

THE GENESIS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

A NARRATIVE OF THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND, 1605-1616, WHICH
RESULTED IN THE PLANTATION OF NORTH AMERICA BY
ENGLISHMEN, DISCLOSING THE CONTEST BETWEEN ENGLAND
AND SPAIN FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE SOIL NOW OCCUPIED
BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; SET FORTH THROUGH

A Series of Historical Manuscripts now first printed

TOGETHER WITH A REISSUE OF RARE CONTEMPORANEOUS TRACTS,
ACCOMPANIED BY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA, NOTES, AND

Brief Biographies

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WITH 100 PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND PLANS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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sion of the plans of going to Virginia. — What that King had done with the father of Don Antonio Shirley, and the Justice he did in Scotland to the Earl of 'Dumbirra' [Dunbar]. — And of whatever else, of importance, which may present itself, you must continue to keep me informed."

XXVIII. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 36.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, September¹ 22, 1607.

"SIRE: —

"I have reported to your Majesty [XXIV.] how there had come to Plymouth one of the vessels that went to Virginia, and afterwards there came in another, which vessels are still here. Captain Newport makes haste to return with some people — and there have combined merchants and other persons who desire to establish themselves there; because it appears to them the most suitable place that they have discovered for privateering and making attacks upon the merchant fleets of Your Majesty. Your Majesty will command to see whether they will be allowed to remain there. On account of this report I sent to ask an audience of the King at Salisbury,² and God was so pleased that from that day I have not been able to rise from my bed. Whereupon I have repeated³ my request stating the reason why I did not go on the day which had

¹ The copy of this letter was dated "a 22. de Diciembre;" but the month was certainly "Setiembre," as the internal evidence and its position "in file," proves. The day "22" is probably correct (that is, 12 O. S.).

² The king was at Salisbury (on his western progress) from about the 14th to about the 29th of August (O. S.),

(during which period Newport probably reached London), and it was during that time that Zuñiga first "asked an audience" of King James.

³ The king was at Windsor September 8 (O. S.), and it was probably at that time that Zuñiga "repeated his request" for an audience.

been designated to me. He has sent me to be visited¹ very graciously and in the same way, the Queen; and I desire nothing more than to have health to fulfil what Y. M. has commanded me to see in what manner they take up that business, which I fear, he will say is not his business; — and that he will order it to be set right — and in the meantime they will make every effort they can. It is very desirable Y. M. should command that such a bad project should be uprooted now while it can be done so easily. I hope to God I shall be able to speake to the King within eight days; because at that time² he will come nearer to this place.

“I have found a confidential person, through whom I shall find out what shall be done in the Council³ (which they call Council of Virginia). They are in a great state of excitement about that place and very much afraid lest Your Majesty should drive them out of it. They go about with a plan that if this be not done, they will make this King take the business in his own hands.⁴ And there are so many who here, and in other parts of the Kingdom, speak already of sending people to that country, that it is advisable not to be too slow; because they will soon be found

¹ That is, he tells Philip III., when he wrote to the king at Salisbury, asking audience, the king and the queen had both very graciously appointed a day for his visit or audience. The translation is literal.

² Zuñiga was evidently looking for the king's coming to Hampton Court, eight miles nearer than Windsor. He passed there, probably unexpectedly to Zuñiga, on the 12th (O. S.) of September (the day this letter was written, it seems), but did not return to hold his court there for a week or more (see XXX.). As soon as Zuñiga heard that the king had come to Hampton (the 13th), he made a third application, it seems, for an audience (see XXIX.). This may have been only the second application (see note 2, p. 116), but I think it was the third.

³ As the meetings of His Majesty's Council of Virginia were private, and the members thereof sworn to secrecy, this “confidential person” was probably a member of that council. Who was he?

⁴ They were, in fact, royally chartered colonies, and not private plantations, from the beginning. The individual feature was for diplomacy, to enable the king, when called upon by other governments, to gain time by shifting the responsibility on irresponsible shoulders — the old idea of November 6, 1577. The whole of America from 34° to 45° was claimed by the king, who had placed it under the management of his royal council, established for that purpose.

there with large numbers of people, whereupon it will be much more difficult to drive them out than now. &c.

“ May Our Lord preserve and guard the Catholic Person of Y. M. as all christendom needeth.”

