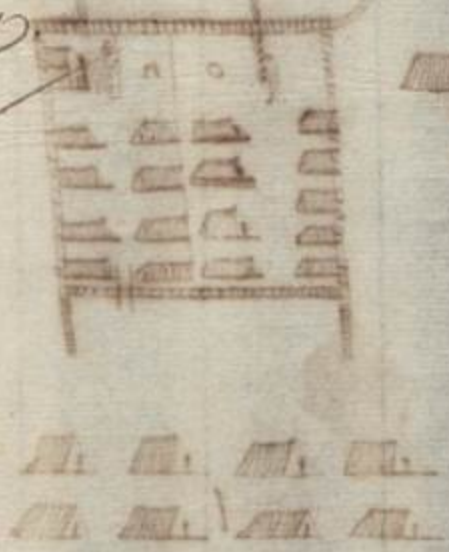


A True
 NARRATIVE of
 the Rise, Progress, and Cessation
 of the late Rebellion
 in
 Virginia

Most humbly and Impartially Reported

By

His Majesty's Commissioners
 appointed to Enquire into
 the Affairs of the said
 Colony.



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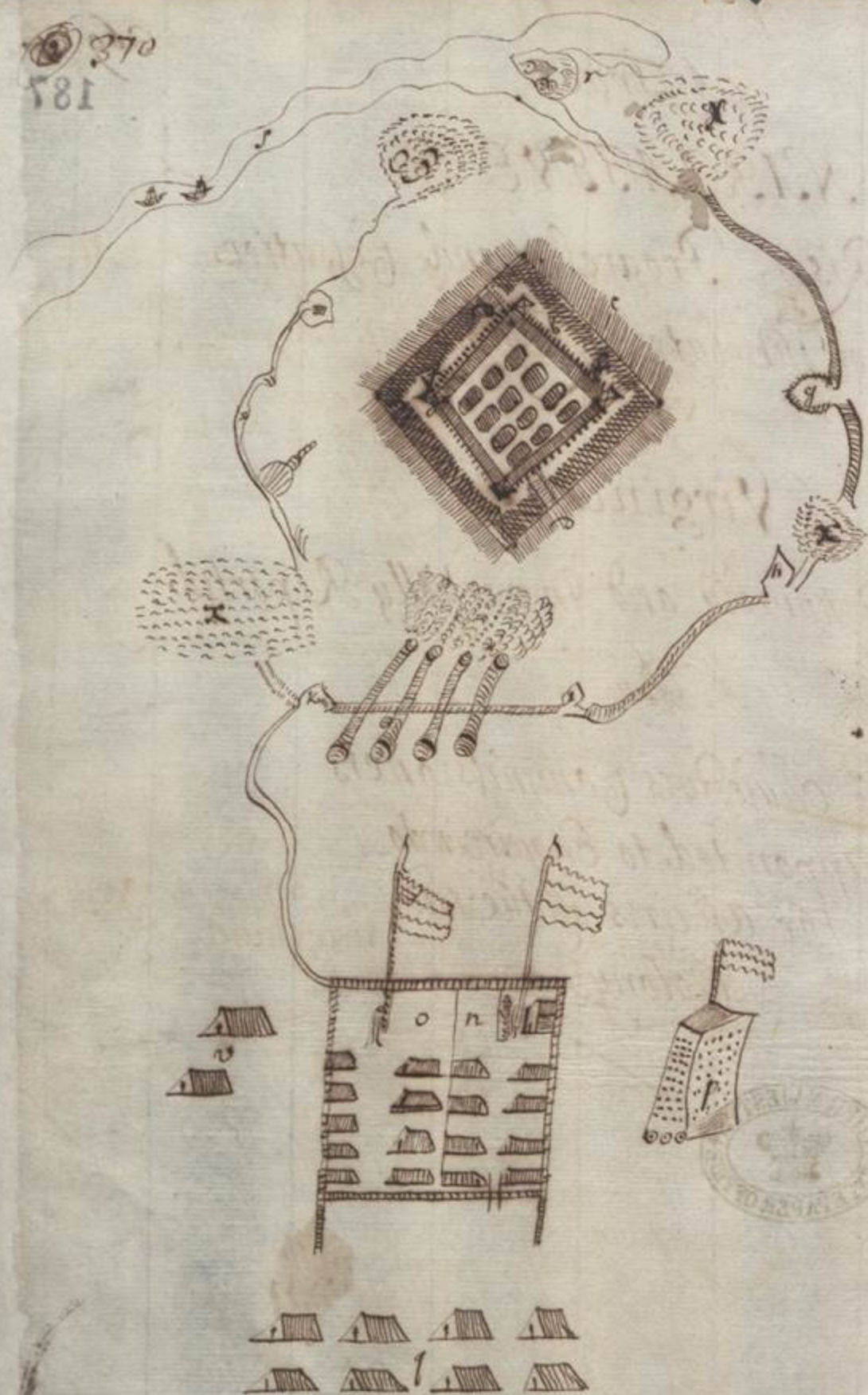
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a the Suskahanah fort
b the Contrerary
c the Sally port
d the 2. place
e Capt. Hill's house
f Capt. Norman's house
g the Virginians' house

h the Virginians' Skent
i Capt. Quilby's Skent
m Capt. Morgan's Skent
n the Marylanders' main Garde
o the Virginians' main Garde
p the main
q the reformados' Quarters

r the Virginians' Redoubt
s Potomack River
t the Virginians' Bahoi
v Virginia Cordegarde
xxxx Snowps.

Quid: page 372.

In all due obseruance of His Most Sacred Ma^{ties} Commands, wee haue employed our best endeauours to informe our selues for His Royall satisfaction by the most knowing, credible and indifferent Persons in Virginia of the true State of Affairs in that His Majestyes Colony, and of such other matters, as occasioned the late vnhappy Divisions, Distractions and Disorders among the People there; Which as far as wee can possibly Collect from a strict Inquiry - Observation, Examination and the most probable impartiall Reports by vs made & receiued, during our stay vpon the Place, seemes to take its original Rise, as followeth, viz^t



few or none had bin the Damages sustained by the English from the Indians, other than occasionally had happened, sometimes vpon private quarells and provocations, vntill in July 1675. certeine Doegs & Susquahanok Indians on Maryland side, stealing some hoggs from the English at Potomake, on the Virginia shore (as the River divides the same) were pursued by the English in a Boate, beaten or killed, and the hoggs retaken from them; wherevpon the Indians repairing to their owne Towne, report it to their Superiours, and how that one Matthews (whose hoggs they had taken) had before abused and cheated them, in not paying them for such Indian trucke as he had formerly bought of them, and that they took his hoggs for satisfaction. vpon this, to be Reueng'd, on Matthews, a Warr Cap^t with some Indians came ouer to Potomake and kill'd two of Matthews his servants, and came also a second time, and kill'd his sonne. It happened herevpon that Major George Brent and Capt. George Mason pursued some of the same Indians into Maryland, and marching directly vp to the Indian Towne, with a Party of 30. Virginians came to a certaine House, and there killed an Indian King and 10. of his men vpon the place, the rest of the

Indians

Indians fled for their lives.
On this occasion the Governour of Maryland wrote a letter to Sr W^m Berkeley, Complaining of this action and intrusion of the Virginians on his Province without his leave or knowledge, the Indians and them being at that tyme in Peace.

By what authority Brent and Mason went over into Maryland and killd those Indians is an Article of Inquiry in the Rappahanock Grievance and the supposed originall cause of the many Murders that ensued in that County as themselves Complain.

The Indians persisting to Revenge themselves Inforted in Maryland, and now began to be bold and formidable to the English, who Besieged their Colonesse and daring ^{behaviour} of late tymes and their promptnesse to Fire armes, being (indeed) wonderfull, ouer what they seem'd formerly indued with; which doubtlesse was of some advantage extraordinary to them, considering their small Body.

The Virginians and Marylanders that Besieged them being said to make up neer a thousand men. The sieg held 7 weekes, during which tyme the English lost 50 men, besides some Horses which the Indians took, and ser'd themselves to suffer on.

But Provisions growing very scarce with them during this sieg, the Indians sent out 5. Greater men to Treat of Peace, who were not permitted to returne to the Fort, but being kept Prisoners some tyme, were at last Murdered by the English.

At length (whether through negligence or Cowardize) the Indians made their Escape through the English, with all their wives Children and Goods of value, wounding and killing some at their Sally and going off.

After which the English returning (as Report saith) the Marylanders composed a Peace with the Salvages, and soe diverted the Warr from themselves.

