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CAPTAIN GEORGE KENDALL

Mutineer or Intelligencer?

by PHILIP L. BARBOUR*

"INTELLIGENCER: One employed to obtain secret information, an informer, a spy, a secret agent." — *Oxford English Dictionary*.

CAPTAIN GEORGE KENDALL, one of the seven original councillors of the Jamestown colony, was put to death for mutiny long ago. For three and a half centuries, nobody seems to have known, or cared, just who he was, just what he did, or just why (or when) he was executed. Generally ignored, or dismissed with a few lines, by historians, this first Englishman ever tried by jury and condemned to death with at least a show of legality in Anglo-Saxon America seems to have been consigned to God's acre with oblivion heaped upon the shame of the firing squad. There have been none so poor to seek out who he was.

Indeed, when we consider our consuming interest in criminal, psychological, psychopathic or merely "intelligence" cases, it is little short of amazing that George Kendall has been thus slighted. Yet, pragmatically speaking, it is not. There is no clear-cut evidence in the case — no facile solution. Therefore, since the bother of finding out was enormous, and no conclusions were to be drawn but that he was dead, no one has taken the trouble to dig very deep into the mystery, despite the fact that pertinent evidence is not lacking.

Yet, curiously, a suggestion for the solution to the Kendall problem has been in print for many years. Edward D. Neill hinted at it three-quarters of a century ago, writing that Kendall "may be the young Scotchman who had been educated at Westminster School, and for seven years served in the wars of the Low Countries, who petitioned in his poverty for employment, and was sent by Sir Robert Cecil as his servant to Paris." But neither Neill nor the genealogists of the Kendall family went on to solve the problem. They left their evidence in unsupported form, as a guess or a rumor.¹

*Mr. Barbour is the author of a biography of Captain John Smith which will be published in 1963.

¹Edward D. Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, . . . (Albany, 1885), p. 19. (This account oversimplifies the original document, which will be found quoted in full on pp. 302-303 *post*.) In addition, there is a monograph in the New York Public Library which has bearing on the subject: John S. Kendall, *Notes on the Kendall family of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Texas*, (Typescript, New York, 1939), p. 9. It is without indication of sources. Various works on the Kendalls by W. Newsome, Henry J. B. Kendall, and others, consulted in the British Museum, revealed nothing pertinent.

The solution to the problem of who Kendall was must rest on an evaluation of probabilities based on documentary evidence. It must tie Neill's guess to Kendall family traditions, if possible, and then review the connection analytically. It must, in short, be an inductive solution, not a statement of firm fact. Nevertheless, if the burden of the inductive proof is taken up soundly, a valid, convincing solution may be reached. By studying the probabilities as carefully as "those exact sciences, arithmetic and geometry," as recommended by Voltaire,² we can find a solution to the problem of Kendall's identity. This study hopes to accomplish just that.

Before getting down to details, however, it is important that we remember the human background — the nature of the Elizabethan *Gentleman-adventurer* who was the core of the Virginia expedition of 1606-1607. That individualistic individual, in the words of Professor Walter Raleigh (who became a second Sir Walter half a century ago), "was the ruin of many an expedition on which he embarked; he was full of courage and initiative, but headstrong, giddy, and insubordinate."³ John Smith's arrest on vague charges of mutiny is attributable to this "gentlemanly" vagary. Edward Maria Wingfield's deposition as President of the Council is another example. But its most extreme demonstration brought fruit in the first execution of a death penalty in the Virginia colony: that of Captain George Kendall.

Captain George Kendall the Mutineer

According to the surviving documents relating to the foundation of the Virginia colony, it appears that Captain George Kendall was appointed one of the original councillors in Virginia by James I's "King's Council of Virginia," which was established by royal patent on November 20, 1606. When the list of these appointments was read at Cape Henry, the night of April 26, 1607, Kendall's name was read last, following those of Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, and John Martin.⁴ Smith was temporarily excluded from the local Council, but Kendall was sworn in, along with the rest.

As soon as the site of the future Jamestown was decided upon, the author of the first account wrote: "Now falleth every man to worke." But Edward Maria Wingfield, elected first President by the Council, "would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in

²Voltaire, *Oeuvres Completes*. Tome 30^e ([Paris], 1785), p. 418.

