order for all of them. Nonetheless, there are comparisons to be made even if the historian has too little in the way of firm information and too few probable conjectures he may make to enable him to give precise answers or even be sure that he is on the right lines in asking what he does and answering what he can. This is true of these cases even though we have rather more information about both sets of activity than we have for many other historical situations. But it seems perhaps worth making the attempt to see how far this analysis can be taken.

It will not be possible to keep precisely to the businesslike sequence I have defined. The time factor cannot always be fitted exactly into the scheme and the amount of data we have varies very much under the sequence of headings so we may have to do some guessing as well as documented exposition as we go along.

But we cannot doubt that in the summer of 1578 the English crown, Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, Sir Francis Walsingham, her principal secretary of state, with at least the acquiescence, if not the enthusiastic support of her older minister, Lord Burghley, made a major assumption which in one way or another was to influence or even govern most English enterprise in North America for some forty years. This was the assumption that the lands in North America between 34 degrees and 45 degrees of north latitude, roughly South Carolina to Maine, all the way from the eastern shoreline to the Pacific, were English. Drake indeed, in 1579 was to declare Nova Albion, in Upper California, to be English. This preemption, even if only a paper one, was brought about by a number of factors. The English knew that the Spanish were active in the southeast and that the French had some claim to the territory between about 45 degrees and 55 degrees north centering on the St. Lawrence valley (in theory they sometimes named the whole of eastern North America as New France), while the English were busy in the area between 60 and 66 degrees north hopefully developing a gold mine on Baffin Island and controlling access to a Northwest Passage to the Pacific (even if later in the same year, the gold was found to be dross). English summer cod fishing off Newfoundland was progressing to approach, if not to equal, the scale of the French, Spanish and Portuguese fisheries in that area. Sir Humphrey Gilbert,

which were to undertake the actual task of settling and exploiting these areas in the name of the Crown. but with their own resources. The economic situation after the Treaty of London was very different from what it had been before. The great London merchants had already obtained their first highly profitable cargoes from the East Indies, and they were profiting also from the expansion of the Levant trade. They were in the vanguard of early English capitalist enterprise. They were thus willing to venture something appreciable in North America inside the framework of government and administration set by the Royal Council, but with a strong emphasis on quick profits. This commercial pressure was to cause grave problems in Virginia and had by no means been solved by the time the first phase came to an end in 1609. Whether Hakluyt approved the initial policy of the Crown and of the London Company is not known: he may well have seen them as the partial fulfillment of his plea to Queen Elizabeth in 1584 to associate herself formally with the earlier Virginia enterprise.

If we stand back from Hakluyt we can see both considerable elements of continuity and of difference between the Roanoke and Jamestown ventures. Between 1584 and 1590 the English ships had to pick their way carefully through the Spanish-dominated Caribbean in the long sea route to Roanoke Island, and it is clear that no dependable system of communication was established. The lack of reliability in sailing this route played a large part in the breakdown of the first and the ruin of the second (Grenville's) colony, while the events of 1588-90 again show the English could not establish a firm line of communications with any colony on the North American mainland. On the other hand, Christopher Newport demonstrated in 1606-8 that he could convey ships through the Caribbean safely and on schedule. The first three voyages were conducted without loss, and of the first six ships only one was delayed somewhat by weather, while the return voyages were made with rapidity and success. The length of the outward passage by way of the Caribbean was, it is true, too long and expensive for a commercial venture, and Samuel Argall was to be sent in 1609 to pioneer a direct crossing which he did successfully.

Supplies were a vital matter. In 1585 the failure to hold the fleet together and the damage to the *Tiger* in her grounding at Wocoon meant that Lane and his men were not as well supplied as they might have been, but had the relief come as efficiently as it had at