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**“Old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands”:
The Low Countries and Jamestown, 1572–1614**

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The Career Files

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1. Introduction

This document supplements an October 2025 *William and Mary Quarterly* article, ““Old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands’: The Low Countries and Jamestown, 1572–1614.” The thesis of “Old soldiours” is that Continental warfare comprehensively shaped England’s first permanent colonial adventure in America on multiple, interlocking levels. First, it informed English ideas about the nation’s place in the world. Second, the rhythms of war and peace centering on the Low Countries dictated when an English colony could safely be founded in America. Third, men with Continental experiences and connections, particularly in the Low Countries, dominated the Virginia Company’s leadership in London, which deliberately recruited old soldiers freed up by a pause in the Eighty Years’ War to lead and populate the Jamestown colony. Fourth, these soldiers brought their Continental experiences to bear on life in Virginia, which explains a great deal about their behavior, and the course of events, in the colony’s critical first seven years of existence.

“Old soldiours” draws upon a large store of information about individuals involved both in Continental affairs ca. 1568–1614 and in the Virginia Company of London. The dataset presented here contains files for people referenced in the article, plus several others included as examples of methodological issues that arose during the research.¹ This makes it possible to slim down the footnotes in the article while also more fully documenting its arguments by making available more information than would otherwise have been possible.

The evidence for or against Continental connections is detailed in each individual’s career file. The selection process for creating career files was as follows. First, graduate research assistant Lucy Wickstrom and I created preliminary files for every individual identified as having Continental connections in Alexander Brown’s 1890 *The Genesis of the United States*.² Although Brown’s work was not explicitly thesis-driven, he was unusually alert to early Jamestown colonists’ Continental (and particularly Low Countries) backstories. The biographical sketches that make up Brown’s second volume contain most of his references to colonists’ Continental connections. Although these are heavily researched, Brown did not thoroughly document his sources. Thus I have not relied on Brown’s word alone; rather, I have taken his assertions about particular individuals as an invitation to further investigate their careers for corroborating (or contradictory) evidence.³ A second, and of course overlapping, set of names came from the First and Second Charters of Virginia (1606 and 1609, respectively): the names of grantees from the former and all of those named to the Virginia Company’s governing body, the Council of Virginia in London, in the latter. A third set of names came from miscellaneous sources, arising either from researching the individuals from the first two sources or from combing primary sources from Jamestown’s early years. These sources are noted in the career files themselves.

¹ An extended version of this dataset, in the author’s possession, contains files on approximately 150 individuals relevant to the project.

² Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605–1616*. . . , 2 vols. (Boston, 1890).

³ Nearly a century and half of additional scholarly research, moreover, has presented new evidence on many colonists, modifying Brown’s portraits. See for example Darrett B. Rutman, “The Historian and the Marshall: A Note on the Background of Sir Thomas Dale,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 68, no. 3 (1960): 284–94, as well as the career file for George Percy, below.

For some categories of people, it is possible to quantify the prevalence of Continental connections. I have done so at three points in the article: first, among the small number of grantees; second, among the approximately fifty members of the Council of Virginia in London, who were named in the 1609 charter; and third, among Jamestown’s early leaders (president of the Council, governor, deputy governor).

Sources on individual rank-and-file colonists, of course, are more limited; often, we do not even have their names. The argument in the article, however, does not depend on identifying by name every Continental veteran who went to Jamestown because, names or no names, multiple sources testify to whole groups of “old soldiers” among those departing for Virginia, particularly in the large transports of 1609–11.

Colonists who are identified as “soldier” or by a military title in early records of Jamestown, such as in Captain John Smith’s copious writings, fall into two categories. The first group is comprised of those, such as Smith or Sir Thomas Gates, for whom there is explicit evidence of military service or other Continental experience around the Dutch Revolt, French Wars of Religion, and related conflicts at sea.

The second group includes those for whom the only evidence of prior military experience is that they are called a “soldier” or given a military title such as “captain” in the Virginia records. There is reason to believe that many of these did indeed have Continental experience. Within Virginia, they carried the same titles as, were described in the same way as, and served the same military functions as those colonists for whom explicit evidence of Continental service can be found. A clue from Smith’s *Generall Historie* also points in this direction: at one point he lists and categorizes the “company” of men on an exploration of the Chesapeake Bay by each man’s specific occupation, such as physician, blacksmith, fishmonger, fisherman—or as “Gentlemen” (which correlated with military experience as an officer) or “Souldiers.”⁴ That being said, one cannot be absolutely certain that each individual colonist in this second group was indeed an “old soldier,” let alone determine the duration, intensity, and character of any prior Continental service. Their prior military service, moreover, may have been in Ireland, in county-level coastal defenses, or on the Scottish border. Thus I have color-coded their names differently below, in blue rather than the magenta used to highlight the names of those with confirmed Continental military experience.

Similarly, I have been as transparent as possible about the character and extent of each person’s Continental connections. In some cases these connections are so tenuous that it would be overreaching to assert a significant Continental connection (see for example the entries for Grey Brydges, 5th Baron Chandos, and Sir Walter Cope in the “Virginia Company of London Council Members in 1609” section, below). I have also included files for a few individuals, such as George Percy and Governor Thomas West, 12th Baron De La Warre, in order to question earlier claims that they had served in the Low Countries.

⁴ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: With the Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from Their First Beginning*. . . (1624), in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631) in Three Volumes*, ed. Philip L. Barbour (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 224 (quotations).

2. Color Key

Magenta Highlighting = Solidly identified as Continental veterans or participants in related marine expeditions.

Gray Highlighting = Close Continental connections other than soldiering.

Blue Highlighting = Jamestown colonist identified as a “soldier” or other clues to a military and/or Continental background, but without an explicit statement or comparable evidence of such experiences.

Green Highlighting = Solidly identified as soldiers or officers in Continental wars, but arrived in Virginia after 1614.

3. Abbreviations

Andrews, <i>Eng. Priv. Voyages</i>	Kenneth R. Andrews, ed., <i>English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies 1588–1595: Documents Relating to English Voyages to the West Indies from the Defeat of the Armada to the Last Voyage of Sir Francis Drake</i> (London, 1959)
Andrews, <i>Trade</i>	Kenneth R. Andrews, <i>Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630</i> (Cambridge, 1984)
<i>The Battaile . . . nere Newport</i>	<i>The Battaile Fought beewene Count Maurice of Nassaw, and Albertus Arch-Duke of Austria, Nere Newport in Flaunders, the xxij. of June 1600 with the Names of Such Men of Accompt as Have Beene Either Slaine, Hurt, or Taken Prisoners by Either Part. Written by a Gentleman Imploied in the Said Service</i> (London, 1600)
Camden	William Camden, <i>Annales Rerum Gestarum Angliae et Hiberniae Regnante Elizabetha</i> (1615 and 1625), in translation by Dana F. Sutton at https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/camden/ (last revised Jan. 29, 2024)
<i>Drake’s West Indian Voyages</i>	Mary Frear Keeler, ed., <i>Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage, 1585–86</i> (London, 1981)
<i>Encyclopedia Virginia</i>	Entries in the <i>Encyclopedia Virginia</i> as of February 2025, https://encyclopediaivirginia.org/
Haile	Edward Wright Haile, ed., <i>Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony: The First Decade, 1607–1617</i> (Champlain, Va., 1998) ⁵
<i>History of Parliament</i>	Entries in “The History of Parliament: British Political, Social and Local History” as of July 2023 (https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research/members)
MDS	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, <i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury</i> (London, 1883–1976)
Meteren, <i>True Discourse</i>	Emmanuel van Meteren, <i>A True Discourse Historicall, of the Succeeding Governours in the Netherlands, and the Civill Warres There Begun in the Yeere 1565. With the Memorable Services of Our Honourable English Generals, Captains and Souldiers</i> , trans. T[homas] C[hurchyard] and Ric[hard] Ro[binson] (London, 1602)

⁵ Haile modernizes the spelling and punctuation of documents, but citing the versions published in his anthology greatly simplifies (and shortens) the references in these Career Files. One can easily follow up Haile’s citations to the originals or to a published version in which spelling and punctuation have not been modernized.

ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online ed., https://www.oxforddnb.com/ (Oxford University Press; unless otherwise noted, all entries are dated 2004 and viewed between July 2023 and February 2025)
RVC	Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., <i>The Records of the Virginia Company of London</i> , 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1933)
Smith, <i>Generall Historie</i>	John Smith, <i>The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: With the Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from Their First Beginning. . . .</i> (1624), in <i>The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631) in Three Volumes</i> , ed. Philip L. Barbour (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), vol. 2
Smith, <i>Proceedings</i>	John Smith, <i>The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia. . . .</i> (1612), in Barbour, <i>Complete Works of Captain John Smith</i> , vol. 1
Smith, <i>True Relation</i>	John Smith, <i>A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia. . . .</i> (1608), in Barbour, <i>Complete Works of Captain John Smith</i> , vol. 1
Smith, <i>True Travels</i>	John Smith, <i>The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith</i> (1630), in Barbour, <i>Complete Works of Captain John Smith</i> , vol. 3
SSNE	The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database (https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/). All entries viewed in July 2023
Trim	David J. B. Trim, “Fighting ‘Jacob’s Wars’: The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562–1610” (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, London, 2002)
Wernham, <i>Norris and Drake</i>	R. B. Wernham, <i>The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589</i> (Malden, Mass., 2019)
Wernham, <i>Return of the Armadas</i>	R. B. Wernham, <i>The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain, 1595–1603</i> (New York, 1994)
Winwood Memorials	Edmund Sawyer, ed., <i>Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I. Collected (Chiefly) from the Original Papers of . . . Sir Ralph Winwood. . . .</i> , 2d ed. (London, 1727)

4. Entries

a. Organizers and Visionaries

Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury

- Son of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, Secretary of State and Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth I, and groomed to follow in his footsteps. Knew Elizabeth I personally from an early age. Traveled to Paris on a diplomatic mission in 1583. Pauline Croft notes that “in February 1588 he accompanied the earl of Derby’s embassy to Ostend for last-minute negotiations with the duke of Parma in the hope of averting war with Spain. Realizing that these were futile, Cecil left Derby and, after being presented to Parma at Bruges, traveled extensively around the Low Countries, visiting Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Brielle before returning to Ostend. He sent detailed observations back to his father, particularly on the buildup of Parma’s army for the intended invasion of England.” After returning from the Continent, he served as his father’s aide. Named to the Privy Council in 1591, when he was only twenty-eight years old.
- Worked closely with Elizabeth, increasingly taking over his father’s duties as well as taking up oversight of the intelligence work that had fallen off after the death of Francis Walsingham in 1590. Named secretary of state in 1596. Succeeded his father in the patronage-rich position of Master of the Wards after his father’s death in 1598.
- Invested in privateering expeditions in the 1590s, but while on a diplomatic mission to France in 1598, he began to think in terms of a Spanish peace, which he would eventually orchestrate in 1604, under King James I. Cecil was in a position to do so because he was central to the effort to make King James VI of Scotland Elizabeth’s successor, sufficiently impressing James along the way that he retained his influence under the new king. He kept his office as secretary of state (as well as others). Made Earl of Salisbury in 1605, and Lord Treasurer in 1608.
- Took a leading role in organizing and managing the Virginia project, both directly and through his networks of patronage and alliances.
- See Wallace T. MacCaffrey, “Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598),” *ODNB*; Pauline Croft, ed., *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven, Conn., 2002); Croft, “Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury (1563–1612),” *ODNB* (2008) (quotation); Andrews, *Trade*, 254–55, 310–12, 359; Alexander Haskell, *God, King, and People: Forging Commonwealth Bonds in Renaissance Virginia* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2017), chap. 3.