As yet the General Peace and Government of Virginia continued undisturb'd, onely some

ignorant

ignorant People grumbld at the 60th of Feb: p pole, that necessary Tax, raised at two paym^{ts} to take off the Patents granted to the Lord Arlington and Culpepper and the Earl of Albans

But about the begining of January 1675. a Party of those abused Susquahanocks in Revenge of the Maryland businesse came suddainly downe vpon the weak Plantations at the head of Rappahanock & Potomaque and killed at one time 36. persons, and then immediately (as their Custome is) ran off into the woods.

Not sooner was this Intelligence brought to the Governour but he immediately called a Court and ordered a competent force of horse and foot to pursue the Murderers vnder the Comand of Sr Henry Chicheley and some other Gentlemen of the County of Rappahanock, giving them full Power by Commission to make Peace or Warr, But the men being ready to march out vpon this service the Governour on a suddaine recalls this Commission causes the men to be disbanded, and without any effectual course being taken for present Preservation refers all to the next Assembly, in the meantime leaving the Poore Inhabitants vnder continual and deadly feares and terrors of their lives.

Citterborne Parish Grievances Art. 1.

In soe much that in the vpper Parts of the Parish of Citterborne in Rappahanock w^{ch} consisted of 71. Plantations on the 24th of Jan: 1675 by the 10th of Febr. following was reduced to Eleaven what with those that ran away into the heart of the Country, and such as stayd and were cut off by the Enemy.

March

The Assembly mett to consult for the safety and defence of the Country ag^t the Incursions and destructions of the Indians, dayly comitted vpon the Inhabitants of Virginia, there having beene within the space of about 12. monethes before, neer 300. christian persons murderd by the Indian Enemy.

Gloster Grievances Article 3.

What care the Assembly took to prevent these Barbarous Masacres, was onely to build Forts at the heads of each Riuer and on the Frontiers and confines of the Country; for erecting of w^{ch} and maintaining guards on a heauey leavy was

laid

page 370.

The inforted Indians reported not to exceed a hundred fighting men.

by Act of Assembly on the People, throughout the Country universally disliked before the name of that imposture Bacon was heard of, as being a matter from which they expected great charge and little or noe security to the Inhabitants, the situation of the Virginian Plantations, being environed with thick Woods, Swamps and other Couert, by the help of which the Enemy might at their Pleasure make their approaches undiscovered on the most secure of their habitations, as they have often done not onely on the Frontiers but in the very heart and centre of the Country, their sculking nature being apt to use these aduantages.

The Murders Rapines and outrages of the Indians became soe much the more Barbarous, fierce and frequent, by how much the more they perceiued the Public Preparations of the English against them, Prosecuting their Mischiefs vpon the Extreem Plantations, thereby forcing many to disserit them to their Ruines, and destroying those that adventur'd to stay behind.

The unsatisfied People finding themselves sensible to the Indian Crueltyes, and the Cryes of their wiues and Children growing Grievous and intollerable to them, gaue out in Speeches that they were resolved to Plant noe Tobacco rather than pay the Tax for mainteming of Forts, and the erecting of them was a great Grievance, Guggle and cheat, and of no more use or service to them than another Plantation with men able and that it was merely a Designe of the Grandees to engrosse all their Tobacco into their owne hands.

Thus the sense of this oppression, and the dread of a comon, approaching Calamity made the giddy-headed Multitude madd, and precipitated them vpon that rash ouerture of Runing out vpon the Indians themselves, at their owne voluntary charge, and hazard of their liues and Fortunes, onely they first by Petition humbly craued leave or Commission to be led by any Comander or Coma as the Governour should please to appoint over them to their Chieftaine or Generall.

But

But instead of Granting this Petition y Governour by Proclamation vnder great Penalty forbade the like Petitioning for the future.

This made the People jealous that the Governour for the lucre of the Beauer and Otter trade & wth the Indians, rather sought to protect the Indians than them, since after publick Proclamation prohibiting all trade with the Indians, they complaind secretly gaue Commission to some of his Friends to truck with them, and that those persons furnished the Indians with Powder, shott &c. soe that they were better provided than his Majestyes Subjects

V. Charles-City-County Grievances

The People of Charles-City-County (neere Merchants-Hope) being denyed a Commission by the Governour, (although he was truly informed as by a letter of his to his Matie he confesseth) of seuerall formidable Bodies of Indians coming downe on the heads of James Riuer within 50. or 60. miles of the English Plantations, and Anew not where the storme would light) they begin to beat vpon drums for Volunteers to goe out against the Indians and soe continued sundry dayes drawing into armes; the magistrates being either soe remisse or of the same faction, that they suffered this disorder, without contradiction, or endeavouring to prevent soe dangerous a beginning, & going on.

The Rout being got together, now wanted nor waited for nothing but one to head and lead them out on their designe.

It soe happen'd that one Nathaniel Bacon Jun. a person whose lost and desperate Fortunes had throwne him into that remote part of the world about 14. moneths before, and fram'd him fitt for such a purpose, as by the sequel will appeare, which may make a short Character of him noe impertinent Digression.

A Character of the Rebell Bacon.

Hee was a Person whose Erratique Fortune had carryed and shewne him many Parts of Fortaigne Parts, and of no obscure Family; Upon his first coming into Virginia hee was made one of the Councill, the reason of that advancement (all on a suddain) being best knowne to the Governour

which Honor made him the more considerable in the eye of the Vulgar, and gave some advantage to his pernicious designs.

Hee was said to be about four or five and thirtie yeares of age, indifferent tall but slender, black hair and of an ominous, pensive, melancholly Aspect, of a pestilent & prevalent logical discourse tending to **Athisme** in most Companies, not given to much talke, or to make suddain replies, of a most imperious and dangerous hidden Pride of heart, despising the wisest of his neighbours for their Ignorance, and very ambitious, and arrogant, But all these things lay hid in him till after hee was a Councillor, and vntill he became powerfull & popular.

Now this man being in Company with one Crews Isham & Bird, who growing to a height of Drinking, and making the sadnesse of the times their discourse, and the fear they all liued in because of the **Susquahanocks** who had settled a little about the Falls of James Riuer and committed many murders vpon, among whome Bacon's Querser happen'd to be one, Crews and the rest perswaded Mr. Bacon to goe ouer and see the soldiers on the other side James river, and to take a Quantity of Rum with them to giue them to drinke, which they did, and (as Crews &c. had laid the Plot with the soldiers) they all at once in a shout and cry'd out a **Bacon!** a **Bacon!** a **Bacon!** which taking Fire with his Ambition, and Spirit of Faction & Popularity, easily prevail'd on him to Resolue to head them, His Friends endeavouring to fix him the faster to his Resolue, telling him that they would also goe along with him to take Revenge vpon the Indians, and drunk Damnation to their Soules to be true to him, and if hee could not obtaine a Commission, they would assist him as well and as much as if hee had one, to which Bacon agreed.

This forwardnesse of Bacons greatly cheer'd and animated the People, who looked vpon him as the onely Patron of the Country and preserver of their Liues and Fortunes.

For

For he pretended and bosted what great Service hee would doe for the Country, in destroying the **Comon Enemy**, securing their **Liues and Estates**, removing their **Pressures**, enlarging their **Libertyes**, and such like fair frauds hee subtilly and secretly insinuated by his owne Instruments ouer all the Country, which he seduced the vulgar and most ignorant People to belieue (two thirds of each County being of that sort) soe that theire whole hearts and hopes were set vpon Bacon. Next he Charges the Governour as negligent and wicked, treacherous, and incapable, the Lawes as and Taxes as vnjust and oppressiue and cryes vp an absolute necessity of redresse.

Thus Bacon encourages the Tumult, and as the vnquiet Crowd follow and adhere to him, he listeth them as they come in vpon a large Paper writing their name Circular-wise, that their King's Leaders might not be found out.

Having Conjur'd them into this Circle, given them Brandy to wind vp the charme, and enioyn'd them by an Oth. to stick fast together, and to him, and the Oth. being administer'd, he went and infected **New-Kent**, a County ripe for Rebellion.

Bacon having gott about 300. men together in armes prepared to goe out against the Indians: The Governour and his Friends endeauour to diuert his designs, but cannot.

Hee Proclames Bacon and his Followers **Rebells and Mutineers** for going forth against the Indians without a Commission. And getting a Company of Gentlemen together, the Governour Marcheth vp to the Falls of James Riuer to pursue and take Bacon, or to seise him at his Returne, But all in vaine, for Bacon had got ouer the Riuer with his Forces, and hastning away into the woods went directly and fell vpon the Indians and killed some of them, who were our best friends of Indians, and had fought ag^t the **Susquahanocks** Enemies to the English.