[MEM. — Captain Henry Hudson returned from his voyage September 15, 1607.]

XXIX. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 64.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, October 5, 1607.

“ SIRE, —

“ When the King came to Hampton Court, which was on the 22d of last month [12th September, O. S.], I sent to ask an audience, and he sent me word, that it pleased him to wait 'till he should return there; because he was leaving the next day to hunt, on the other side of London, in certain woods and forests which he has towards 'Fibols' [Theobald's?]. Day before yesterday he returned, and I sent again begging an audience. He was sick with fever that day and he replied that this, and his waiting for the Members of his Council,¹ prevented his doing what I wished and that he would let me know when he was so disposed. In this way I have not been able to say anything to the King about Virginia; but I understand that a ship² is sailing there and a tender with about 120 men and from all who go they require an oath of allegiance. A man has told me to-day, a man who usually tells me the truth, that these men are complaining

¹ The king was putting off, gaining time, and the managers of the Virginia enterprise were preparing Newport, with two vessels, emigrants, and supplies, as rapidly as possible.

² The John and Francis and the Phoenix.

of what the King does for the Scotch who may go there, and that he favors them more than themselves. They are in the greatest fear, that Y. M. will give orders to have them stopped; because all see that their sending there can no longer be approved, as Y. M. takes it. It appears clearly to me now that it is not their intention to plant colonies, but to send out pirates from there, since they do not take women, but only men. I have not wished to detain this courier, because the King might be one of these days in bad health.¹ I understood that he writes to Y. M. desiring much to strengthen the bonds of Friendship. I believe that there are some things that have to be done for the service of God and of Y. M. &c. — as for myself, a cloud has disappeared from my heart, because now I see a door is opening for free speech in religion. May God open it in such a manner that His sacred service may be entirely fulfilled, and may He protect," etc.

¹ Was Zuñiga expecting the king to die, or did he fear his assassination?

[NOTE. — The following abstract from Bacon's report to the House of Commons (June 17) of Salisbury's speech at the conference of the Lords on June 15, 1607 (see note 1, pp. 121, 122) throws much light on XXX., XXXI., XXXIII., and on the difficulties in the way of obtaining the release of Challons and his men: —

"His Lordship said, it was the policy of Spain to keep that treasury of theirs [the West Indies] under such lock and key as a vigilant dragon keepeth his golden fleece. Yet his Majesty [James I.] in the conclusion of the last treaty would not agree to any article excluding his subjects from that trade, nor acknowledge any right to Spain either by the donative of the Pope, whose authority he disclaimeth, or by the title of a dispersed occupation of certain territories in the name of the rest; but stood firm to reserve

that point in full question to further times. So as it is left by the treaty in suspense, neither debarred nor permitted. The tenderness and point of honour whereof was such, as they that went thither must run their own peril. But if his Majesty would descend to a course of intreaty for the release of the arrests in those parts, and so confess an exclusion, and quit the point of honour, his Majesty mought have them forthwith released: And yet his Lordship added, that the offences and scandals of some had made this point worse than it was; in regard that this very last voyage to Virginia, intended for trade and plantation where the Spaniard hath no people nor possession, is already become infamed for piracy: Witness Bingley, who first insinuating his purpose to be an actor in that worthy action of enlarging trades and plantation, is become a pirate, and his ship is taken in Ireland, though his person is not yet in hold." (See Spedding's *Letters and Life of Lord Bacon*, vol. iii. pp. 352, 353.)]

XXX. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 68.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, October 8, 1607.

“SIRE :—

“Saturday night [^{September 26}_{October 6}] I had a message from the Chamberlain in which he told me that the King would give me an audience, yesterday, Sunday, at 2.

“He received me as usual very courteously, and after we had seated ourselves, I told him how your Majesties had grieved over the death of his daughter.¹

“He replied to this with much gratefulness. Then I told him that Y. M. had ordered me to represent to him how contrary to good friendship and brotherly feeling it was, that his subjects should dare wish to colonize Virginia, when that was a part of the Spanish Indies, and that he must look upon this boldness as very obnoxious.