Richard Hakluyt (also grantee)

- Geographer, editor, translator, and promoter of English activities overseas, including American colonization. Associated in one way or another with twenty-five books on travel. Supported by patrons Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I’s principal secretary, and (after Walsingham’s death in 1590) Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, who subsequently served as Elizabeth I’s and James I’s secretary of state (see entry). Both Walsingham and Cecil were naturally deeply involved in Continental affairs.

- Advised the East India Company and invested in the Virginia Company, for which he was one of the original grantees in James I’s 1606 charter. Given permission to go to Virginia with the first colonists, but remained in London.
- See Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth* (London, 1589; rev. and expanded in three vols., 1598–1600); Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise: An Elizabethan’s Obsession for an English America* (New Haven, Conn., 2007); Anthony Payne, “Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616),” *ODNB* (2006).

John Pory (also colonist)

- Studied with Richard Hakluyt (see entry), 1597–1600; intended as his successor. As a member of Parliament, Pory was to have accompanied the English commissioners to the negotiations that yielded the Twelve Years’ Truce, but was recalled at the very last moment.
- Friend of Sir Ralph Winwood (see entry), a director of the Virginia Company and ambassador to the States General, and of Dudley Carleton, ambassador to Venice and The Hague and later secretary of state. Visited Ireland in 1611 with Virginia Company associate George Carew (see entry), then traveled to France, Italy, and Constantinople in the next several years. Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the Venetian Republic (1611–15) and the States General (1616–25), wished to appoint him as his secretary, but Pory rejected his offer (though he visited The Hague twice in 1617–18). Instead Pory went to Virginia as secretary to the new governor, Sir George Yeardley (see entry). Left Virginia for good in 1624 and made a living writing newsletters back in London.
- Member, Virginia Company, 1609.
- Colonist in Virginia, 1619–21, when he served as the colony’s secretary, and again in 1623–24.
- Sabrina Alcorn Baron, “Pory, John (1572–1633), of London,” *History of Parliament*; Charlotte Fell-Smith, revised by David R. Ransome, “Pory, John (bap. 1572, d. 1633),” *ODNB* (2013); Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), 3: sig. A3v; William S. Powell, *John Pory, 1572–1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977). On the thwarted diplomatic mission of 1607, see Dudley Carleton, 1st Viscount Dorchester, to John Chamberlain, Aug. 27, 1607, Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, James I, 1603–1640, SP 14/28, fol. 60.

b. Virginia Company Grantees (Named in First Charter, 1606, Renewed in Second Charter, 1609)

Sir Thomas Gates (also colonist; also 1609 Council)

- A prominent officer with decades of experience on the Continent and in related marine expeditions. Served as a lieutenant in a fleet commanded by Sir Francis Drake that attacked Spanish shipping and outposts in the Cape Verde Islands and the Caribbean in 1585. Edited and published an account of that expedition, titled *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian Voyage* (London, 1589). In 1589 he joined a company fighting against Spanish forces in the Low Countries, then was sent to France in 1591 to fight on the Protestant side in France’s Wars of Religion. By 1595 he was back at sea, first as part of a privateering expedition, then in the 1596 sack of the Spanish port city of Cádiz (where he was knighted) and a 1597 assault on the Portuguese Azores. After a stint in Ireland, he returned to the Continent in 1604 as captain of a company under the Dutch Republic’s governing body, the States General. Gates was acquainted with Sir Ralph Winwood (see entry), England’s agent (later ambassador) to the States General, no later than 1604. In 1608 the States General granted him temporary leave to go to Virginia.
- Gates was a grantee and an original investor in the Virginia Company of London, chartered in 1606. After being released by the States General, he sailed for Virginia and was stranded along with 150 other Jamestown-bound colonists when a hurricane famously tossed the *Sea Venture* ashore on Bermuda in 1609. They made it to Jamestown in 1610, where Gates took up his appointment as the colony’s deputy governor. Held that position, with some gaps, from 1610 to 1614, and was present for many of the iconic events of the first years of Jamestown. Gates remained a prominent voice in debates over the colony’s direction after returning to England in 1614.
- See Sir Henry Wotton to Winwood, July 19, 1604, in *Winwood Memorials*, 2: 24; Martha McCartney, “Sir Thomas Gates (d. 1622),” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gates-sir-thomas-d-1622/>; Natalie Zacek, “Gates, Sir Thomas (d. 1622),” *ODNB* (2007).

Richard Hakluyt (also organizer/visionary)

- See entry under “Organizers and Visionaries,” above.

Sir George Somers (also colonist; also privateer/mariner)

- 1595 privateering voyage with Sir Amyas (Amias) Preston (see entry): sacked Puerto Santo in the Canaries.
- See William Sears Zuill sen, “Somers, Sir George (1554–1610),” *ODNB*; Andrews, *Eng. Priv. Voyages*, 22, 38, 397–98; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 24.

Edward Maria Wingfield (also colonist)

- From a prominent military family. Edward Maria Wingfield’s grandfather Richard Wingfield had extensive diplomatic and military service in the Low Countries and France, including as Lord Deputy of Calais (England’s last outpost in France remaining from the Hundred Years’ War). His uncle (and father figure, as Edward Maria’s birth father died young) Jaques Wingfield served in Ireland as Constable of Dublin Castle and

Master of Ordnance. Edward Maria’s brother and several other close kinsmen, including his uncle Sir John Wingfield, were prominent officers who served in the Low Countries, in France, and at sea against the Spanish.

- Wingfield spent most of his career, between the early 1570s and early 1590s, as a captain of an English volunteer company in the Low Countries. Returned to England in 1593 to take a seat in Parliament. After a stint in Ireland, he retired to Cambridgeshire around 1600.
- Multiple points of connection suggest that he benefited from the patronage of Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury. Cecil was patron to Edward Maria’s brother Anthony Wingfield (Edward A. Malone, “Wingfield, Anthony [b. c. 1552, d. in or after 1611], *ODNB*). His brother John, long a soldier in the Low Countries, died in 1596; soon after, Cecil arranged a pension for John’s widow (see Mary L. Robertson, “Wingfield, Sir John [d. 1596],” *ODNB* [2008]). Finally, Wingfield would not likely have been named a grantee of the charter had he not enjoyed Cecil’s support.
- In addition to being an original grantee, Wingfield traveled to Virginia on the initial voyage in 1607. He was the first president of the Council there, but was deposed (and briefly imprisoned) after only a few months. Stayed in Jamestown until the spring of 1608, when he returned to England on a ship captained by Christopher Newport (see entry). Despite the circumstances of his departure from Virginia, Wingfield remained actively involved in promoting the colony’s interests.
- See R. C. Simmons, “Wingfield, Edward Maria (b. 1550, d. in or after 1619),” *ODNB* (2007); Mary L. Robertson, “Wingfield, Sir John (d. 1596),” *ODNB* (2008); Mary L. Robinson, “Wingfield, Sir Richard (b. in or before 1469, d. 1525),” *ODNB* (2008); Natalie Zacek, “Edward Maria Wingfield (1550–1631),” *Encyclopedia Virginia*; Jocelyn R. Wingfield, *Virginia’s True Founder: Edward-Maria Wingfield and His Times, 1550–c.1614* (Athens, Ga., 1993).

c. Virginia Company of London Council Members in 1609

Sir Francis Bacon

- No particular Continental connections.
- See G. V. Benson, revised by J. M. Blatchly, “Bacon, Sir Francis (c. 1587–1657),” *ODNB*.

Sir Maurice Berkeley

- Knighted for gallantry in the capture of the key Spanish port city of Cádiz in 1596.
- See John Collinson and Edmund Rack, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset* (Bath, U.K., 1791), 3: 281; R. C. G., “Berkeley, Sir Maurice II (c.1579–1617), of Bruton, Som.,” *History of Parliament*.

Christopher Brooke, Esq.

- Poet who wrote verse about Virginia; roommate of John Donne at Oxford. No evidence of Continental connections.
- See Michelle O’Callaghan, “Brooke, Christopher (c. 1570–1628),” *ODNB* (2006).

Grey Brydges, 5th Baron Chandos

- No Continental experience until 1610, when he was present at the Siege of Jülich in today’s German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, 1610. It is not clear whether he fought there.
- See Trim, 351; Andrew Warmington, “Brydges, Grey, fifth Baron Chandos (1578/9–1621),” *ODNB* (2008).

George Carew, Earl of Totnes and Lord Carew

- Primarily an Irish hand. Fought there from 1574 to 1604, rising through the administrative ranks, with breaks for naval service in the West Indies in 1578, Cádiz in 1596, the Azores in 1597, and Secretary of State Robert Cecil’s 1598 embassy to Paris.
- See Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Carew, George, earl of Totnes (1555–1629),” *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Henry Cary (or Carey)

- Volunteered in Ireland, 1599, then served in France and the Low Countries. By some accounts he was taken prisoner by the Spanish at the Siege of Ostend (1601–4); by others he was captured while in the States General’s service in 1605 and released in 1606. Appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1622.
- See Sean Kelsey, “Cary, Henry, first Viscount Falkland (c. 1575–1633),” *ODNB* (2014); John. P. Ferris and Rosemary Sgroi, “Carey (Cary), Sir Henry I (c.1575–1633), of Aldenham, Herts. and Carey House, Smithfield, London,” *History of Parliament*.

Sir Edward Cecil

- Son of Thomas Cecil (see entry). Went to fight in the Netherlands around 1598. In 1599 he was commissioned as captain of an English regiment; granted command of a cavalry company the next year. Led a cavalry charge at the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600) and was singled out for his valor there by William Camden. In 1601 he commanded one thousand men from in and around London in the Siege of Ostend (1601–4); again he was singled

out by Camden, who reported that “Sir Edward Cecyl made a great adventure with greater commendations for his valour, and in his first entrance to the warres brought in both men, provision, and victuals.” Concerned that he might be cashiered with the anticipated Twelve Years’ Truce, he wrote to his uncle Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, Elizabeth I’s secretary of state, requesting that he be made president of Munster in Ireland or find some other employment, referencing his prior service in the Low Countries. He retained his appointment, however, as colonels were not sent away. Although not always in the Low Countries, he was still in the active service of the States General in 1616, and remained nominally so until his death in 1633.