The Governour having issued forth a Proclamation importing noe Commerce with the reputed Indian Enemies; Besides the Cloggs and condictions which were put on the Garrisons placed or to be placed in the new erected Forts, enioyning them not to make any attempt vpon the Indians, vntill they should

Ch: City Gunty
Grievances.

first give the Governour an account thereof, and receive Orders from him therein. But many to a stand made the People Expostulate and say how shall we know our Enemyes from our Friends are not the Indians all of a colour and if we must not defend our selves before they they oppose vs, they may take their vsual advantage of Surprize, and soe destroy vs, ere wee are capable of making any resistance; Soe that after all that Charge in erecting of Forts, after all the Trouble of the Congresse of our Forces, after all their toyle and diligence vsd in discovering the Enemy (who are sildome to be dealt with but in their owne way of Surprize) the very point of Execution was to be determined of by a person residing in all likelihood at least a 100 miles distant from the Place of Action, to the losse of opportunityes and vther discouragement of the Souldiers & ourselues. Besides of what security were these Forts like to be, when the Indians cutt off and destroy'd diuers People within a small distance of the Forts and some of the very Souldiers in them, and they not daring to stir out to relieve any that were in danger and distress, themselues being scarce secure vpon the Place they were posted on.

Nor would the People vnderstand any distinction of friendly Indians and Indian Enemyes for at that tyme it was impossible to distinguish one nation from another, they being deformed with Paint of many colours, and at best (say they) who is hee that can for there was neuer any open or free Trade among vs that wee might know them, But the Trade Monopoliz'd by the Governour and Grandees. Soe the Comon cry and vogue of the vulgar, was away with these Forts, away with these distinctions wee will haue Warre with all Indians, which cometh not in with their armes, and giue Hostages for their fidelity and to ayd against all officers; wee will spare none, and wee must be hang'd for Rebell for killing those that will destroy vs, let them hang vs wee will venture, that rather than lye at the Mercy of a Barbarous Enemy, and be murdered as wee are &c.

Thus went the ruder sort raging and exclaiming agt the Indians, expressing the Calamity that befell New England by them.

While the Governour was in the Upper Parts to wait Bacons returne, the People below began to draw into armes, and to declare against the Forts.

Hee, to appease the comotions of the People leaues of that designe and comes immediately back to his own house, and caused at his returne the Surry and other Forts to be forthwith dismantled, and dissolving the Assembly that Enacted them, and gave the Country a free new Election, which new assembly were to be for the settlement of the then distracted Colonie of Virginia.

At this new Election (such was the Prevalency of Bacons Party) that they chose instead of Freeholders Free-men that had but lately crept out of the Condition of Seruants (which were neuer before Eligible) for their Burgesses, and such as were eminent abettors to Bacon, and for faction and ignorance, fitt Representatives of those that chose them.

At the same time Bacon being come back from his Indian march with a thousand bragging eyes to y credulous silly People of what feats he had performed was by the Inhabitants of the County of Henrico chosen, Burgess, as was also Crews for the same County.

The Assembly being mett, Bacon comes downe in a Sloop to James Towne, But the People being very Fond of him, would not trust his person without a Guard, fearing some violence should be offered him by the Governour, for what hee had already acted against his will, and soe sent forty armed-men along in the Sloop with Bacon.

Coming somewhat neerer to Towne than Swanns Point dropt Anchor, and sent (as tis said) on shore to the Governour, to know if he might in safety come on shore and sitt as a Member &c. what answer was returned, we haue not heard, onely what the Governour caused to be giuen him from the great Guns that fired at the Sloop from the Towne Fort, soe that having gatt his Sloop out of Gun shot, he lay higher vp the Riuer, and in the night tyme with a party of his men ventur'd on shore, and having had some Conference.

(at Lawrence's house) with Lawrence & Drummond came off againe undiscovered.

Seuerall Propositions were made, and some Boats sent off to apprehend him but could effect nothing. Bacon endeauours to make his Escape vp the River. In this Summe Capt. Thomas Gardner, Master of the Ship Adam and Luc being at Towne, having an order from the Governour to pursue and seise him immediatly got on Board his ship, and as Bacon returned vp the River comanded his sloop, in by firing at him from on board, and soe tooke him and all his men Prisoner, and brought them away to the Governour at Towne.

Bacon being deliuered vp Prisoner to the Governour by Capt. Gardner, the Governour lifting vp his hands and eyes, said in the hearing of many People. Now I beholde the greatest Rebell that euer was in Virginia, who with a dejected look made noe Reply, till after a short pause the Governour ask'd Bacon these words, doe you continue to be a Gentleman, and may I take your word? if soe you are at Liberty vpon your owne parol.

Bacon fetones a most deep sense of shame and sorrow for his Guilt, and expresses the greatest kind of obligacion to Gratitude towards the Governour - imaginabile.

And to make it looke the more reall and sincere, drew vp an humble Submission for, and acknowledged of his soe late crimes and disobedience, imploring the Governour Pardon and favor, which Bacon being in readynesse to Present, on his coming before the Governour hee told the Councill then sitting, Now you shall see a most Penitent Sinner.

Whereupon Bacon in very humble manner and many low bowings of his Body approacht the Governour and on his Knees gaue vp his Parasiticall Paper into the Governours hands, and soe withdrew himselfe.

After a short while hee was sent for in againe and had his Pardon confirmed to him.

Is restord into fauor and readmitted into the Councill, to the wonder of all men.

Now Capt. Gardner instead of a Reward for the service hee performed in taking, and bringing him

Bacon

Bacon Prisoner was suffered to be fined 70^{allready} damage, for seising him and the sloop. Capt. Gardner had ~~ing~~ discharged himself of her, the sloop being afterwards by a storme droue on shore and lost.

Howeuer soe powerfull (it seemes) was Bacons interest in this new Assembly that hee procured a Publick order, agt. Gardner for the payment of the 70^{allready} whereupon hee threw Gardner into Goale, till hee found security for his enlargement.

The late newes of Bacons being taken Prisoner being spread ouer all the Country soe alarmed the People of the vpper Parts of James Riuer and those of New Kent, that they resolved to release him by force, and (as they say) were descending to Towne in armes to effect his enlargement.

But when they vnderstood that the Governour had not onely sett him free, but readmitted him into the Councill, with Promise also of a Commission to be giuen him to goe out against the Indians the People were soe well pacified for the present as that euery man wth great gladnesse return'd to his owne home.

Bacon attending at Towne for a Commission (w^{ch} the Governour is said to haue promised him) & being delayed or put off, was secretly whisper'd to by some of his friends, that these delays would endanger his life, and that if specially hee endeavour'd not to prevent it, there was a Conspiracy to Murder him on such a night. Vpon w^{ch} hee privately leaues the Towne, whether this were onely a rais'd rumor of Bacons, or a reall truth, wee cannot determine, but being rais'd after Bacon was gone, we suppose it false.

Hee no sooner was come to the vpper Parts of James Riuer, but the impatient people run to him to ask how affairs stood, Exclaiming still more & more against the Indians, and desired to know if hee had got a Commission, and vnderstanding hee had, or could not obtaine any, they began to sett vp their throats in one Common Key of Offis and curses, and cry'd out aloud, that they would either haue a Commission for Bacon that they might serue vnder his conduct, or else they would pull downe the Towne or doe

worse to some if they had it not. And if Bacon would goe but with them they would gett him a Commission.

Thus the Raging Tumult came downe to Towne (sitting the Assembly) and Bacon at the head of them, having entred the Towne, hee seises and secures the principal Places and avenues, setteth sentinells and sends forth Scouts, so that noe Place could bee more securely guarded.

Having soe done, hee drawes vp all his men in armes against the State-house where the Governour Council and Burgeses were then Assembled and sitting, and sends in to the Assembly to know if now they would grant him a Commission, which Sr William Berkeley utterly refused, and rising from his chair of Judicature came downe to Bacon, and told him to his face and before all his men that hee was a Rebelle and a Traytor &c. and should haue noe Commission, and uncovering his naked Breast before him, required that some of his men might shoot him before ever he would be drawne to signe or consent to a Commission for such a Rebelle as Bacon, noe (said the Governour) lett vs first try and end the difference singly betweene ourselues, and offerd to measure swords with him; all the answer Bacon gaue the Governour was, Sir, I came not, nor intend to hurt a haire of yo^r Honors head, and for yo^r sword, yo^r Honor may please to putt it vp, it shall rust in the Scabbard before ever I shall desire you to drawe it. I come for a Commission against the Heathen, who dayly instamantly Murder vs and spill our Brethrens Blood, and noe care is taken to Prevent it; adding God damne my Blood I came for a Commission, and a Commission I will haue before I goe, and turning to his Soldiers, said Make ready and Present, which they all did.