“He answered that he had not particularly known what was going on ; that as to the navigation to Virginia he had never understood that Y. M. had any right to it ; but that it was a very distant country where Spaniards lived, and that in the Treaties of Peace with him and with France it was not stipulated that his subjects should not go there, except to the Indies, and that as Y. M.’s people had discovered new regions, so it seemed to him, that his own people might do likewise. I replied to him that it was a condition of the Treaty of Peace, that in no way should they go to the Indies. The King said to me that those who went, did it at their own risk and that if they came upon them in those parts there would be no complaint should they be punished. I told him that to punish them

¹ The queen was brought to bed at Stanwell, the Lord Knevet’s house. Greenwich on the 9th or 10th of April, 1605, of a daughter, afterwards named Mary, who died September 16, 1607, She was the first royal infant to receive Protestant baptism in England.

was all right, but that it would be better for the closer union between Y. M.'s subjects and his own, and that this invention of going to Virginia for colonising purposes was seen in the wretched zeal with which it was done, since the soil is very sterile, and that hence there can be no other purpose connected with that place than that it appears to them good for pirates, and that this could not be allowed. He told me in reply that he had never known Y. M. was interested in this, but since I assured him it was so, and that they might send pirates out from there, he would seek information about it all, and would give orders that satisfaction should be given to me by the Council, and that he was inclined to think as I did, having heard it said that the soil was very sterile and that those have been sadly deceived who had hoped to find there great riches — that no advantage from it all came to him, and that if his subjects went where they ought not to go, and were punished for it, neither he nor they could complain. I said in reply that the difficulties were such as must be considered and the best remedy was to prevent and cut it short from here, since it was publicly known, that two vessels¹ had sailed from a port of this kingdom for the Indies, and that two others² were being laden here to go. The King told me they were terrible people and that he desired to correct the matter. I represented to him how well his subjects would always be treated in all parts of Y. M. dominions to which *they can go*, and with how much good will Y. M. commands it so. He told me, he saw now perfectly well how certain everything was that I told him, because in the last Parliament there had been so much excitement about the two ships seized in the Indies.³

“I told him that here the common people always liked to raise difficulties with us and that I would not complain

¹ The Gift of God and the Mary and John. (See May 31, 1607.)

² The John and Francis and the Phoenix. (See October 8, 1607.)

³ There is “a bit of irony” in the king's remarks. “The last Parliament” was in session from February 10 to July 4, 1607. In the *English*

of such people, but that I did complain of some Members of the Council who had talked of Y. M.'s having called the Count of Tyrone," etc.

[Relates to Irish affairs, etc. In this part of the interview, King James refers to the kind treatment which "Antonio Perez" had received in England.]

"I told him [King James] once more how important it was that a remedy should be found for that matter in Virginia, because it was necessary to take measures about it before it assumed a worse condition."

[End of the interview with King James.]

"These explanations of the Council [promised by the king] are apt to be very long and protracted here, and in the meantime they may send more people there, and fortify themselves there, for I hear that from Plymouth, they have settled another district near the other. — I shall be careful to find out about what is going on, and I shall report to Y. M.; but I should consider it very desirable that an end should be now made of the few who are there, for that would be digging up the Root, so that it could put out no more."

[Zuñiga again refers to Tyrone¹ and to Irish affairs.]

State Papers, vol. xxvii., No. 19, May 13, 1607, are notes of Sir Edwin Sandys' speech in the Lower House, concerning the complaints of the merchants, of injuries inflicted on them by the Spaniards. Same volume, No. 53 [June 17], 1607, The Report by Sir Francis Bacon to the House of Commons of speeches by two Earls [Ellesmere and Salisbury], in a conference between the Houses of Lords and Commons, relative to the petition of the merchants for redress of wrongs suffered in Spain. And in the same volume, No. 54, is an Analysis of some points of the Earl of Salisbury's Speech at the conference about the Spanish business.

"The two ships seized in the [West] Indies" were evidently Captain Henry

Challons' and Captain Legat's ship. (See XXXIV.) It may be safely inferred that Virginia was mentioned in this debate, in May and June, 1607, both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons.

Zuñiga's account of his first interview with King James, on Sunday, September 27, 1607, regarding Virginia, is very interesting. He had been trying to meet the king since he heard of Newport's return, probably since about August 12, and it is interesting to note the various hindrances which delayed the interview for a month and a half, until Newport was ready to sail again.

¹ Tyrone was expected in England September 16. Sir Oliver Lambert brought the news to the Court that he had fled into Spain. On September

“A servant of a merchant who is going to Spain on business, takes this letter in another letter for Doña Maria, so that Y. M. may know what is going on here.