- See Camden, *Annales*, 1600, 14; Camden, *Annales*, 1601, 61 (quotation); Sir Edward Cecil to the Earl of Salisbury, 1607, in *MDS* 19: 414; Sir Edward Cecil to the Earl of Salisbury, Mar. 12, [1607/8], in *MDS* 20: 103–4; Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge, 2013), 99; Roger Lockyear, “Cecil, Edward, Viscount Wimbledon (1572–1638),” *ODNB* (2008); Trim, 371; Paula Watson, “Cecil, Sir Edward (1572–1638), of Cecil House, The Strand, Westminster; The Farm, Chelsea, Mdx. and Wimbledon, Surr.,” *History of Parliament*; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 374.

Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter (Lord Burghley)

- Eldest son of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1520–98), who was secretary of state to Elizabeth I. Brother to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry). Helped to suppress the Northern Rising of 1569, and fought at the Siege of Edinburgh (1573). Served in the Low Countries in the 1580s, under Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester, as Captain of the Horse and as governor of Brill, and later against the Spanish Armada of 1588.
- See Roger Milward, “Cecil, Thomas, first earl of Exeter (1542–1623),” *ODNB* (2008); The Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley, in *MDS* 3: 108; “Army: Leaders of Horse,” in *MDS* 6: 570 (in which Robert Devereux, 2d Earl of Essex, wrote that Cecil “had one of the companies of horse at my lord of Leicester’s first going into the Low Countries”); Meteren, *True Discourse*, 84.

Sir Thomas Challoner

- Accompanied Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester, when he went to the Low Countries as Elizabeth’s governor-general in 1585. Possibly fought in France, 1589–90. Served at the Siege of Rouen, 1591; knighted by Henry IV of France.
- See Simon Healy, “Chaloner, Sir Thomas (?1564–1615), of Richmond Palace, Surr., Steeple Claydon, Bucks. and Clerkenwell, Mdx.,” *History of Parliament*.

Henry Clinton, 2d Earl of Lincoln

- No notable Continental connections.
- See N. M. Fuidge, “Clinton, Sir Henry (d. 1616), of Tattershall, Lincs.,” *History of Parliament*.

Sir Edward Conway

- His father, John Conway, went to the Low Countries as a volunteer in 1585, and was governor of Ostend in 1587–90. Paul Hunneyball writes that Sir Edward Conway “was probably the ‘Mr. Connawaye’ who delivered government dispatches to the Dutch garrison town of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1587. He was certainly in the Low Countries by

mid-1589, when he assumed the unofficial command of his father's company of foot at Ostend, though he continued to carry messages between the Continent and London. In August 1590 he was wounded while on a raid near East Dunkirk." Captain of a company of foot in France by 1594. At Brill from 1594 to 1596. Knighted for service in the Cádiz expedition, 1596. Lieutenant Governor of Brill from about 1597 to 1616, to which he moved his family and where he had additional children. Described by one contemporary as "an honest man who knows more about the sword than the pen."

- See Paul Hunneyball, "Conway, Sir Edward I (c.1563–1631), of Ragley, Arrow, Warws. and Brill, Utd. Provinces; later of St. Martin's Lane, Westminster," *History of Parliament* (quotations).

Sir Walter Cope

- An extremely powerful political figure who had the ear of James I, with whom he spent the night on the day that Henry, Prince of Wales, died. Cope was very much a client of the Cecil family. He served in various capacities to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Secretary of State to Elizabeth I and father of Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry), with whom he was also close. The Cecil connection made Cope inherently attuned to Low Countries issues, but he had few Continental experiences except (possibly) taking part of peace negotiations at Paris in 1598 and a diplomatic mission to Brussels and Holland in the early 1600s.
- See Elizabeth Allen, "Cope, Sir Walter (1553?–1614)," *ODNB* (2008).

Sir George Coppin (Coppyn)

- Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and a Cecil client (see entry for Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury). No evidence of Continental connections.
- See R. C. G., "Coppyn, George (d. 1620), of Westminster and Dunwich, Suff.," *History of Parliament*.

Sir Oliver Cromwell

- Uncle of Oliver Cromwell, future Lord Protector. Married (1601) to Anne, daughter of the Antwerp banker Gieles van Eyckelberg (sometimes anglicized to Giles Hoostman) and widow of the Genoa-born, Low Countries– and England-based financier and diplomat Sir Horatio Palavicino. Closely associated with the Wingfield family (see entry for Edward Maria Wingfield) as fellow gentry in Huntingdonshire. Yet primarily a courtier and landowner; he apparently did not share Anne's or the Wingfields' extensive Continental experiences. In the Cecil interest (see entry for Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury).
- See Simon Healy, "Cromwell, Sir Oliver (1562/6–1655), of Hinchbrooke House and Ramsey Abbey, Hunts.," *History of Parliament*; Ian W. Archer, "Palavicino, Sir Horatio (c. 1540–1600)," *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Dudley Diggs (Digges)

- His father, Sir Thomas, was the muster-master general of Elizabeth I's regiments in the Low Countries from 1586 until 1594. Sir Dudley's godfather was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, under whom Sir Thomas served in the Low Countries. Sir Thomas died when Dudley was five years old, leaving instructions that his son be "brought up chiefly in

knowledge and fear of God, and also in learning the mathematical sciences, military studies and foreign languages.” Sir Dudley published his father’s manuscript, *The Worthiness of Warre and Warriors*, as part of *Four Paradoxes or Politique Discourses* (London, 1604), and traveled to the Continent for the first time that same year. He maintained a hawkish stance toward Spain throughout his life. Assisted commissioners in negotiations with the States General in 1619, as the Thirty Years’ War was beginning, and was involved in a plan to raise a regiment to serve in the Low Countries in 1620; later that year went on a trade mission to the United Provinces.

- There was also a muster-master named James Digges, possibly a brother of Sir Thomas whom Sir Thomas left out of his will. (A 1589/90 letter from Muster-Master General James Digges, reporting his accounts to Lord Buckhurst and Council, appears in *MDS* 4: 3.)
- Shareholder in both the Virginia Company and the East India Company; also backed Henry Hudson’s last voyage of exploration in 1609. Reported in 1611 to be a candidate for the ambassadorship to Brussels, which post he continued to seek for at least the next two years. Investor in the syndicate that purchased Bermuda from the Virginia Company in 1612. In 1622 was sent as a commissioner to Ireland to investigate government accounts. Involved with Virginia as late as 1631, and with West Indies affairs as late as 1637, two years before his death.
- See Alan Davidson and Paul Hunneyball, “Digges, Sir Dudley (1583–1639), of Philip Lane, London and Chilham Castle, Kent,” *History of Parliament*; Sean Kelsey, “Digges, Sir Dudley (1582/3–1639),” *ODNB*; P. W. Hasler, “Digges, Thomas (c.1546–95), of Wootton and Wingham, Kent.,” *History of Parliament*.

Sir Robert Drury

- Father was Sir William Drury, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom. His widowed mother married into the Scotts, a well-known military family.
- Knighted by the Earl of Essex at the Siege of Rouen in 1591. Given command of a company at the English garrison at Ostend, 1596, though it is not clear that he took that up. Joined Essex on the Cádiz expedition, 1596. In 1598 he was about to go to the Low Countries to serve under Sir Francis Vere, but was wounded in an assault by a rival for a commission in the Netherlands. Recovered, fought briefly in Ireland later that year, then went to Paris on an unofficial diplomatic mission the following winter. Fought in the Low Countries in 1600, commanding an infantry company. Credited with saving the life of Vere, the commander of the English troops at the 1600 Battle of Nieuwpoort, by Camden, *Annales*, 1600, 14; also injured and for a time thought missing at that engagement. Served in Dutch forces from 1601 until 1602. Then traveled on the Continent, probably as far south as Italy, but was back in England by 1604 and elected an MP from Suffolk that year.
- See John P. Ferris, “Drury, Sir Robert (1575–1615), of Hawstead, Suff. and Drury House, Westminster,” *History of Parliament*; Joy Rowe, “Drury family (per. 1485–1624),” *ODNB* (2008); Trim, 424. On the Battle of Nieuwpoort, see H. Davers to Earl of Southampton, June 1600, in *MDS* 10: 182; *The Battaile . . . Nere Newport*, n.p.

John Eldred

- English traveler and merchant whose writings were excerpted by Hakluyt. Mostly in the Levant and concerned with the business of the East India Company. His investments, though, also included privateering voyages, including one in which several ships were lost in the Caribbean. Another of these voyages came in 1606, well after the Spanish Peace of 1604.
- Involved in Virginia Company affairs as early as 1606, when he promoted Sir Thomas Smythe (see entry) for the governorship.
- See R. C. D. Baldwin, "Eldred, John (1552–1632)," *ODNB* (2010); K. R. Andrews, "English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1596 to 1604: An Annotated List," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 31, no. 2 (April 1974): 253–54.

Sir Henry Fanshawe

- Minimal Continental connections. Fanshawe was the Queen's Remembrancer, too important a position for him to be running around on the Continent. Married to Elizabeth Smythe, sister to Sir Thomas Smythe (see entry).
- See Sybil M. Jack, "Fanshawe, Sir Henry (1569–1616)," *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Thomas Gates (also grantee; also colonist)

- See entry under "Virginia Company Grantees," above.

Sir William Godolphin

- No Continental connections, except for a gentleman's Continental tour in the 1580s. Fought in Ireland, 1599–1601.
- See Anne Duffin and Paul Hunneyball, "Godolphin, Sir William (c.1568–1613), of Godolphin, Breage, Cornw.," *History of Parliament*.

William Herbert, 3d Earl of Pembroke

- Nephew of Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester (see entry), both highly prominent English officers fighting the Netherlands. Victor Stater writes that although "some scholars have placed him in Essex's Cadiz expedition (1596)" and elsewhere on the Continent, "it is unlikely that Herbert did much, if any, soldiering." Instead he became a courtier, finding favor especially with Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry), and with James I. By 1609 he had established himself as a patron in his own right, particularly of the arts (for example, of Ben Jonson). No particular Continental connections, however.
- See Victor Stater, "Herbert, William, third earl of Pembroke (1580–1630)," *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Baptist Hicks

- Mercer and moneylender to the crown and court. No evident connection to the Continent.
- See Robert Ashton, "Hicks, Baptist, first Viscount Campden (1551?–1629)," *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Henry Hobert (Hobart)

- Frequently an MP, very active in the Commons. Also attorney general for the crown, 1606–13. Very much in the Cecil interest, patronized first by William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1520–98), who was secretary of state to Elizabeth I. Brother to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry). But no significant personal Continental connections.
- See Stuart Handley, “Hobart, Sir Henry, first baronet (c. 1554–1625),” *ODNB* (2008).

Theophilus Howard, 2d Earl of Suffolk

- Modest Continental connections prior to 1614: a gentleman’s tour of the Continent ca. 1603–4, after university, and volunteered at the Siege of Jülich in 1610.
- See Victor Stater, “Howard, Theophilus, second earl of Suffolk (1584–1640),” *ODNB*.