Some of the Burgeses looking out at the window and seeing the Soldiers in that posture of Fighting cryd out to them, For Gods sake hold your hands and forbear a little, and you shall haue what you please

Much hurrying, solicitation and importunity is vsd on all sides to the Governour to grant Bacon a Commission.

Thus as it seemd to be Bacons Force vpon the Assembly, soe it appeares to the Assembly Force vpon the Governour, which might haue bene prevented had hee at a word dissolved them. seeing it was most appar that they had more regard at that time to Bacons humour than to the Kings or his Governours Honour.

At last the Governour Consents, a Commission is drawne vp and sent him, he dislikes it, they pray - e him to draw or direct one himself and the Governour should signe it. Whereupon Bacon drawes vp the contents of a Commission according to his owne mind, and returnes it to the Clerke to prepare one by, which is done, liked of and receiued.

After the Governour had signed the Principall Commission to Bacon, hee is also pleas'd to signe 30. Commissions more [Blanck] for Officers that were to serue vnder him.

But Bacon finding occasion for more, sent to Sr Wm Berkeley to signe officers also, who said hee had signed enough already, and bid him - signe the rest himself, if hee would.

The Assembly also passe Orders to raise or presse 1000. men and to raise Provisions &c. for this intended service ag^t the Indians, wherein seuerall of the Councell and Assembly Members were concern'd, and acted in the promoting this designe, encouraging officers to list themselues into Bacons service, and particularly one Ballard who endeavour'd to perswade some (who scrupled the legality of Bacons Commission) that it was fairly and freely granted by Governour Councell and Burgeses, this Ballard being one of the Councill, and of those that both tooke and admimister'd Bacons Oath.

There was also an Act of Indempnity pass'd to Bacon and his party who comitted the force on the Assembly, and a Publick Letter of Applause and approbation of Bacons actions & Loyalty writ to the King and sign'd by the Governour & Assembly.

Which vpon the Breaking vp of this Session were sent abroad and read among the Ignorant People who believ'd thereby that all was well, and nothing coming forth of a long time to quash or contradict or disorone this Commission, Indempnity, &c. granted to Bacon, But on the contrary - after Commissions of the Governours own signing and seal'd with the Publick Seal of the Colony coming to them, they were the more easily induc'd to

downe so fast a Bait, not seeing Rebellion at the end of it, and most men grew ambitious of the service as thinking it both safe and for the publick good as having the Approbation of the Governour and Assembly, at least there yet appeared nothing to the contrary, nor of a good while after.

Seuerall Voluntiers and Reformadoes came in to list themselves vnder Bacon, and many were pressed into this service, till at last having his complement of men, and all things else being in a readynesse according as the Assembly had provided for this Expedition.

July 15th

A Generall Rendezvous is appointed by Bacon at the Falls of James River, where all things being well appointed for the March, Bacon makes a speech to his men, Assuring them all of his Loyalty to his Prince, declaring to them that his designe was no other than merely to serue his King and Country. And to cleere all suspicion of the contrivance (if any were) amongst them, by what had bin by him already acted, or Proclaimed against him, as also of what might be said about the procuring of his commission, hee vrges to them the reasons that made it the necessity of that tyme that Compelled him, the negligence and carelesse of others that heated him, and the cryss of his Brethrens blood that alarm'd and waken'd him to this Publique Revenge, vying what motives hee could to raise vp the Spirits of his men. And finally before them all tooke the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, willing his Soldiers also to doe the like, which having freely comply'd with. Hee drew vp an Oath of Fidelity to himselfe, which hee (as their head & Generall) required them to take, it comprehended these following contents, or heads.

Bacon takes the Oath of Allegiance & Supremacy, and enjoyns the Soldiers to doe the like.

In Oath of Bacons taken by his Soldiers.

- That they should not conceal any Plot or Conspiracy of the King against his Person, but immediately reveale the same to him, or such others by whom he might come to the knowledge of it.
- That if any harme or damage was intended towards any of his men, whither by surprisal or otherwise, or any Conference or Councell kept about the same, to discover it.
- That noe commerce or Correspondence should be had with the Heathen, and if any knowne to discover it.
- That no news or information should be sent out least himselfe or Army by such intelligence should be endanger'd either

Republ

Repute or otherwise. All Councells, Plots and Conspiracies knowne of the Heathen, to discover them &c.

Just now (even on the very Night before their going out on the intended March ag^t the Indians) a Messenger comes Post from Gloster Countye bringing ~~hasty~~ Intelligence to Bacon, that the Governour was there, endeavouring to raise Forces to come and surprize him and his men, and that hee was resolved by Force to take his extorted Commission away from him, For that the whole County had Petition'd ag^t him as a Rebell and a Traytor &c.

This Petition is said to be onely the Contrivance of a few, and not knowne to ten (though in the name) of the whole County. And is by the Governour granted to all (though neuer knowne to or Petition'd for by any other) Countyes in Virginia.

This amusing Message was noe sooner brought to Bacon, but immediately he causes the Drums to Beat and Trumpetts to sound for calling his men together, to whom hee spake after this manner.

Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers.

The News just now brought mee, may not a little startle you as well as my selfe, But seeing it is not altogether vnexpected, wee may the better beare it and provide our remedies.

The Governour is now in Gloster County endeavouring to raise Forces against vs, having declared vs Rebels and Traytors: if true, Crimes indeed too great for Pardon; our Consciences herein are our best Witnesses, and theres soe conscious, as like Cowards therefore they will not haue the courage to face vs. It is Revenge that hurries them on without regard to the Peoples safety, and had rather wee should be Murder'd, and our Ghosts sent to our Slaughter'd Country-men by their actings, than wee liue to hinder them of their Interest with the Heathen, and preserve the remaining part of our fellow Subjects from their Cruelties. Now then wee must bee forced to turne our Swords to our owne Defence, or expose ourselves to their Mercyes, or Fortune of y^e Woodes, whilest his Majestyes Country here lyes in Bloode and wasting (like a Candle) at both ends.

How Incapable wee may be made (if wee should proceede) through sicknesse, want of Provisions,

200 Slaughters,

Slaughters, woundes, lesse or more; none of vs is void of the sense thereof.

Therefore while wee are sound at heart, vnwearied and not receiving damage by the fate of Warr, lett descend to know the reasons why such Proceedings are used against vs. That those whome they haue raised for their Defence, to Preserue them against the Fury of the Heathen they should thus seeke to Destroy, and to Betray our Siues whome they raise to Preserue theirs. If euer such Treachery was heard of, such Wickednesse and inhumanity (and call all the former ages to Witnesse) and if any that they suffered in like nature as wee are like by the Sword and Ruines of Warr.

But they are damnd Cowards, and you shall see they will not dare to meete vs in the field to try the Iustnesse of our Cause, and soe wee will continue to them.

To which they all crye Amen, Amen, wee are all ready, and will rather dye in the Field than be hang'd like Rogues, or Perish in the woods, except to the Favours of the Mercyleesse Indians.

How vnhappy, insuccessfull, and how fatall this Avocation prou'd, the Consequence will be plainly shew.

For Bacon (then the hopes of the People) was iudged vpon the Point of Marching out, and nothing could haue call'd him back, or turn'd the Sword of a Warr into the heart and bowells of the Country but soe ill-tym'd a Project as this Prou'd.

And although it is asserted by some, that at this tyme there was a Paper publickly read to the People, that the Governour designed onely to raise a Partie to goe out against the Indians and not against Bacon offering not onely their Estates, But by a solemne Oath to bind and confirme this Pretention to the People, yet this did noe feates with the People, or tooke any other impression on them, saue onely that it still more confirmed that Bacons cause was not onely as good as the Governours (when their Pretentions were equally agt. the Indians) But also that the Commission granted him was faire and legall, soe he protested not to prosecute or goe against him for

The Indian warr recoiles vpon the Country in an intestine Rebellion

Now

By this it is plain that the Governour was put upon this successles Essay by the few contriuerers of Gloster Petition for had it been the address of the whole Country as pretended they would doubtlesse all haue own'd it and stood by the Governour and not so basely abandon'd him & his cause, but there was not one subscriber to this Petition.

Part of the Colony of Virginia, disjoynd 7. leagues.

Bacon comes down to Gloster.

Bacons Force vpon the People.

The Oath that Bacon Administer'd to y. People.

Now in vaine the Governour attempts raising a Force against Bacon, and although the Industry & endeauour hee used to effect it was great, yet at this Juncture it was impossible for Bacon at this tyme was so much the hopes and Darling of the People, that the Governours Interest prou'd but weak, and his Friends soe very few that he grew sick of the Essay, and with very Griefe and Sadnesse of Spirit for soe bad successse, as is said, fainted away on horseback in the field. And hearing of Bacons being on his March to Gloster, hee was feigne to fly thence to Accomack, leaving him the Seat of the Governour lyable to the Usurpation of that Rebell, who had then also the Militia of the Country in his hands to enforce his owne arbitrary Impositions on the People; as hee afterwards did at his coming to Gloster.