“May Our Lord” etc.

XXXI. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 69.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, October 16, 1607.

“SIRE:—

“I have written to Y. M. and reported the audience which I had concerning the Virginia affair [XXX.]. I sent to Hampton Court to remind the Council of the answer due me, as the King had told me, and Count Salisbury tells me that having discussed it with the King, he replied to him nearly what he told me: If the English go where they may not go, let them be punished—and having looked carefully into the matter, it seems to him that they may not go to Virginia—and that thus, if evil befalls them, it will not be on his account, since to him this will not appear as being contrary to friendship and peaceful disposition. He says, he does not wish to do what *he has been asked to do, in*

18, 1607, the Earl of Salisbury wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Theobalds, . . . “I send you this abstract, by which you shall see that Ireland conceals not their adherence to Spain. . . . But, my Lord, that these men [Tyrone and O'Donnel] shall procure the King of Spain suddenly to declare himself in any open invasion I am not of opinion; because he hath now a *piece of work to treat of, &c.* . . . The time of the year is far spent, and Spain is *not so sudden* in such attempts.” “The piece of work to treat of,” was the

treaty with the Low Countries, which had been under way for some time; a truce, for twelve years, was signed in June, 1609. Spanish procrastination was evidently understood, and taken advantage of, in England.

The student of the struggle for our Atlantic coast must also bear in mind the troubles, at that time, between England and Ireland, and Spain's and Rome's relation thereto, as well as the troubles between Spain and the Low Countries, and the relation of England thereto.

preventing their going and commanding those who are out there to return, and the reason of this is, because that would be acknowledging that Your Majesty is Lord of all the Indies.

“Those who are urging the colonization of Virginia, become every day more eager to send people, because it looked to them as if this business was falling to sleep after all that has been done for it, and before Nativity there will sail from here and from Plymouth five or six ships. *It will be serving God and Y. M. to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose.* They have been told that the Earl of Tyrone has reached Coruña and that he has been very well received there. They are now anxious to see what will be done to him, and they are afraid Y. M. may perhaps in the name of His Holiness send him with some Italian forces to Ireland, so as to stir up there some rebellion, and they say, that if this should be so, they would openly declare war, but that, if not, they will faithfully keep the peace with Y. M. This is, therefore, finally to tell me that they are not in favor of war, and I have replied to them, that Y. M. has always faithfully observed the Treaties of Peace, and that he will do so now.

“May the Lord” etc.

[MEM. — The John and Francis, Captain Newport, and the Phoenix, Captain Francis Nelson, “sailed from Gravesend on Thursday, October 8. 1607 — reached Plymouth the following Thursday (15th) — where they remained untill Monday (19th), and as the wind was not favorable it was necessary on the next day (20th) to make port at Falmouth, where until Friday (23d) morning they suffered much from a great storm.” On Friday, October 23, 1607, they sailed from Falmouth for Virginia. Carrying, of course, many letters, documents, etc., all of which are now probably lost forever. The John and Francis took Sir Thomas Smythe round the North Cape of Europe into the White Sea, on

his embassy to Russia in 1604. The Phoenix had been employed in the expeditions of the Lees to Guiana in 1604-1605. His Majesties council in England send over at this time an additional member for the council in Virginia in the person of Matthew Scrivener.]

XXXII. THE KING OF SPAIN TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 215.

Copy of an extract from a letter of H. M. to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Madrid, October 28, 1607.

“ I am very well pleased with the result of your transactions with that King in the Virginia Question — and this matter will have to be looked into continually so as to provide what is to be done — and in the meantime try to ascertain what ships and what men go from there to Virginia, and report to me what you may find out.”

XXXIII. REPORT OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
VOLUME 2513.

“ Copy of a report of the Spanish Council of State, dated 10th Nov. 1607 — on a communication from Don Pedro de Zuñiga on the subject of *Virginia*.

“ SIRE : —

“ The Ambassador Don Pedro de Çuñiga writes in a letter of October 16. [6, O. S.] [XXXI.] that requesting the Council [in England] to give him an answer concerning Virginia, he has been told that they cannot prevent Englishmen from going there at their own peril, nor will that King give any orders concerning this matter, because it would be acknowledging that Y. M. is Lord of all the In-