Sir Robert Killigrew

- Modest Continental connections before 1614. On embassy to Spain, 1605, just after the Spanish Peace. Nominated ambassador to the United Provinces, 1625, but was refused by the States General for his Arminian tendencies.
- Involved in the Virginia Company by 1607. Later was on the commission to settle the government of Virginia, 1624; was granted a privateering license that same year.
- See Anne Duffin and Paul Hunneyball, “Killigrew, Sir Robert (c.1580–1633), of Kempton Park, Mdx.; Lothbury, London, and Pendennis Castle, Cornw.,” *History of Parliament*.

Sir Robert Mansell (also privateer/mariner)

- Captained a ship on a 1591 privateering expedition to the West Indies under the command of Thomas, Lord Howard, during which Richard Grenville was killed. Deposed in 1593 in a lawsuit over privateering prizes. Naval career followed: commanded a royal warship on the Cádiz expedition of 1596 and was knighted by the Earl of Essex afterward. The following year he served as Essex’s flag captain on the Essex-Raleigh expedition against Spanish shipping and possessions, and then as vice admiral in the Narrow Seas between England and the Low Countries. For ten months in 1599, he commanded a small squadron based in Ireland. He then returned to the East Coast as Elizabeth’s admiral of the Narrow Seas, where in September 1602 he combined with a Dutch squadron to destroy six Spanish ships. In July 1601 he incorrectly predicted to Elizabeth’s secretary of state that Spain would not risk an attack to retake Ostend; a deadly three-year siege followed. With James I on the throne, Mansell was named treasurer of the navy in 1604.
- See Andrews, *Eng. Priv. Voyages*, 105; Sir Robert Mansell to Sir Robert Cecil, July 1601, in *MDS*, 11: 303; Sir Robert Mansell to Sir Robert Cecil, Apr. 11, [1603], in *MDS*, 15: 42–43; Andrew Thrush, “Mansell, Sir Robert (1570/71–1652),” *ODNB* (2008); Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 400–401. See also “A Relation of Divers passages, by Sir William Mounson, during the tyme of his Commaund of the narrow seas, between him and the Admiral of Holland, directed to the Lord Chancellour Elsmere” (1616), Correspondence and state papers relating to foreign affairs and parliament, 1525–1625, Add MS 48044, fols. 131r–157r, British Library, London.

Sir Peter Manwood

- Continental connections in the Richard Hakluyt (see entry) or John Pory (see entry) mode. A lifelong friend of fellow Virginia Council member Lord Zouche (see entry). Antiquarian who, as Louis A. Knalfa summarized it, “collected transcripts of state papers between 1564 and 1618, and political tracts on Ireland, France, the Low Countries, north Africa, and Asia Minor. He had a licence to travel beyond the seas ‘for his increase in good knowledge and learning.’” Aided in the publication of Sir Roger Williams’s 1618 *The Actions of the Lowe Countries*.
- See Louis A. Knalfa, “Manwood, Sir Peter (1571–1625),” *ODNB* (2008) (quotation).

Sir Henry Montagu

- Prominent jurist, but not much involved in international affairs and had no particular Continental connections. Brother to James Montagu (see entry).
- See Brian Quintrell, “Montagu, Henry, first earl of Manchester (c. 1564–1642),” *ODNB* (2008).

James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells

- No Continental service. Brother to Sir Henry Montagu (see entry). Subsequently Bishop of Winchester.
- See P. E. McCullough, “Montagu, James (1568–1618),” *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Henry Neville

- Diplomat in the Cecil interest. Educated in the household of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1520–98), secretary of state to Elizabeth I. Continental tour in 1578 in a company that included George Carew (see entry). Resident ambassador to France in 1599 with the backing of Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry); protested his inexperience but was supported by having Sir Ralph Winwood (see entry) as his secretary. Served as a commissioner in spring 1600 for the failed peace negotiations with Spain, in Boulogne. Married to Anne Killegrew, daughter of the prominent diplomat Sir Henry Killegrew, whose postings included the Netherlands and France (with Henry of Navarre, later King Henry IV of France).
- See M. Greengrass, “Neville, Sir Henry (1561/2–1615),” *ODNB*; Andrew Thrush, “Neville, Sir Henry I (1564–1615), of Billingbear, Waltham St. Lawrence, Berks. and Tothill Street, Westminster; formerly of Mayfield, Suss.,” *History of Parliament*.

William Parker, 13th Baron Morley and Baron Monteagle

- Fought in both Ireland and the Low Countries, though not extensively. In the Essex interest and a notorious ultra-Catholic recusant until he disavowed the Catholic Church upon James I’s accession to the throne. Famous for disclosing the 1605 Gunpowder Plot (having been warned of the plot by his brother-in-law, who was one of the conspirators).
- Among earliest investors in the Virginia Company.
- See Mark Nicholls, “Parker, William, thirteenth Baron Morley and fifth or first Baron Monteagle (1574/5–1622),” *ODNB*.

Sir Stephen Poole/Powle

- Extensive studies and diplomatic service on the Continent, 1579–90, albeit not in the Low Countries. In service to William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, in the 1580s.
- See P. R. N. Carter, “Powle, Sir Stephen (c. 1553–1630),” *ODNB* (2008); David Beers Quinn, “Notes by a Pious Colonial Investor, 1608–1610,” *WMQ* 16, no. 4 (October 1959): 551–55.

Sir Amyas (or Amias) Preston

- Played a key role as commander of a flotilla of ships against the Spanish Armada of 1588. Evidence of a privateering expedition in 1589. Led an expedition against the Spanish Caribbean in 1595, with Sir George Somers (see entry). In 1596 he commanded a ship in the attack on Cádiz, and again in the 1597 Essex-Raleigh expedition. In 1601 served as vice admiral of a fleet to defend the English Channel.
- See Andrews, *Eng. Priv. Voyages*, 22, 30–31, 33, 326, 377–98; Sarah Barter Bailey, “Preston, Sir Amyas (d. 1609),” *ODNB* (2008); Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 24.

Sir Thomas Roe

- Friend of John Donne: “earned the reputation of one ‘who goeth among the company of the wits.’” Member of an embassy to Spain in 1605 to ratify the Spanish Peace of 1604. Michael Strachan writes that after the short-lived “Addled Parliament” of 1614, “he served for a few months in the army of the United Provinces, probably not his first taste of active service. He described himself as ‘a soldier’ . . . ; his speeches and writings display a shrewd appreciation of military capabilities, and he had made previous attempts to secure a command in the Netherlands.”
- Council of Virginia member in 1607; also, at £60, one of its more substantial investors. Commanded the 1610 expedition to Guiana organized by Sir Walter Raleigh. Later a prominent diplomat to the Mughal and Ottoman Empires and on the Continent.
- See Michael Strachan, “Roe, Sir Thomas (1581–1644),” *ODNB* (2011) (quotations).

Sir William Romney (Homney)

- London merchant who was heavily involved in the affairs of the East India Company, the Spanish Company (revived in 1605), and the Virginia Company. No significant Continental connections.
- See James McDermott, “Romney, Sir William (d. 1611),” *ODNB* (2008).

Sir Edwin Sandys

- No substantial Low Countries connections, but was closely associated with the hawkish Cecil interest. Diplomatic mission to Germany in 1596, followed by a three-year grand tour in Italy, Switzerland, and France. Leading figure in the House of Commons during the early Jamestown era.
- Named to Council of the Virginia Company in London in 1607 as well as 1609. Was signing official letters as councillor by 1611. Named an assistant (i.e., director) of the Virginia Company in 1616 and its treasurer (roughly equivalent to the position of chairman) in 1619. A founder of the Somers Island Company (Bermuda) in 1612. Also investor in the East India Company.

- See Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561–1629* (Princeton, N.J., 1998).

Sir John Scott

- One of three brothers who were all professional soldiers. Raised a company of foot for service in the Netherlands, 1585, and remained its captain until 1589. Knighted in 1588 by Peregrine Bertie, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby (who was also commander and patron to John Smith—see entry), after the Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom; soon afterward married the widow of his commanding officer at Bergen, Sir William Drury (making him the stepfather of fellow Council member Sir Robert Drury—see entry). Served in the Azores expedition of 1597. A Captain Scott—likely one of his brothers—is listed as among the wounded at the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600) in *The Battaile . . . Nere Newport*, n.p., and singled out for valor at Nieuwpoort by Camden, *Annales*, 1600, 14.
- See Trim, 466; Peter Lefevre and Andrew Thrush, “Scott, Sir John (c.1564–1616), of Nettlestead and Scot’s Hall, Smeeth, Kent and Philip Lane, St. Alphege, London,” *History of Parliament*. For the likely identity of the Scott brother who was wounded at Nieuwpoort, see Capt. C. Scott to Lord High Treasurer Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, June 26, 1600, SP 84 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland, c1560–1780, SP 84/60, fol. 183, National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAUK), Kew.

Edmund Sheffield, 1st Earl of Mulgrave

- Went to the Netherlands as a volunteer, 1585; later captained three ships against the Spanish Armada of 1588. Appointed governor of Brill in 1599 but did not take up the position.
- Early investor in the Virginia Company and New England Company.
- See Victor Stater, “Sheffield, Edmund, first earl of Mulgrave (1565–1646),” *ODNB*.

Sir Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester (listed as Viscount Lisle)

- Toured the Continent, 1579–82. Younger brother of the poet, courtier, diplomat, and soldier Sir Philip Sidney, with whom Robert went to the Low Countries in 1585 (Philip was governor of the English garrison at Flushing; their uncle was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and commander of the English troops sent to the Low Countries upon Elizabeth’s declaration of war against Spain that year). Both brothers fought in the Battle of Zutphen in 1586, where Philip was mortally wounded. Robert went back to England, but returned to the Low Countries for a long term as governor of Flushing beginning in 1589. In 1594 Sidney was sent on a mission to King Henry IV of France to determine his intentions after his conversion to Catholicism. Robert Shepard writes that he “developed a close friendship with Count Maurice of Nassau [Stadtholder, admiral, and commander of the States General forces] and sometimes joined him in the field against the Spanish, playing a significant role in the battle of Turnhout” in 1598. After James I’s succession to the English throne in 1603, responsibilities at court kept Sidney mostly in England; however, he retained the governorship of Flushing through a lieutenant until 1616, when James returned Flushing to the Dutch.
- See Robert Shepard, “Sidney, Robert, first earl of Leicester (1563–1626),” *ODNB* (2014); “H.M. Forces in the Low Countries,” in *MDS* 4: 293 (list of Low Countries

officers with their pay); William Becher to Lord Burghley, Apr. 27, 1597, in *MDS* 7: 178 (lists his pay as captain of fifty lances); “English Horse in the Low Countries,” *ibid.*, 603 (States General and Count Maurice ask Elizabeth I to again raise the horse companies of Nicholas Parker and Robert Sidney, 1596); [Miler Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil, Aug. 31, 1600, in *MDS* 10: 297–300.