Where being arriued, with his Forces, hee findes the Governour fled, and without more adoe, the Field his owne; soe leading his men to Middle-Plantacion the very heart and centre of the Country, hee there for some tyme Quarters them.

Then issues forth Proclamation, inviting the Gentlemen of Virginia to come in and consult with him for the present Settlement of that his Majesty's distracted Colony, to Preserue its future Peace, and advance the effectual prosecuting of the Indian Warr.

Seuerall Gentlemen, appearing on this summons of Bacons at Middle-Plantacion, mett him at one Capt. Thorpes, where (vnder a great guard) were seuerall persons confin'd. After a long debate, pro & con, a mischievous Writing was drawne vp and produced by Bacon; vnto which (the doors of y. house being fast lock'd on them) many by threats, force, and feare were feigne to subscribe. The tenor of the Oath is as followis.

You are to oppose what Forces shall be sent out of England by his Majesty against mee, till such tyme I haue acquainted the King with the state of this Country, and haue had an answer

You shall sweare that what the Governour and Councill haue acted, is illegal and destructive to the Country, and what I haue done is according to the Lawes of England

You shall sweare from your hearts that my Commission is lawfull and legally obtained.

- 4. You shall swear ^{not} to divulge what you shall heare at any time spoken against mee.
- 5. You shall keepe my secrets, and not discover them to any person.

Copies of this Oath are sent to all or most of the Countyes of Virginia, and by the Magistrates and officers of the respective Precincts Administred to the People, which none (or very few) for feare or force durst, or did refuse.

To Perfect all at once, and to make all secure, while soe long as the Governour was at liberty they thought could not bee, but that hee would still seeke means whereby to regaine his Place and authority, and not to be soe basely extruded that high Trust lawfully residing in him. They take Cap. Sarrimores ship, by surprise, man her with 200. men & Guns, to goe to Accomack and seise the Governour, Pretending to send him home Prisoner to his Ma^{ty} for to receive Tryall of his demeritts towards his Ma^{ty}s Subjects of Virginia; and for the likely losse of that Colony for want of due and timely care for the Preservation of it against the daily Incursions and Encroachments of the native Salvages, who had destroyd and laid wast the Plantations and cutt of many of y^e families of the English. &c.

The Comand of which Charge was by Bacon committed to one Carver a valiant, stout Seaman and Gyles Bland (both since Executed) onely on^{ly} Bacon putting more confidence in Carver had chiefly intrusted Carver on this designe by a Private Comission w^{ch} Bland knew not of - but supposed they had both equal Power.

Bacons second March against the Indians.

Things thus agitated Bacon reasumes his first designes of Marching out against the Indians, Imprisoning some before hee went out, others hee had of a long continuance in hold, who in the beginning thought and tryd to divert his designes; others some hee

subtly

subtly brought over to his side, and such whose Liberty (if left behind) hee jealously suspected - might raise any party agst him, in his absence, hee tooke along with him.

Bacon goes up again to the Falls of James River, where hee bestirs himself lustily in order to a speedy March against the Indians, in prosecution of his first pretentions w^{ch} were agst y^e Occaneeches & Susquahannocks. From the Falls of James River hee marcheth over to the freshes of Yorke to pursue the Pamunkey Indians, whose propinquity and Neighbourhood to the English & convers among them, was a pretended reason to render y^e Rebels suspicious of them, as being acquainted and knowing both of the manners, customes, & nature of our People, and the strength, scituation, and advantages of the Country, and soe capable of doing of hurt and damage to the English. Although it was well knowne to the whole Country that the Quene of Pamunkey and her People, had never at any time betrayed, or injuried the English. But among the vulgar it matters not whether they be Friends or Foes soe they be Indians.

Bacon being here mett with all the Northern Forces from Potomack, Rappahanock and those parts under the Comand of Col. Brent, they joyne together and marching to the highest Plantations seated upon Yorke River, were there detem'd by a day or two's Raine, and for fear of want of Provisions, Bacon addresseth himself to the Army and speakes to them after this manner: "That hee feared the badnesse of the Weather which was like to continue) would much hinder their Expectations of meeting with the Enemy soe soone as otherwise they might the Weather being good; which would cause a second losse not be helped or prevented at present, which hee feared - would be in the want of Provisions. To help which intyme, and to lett them all know, for the future hee would order but allowances, soe that (being not far out of the reach of the settled Plantations) all those hee gave free leave to returne, the heate of whose courage & resolutions for the suppressing of his Heathen, and revenge the Bloode of their friends

and acquaintance they had shed, were not about and more than the particular regard and care they had for their Belly. Bidding them draw forth if any were, and be gone; for I am sure (said he) if there were, there shall be occasion for such to fight, I shall find them the worst of Cowards, serving for number but not for service, and status my best men, who would bear the Brunt of all, and dishearten others half mettle from freely Engaging &c. amongst which onely 3. withdrew, soe they were disarm'd and sent

The bad Weather abating he proceeds on his March and in a short time falls into a Path of the Indians which led to a maine, which made him imagine himself to be near their main Camp; but by the Scouts sent out for discovery, hee found nothing more yet, then a continued large Path and woods which made them break the order of Marching, and for Expedition and conveniency to march at randome; soe continuing all along this Path brought them to a Point on each side whereof and before it was a Swamp. Upon which Point the Pamunkey Indians had severall Cabbins.

Some Indian Scouts were sent out before for discovery, which were about 10 Indians for the service of Bacons army, who being espied by the contrary party of Indians they lett them come vpon soe nigh as to fire at them, which gave the alarme to the English, who riding downe in great disorder and hast to the Point being about halfe a mile distance off the Indians took to the very edge of the Swamp, which prov'd so miry that Bacon and his men were presently at a ne plus ultra, soe that the mighty deale that was done at this tyme was onely the taking of a little Indian Child, and the killing an Indian woman.

It chanced that the Queene of Pamunkey with severall of her Principall Indians and officers was not far off when this onsett happened, and had notice of Bacons approach on her Tracks, of which her owne Scouts had made discovery to her, who leaving behind her all her Goods, and

Indians

Indian Corne Vessells &c. and as much as shee could to decline all occasion of offending the English, whom shee ever soe much loved and reuerenced privately absconded from them, Charging her owne Indians that if they found the English coming vpon them, that they should neither fire Gun, nor draw an arrow vpon them.

It soe happened that in this stragling pursuit that they light on an old Indian Woman that was the Queens Nurse, whom they took Prisoner and hoped shee would be their Guide to find out those Indians that fled, but instead of directing them that way shee lead them quite contrary, soe that following her the remainder of that almost another day perceivng themselves misled by her and little likelihood of meeting with them, Bacon gave Comand to his soldiers to knock her on the head, which they did and left her dead on the way.

They marching after this at randome (yet stopping and aiming still to find them out) at last meet with an Indian Path again, which led them to the maine Swamps where severall Nations of Indians lay Encamped, and striking through a stright of one of them fell in vpon them, where the first that was taken was a young woman belonging to the Nanjatioc Indians half starved, and soe not able to escape. The maine of them fled, and vpon search made after them they discovered and killed two or three Indian men, and as many women.

The tyme of the meeting of the new Assembly (called Bacons Assembly) now drawing nigh, hee thought it expedient to give the starved and languishing Expectations of the People a little reliefe, and sends some on purpose to give them an account of his Proceedings, and the hopes they had of destroying the heathen, and would be with them with all possible speede.

Now had Bacons high Pretences rais'd the Peoples hopes to the highest pitch and at the same time put him on a necessity of doing something before hee returned which might not altogether fall short of his own Vaunting. But being

Bacon had caused a party of his own Army to convene for the carrying on his owne designs.

192 21

stifferto disappointed, his Army Tyrd, murmuring impatient, hunger starid, dissatisfied, hee giues liberty to as many as would, to returne in with the foot he had ordered to march in before him, giving them two dayes Provision to reach (if they could) the English Plantations, those that were dismiss'd being the North Forces comanded by Cot. Brent the whole being nigh with the rest hee moues on, hunting and beating the Swamps vp and downe: at last meets with a tradt upon high land, which he follows so long that almost all his Provisions were spent, and forced to come to quarter allowances and having lead them farr into the woods hee makes a short halt, and speaks thus to the Gentlemen.

A Speech of Bacons when he was out on the Indian March, upon sending in some of his sick and Tyrd Soldiers before him.