³Walter Raleigh, "The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* . . . (Glasgow, 1903-1905), xii, 55. Professor Raleigh was knighted in 1911.

⁴Captain John Smith, *Works*, ed. Edward Arber in *The English Scholar's Library* (Birmingham, 1884), p. 91. The list is repeated on p. 387, with John Smith moved from fourth to second place.

the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall."⁵

Perhaps Wingfield took the instructions of the London Virginia Company "not to offend the naturals"⁶ too literally. In fact, it was not long before a sneak attack by the Indians [there was no other kind!] proved Kendall right and Wingfield wrong. Then, while Newport's ship was being loaded for the return voyage to England, the "fort" was surrounded by a palisade. Six weeks later, all was "shipshape" ashore and aboard, Smith was admitted to his proper place on the Council, and Newport sailed.

This was the beginning of the infant colony's trials. Sickness set in. Dissent sprang suddenly into mighty being. Individuals and factions quarreled, and only Bartholomew Gosnold seemed to be able to hold the gentlemen together at all — the laborers were presumably too busy to wrangle. Then, two months after Newport's departure, Gosnold died and was buried with full military honors. And hardly was the last spadeful of earth patted down on the grave when Kendall set to work. Apparently in cahoots with Gabriel Archer, who was not a member of the Council, Kendall started serious trouble between Wingfield and other councillors, one of whom was John Smith, still smarting from the unjust "restraint" that had been placed on him.

Kendall's influence was not yet strong enough to split the Council, however, and by majority vote he "was put of[f] from beeing of the Counsell, and committed to prison" aboard the pinnace.⁷ Sickness meanwhile had reduced the colony to six able men, but Wingfield, profiting by the corn unexpectedly brought by the Indians (to trade for baubles, undoubtedly), managed soon to get some twenty men on their feet — half the colony. Nevertheless, Gabriel Archer went on with his plot to depose the President,⁸ and some act, or rumor of an act, brought such displeasure against that worthy gentleman that he was officially declared deposed by the remaining three councillors, Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin. Ratcliffe, the third ranking commander of the original fleet, was then elected in Wingfield's stead; Archer was made recorder of Virginia, and Smith, cape-merchant (which in his case amounted to Commissioner for Indian Economic and Military Affairs). Martin, ever sickly, remained in the background.

⁵Smith, *Works*, pp. 91 and 387.

⁶Smith, *Works*, p. xxxv.

⁷Wingfield's account, in Smith, *Works*, p. lxxvii. George Percy's "Discourse" says substantially the same thing, Smith, *Works*, p. lxxii.

⁸This statement is based on: (1) Newport's warning to Wingfield (Smith, *Works*, p. lxxv); (2) repeated references to this effect by Wingfield (especially in Smith, *Works*, p. lxxxii, "Master Archer . . . allwayes hatching of some mutany"); (3) Archer's subsequent success in getting sworn a member of the Council, which Wingfield had resolutely opposed (Smith, *Works*, p. lxxxvi).

The upshot of this was that Kendall was released from the makeshift prison, and Wingfield committed to it. As a token of administrative disapproval, Kendall was not permitted to carry arms,⁹ but no restraint was put on his tongue. That apparently began to wag dangerously.

By the middle of October, with supplies again very low, there was talk of sending Ratcliffe and Archer to England in the pinnace, to bring back food and other necessities, but it was finally concluded that it would be better (certainly quicker!) to send the pinnace to the Indians to trade. Ratcliffe and Archer being obviously less eager to see the Indians than the Londoners, lots were drawn, and Smith won the honor of leading the expedition. While the pinnace was being readied, he made a brief barge-excursion to Tappahanocke [Quiyoughcohanock], but due to Indian churlishness, and the absence of proper authority to force the issue, the venture was none too profitable. Nor were two brief forays made by Captain John Martin.

When the pinnace was ready, Smith took off in the barge, expecting the pinnace to follow him, and made for the Chickahominy country and Powhatan. The date seems to have been November 19.¹⁰ From then until about November 23, Smith made two trading voyages, still in the barge, returning with a total of fourteen or fifteen hogsheads of corn. Meanwhile the pinnace had somehow been run aground.