Sir Thomas Smythe (Smith)

- Treasurer of the Council for the Virginia Company in London, 1609–19
- Wealthy London merchant; trade commissioner to the Dutch in 1596 and 1598. Purveyor to the troops in Ireland during the 1590s. Heavily involved in a wide variety of overseas ventures, including the Levant Company, the Muscovy Company, and the East India Company (of which he was the first and long-term governor, 1600–1621, with a break in 1605–7).
- Interested in Virginia from the 1580s, and served as the Virginia Company’s treasurer (i.e., chairman) until 1619. Also governor of the Somers Islands Company, the London backers of the colony of Bermuda.
- See Basil Morgan, “Smythe [Smith], Sir Thomas (c. 1558–1625),” *ODNB* (2008); Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

Sir Michael Sondes

- No major Continental connections, though he played a major part in organizing local defenses against foreign invasion in Kent, the English county closest to the European continent. He helped to raise horses and men in the county for foreign service in 1596, and for Ireland in the last three years of Elizabeth’s reign. As part of his contribution to the latter operation, he was to escort two hundred men to Greenwich and Deptford, and put a guard on the ships until they sailed. Served on Privy Council commission to investigate accusations that English soldiers in the Low Countries were not receiving their full wages. Sondes was sometimes spelled “Sandes” in parliamentary records, leading to confusion about his relationship to the Sandys family (see entry for Sir Edwin Sandys), but they were not related.
- See Peter Lefevre and Michael Thrush, “Sondes, Sir Michael (c.1546–1617), of Throwley, Kent; formerly of Eastry and Sheldwich, Kent.,” *History of Parliament*.

John Stanhope, 1st Baron Stanhope

- No substantial Continental connections. Closely associated with both William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, and Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry).
- See Michael Hicks, “Stanhope, John, first Baron Stanhope (c. 1540–1621),” *ODNB* (2008).

Sir John Trevor

- Welsh; father in the service of the Sackville family. Secretary to Lord Admiral Charles Howard by 1596; member of Howard’s embassy to Spain, 1605; Surveyor of the Navy, 1599–1611.
- See Simon Healey, “Trevor, Sir John I (1563–1630), of Oatlands Palace, Surr.; Plas Têg, Flints. and Cannon Row, Westminster,” *History of Parliament*.

Horace (sometimes Horatio) Vere

- Uncle to Edward Maria Wingfield (see entry), Horace was a younger brother of Sir Francis Vere, the most accomplished commander of English troops (along with Sir John Norris/Norreys) on the Continent. His brother Robert was also an officer in the Low Countries. Francis, who had served almost continuously in Netherlands starting in the early 1580s, brought Horace there in 1590 and appointed Horace a lieutenant in his (Francis's) own company of foot. Horace was promoted to captain after performing well at the 1594 Siege of Groningen. In 1596 he was named senior captain of a new English regiment raised by his brother Francis. That same year was named lieutenant colonel of Sir John Wingfield's foot regiment at Cádiz; took over when Wingfield was killed in battle, and was knighted. Returned to Netherlands and switched from Elizabeth's pay to that of the States General.
- Played an important role in the Anglo-Dutch victory at the Battle of Nieuwpoort, 1600, where he commanded six English companies and was afterward singled out for his valor by William Camden. A July 1602 report by “a soldier” “of the States' Army in Brabant and Lukeland” details a siege of a fort led by Francis and Horatio (Horace) Vere (“Relations delivered by a Soldier. . . .,” July 29, 1602, in *MDS* 12: 260–61[quotations, 260]). Commanded eight companies at the beginning of the Siege of Ostend in 1601 and played a critical role there into the following spring. Commanded six hundred cavalry at the Siege of Sluys/Sluis in 1604, and in 1605 was credited with saving Maurice and the States' army at the Battle of Mulheim.
- After the Twelve Years' Truce, he remained in the Netherlands, first succeeding his brother (who died in 1609) as governor of Brill, and later serving as governor of Utrecht. Continued to fight on the side of the States General in the Thirty Years' War into the early 1630s.
- There is also a Vere listed in the Second Supply voyage, but as a laborer—clearly not the same person.
- See Camden, *Annales*, 1600, 14; Camden, *Annales*, 1601, 61; D. J. B. Trim, “Vere, Horace [Horatio], Baron Vere of Tilbury (1565–1635),” *ODNB* (2020). For an account of the Battle of Nieuwpoort noting Horace Vere's role, see John Ogle to Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, June 25, 1600, Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland, c1560–1780, SP 84/60, fol. 175, NAUK.

Sir William Waad/Wade

- Diplomat and administrator responsible for provisioning the English army in the Low Countries and Ireland. Closely associated with the Cecil faction (see entry for Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury). In Paris, 1580–81, and served as the English ambassador's contact with the French court; remained in Paris as a sort of intelligence-gatherer. Frequently employed in difficult one-off diplomatic missions, such as explaining to the French court why Mary, Queen of Scots, had been executed.
- Member of the governing Council for the Virginia Company and an investor in the Somers Island Company (Bermuda).
- See Gary M. Bell, “Waad, Sir William (1546–1623),” *ODNB* (2008); Sir Henry Cobham to Lord Burghley, April 1580, in *MDS* 2: 322; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 18.

Sir John Watts

- Merchant trading especially with Spanish. After 1585, when war with Spain cut off that trade, he became deeply involved in privateering, becoming, according to John C. Appleby, “the most important merchant-promoter of privateering in England.” An alderman of London from 1594, he became Lord Mayor of London in 1606–7.
- Plowed some of his profits into the Levant Company, the East India Company (for which he briefly served as governor), the Somers Island Company (Bermuda), and of course the Virginia Company.
- See Andrews, *Eng. Priv. Voyages*, 421 (follow the numerous mentions in the index); Andrews, *Trade*, 219–20, 232, 245–46, 251–52, 306, 313; John C. Appleby, “Watts, Sir John (c. 1550–1616),” *ODNB* (2008) (quotation); Wernham, *Norris and Drake*, 25, 115; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 206.

Sir Humfrey (Humphrey) Weld

- Lord Mayor of London in 1608–9. No evidence of Continental connections.
- See Ian W. Archer, “Weld [*née* Slaney], Mary, Lady Weld (bap. 1560?, d. 1623),” *ODNB* (2008).

Thomas West, 12th Baron De La Warre (also colonist)

- Fought in Ireland under the Earl of Essex, but contrary to earlier assertions (likely originating with Alexander Brown’s *The Genesis of the United States*), recent historians have found no clear evidence that he served in the Low Countries. There is one hint that he did fight there, however: in William Crashaw’s introduction to a 1613 sermon by Alexander Whitaker, Crashaw asked, rhetorically, “what Coronall or Captaine in the Low-countries, but knowes, and will acknowledge, that the Right Honorable, the Lord *La war*, and the Right worthie Knights, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *George Somers*, bee persons of honor, estimation, and good respect”? Thomas West’s son Henry West did serve as captain in an Anglo-Dutch brigade in 1625.
- Appointed governor of Virginia for life in 1609, but spent only ten months (1610–11) in the colony. Died in 1618 while en route back to Virginia.
- Warren M. Billings notes, “The barony De La Warr (pronounced ‘de la ware’) was created first in 1299 and then again, due to a legal dispute, in 1570. As such, the baron’s number depends on a willingness to recognize the second creation, which started its count again at one.”
- See J. Frederick Fausz, “West, Thomas, third Baron De La Warr (1577–1618),” *ODNB* (2008); R. C. G., “West, Thomas III (1577–1618), of Wherwell, Hants.,” *History of Parliament*; E. M. Rose, “Lord Delaware, First Governor of Virginia, ‘the Poorest Baron of this Kingdom,’” *VMHB* 128, no. 3 (2020): 226–58; Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia Sent to the Counsell and Company of Virginia, Resident in England* (London, 1613), n.p. (“what Coronall”); “West, Henry,” *SSNE* 8207; Warren M. Billings, “Thomas West Twelfth Baron De La Warr (1576–1618),” *Encyclopedia Virginia* (“barony”).

Sir Richard Williamson

- No evidence of Continental connections.

- See Simon Healy, “Williamson, Sir Richard (1563–1615/16), of York and Pottergate, Gainsborough, Lincs.,” *History of Parliament*.

Sir John Wolstenholme

- Wealthy merchant who invested in multiple overseas ventures. Very active in the Virginia Company’s affairs. No evidence of substantial Continental connections.
- See J. K. Laughton, revised by H. V. Bowen, “Wolstenholme, Sir John (1562–1639),” *ODNB* (2019).

Henry Wriothesley, 3d Earl of Southampton

- Well known for his martial ardor. Raised in the household of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley. Wriothesley fought at Cádiz in 1596, and was part of the Essex-Raleigh expedition, 1597. Diplomatic mission to Paris with Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry), in 1598; fought under the Earl of Essex in Ireland, 1599. Volunteer at the Battle of Nieuwpoort, 1600. Implicated in the Essex uprising (1601) and sentenced to death, but had his sentence commuted to imprisonment thanks to the intervention of Robert Cecil. Fought in Cleves in 1614. Died fighting the Spanish in the Low Countries (though not in battle) in 1624.
- Tutored at Cambridge in 1585–89 by William Whitaker, whose son Alexander Whitaker (b. 1585) later went to Virginia as a preacher and tutored Matoaka (otherwise known as Pocahontas or Amonute) during her year in captivity in 1613–14.
- See Park Honan, “Wriothesley, Henry, third earl of Southampton (1573–1624),” *ODNB* (2012); Trim, 352.

Edward, Lord Zouche

- Spent much of the 1580s and early 1590s on the Continent, partly owing to a bad marriage, partly for education, and partly to position himself for diplomatic service. Missions to Scotland and Denmark followed by deputy governorship of Guernsey and presidency of the council of Wales. Sworn to James I’s Privy Council in 1603, and served on numerous commissions after that. In the Cecil interest (see entry for Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury).
- Member of the council for the New England Company (1620) as well as the Council of Virginia.
- See Louis A. Knalpa, “Zouche, Edward 1a, eleventh Baron Zouche (1556–1625),” *ODNB* (2008).

d. Selected Others Named in the Virginia Company’s Second Charter, 1609

Geoffrey/Jeffrey Holcroft/Holcrofte

- A Captain Holcroft was listed as wounded at the 1600 Battle of Nieuwpoort and singled out for valor by William Camden; since there is no first name attached to this report, it is possible that the Captain Holcroft who was wounded at Nieuwpoort was a relative (perhaps Henry Holcroft). David J. B. Trim writes that Geoffrey Holcroft’s “first known experience in States’ service was in the garrison of Ostend in 1601 and presumably he remained in the Dutch army thereafter, but he first obtained a States’-pay captaincy in 1606. His company served until it was cased [i.e., cashiered] at the end of 1608.”
- Not to be confused with Thomas Holcroft (see entry under “Colonists,” below).
- See Trim, 437 (quotation); *The Battaile . . . Nere Newport*, n.p. For Captain Holcroft’s being singled out for valor at Nieuwpoort, see Camden, *Annales*, 1600, 14.