The indefatigable Paines which stifferto wee have had doth require abundantly better success than as yet wee haue mett with. But there is nothing soe hard, but by labour and Industry it may be overcome, which makes me not without hope of obtaining my desires against the heathen, in meeting with them to quit scores for all their Barbarous Cruelties done vs. I had rather my Carcase should lye rotting in the Woods, and see English mans fate againe in Virginia, than misse doing that service the Country expects from mee, and I vowed to performe against these heathen which should I returne not successfull in some manner to damnifie and affright them, wee should haue them as much animated as the English discouraged, and my Adversaries to insult and reflect on mee; that my Defence of the Country is but Pretended and not Real, and (as they already say) I haue other Designs and make this but my Pretence and Cloke. But that all shall see how deuoted I am to it, considering the great Charge the Country is at in fitting mee, and the hopes and Expectations they haue in mee. All you Gentlemen that intend to abide with mee, resolve to vndergoe all the hardships this Wilde can afforde, dangers and successes, and if need bee, to eat Chinkapins and horse flesh before hee returne. Which resolve I haue taken, therefore desire none but those which will see freely adventure, the other to returne in, And for the better Knowledge of them I will

Seperate

Bacon falls vpon the Pamunkey Indians.

By the Queens own account there were onely 8 of her Indians killed, shee saying she would not tell a ye to mention more than indeed were. Though Bacon brought many more to please and deceiue the people, with a mighty conquest.

The Indian Prisoners were some of them sold by Bacon, and the rest disposed of by Sr William Berkeley all but five which were restored to the Queen by Ingram who was Bacons gentl.

The Queen of Pamunkey flies for her life and is lost 14 dayes and almost starid in the Woods.

seperate my campe some distance from them bounae home.

which done, and the next morning by an hower & half of the sun, the one marching on towards the Plantations, and the other on the Indian designe, they were not three howers separated, before the Rebells Bacon falls vpon the Pamunkey Indians, who lay incamped beyond a small branch of a Swamp, or Run of water, having a Swamp on the right hand and a small swamp, or run on the left of them, betweene which was a fine piece of Champion land, but full of thick kett, small oke, saplings Chinkapin Bushes and grape Vines, which the Indians made their covert. As the onsett was giuen they did not at all oppose, but fled, being followed by Bacon and his Forces killing and taking them Prisoners, and looting for the Murder of the field, which was Indian matts, Baskets, Matchcotes, parcells of Wampampeag and Poanoke (which is their Money) in Bags, Skins, furs, Pieces of Lynnen, Broad Cloath, and diuers sorts of English goods which the Queen had much value for 45 Captives, all which upon sound of Trumpett was brought together and deliuered in by order of Bacon, the Murder and Captives estimated not lesse worth than 6 or 700^{to} the goods being 3 horse loads.

The Good Queen of Pamunkey during this ataque to saue her life betooke her selfe to flight with onely one little Indian Boy of about 10. years old along with her, and when shee was once coming back with designs to throw herselfe vpon the mercy of the English, shee happened to meet with a deade Indian woman lying in the way being one of her own nation, which struck such terror in the Queens heart, that fearing their cruelty by that gashly example, shee went on her first intended way into wild woods where shee was lost and missing from her own people fourteens dayes, all that tyme being sustein'd alie onely by gnawing sometimes vpon the legg of a Torrapin, which the little Boy found in the woods and brought her when shee was ready to dye for want of food, and of a great while had Provisions for her support but not necessary could incline her to adhere to Bacons quarters. While Bacon continued out vpon this Indian Enterprise the Gouvernor had the good fortune to

retake

retake Sarrimores Shipps from the Rebels with which they designed to seize the Governour and carry him home Prisoner to England; the manner of this reprisall was thus.

Carver with a party of men being gone on Shore to treat with the Governour at Accomack, before the Sarrimores shipp say the command whereof Carver had usurped, and leaving onely Bland on board with a small number of men to watch the Scamen of the Shipp were not inferiour. Sarrimore sends a letter to the Governour, to acquaint him how things stood on board, and that if hee could send him off a party of Gentlemen in Boats, hee would enter them all at the Gun-rooms Ports, where having already secur'd the Enemy's armes, hee doubted not but to surprize the men and retake the Shipp.

The Governour privately ordered off a party of his owne under the Command of Col. Philips Sudwell while he Capitulated with Carver in dilatory manner to give his owne party time to get on Board, which they did, all things succeeding answerable to the designe Bland being taken together with the rest of the Rebels soon after Carver parting with the Governour rowed on Board, they permitt the Boat to come soe neere as that they might fire directly downe upon her, and soe they also commanded Carver on Board & secur'd him when hee saw this surprize hee storm'd, tore his haire off, and curs'd and exclaim'd at the Cowardice of Bland that had betray'd and lost all their designe.

The Governour returns to James Towne.

The Governour having regain'd this Shipp, goes on Board and in company with the Shipp Adam & Euer Capt. Gardner Comander, 16. or 17. Sloopes and about 600. men in armes goes up to James Towne, which hee fortifies as well as hee could, and again Proclames Bacon and his Party Rebels and Traytors, threatening them with the utmost Severities of Law.

Upon this Bacon calls his few men together which upon a Muster made, a little after the last skirmish with the Indians (with Baggatiens and all) were but 136. tyrd men, and told them how the Governour intended to Proceed against him and them. But this rather animated and provoked new Courage in them than any wise daunted them soe that among other cheerful expressions they cry'd out

they

would stand by him their Generall to the last. the hearing such hearty expressions from Tyrd Soldiers who imbraced his service and refused the Plunder hee now offer'd them, was highly pleas'd and said to them.

A Speech of Bacon to his Soldiers going to James Towne agt the Governour.

Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers.

How am I transported with gladnesse to find you thus ynanimous, Bold and Daring, brave and Gallant; You have the Victory before you fight the Conquest before Battle. I know you can and dare fight, while they will lye in their Place of Refuge and dare not see much as appeare in the field before you. Your hardynesse shall invite all the Country along as wee march to come in and second you. The Indians wee beare along with vs shall be as soe many motiues to cause Reliefe from euery hand to be brought to you. The Ignomy of their actions cannot but soe much reflect vpon their Spirits, as they will haue noe Courage left to fight you. I know you haue the Prayers and well-wishes of all the People in Virginia, while the other are loaded with their Curses.

Bacon in most incens'd manner threatens to be reueng'd on the Governour and his party swearing his Soldiers to give noe Quarter and professing to scorne to take any them selves, and soe in great fury marches on towards James Towne, onely halting a while about new Kent to gather some fresh Forces, and sending to the upper parts of James Riuer for what they could assist him with.

Having increas'd his number to about 300. in all, hee proceeds directly to Towne, as hee marcht the People on the high wayes coming forth Praying for his happynesse and railing agt the Governour and his Party, and seeing the Indian Captivrs which they lead along as in a shew of Tryumph, gave him many thanks for his care & endeavours for their Preservation, bringing him forth Fruits and Victuals for his soldiers, the women telling him if hee wanted assistance they would come themselves after him.

Intelligence coming to Bacon that the Governour had good in Towne a 1000 men, well arm'd & resolute I shall see that saith hee, for I am now going to try them being told that there was a party of 900 of the Governours of abt. 50. scouting out to observe his motions hee smilingly answered, hee feard them not coming soe neere him as to know how hee did.

But hee not too heedlesse of all reports, nor in simple to sure of their Cowardice, drawes vp his men in Green-spring Old-fields, hee tells them that if they will fight they will doe it now before saith hee I march vp to their workes, having all the advantage of ground, places retreats, their men fresh & unweake and what not advantages saith Bacon to vs soe few you, but to acquaint you (as you shall finde) what advantages they will neglect and loose, which (says he) if they had the courage to maintaine that which they declare against vs as Rebels, Traytors & their Allegiance would be but faintly defended to us take that which they might Command. Come on my hearts of gold, hee that dyes in the field lyes in the Bedd of Honour.

In the Evening Bacon with his small tyrd Body of men, his horseorne, marching some distance before comrs into Paspahayes oldfields, and advancing on horseback himselfe on the sandy Beach before the Towne commands the Trumpet to sound, Fires his Ordnance, dismounts, surveys the ground and orders a Trench worke to be cast vp.

All this night is spent in falling of Trees, cutting of Bushes and throwing vp Earth, that by the light of the moone light they had made their Trench before day, although they had but two axes and 2. spades in all to performe this work with.

About daybreak next morning six of Bacons Soldiers ran vp to the Pallasadoes of the Towne and fir'd briskly upon the Guard, retreating safely without any damage.

At first (as is reported) the Governour gave Comand that not a Gun should be fir'd agt Bacon or his party upon paine of death, pretending to be loath to spill blood.

Sept. 13th 1676.
The Siege of James Towne.