About this time, dissension was again rampant in the colony, and reached a climax in an altercation between Captain Ratcliffe, president, and James Read, the blacksmith. Ratcliffe beat the blacksmith, and the blacksmith struck back, or at least "offred to strike." This constituted at least treason, for Ratcliffe was technically the representative of the sacred majesty of James I on the shore of James's River, and Read was promptly condemned to be hanged. Read got as far as the top of the ladder, with the noose presumably around his neck, before he decided that his own life was worth more to him than somebody else's. He asked to speak privately with Ratcliffe.

Though the three accounts of what happened vary in detail, it is clear that *someone* was plotting "mutiny." Wingfield accused Archer of framing an

⁹Smith, *Works*, p. lxxxii.

¹⁰Smith, *Works*, p. 11. The date given there is "the 9 of November." Since Smith writes immediately below that "along we went by moonlight," and since it was new moon on that date, I have corrected it to 19 November. Full moon came on 23 November, old style, in 1607. It should be noted that this (corrected) account establishes the end of November as the date for Kendall's execution, indicating a longer period of patient forbearance by the leaders of the colony than hasty reading would lead one to picture. (Astronomical details based on dates of eclipses in 1608, kindly supplied by Dirk Brouwer, Yale University Observatory, in a personal letter dated May 9, 1958.)

indictment against Read, and John Smith reported that Wingfield had a hand in a move to regain power or to escape (with the grounded pinnacle) to England. However it was, Kendall was apparently proven to be the principal responsible party. There was a jury trial, and Captain George Kendall was condemned to be shot to death for a mutiny. James Read was released and reinstated in his labor.

Kendall, revealing perhaps some legal knowledge and certainly some insight into the niceties of proper government, presented an appeal for an arrest of judgment. He submitted that the name of the President of the Council was not John Ratcliffe but John Sicklemore, and that John Sicklemore had no authority to act. The technicality was overridden, probably by the law-mongering Archer, and in Wingfield's words "Master Martyn pronounced Judgment."¹¹

Unfortunately, the appeasement of this conspiracy, as John Smith put it, did not write *finis* to the colony's dissensions. The eradication of one contentious figure from the list of councillors was not enough to root out the evil. But George Kendall, not the history of the Jamestown Colony, concerns us here.

George Kendall's persistent rebellion, coupled with his first moves toward sound defense for the colony, points to a man of experience, determination and even some standing in the social world.¹² (Volumes testify to John Smith's pertinacity, but that quality was rare among those without some sort of "name" in James's England.) Kendall's unquestioned rank is attested by his being shot, not hanged; his potential mischievousness by the concern, the fear even, with which the Council regarded his "mutiny." Nearly all of the leaders of the colony were at one time or another accused of mutiny. Yet only Kendall's mutiny was considered dangerous enough for the death penalty to be invoked. Then, an additional hint that Kendall was not to be despised is supplied by the fact that the whole matter was skimmed over hurriedly in all four accounts of the affair. Kendall always remains a "gentleman" against whom — unfortunately — "hainous matters" were proved.¹³

These indications must be our guide in searching for George Kendall's identity — in searching for a George Kendall known to history whose ties and whose career could form a prelude to the tragedy on which the curtain was drawn as the winter of 1607 set in.

¹¹Smith, *Works*, p. lxxxv.

¹²Volumes testify to John Smith's pertinacity, but that quality was rare among those without a "name" in the England of those days. That Shakespeare and a handful of others were also of humble origin only underlines the point: they were very few.

¹³Smith, *Works*, p. lxxii.

George Kendall the Intelligencer

On October 4, 1600, with the odd detail that it was a Saturday night, a George Kendall bursts into the surviving records with a letter he wrote to Thomas Hon[e]lyman — an inconspicuous individual “with connections,” and an investor in the Virginia Company in 1609. This letter bears on the relations between the writer and one George Week[e]s, “an old soldier of and has been steward these 11 years to Sir Wm. Stanley,” the famous (or infamous) adventurer who betrayed the English troops to the Spaniards at Deventer, Holland, in 1587, and remained a traitor to his country the rest of his long life. Kendall volunteers in the letter, with the aid of Weeks, to surprise “and break that regiment of English” under Stanley. He has already been behind the enemy lines, he writes, and made contact with Weeks, whom he dares not yet “well trust,” after which he escaped with twenty-five of Stanley’s traitorous English troops, to bring reports to “Mr. Waad” — undoubtedly the William Waad who was then occupied investigating Catholic plots in England.¹⁴

A month later, on November 5, 1600, the same George Kendall wrote directly to Principal Secretary Sir Robert Cecil. This document tells the background of this George Kendall, and is worth quoting in full:

I thought good to give you some satisfaction of my estate, and reasons for taking this action in hand.