Sir Ralph (Raphe) Winwood

- Secretary to England’s ambassador to France, 1598. Agent to the States General, 1603–7, and ambassador to the States General, 1607–14. England’s commissioner for the peace negotiations between Spain and the United Provinces that yielded the Twelve Years’ Truce, 1607–9.
- A strong supporter of and investor in the Virginia Company.
- Was acquainted with both Sir Thomas Dale (see entry) and Sir Thomas Gates (see entry) while they were still in the Netherlands, having met no later than 1604.
- See Sir Henry Wotton to Winwood, July 19, 1604, in *Winwood Memorials*, 2: 24; Robert Cecil to Winwood, Mar. 29, 1603/04, in *Winwood Memorials*, 2: 18; M. Greengrass, “Winwood, Sir Ralph (1562/3–1617),” *ODNB* (2008); Andrew Thrush, “Winwood, Sir Ralph (c.1563–1617), of Whitehall, Westminster and St. Bartholomew the Less, London; later of Ditton Park, Bucks.,” *History of Parliament*. See also Ralph Winwood to Lord Cecil, April 1604, in *MDS* 16: 77–78; Thomas, Lord Grey, to Ralph Winwood, 1604, *ibid.*, 436; Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood to the Earl of Salisbury, April 1607, in *MDS* 19: 218; Sir John Ogle to the Earl of Salisbury, 1607, *ibid.*, 294; Captain Thomas Mewtys to the Earl of Salisbury, November 1607, *ibid.*, 311; Sir John Ogle to the Earl of Salisbury, December 1607, *ibid.*, 370; Sir John Ogle to the Earl of Salisbury, December 1607, *ibid.*, 376–77; Sir Thomas Sherley (the younger) to the Earl of Salisbury, September 1607, *ibid.*, 475.

e. Colonists

Gabriel Archer

- Left eyewitness accounts of voyage to New England in 1602, naming Martha’s Vineyard after his late daughter, and of early weeks of Jamestown. Died during the Starving Time winter of 1609–10.
- John Smith identified him as a “captain” in his earliest writings. Recent archaeology at Jamestown has revealed that he was buried with a captain’s leading staff, an indication of his military rank.
- See Smith, *True Relation*, 27; Smith, *Proceedings*, 212; David Beers Quinn, “Gabriel Archer (ca. 1574–ca. 1610),” *Encyclopedia Virginia*; “Captain Gabriel Archer,” *Jamestown Rediscovery*, <https://historicjamestowne.org/archaeology/chancel-burials/founders/gabriel-archer/> (accessed July 18, 2023). See also Andrew Lawson, “Smith vs. Wingfield: Remaking the Social Order in the Chesapeake,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (*VMHB*) 128, no. 3 (2020): 202–25; entry for Bartholomew Gosnold, below.

Samuel Argall (also privateer/mariner)

- John Pory described Argall as “a Soldier truly bred in that university of warre, the Lowe Countries.” In Virginia Argall was identified by William Strachey as one of the “especial captains over companies.”
- See Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton, 1619, in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606–1625* (New York, 1907), 283 (“Soldier”); Strachey, “A True Reportory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight. . . .,” in Haile, 433 (“especial”). See also Philip L. Barbour, “A Possible Clue to Samuel Argall’s Pre-Jamestown Activities,” *WMQ* 29, no. 2 (April 1972): 301–6, which puts Argall in the Atlantic fishing trade ca. 1606, after the Spanish Peace of 1604—waters he may have learned as a privateer during the war. See also James D. Alsop, “Sir Samuel Argall’s Family, 1560–1620,” *VMHB* 90, no. 4 (1982): 472–84.

Edward Bruster

- Strachey’s list of “especial captains over companies” appointed by the newly arrived governor, Thomas West, 12th Baron De La Warre (see entry), includes Bruster, “who hath the command of His Honor’s own company.”
- See Strachey, “True Reportory,” in Haile, 433 (quotations), 427.

Sir Thomas Dale

- Extensive military service, often in the same places as Sir Thomas Gates (see entry). This service went back to ca. 1588, when he was likely a common soldier in the Low Countries under Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester. Later fought in the French Wars of Succession on behalf of Henry IV, and in Ireland as well. By 1603 he was back in the Low Countries as a captain in the pay of the States General at the garrison town of Terthol, having been recommended for the post by Henry IV of France and enjoying the patronage of Sir Francis Vere, commander of the English troops in the Netherlands. Knighted in June 1606, and was at the small English garrison at Oudewater that same year (as was Gates).

- Was acquainted with Sir Ralph Winwood (see entry), England’s agent (later ambassador) to the States General, no later than 1603.
- Granted a three-year leave of absence to go to Virginia as the colony’s Lord Marshall. Thanks to James I’s intervention, he was given an extension on this leave and remained in Virginia until 1616, serving as lieutenant governor as well. By 1617 he was back in the Netherlands, but the next year accepted command of an (English) East India Company fleet (though only after collecting his back pay from the States General). He died at Masulipatnam, now in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, in 1619.
- See Basil Morgan, “Dale, Sir Thomas (d. 1619),” *ODNB*; Darrett B. Rutman, “The Historian and the Marshall: A Note on the Background of Sir Thomas Dale,” *VMHB* 68, no. 3 (1960): 284–94; “America and West Indies: Addenda 1617,” in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: America and West Indies*, vol. 9, 1675–1676 and Addenda 1574–1674, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London, 1893), 54–55; Sir Henry Wotton to Winwood, July 19, 1604, in *Winwood Memorials*, 2: 24; Robert Cecil to Winwood, Mar. 29, 1603/4, in *Winwood Memorials*, 2: 18. See also Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791* (Cleveland, 1898), 4: 32–33, where Dale is characterized as hostile to the French presence in America, yet “estoit grand amy des François, cōme ayant obtenu tous les principaux honneurs par la recommandation de feu Henry le Grand, & ayant eſté fon foldat, & fon penſionnaire” (ibid., 32).

Sir Thomas Gates (also grantee; also 1609 Council)

- See entry under “Grantees,” above.

Bartholomew Gosnold (also privateer/mariner)

- Related to Edward Maria Wingfield (see entry) and, by marriage, to Sir William Winter, who was surveyor of the navy and master of the ordnance (d. 1589). Also related to Sir Thomas Smith (or Smythe; see entry) and to Samuel Argall (see entry).
- Like his cousin Wingfield, Gosnold was connected to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry), though multiple paths. One line ran through the mariner and privateer Edward Hayes, and thence to Richard Hakluyt (see entry) and to both Cecils: William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley and chief advisor to Elizabeth I, and Burghley’s son Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury. Other connections ran through his familial relationships with Wingfield and Sir Thomas Smythe/Smith, and business deadlines with Sir Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, whose brother Henry married Robert Cecil’s sister and was firmly in his orbit.
- Accompanied Robert Devereux, 2d Earl of Essex, on the Anglo-Dutch “Islands Voyage” (or Essex-Raleigh expedition) of 1597. Commanded at least one successful privateering expedition, in 1599, and planned another in 1600 (though whether that one was successfully launched is unclear). Organized and led a famed 1602 expedition to Cape Elizabeth, along with Gabriel Archer (see entry), during which he gave Cape Cod and Martha’s Vineyard their English names and established a short-lived trading post just to the west of there, on one of the Elizabeth Islands. Must have spent some time in England from 1602 until 1606, as he had three children baptized at Bury St. Edmunds during that stretch.
- One of the original grantees in the Virginia Company’s first patent. Sailed to Virginia in 1606, where he was named one of the original seven councillors. Died there in August

1607 and “was honourably buried, having all the ordnance in the fort shot off with many volleys of small shot” (George Percy, “Observations Gathered Out of a Discourse. . . .,” in Haile, 99).

- See Natalie Zacek, “Bartholomew Gosnold,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*; David R. Ransome, “Gosnold, Bartholomew,” *ODNB*; Warner F. Gookin, “Who Was Bartholomew Gosnold?,” *WMQ* 6, no. 3 (July 1949): 398–415; Gookin and Philip L. Barbour, *Bartholomew Gosnold, Discoverer and Planter: New England—1602, Virginia—1607* (Hamden, Conn., 1963); Julian Lock, “Brooke, William, tenth Baron Cobham (1527–1597),” *ODNB* (2008).

Thomas Holcroft

- Recruited English soldiers in the Netherlands to emigrate to Virginia, 1609. Emigrated to Virginia himself in 1610, traveling together with other Low Countries veterans in Governor De La Warre’s entourage, such as Sir Ferdinando Weyneman (see entry). Once in Virginia, William Strachey included Holcroft on his list of “especial captains over companies.” Not to be confused with Geoffrey Holcroft (see entry).
- “Instructions to Holcroft,” in Brown, *Genesis*, 1: 316–18; Zúñiga to Philip III, Mar. 11, 1610, in Brown, *Genesis*, 1: 386; Smith, *Generall Historie*, 234; Strachey, “True Reportory,” in Haile, 433 (quotation).

George Kendall

- Named in 1601 as an “intelligencer” working in the Low Countries, “in the Archdukes dominions, somtymes at Bruxelles sometymes at Dunkerke or Sluce [Sluys/Sluis]” (all in Spanish-held territory), for which he and his partner George Weeks were paid £61 that year. Among other adventures, he professed that he “now disliked soldierlik proceedings” and intended to “become religious” (i.e., join a monastery, thus bolstering his Catholic credentials to cover his spying activities); and was kidnapped for ransom (and released when he convinced his captors that there would be none). Afterward, he recrossed enemy lines to meet with Sir Francis Vere, general of the English troops under the States General’s pay, informing him of Spanish troop movements toward Ostend (where Vere was in command).
- Oversaw construction of first fort at Jamestown. John Smith refers to him as “captaine Kendall.” Executed for mutiny in Jamestown, 1607.
- See Philip L. Barbour, “Captain George Kendall: Mutineer or Intelligencer?,” *VMHB* 70, no. 3 (1962): 297–313; Paul E. J. Hammer, “A Welshman Abroad: Captain Peter Wynne of Jamestown,” *Parergon* 16, no. 1 (July 1998): 87–88; Smith, *Proceedings*, 212 (“captaine”), 206; Christopher Mains, “Sir Robert Cecil and Elizabethan Intelligencing, 1590–1603” (Ph.D. diss., Open University, 2020), 168–74, 216, 234; Smith, *True Relation*, 35, 41; Account of intelligencers employed abroad this year, 1601, Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I, 1558–1603, SP 12/283, fol. 176 (“in the Archdukes dominions”); George Kendall to Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, April 1601, Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I, 1558–1603, SP 12/279, fol. 127 (a report on his recent espionage activities on the Continent, in which he declared he “now disliked soldierlik proceedings”).
- See also [Sir R. Cecil] to George Kendall, December 1600, in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, vol. 10, 1600, ed. R. A. Roberts (London, 1904), 410; George

Kendall to Sir Robert Kendall, in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, vol. 11, 1601, 402–3; George Kendall to Sir Robert Cecil, Mar. 2, 1601/2, The Hague, in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, vol. 12, 1602–1603, ed. R. A. Roberts (London, 1910), 67–68.

- See also Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 221–22; Kupperman, *Pocahontas and the English Boys: Caught between Cultures in Early Virginia*, (New York, 2019), 181.