Note that Bacons men had march that day betwixt 30 & 40. miles to come to James Towne.

blood, and much more to be the Beginner of it, supposing the Rebels would hardly be soe audacious as to fire a Gun against him. But that Bacon would rather have sent to him and sought his Reconciliation soe that some way or other might have bin found out for the Preventing of a War, to which the Governour is said to have shewne some Inclination, upon the account of the Service Bacon had performed, (as he heard) against the Indian Enemy, and that he had brought severall Indian Prisoners along with him, and especially for that there were severall Ignorant People which were deluded and drawne into Bacons Party and thought of noe other Designe than the Indian Warr onely, and so knew not what they did.

But Bacon (pretending distrust of the Governour) was soe farr from all thoughts of a Treaty that hee animates his men against it, telling them that hee knew that party to be as Perfidious as Cowardly, and that there was noe trust to be reposed in such, who thinke noe Treachery by any wayes to suppress them. And for his tenderesse of shedding Blood which the Governour pretends & preventing a War, says Bacon there are some here that know it to be no longer since than last weeke that hee himselfe Comanded to be Fired against us by Boats which the Governour sent up & downe to places where the Countrys Provisions were kept for maintenance of the Indian warr to fetch them away to support a warr amongst ourselues, and wounded some of us, which was done by Sorrell, which were against the designe of converting these stores to soe contrary a use and intention of what they were raised for by the People.

Bacon moving downe towards the Towne, and the Shippes being brought before the Sandy Beach the better to annoy the Enemy in case of any attempt of theirs to storme the Pallasadoes, upon a Signall given from y^e Towne the Shippes fire their Great Gunns, and at the same time they let fly their small-shott from the Pallasadoes, But that small scone that Bacon had caused to be made in the night Trees, Brush and Earth (under which they lay) soe defended them that the shott did them noe damage at all, and was return'd back as fast from this little Fortresse. In the next of this firing Bacon commands a party of his men to make euery one his Taggot, and putt it before his Breast,

The Provision rais'd by act of assembly to supply y^e Indian Warr is by the Governours Party forceably taken away to maintaine a Civil Warr against the Hiuers of it.

* on Col. Morysons
Plantation, that was

and come and lay them in order on top of the Trench
on the out side, and at the end, to enlarge and make good
the Fortification, which they did, and orders more
spades to be gott, to helpe to make it yet more
defensible. And the better to observe their motion
ordered a constant Sentinel in the day time on top of
a Brick Chimney (hard by) to discover from thence
how the men in Towne mounted, and dismounted,
posted, and reposted, drew on and off, what number they
were, and how they moved.

Hitherto their happend noe other action, than onely
Firing great and small shott at distances.

But by their movings and drawings vp about Towne
Bacon understood they intended a Sally, and accordingly
prepared to receive them, drawing vp his men to the
most advantageous Places he could, and now expected
them (but they were observed to draw off againe for
sometime) and was resolved to enter the Towne wth
them as they retreated, as Bacon expected and foretold
they would doe.

In this Posture of expectation Bacons forces
continued for an hower till the watchman gave notice
that they were drawing off againe in Towne, soe upon
this Bacons forces did soe too.

Septemb. 16.

Noe sooner were they all on the Rebels side gone
and squander'd. But all on a suddaine a Sally is made
by the Governours Party, yett in this great hurly and
disorder on both side they soe received them as they
forced them to retreat in as much confusion as they found
them, to the shame of their bragging Pretences of
valour, courage and Resolution at their undertaking
this attacque, and of the cause they defended, who yett
call themselves the Loyall party, and yett dissent from
Gouvernor, and now begin to importune him to quitte Towne.
But wee cannot give a better account, nor yett a
truer (soe far as wee are informed) of this action
than what this Letter of Bacons relates

Cap. Wm. Cookson
Cap. Edw. Skearm.

Bacons Letter
from y. Camp.

Before wee drew vp to James Towne a party
of horse of theirs fled before vs with all the
fear: With a small party of horse (being dar'd
in the Evening wee rode vp to the Point at Sandy Beach, and

From the Camp at Sandy
Beach 7. Oct. the 17. 1676.

sounded

sounded a Defiance which they answered; After which with
some difficulty for want of Materialls wee entrenched our
selves for that night, our men with a great deal of Brauery
ran vp to their works, and fir'd briskly and retreated without
any losse. The next morning our men without the works gave
them some Drauts and Contempts to try their Mettle, vpon which
they fir'd their great guns with small shott to cleere their
works, but our men recovered the works, and wee are now
entrenched very secure both from the Shippes and Towne.
Yesterday they made a Sally with horse and foote in the Van
the Forlorne being made up of such men as they had Compell'd
to serve, they came vp with a narrow front, and pressing
very close vpon one anothers shoulders that the Forlorne
might be their Shelter; our men receiued them soe warmly
that they retired in great disorder, throwing downe their
Armes, left vpon the Bay, as also their Drum and dead Men, two
of which our men brought into our Trenches and Buried, with
seuerall of their Armes. This day wee shew'd them our Indian
Captiues vpon the Works; the People come in from all parts
most brauely, and wee are informed that great Multitudes of
men are vp for vs in the Isle of Wight, and Nancymond, and
onely expect orders, as also all the South side of the Riuer over
against vs in great numbers. They shew themselves such
pitifull Cowards, Contemptible as you would admire them.
It is said that Hubert Farrell is shot in the Belly, Hartwell in
the Legg, Smith in the head, Matthews with officers, yett as yett wee
haue noe certaine account. They took a Solemne Oath when
they Sally'd out either to Rout vs, or neuer Returne, But you
know how they vse to keepe them: I beleeue the Shippes are
weary of their Bargaine, finding their Shotts are inconsiderable.
This is our present Intelligence; be sure to take care of the
upper Parts against the Pyrats, and bid the men be Courageous
for that all the Country is brauely Resolute. I had almost
forgot to tell you that Chamberlaine out of a Bravado came with
a Sloop, and lay vnder our works, and with abundance of
vaunting & railing Expressions, Threatned great things, but
finding it too warme was faine to take his Boate and leaue
his Sloop; wee guesse hee was wounded by his ceasing to
haule (being much Jeerd by our men) which you know hee
is not vnder the Doe. Be sure you encourage the Soldiers in the
upper Parts, and lett them know what a Pitifull Enemy wee
haue to deale with. Wee haue just now two great guns come for
our Battery, which they are much affraid of as I am informed.
This is the most of our present Newes, of other Passages by the
Messenger you may be informed. Your reall Friend

Nath. Bacon.

After this successfull Sally the Courages and numbers of the Governours party abated much and Bacons men there by became more bold and daring, in soe much that Bacon could scarce keep them from immediatly falling to storme and enter the Towne; but hee being as wary as they rash persuaded them from the attempt; Bidding them keep their Courages vntill such tyme as hee found occasion and opportunity to make use of them, telling them that hee doubted not to take the Towne without losse of a man, and that one of their Ciues was of more value to him than the whole world.

Having planted his Great-Guns, hee takes the Wiues and Relations of such Gentlemen as were not in the Governours service against him (whome hee caused to be brought to the works) and Places them in the Face of his Enemy, as the Bulworks for his Battery, by which Policy hee promised himselfe doubtlesse had a good advantage. Yet had the Governours party by much the odds in number besides the advantage of tyme and place.

But soe great was their Cowardize and Baseness of the Generality of Sr William Berkeley's Party (being most of them men intent onely upon Plunder or compelled and hired into his service) that of all at last there were onely some 20. Gentlemen willing to stand by him, the rest (whome the hopes or promise of Plunder brought thither) being now all in hast to be gone to secure what they had gott. Soe that Sr Wm Berkeley himselfe, who indoubtably would rather haue dyed on the Place than thus deserted it, what with importunate and resistlesse sollicitations of all was at last over-perswaded, nay hurried away against his owne Will to Accomack, and forced to leave the Towne to the mercy of the Enemy.

Soe fearefull of Discovery they are, that for Secrecy they imbarque and weigh Anchor in the Night and silently fall downe the River, thus flying from the face of an Enemy that during this Siege (which lasted one whole weeke) lay exposed to much more hardship, want and inaccommodation than themselves, besides the fatigue of a long march at their first coming to Towne, For this very service

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was supposed to be the Death of Bacon, who by lying in a wet season in his Trenches before Towne contracted the Disease whereof hee not long after dyed.

Bacon haueing early Intelligence of the Governour and his Party's Quitting the Towne the night before, enters it without any opposition, and soldier-like considering of what importance a Place of that Refuge was, and might againe bee to the Governour and his Party, instantly resolves to lay it level with the ground, and the same night he became possess'd of it, sett fire to Towne, Church and Statehouse, wherein were the Countrys Records which Drumond had privately conveyd thence and preserued from burning, the Towne consisted of 12. new brick houses, besides a considerable number of frame-houses with brick Chimneys, all which will not be rebuilt (as is computed) for ffiftene hundred thousand poundrs of Tobacco.