John Martin (also privateer/mariner)

- Samuel Bemis and James Southall identify Martin as a privateer, born in 1562, who sailed with Sir Francis Drake in the 1580s. His father, Sir Richard Martin, was one of Drake's main backers.
- One of "the first planters," Martin is invariably referred to as "Captain Martin" in the Virginia sources.
- See Samuel M. Bemiss, "John Martin, Ancient Adventurer," *VMHB* 65, no. 2 (1957): 209–21; James P. C. Southall, "Captain John Martin of Brandon on the James," *VMHB* 54, no. 1 (1946): 21–67; *Drake's West Indian Voyages*, index; Wernham, *Norris and Drake*, 336; Smith, *True Relation*, 33, 37, 39, 87, 93; Smith, *Proceedings*, 207 ("first planters").

Sir William Newce

- Served in Ireland at the Siege of Kinsale (1601), then on the Continent. In 1605 he was alleged to have recruited a company of Irish soldiers into Spanish service on the Continent, and to have participated in a scheme to deliver Sluys/Sluis, Flushing, and other Dutch/English towns in the Low Countries to the Spanish. Cleared himself, however, and returned to Ireland.
- Offered to transport a thousand emigrants to Virginia in 1621. The Virginia Company named him Marshall of Virginia and made him a member of the Council. Emigrated to Virginia later in 1621, traveling together with the new governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, but died soon after.
- See "Newport News," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 9, no. 4 (1901): 233–34; Sir Thomas Fane to the Earl of Salisbury, Jan. 8, 1605/6, in *MDS*, 18: 10–11 (for a different version of his actions in 1605).

Christopher Newport (also privateer/mariner)

- One of the most active English privateers of the late 1580s–early 1600s on both sides of the Atlantic. Turned to legitimate trade after the Spanish Peace of 1604.
- Commanded the Virginia Company's first fleet of three ships carrying colonists to Virginia, 1606; on arrival, he was named one of the original seven Council members in Virginia. Newport spent the next five years shuttling people, supplies, information, and goods across the Atlantic, pausing in Virginia to explore waterways, conduct diplomacy, and put his sailors to work on construction projects or defending the colony. Accepted a position with the East India Company; died in 1617 on his third voyage to the Indian Ocean.
- See David Ransome, "Newport, Christopher (bap. 1561, d. 1617)," *ODNB* (2008); K. R. Andrews, "English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1596 to 1604: An Annotated List," *WMQ*,

3d ser., 31, no. 2 (April 1974): 243–54; Andrews, "Christopher Newport of Limehouse, Mariner," *WMQ* 11, no. 1 (January 1954): 28–41; Andrews, *Trade*, 281–83; David B. Quinn, "Christopher Newport in 1590," *North Carolina Historical Review* 29, no. 3 (1952): 305–16. See also Smith, *True Relation*, 29, 31, 33, 49, 61, 63, 91; Smith, *Proceedings*, 237.

George Percy

- It is often asserted that Percy served in the Low Countries, but the evidence for this is thin. Philip L. Barbour sounded a more cautious note than most, writing that "it has been surmised on reasonably solid grounds that he was in the Netherlands early in the 1600's, getting first-hand information on the art of war. Since his brother the Earl [Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland] left for Ostend in July, 1600, accompanied by Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, George Percy may have gone with him. The Earl remained (except for a brief visit to England) at least until after the surrender of 'Berck' (Rheinberg, Rheinland), the end of July, 1601."
- One of "the first planters," Percy served as president of the Council in Virginia in 1609–10 and (briefly) as deputy governor in 1611. Unlike colonists such as John Martin (see entry), he is not routinely referred to by a military title such as "captain" in the Virginia records.
- Percy returned to England in 1612. Family tradition maintains that he was captain of a company in the Netherlands in 1627, though that has been debunked. A famous portrait of Percy shows him as missing part of his middle finger, which has led to the tradition that he lost it in the Low Countries after Jamestown; however, it was painted much earlier, in 1615, thereby discounting this theory.
- See Philip L. Barbour, "The Honorable George Percy, Premier Chronicler of the First Virginia Voyage," *Early American Literature* 6, no. 1 (1971): 7 ("it has been"); Mark Nicholls, "Percy, George (1580–1632/3)," *ODNB* (2008); John W. Shirley, "George Percy at Jamestown, 1607–1612," *VMHB* 57, no. 3 (1949): 227–43 (for an unqualified assertion that Percy fought in the Low Countries); Smith, *Proceedings*, 207–8 ("first planters," 207).

John Pory (also organizer/visionary)

- See entry under "Organizers and Visionaries," above.

John Ratcliffe/Sicklemore (also privateer/mariner)

- Any claims as to Ratcliffe's background must be tentative, because scholars have never been able to figure out who exactly he was. Even his name is uncertain. When George Kendall (see entry) was brought before the Jamestown Council on charges of mutiny, Ratcliffe—as president of the Council—pronounced him guilty. Kendall objected that because Ratcliffe's real name was "Sicklemore," a sentence pronounced by "Ratcliffe" was invalid. The other councillors responded by having John Martin (see entry) hand down the sentence instead. Why he went by Ratcliffe instead of Sicklemore is unknown. But as Warren R. Billings notes, "His patent abilities as a mariner and his evident willingness to gamble at speculative ventures most likely account for why officials in the Virginia Company of London named him a leader of their colonial enterprise in 1606." Ratcliffe commanded the *Discovery*, one of the three ships that carried the initial group of

colonists to Virginia, sat on the Council, and served as president of the Council in Virginia in 1607–8. He is included here as a possible veteran mariner on the basis of his captaincy of the *Discovery* and leadership of other marine expeditions within the Chesapeake Bay region, as well as the consistency with which he is called “Captain” in the Jamestown records.

- Ratcliffe/Sicklemore’s will named his wife Dorothy as beneficiary and Richard Percivall, Esq., as her co-executor. Witnesses were Richard Streamer [?] of Plymouth, Henry Smith, Richard Luell, and Richard Hill. The executor was likely the same Richard Percivall, Esq. (also spelled Perceval) who was named in the 1609 Charter, who in turn may have been the Richard Perceval who represented James I’s secretary of state, Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (see entry), in the latter’s capacity as Master of the Wards.
- See Warren M. Billings, “Ratcliffe [Sicklemore], John (d. 1610),” *ODNB*. See also Smith, *True Relation*, 33, 35; Smith, *Proceedings*, 205; Will of John Sicklemore alias Ratcliffe, Captain of the Diamond now bound for Virginia, Apr. 25, 1611, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/117/409, NAUK; Simon Healy, “Perceval, Richard (c. 1558–1620),” *ODNB*.

John Smith

- There is no question that Smith was a veteran of the Continental wars, as his own assertions regarding his whereabouts have largely been corroborated by modern scholars.
- Smith joined a company of English volunteers fighting in France (or possibly in the Low Countries first, then France) in 1596 or 1597. “Peace being concluded in France,” Smith wrote (in the third person), “he went with Captaine Joseph Duxbury into the Low-countries, under whose Colours having served three or four yeeres, he took his journey for Scotland, to deliver his Letters” (i.e., letters of introduction to Scotland’s James VI, soon to be James I of England).
- Smith’s “journey for Scotland” was for naught, as he did not catch on as a courtier with James VI. So he returned home for a while, a sad, unassimilable demobilized soldier living as a hermit in the woods on the estate of the English general Lord Willoughby de Eresby, on whose lands Smith’s parents were tenants. Although the Smiths were far from Willoughby’s equals, this was a powerful connection for them to have.⁶
- Smith was most likely at the July 1600 Battle of Nieuwpoort. A close reading of his *True Travels* suggests that he had “returned againe to the Low-Countreyes” by May 1600. Smith writes that his spell as a hermit ended when he was invited to stay at a nearby castle, but “long these pleasures could not content him”—and besides, his host at that castle soon absented himself in order to travel to Yorkshire to get married on May 1, 1600—two months before the Battle of Nieuwpoort. Smith’s captain, Joseph Duxbury, was killed in that battle (see *The Battaile . . . Nere Newport*, n.p.), which would explain

⁶ Willoughby was hugely influential, both for his family’s standing and because of his early, and prominent, military service on the Continent. Willoughby fought in the Low Countries as a “volunteer” beginning in 1582, several years before England’s declaration of war. By the end of 1587, he was Elizabeth’s commander in chief in the Netherlands, with a seat on the United Province’s council of state. He played a prominent role in foiling the Spanish Armada of 1588, and soon afterward led troops into Normandy in support of Henry of Navarre’s (Henry IV’s) claim to the French throne. Willoughby declined further appointments after 1591, but remained active in England’s foreign affairs in an informal capacity. In 1598 Willoughby took up the governorship of Berwick, the key fortification on the Scottish border, where he died in 1601.

why Smith was then at loose ends and “desirous to see more of the world” when four “French Gallants” lured him onto a ship bound for the Mediterranean and tricked him out of most of his goods.

- As Smith put it, “France and Netherlands had taught him to ride a Horse and use his Armes, with such rudiments of warre, as his tender yeeres in those martiall Schooles could attaine unto” before being lured off to his many adventures in the Mediterranean and beyond.
- Smith returned to England by early 1605, well in time to be recruited for the new Virginia venture and to sail with the first three ships bound for the colony. Smith was named to the Council in Virginia, and was later president of the Council. He twice led systematic explorations of the Chesapeake Bay, mapping the region and reporting in detail on what he and his men saw. Took a leading role in relations with Wahunsonacock (otherwise known as Powhatan) and other Indigenous leaders. Left the colony in October 1609 after having been injured in a gunpowder explosion. Voluminous writer and compiler of publications on Virginia, and later on New England.
- See Smith, *True Travels*, 154–57 (“Peace,” 155, “returned,” “France and Netherlands,” 156, “desirous,” 157). My timeline for 1600 differs from that in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, as described in Smith, *True Travels*, 156 n. 6, but it also depends on the reconstruction of Smith’s host’s comings and goings. See also Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Boston, 1964); Gwenda Morgan, “Smith, John (bap. 1580, d. 1631),” *ODNB* (whose chronology of Smith’s travels differs from mine); Laura Polanyi Striker and Bradford Smith, “The Rehabilitation of Captain John Smith,” *Journal of Southern History* 28, no. 4 (1962): 474–81; D. J. B. Trim, “Bertie, Peregrine, thirteenth Baron Willoughby of Willoughby, Beck, and Eresby (1555–1601),” *ODNB* (2008).

Roger Smith/Smyth

- Virginia governor Sir Francis Wyatt reported in 1623 that he had asked “*Capt. Roger Smyth* who lived 12 or 13 yeares in the Warrs in the low Countreyes” to build a new blockhouse.
- See Sir Francis Wyatt to George Wyatt, Apr. 4, 1623, in *RVC*, 4: 229 (quotation); Smith, *True Travels*, 215.

Sir George Somers (also grantee; also privateer/mariner)

- See entry under “Virginia Company Grantees,” above.

Richard Waldo

- Arrived with fellow old soldier Peter Wynne (see entry). John Smith wrote that upon their arrival in 1609 “there was added to the councell one Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne two ancient souldiers and valiant gentlemen.” Consistently referred to as “Captain” in the Virginia documents.
- See Smith, *Generall Historie*, 182, 184, 188, 190, 192, 203, 242; Smith, *Proceedings*, 235 (quotation), 239–40, 243, 254.

Sir Ferdinando Weyneman (Fernanado; Wainman, Wenman)

- According to Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*. . . . (Oxford, 1888–91), 4: 1598, he was from Buckinghamshire, entered Oxford at age twelve on Dec. 8, 1587, as “Mr. Case’s scholar,” and earned his B.A. from Balliol College on Apr. 10, 1592. He was admitted on the same day as were “Wenman, (Sir) Richard (Waynman), of Bucks, arm. fil. matric. entry 8 Dec., 1587, aged 14, ‘Mr. Case’s scholar,’” and after that, “Wenman, Thomas (Wainman), of Bucks, arm., matric. entry 8 Dec., 1587, aged 11, ‘Mr. Case’s scholar.’”⁷ This helps with Ferdinando’s identification, which has been the subject of some uncertainty.
- Furthermore, Ferdinando, Richard, and Thomas Wainman are listed as brothers in William Henry Turner, ed., *The Visitations of the County of Oxford, Taken in the Years 1566 by William Harvey, Clarencieux; 1574 by Richard Lee, Portcullis* . . . ; and in 1634 by John Philpott, Somerset, and William Ryley, *Bluemantle*. . . . (London, 1871), 5: 179—with a sister named Elizabeth, which is what he later named his daughter.
 - This corroboration that Ferdinando, Richard, and Thomas were brothers confirms that the Jamestown colonist was related by marriage to Sir Henry Norris/Norreys and was first cousin to Virginia governor Thomas West, 12th Baron De La Warre (see entry), in whose company Ferdinando arrived at Jamestown in 1610.
 - According to Ancestry.com, citing Latter-Day Saints databases, Ferdinando Wainman’s daughter Elizabeth was born on Dec. 10, 1604, and baptized at St. Peter’s in Cornhill eleven days later. She married Mungo Launder on Jan. 30, 1625.
 - “On 28 February 1609/10 Thomas (West) Lord Lawarr makes over to Sir Ferdinando Wenman, in return for one hundred pounds, out of the adventures of Lord Lawarr ‘ratably according to his adventure’ all the profits &c” (Ferrar Papers [FP] 25, Virginia Company Archives; ref. also FP 17). The agreement was witnessed by “Tho: Smythe” and “Thomas Colwell,” “stamp-sealed with the arms of Lord Lawarr, and bears an addendum: ‘I am well pleased ~~that~~ for my son ~~shall~~ to set over this adventure to Elizabeth Wenman the only Childe of S[i]r fferdinando Wenman & pray the Court shee may receyve a bill in her owne name under seale of the companie. Cisly Lawar.” FP 25, Virginia Company Archives. Compare to “A Generall Quarter Courte. . . .,” in *RVC*; 1: 381, and “Shareholders in the Virginia Company from 1615 to 1623,” *ibid.*, 3: 62, on the transfer, recorded by the Virginia Company on June 28, 1620.
 - Brother Richard was knighted for his service in the Cádiz expedition of 1596, then elected an MP for Oxfordshire in 1597, 1621, and 1625. See Alan Davidson

⁷ John Case was a prominent Oxford scholar who was ejected and became a private tutor after a scandal around his relations with a local widow. “His pupils were either boys preparing for the University or undergraduates reading for the B.A. degree; and Case’s house was recognized by the University as on a level with the halls.” See “St. John’s College,” in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 3, the University of Oxford*, ed. H. E. Salter and Mary D Lobel (London, 1954), 251–64 (quotation, 254). See also Edward A. Malone, “Case, John (1540/41?–1600),” *ODNB*. Case was long regarded as, at the very least, friendly to Catholics and sympathetic to elements of Catholicism. Although that argument has been disputed in recent years, Richard Sarjeantson makes a good case for it in “Theology and the Arts Course in Tudor Oxford: An Unknown Treatise on Church Government by John Case,” in *Collected Wisdom of the Early Modern Scholar: Essays in Honor of Mordechai Feingold*, ed. Anna Marie Roos and Gideon Manning (Cham, Switz., 2023), 17–42.

and Rosemary Sgroi, “Wenman, Sir Richard (c.1573–1640), of Thame Park, Oxon. and Twyford, Bucks.,” *History of Parliament*.

- Richard Rich, *Newes from Virginia* (London, 1610), refers to him as “Sir Fardinando Wayneman knight” (Haile, 376).
- Sir Ferdinando Weyneman is listed among those “burned with powder” while serving under Sir John Norreys/Norris at Brest in 1594, by which time, according to the Oxford University rolls, he would have been nineteen years old (Meteren, *True Discourse*, 139). The incident is also mentioned in Camden, *Annales*, 1594, 15. (Interestingly, this was also the battle where the sea captain, privateer, and would-be American colonizer Martin Frobisher died.) Wainman is also mentioned in John Norris, *Newes from Brest. A Diurnal of al that Sir John Norreis Hath Doone since His Last Arivall in Britaine; Also of the Taking in of the Forte by Croyzon, and the Names of Such Captaines Gentlemen and Others That Were Slaine and Hurte in This Service* (London, 1594), n.p.
- There is another documented Weyneman/Wainman sighting in the Low Countries, in 1598 or sometime before. Then a lieutenant, Weyneman incurred a personal loan “in Holland at the Hauke [The Hague].” See “Reckoning between Captain Thomas Stockwell and Sir Oliver Lambert,” Aug. 7, 1598, in James Rutherford, ed., *The Miscellaneous Papers of Captain Thomas Stockwell, 1590–1611: 1591–1605, Volume 1. Volume 32 of Publications of the Southampton Record Society* (Southampton, U.K., 1932), 78.
- Appears on the list “Shareholders in the Virginia Company from 1615 to 1623,” in *RVC*, 3: 62.
- Arrived in Jamestown along with Governor De La Warre, in June 1610. Appointed the colony’s Master of the Ordinance in the Council of Virginia’s instructions to De La Warre, and named to the Council in Virginia. Died in 1610. On Weyneman’s short time in Virginia, see Smith, *Proceedings*, 277; Smith, *Generall Historie*, 218, 234; George Percy, “A True Relation. . . .,” in Haile, 509; Council of Virginia, “Instructions Orders and Constitutions . . . to . . . S[i]r Thomas West Knight Lo: La Warr,” 1609/10, in *RVC*, 3: 28. See also “Sir Ferdinanot Wainman,” Chancel Burials, Historic Jamestowne, <https://historicjamestowne.org/archaeology/chancel-burials/founders/ferdinando-wainman/> (accessed Feb. 28, 2025), and <https://www.archaeology.org/issues/200-1601/features/3959-jamestown-colonial-america-burials> (accessed Feb. 28, 2025).

Thomas West, 12th Baron De La Warre (also 1609 Council)

- See entry under “Virginia Company of London Council Members in 1609,” above.

Edward Maria Wingfield (also grantee)

- See entry under “Virginia Company Grantees,” above.

Peter Wynne

- A Welshman born sometime before 1560. Likely apprenticed as a junior officer in Ireland before going to captain a company in the Netherlands in 1586. He later went to Normandy to fight under the Earl of Essex in a campaign there. Spent several years on the Continent as a spy and mercenary, reappearing in London just in time to be put to work gathering intelligence in support of (and possibly joining in) the Essex-led naval expeditions against Cádiz and the Azores in 1596 and 1597. Following Essex to Ireland

in 1599, he captained a company there. In 1604 he accepted a captaincy in the service of the States General.

- When Wynne’s company was disbanded in 1608, Wynne went to Jamestown, arriving that fall. He was immediately appointed “Seirjant major of the fort,” and made a member of the Council. John Smith reported that in Virginia “there was added to the councell one Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne two ancient souldiers and valiant gentlemen.” Furthermore, Sir Thomas Gates (see entry), then marooned on Bermuda, wanted to appoint Wynne his lieutenant governor and tried to send word of this appointment via a longboat that set out for Virginia, but the longboat never arrived. In Virginia, Wynne (“Win”) led a company in pursuit of an escaped prisoner, the werowance of the Paspahigh nation among whom the Jamestown colonists lived. But Wynne died soon after his arrival.
- See Paul E. J. Hammer, “A Welshman Abroad: Captain Peter Wynne of Jamestown,” *Parergon* 16, no. 1 (July 1998): 59–92; James P. C. Southall, “Captain John Martin of Brandon on the James,” *VMHB* 54, no. 1 (1946): 21–67; Smith, *Proceedings*, 235 (“there was added”), 240, 260–61; William Strachey, “True Reportory,” in Haile, 402–3 (“Win,” 402). On Wynne as a spy, see also John Mountfennell to Robert Cecil, Feb. 1600/1, in *MDS* 14: 173; Sir Lewis Lewkenor, *The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spaine and His Ministers*. . . . (London, 1595), n.p.

Sir George Yeardley

- Served in the Anglo-Dutch company captained by Sir Thomas Gates (see entry), beginning in 1605.
- Still under Sir Thomas Gates’s command, Yeardley sailed for Virginia in May 1609 and was shipwrecked on Bermuda. Yeardley, Gates, and others who had been marooned on Bermuda arrived at Jamestown in May 1610. Gates promptly appointed Yeardley captain of the guard and promoted him to lieutenant in 1611. Yeardley later served as Virginia’s deputy governor (1616–17) and governor (1619–21, 1626–27).
- Geoffrey Parker suggests that Sir George Yeardley was in the Netherlands well before 1605, fighting at the key Battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600, and indeed a Yaxley (an alternative spelling of Yeardley) is mentioned in *The Battaile . . . Nere Newport*, n.p. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that it actually was Sir George Yeardley, who would have been about thirteen years old at the time of that battle.
- See R. C. D. Baldwin, “Yeardley, Sir George (bap. 1588, d. 1627),” *ODNB* (2008); Brendan Wolfe, “Sir George Yeardley (bap. 1588–1627),” *Encyclopedia Virginia*; Strachey, “True Reportory,” in Haile, 433; Geoffrey Parker, “The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs: Maurice of Nassau, the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), and the Legacy,” *Journal of Military History* 71, no. 2 (April 2007): 365.

f. Privateers/Mariners

Samuel Argall (also colonist)

- See entry under "Colonists," above.

Bartholomew Gosnold (also colonist)

- See entry under "Colonists," above.

Sir Robert Mansell (also 1609 Council)

- See entry under "Virginia Company of London Council Members in 1609," above.

John Martin (also colonist)

- See entry under "Colonists," above.

Christopher Newport (also colonist)

- See entry under "Colonists," above.

John Ratcliffe/Sicklemore (also colonist)

- See entry under "Colonists," above.

Sir George Somers (also grantee; also colonist)

- See entry under "Grantees," above.