Now those who had soe lately deserted it, as they rid a little below in the River in the Shippes and sloopes to their shame and regret beheld by night the Flames of the Towne, which they soe basely forsaking, had made a sacrifice to ruiue.

Bacon goes next to Greene Spring, and during his stay thereabouts, draws up a Protest or oath against the Governour and his Party, which is said to be imposed on the People and taken by about 600. at once in Gloster County, and also forced upon officers in severall parts of the Country, and is as followeth.

Bacons Oath of Fidelity.

Whereas Sir William Berkeley Knight late Governour of Virginia hath in a most Barbarous and abominable manner exposed and betrayed our lives, and for greedinesse of sordid Gaine did defer our just defence and hinder all the loyall Endeauours of his Miesties faithfull subjects; and further when the Country did raise a sufficient force for the effectuall proceeding against the Indian Enemy, hee did contrary to all Equity and Justice, and the tenour of his Commission endeauour to oppose the said forces by himselfe and the Assembly sett forth: of which attempts being severall tymes defeated by the Peoples abhorrence, of soe bloody a designe, he left the Country in a small Vessell, it being

unknowne to all People to what parts of the world hee did repair, and whereas our Army upon his departure had betaken themselves to the care of the frontiers did march but against the Indians and obtaine soe great a victory, as hath in a manner finished all the distastour, and almost Resettled the Country in a happy Peace. Yet notwithstanding Sir Wm Berkeley with forces raised in Accomack, did invade the Country with acts of hostility, with all intentions to prosecute the said Army, with these aforesaid reasons, as also having betrayed his Trust to the King by flying from his seat of Judicature, and acting wholly contrary to his Commission Wee Protest against him vnanimously as a Traitor and most pernicious Enemy to the Publick, And further doe sweare that in all Places of his Majesties Colony of Virginia wee will oppose and prosecute him with all our Endeavours, by all acts of hostility as occasion shall present. And further whereas Plotting & wishing in his heart a totall Ruine and Destruction of this poor Colony he hath Endeavour'd to sett the heart of our Soueraign against vs by false Informations and syes, requesting Forces of his Majestic wherewith to compell and subvert vs, hindring, intercepting and preventing all our Remonstrances for Peace, which might haue gone home in our Justificacion, as also hindring of our sending home of Agents in the Peoples behalfe, which was the most humble, and earnest request of the People at first. Wee doe further declare and sweare that wee thinke it absolutely consisting with our Allegiance and Loyaltie to treat with and discourse with the said forces and Commissioners with all submission to his Majestic: But otherwise if it shall soe proue that notwithstanding all intreaties and offers wee shall make, they shall offer to land by force, in our owne Defence to fly together as in a Common Calamity, and jointly with the present Army now vnder the Command of Generall Bacon, to stand or fall in the Defence of him and the Country in soe just a Cause, and in all Places to oppose their proceedings (onely vntill such time as his Majesty by our Agents shall fully vnderstand the miserable case of the Country, and the Justice of our Proceedings) which most just request if they shall refuse and by force endeavour to enter the Country, wee are

Bacon forced, and his own party, compell'd him to fly: he fought ag. by the first, and forsooke by the latter.

Resolved

resolud, to vphold the Country as long as we can and neuer to assent and joync with any such Army whateuer. And lastly in case of vtmost Extremity rather than submit to any soe miserable a Slauey (when none can longer defend ourselues, our liues and libertyes) to acquit the Colony, rather than submit to an soe unheard of Injustice, and this wee all sweare in the Presence of Almighty God as vnfeignedly and freely, as euer wee desire of him for happynesse to come.

By the Generall.

The Gouvernor and his Forces being gone, Bacon orders the shore to be guarded, all along, to obserue their motion, and as they moued to follow them - and prevent them from landing, or hauing any provisions sent on board them. Bacon now begins to shew a more mercilesse severity and absolute authority than formerly - Plundering and imprisoning many and condemning some by Power of marshall law. But among all made onely one Exemplary (to wit) one James Wilkinson that had fled from his Colours, whom with one Mr Clough Minister of James Towne) was Condemned to dye. But the first onely was Executed, which (as a Soldier) wee look on to be more an act of his Policy than Cruelty, to prevent and awe officers from dissenting him wee not obseruing him to haue bin Bloodily inclined in the whole progresse of this Rebellion. Intercession being made for Mr Clough, Captaine Han Kins and Major West, Bacon proposed to accept of Bland Carver and Farloe in exchange for them, but it was not accepted, neuertheless none of the first three were put to death by Bacon. Now Bacon finding that his Soldiers Insolences growing soe great & intollerable to the People of whom they made noe due distinction) and finding their actings to reflect on himself, hee did not onely betake himself to a strict Discipline ouer his men but also to more moderate courses himselfe. Releasing some Prisoners, Pardoning others that were condemned, and calling those to account against whom any Complaints came for seisures or Plundering their Estates without his orders or knowlege.

one shot to Death by Bacon for flying from his Colours.

Bland Carver & Farlow Executed, 2. by vs for our arrivall by Marshall law, but Bland upon the Commission of Oyer and Terminer.

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This Prosperous Rebell concluding now the day his owne Marchett with his Army into Gloster County intending to visit all the Northerne parts of Virginia to understand the state of them, and to settle affairs after his owne measures, in which wee are informed hee proposed this method.

- 1. One Committee for settling the South side of James River and inquiring into the spoiles that had beene committed there.
- 2. Another Committee to be alwayes with the Army, to inquire into the cause of all Seisures, and to give orders for doing the same, and to regulate the rudeness disorder, spoile and wast of the Soldiers, as they had formerly committed.
- 3. and another Committee, to be appointed onely for the management and providing for the Indian Warre and giving Dispatches for affairs relating to it.

But before hee could arrive to the Perfection of his designs (which none but the eye of Omnisience could penetrate) Providence did that which noe after hand durst for at least did doe, and cut him off. Hee lay sick at Mr. Pates in Gloster County of the Bloody Flux, and as Mr. Pate himself affirms in a sousey Disease, with so that the swarms of Vermin that bred in his Body hee could not destroy but by throwing his shirts into the Fire as often as hee shifted himself. Hee dyed much dissatisfied in minde, ever and anon after the arrivall of the Friggats and Forces from England, and asking if his guards were strong about the house.

After Bacons Death one Joseph Ingram took up his Command, a man more spruce and finicall than wise or valiant (being a stranger in Virginia) and came over but the yeare before this Rebellion under whose conduct the faction began to fall into severall partyes and opinions, which gave Sr Wm Berkeleys party opportunity by these divisions to surprize the Rebels in small Bodies as they sculked up and downe the Cuntry.

But the maine service that was done for the Reducing the Rebels to their Obedience was done by the Seamen and Commanders of Shippes then riding in the Rivers, especially the Generall Surrender

Bacons Death and Disease

The Assembly observing the late Rebellion to be set on foot by new Comers have now Enacted that no man shall receive advancement till hee has bin about 3 yeares in Virginia; Bacon being preferred to a Councellorship at his very first coming over.

at

at Wests Point of those headed by Ingram and Walklate which was managed and concluded by Cap. Grantlam; to the disgust of those Gentlemen of the Gouvernours Party, because Sr Wm Berkeley had not made them concerned in soe considerable a Piece of service.

After Ingram had submitted to the Gouvernor (who lay then on Board Martyns Ship in Yorke River) - Lawrence that notorious Rebell fled, who was the first man that sett fire to James Towne by Burning his owne house; some others were taken Prisoners - after they had layd downe their armes, and the rest went home in Peace, soe that about the 16th of January 1675. the whole Country had submitted to the Gouvernor, and the two and twentyeth hee came home to his house at Greene Spring, and had issued out new writts of summons for the Convening of a free Assembly at his owne house, the Statehouse being ruind with the rest of James Towne.

The Rebellion suppressed and the Gouvernors Return to Greene Spring.

The Particulars of this foregoing Narratiue, being what wee could collect or observe from the most credible, disinterrested Persons, most authentique Papers, Records, Reports, and the Publick Grievances of the respective Countyes of Virginia, Wee haue, with all integrity of mind, and the best of our vnderstandings, without fauor or partialty, selected and sett downe what wee thought most consonant to Truth and Reality And on the other hand rejected whateuer wee found or suspected to be false or improbable. And doe here according to his Majestyes Royall Commands and our own Dictyes most humbly leave it to his Majestys most Prudent Consideration, and Judgement.



John Berry
Francis Moyser

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