1. I have been brought up as Her Majesty’s scholar in Westminster, and from that place by her bounty have received the birth of my better part, and for that obliged.

2. For seven years I followed her conquering hand in the Low Countries, where I found discipline beget courage.

3. My eldest brother was slain there in the last battle, and I have been hurt five times.

4. My father was made weak by tedious suits in law, overmastered by greatness and not by justice; also to recover some evidences which my brother lost in the Low Countries.

5. To procure patronage of my just cause, and it may be to give you satisfaction in the truth of the lands of Roos of Routh, to which I shall find a pedigree, that will prove me last sole heir and a distinguishment of the Roos lands of Inglethorpe, wherein Peter Roos, a lawyer of the Temple, hopes to have a share with the young Lord Roos, and for that purpose daily takes out exemplifications.

6. Having been a suitor with Mr. Honyman and many citizens for the reviving of the Artillery Yard, to gain your patronage for despatch thereof, which consists in getting Her Majesty’s hand, as also the place at my return. Could I take a better means than this, for the honour of God, my country, and cause, to gain patronage and merit of preferment, and be a strong supporter of a declining house? I must entreat means to give

¹⁴*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* (London, 1856-1872), *Elizabeth*, 1598-1601, pp. 475-476; hereafter cited as *S.P.Dom.*

away a rapier, a scarf, a pike, or such like, to gain friendship, and not to be pinched by scarcity, which is as ill a companion to a soldier as excess.

If either my brother's death in service, my own employment, or my younger brother's service, who has been a lieutenant four years, and is now at Lough Foyle in Ireland, may deserve commiseration, I hope (after this storm is past) some of us may rise to do more than this for our country. Pray countenance my poor brother Edward Kendall; he follows Lady Warwick, and many times attends you for Lady Bath's business, but has no knowledge of my application to you.¹⁵

Lady Warwick was then Anne (Russell) Dudley, widow of the Earl of Warwick and a great favorite with Queen Elizabeth, while Lady Bath was the wife of William Bouchier, Earl of Bath. It is not these associations that are important, but George Kendall's reference to the "lands of Roos" and "the young Lord Roos." By this statement, Kendall claims some relationship to the Roos family, and this clue will lead us to the trail of George Kendall of Virginia fame.

George Kendall "of Westminster" apparently was soon off for France, and the "action in hand," for on November 21, (December 1, new style) he wrote Cecil from Paris:

On arriving at Calais, I found George Weekes gone to Abbeville, and then I heard he was at Paris, where I have found him. Capt. Smith has consorted with him on purpose to undermine him, by pretending there is danger in his entering the Cardinal's country. Smith's whole business has been to deter Weekes from his courses, and to detach this bearer, John Ellis, from him, on promise of preferment if he return on a secret business for Weekes to England. Smith is employed either to endanger Graf Maurice, or to Capt. Brown, of Dover Bulwark. Rogers of Canterbury, formerly Smith's lieutenant, whom I have encouraged with your protection, is ready to serve you, and you may make Smith trust him, and thus he will be fit for your employment. I have directed him to you, and written to Sir Thos. Fane to wink at his coming in, but to see that he neglect not his trust.

Meanwhile, I will urge Weekes to go to Dorleans, and get his services accepted by the Cardinal.

Pray send me 10*l.*; I have missed my money by having to follow Weekes. He took letters from Tresham to Paget, to procure him preferment in Savoy. I will make Weekes perform his promise, or bring him to what town you choose; only you must supply my wants.

P.S. — I hope to make Baldwin receiver of the rest of my money.¹⁶

The Captain Smith referred to was, of course, quite another man than Captain John Smith, and may be the same Captain Smith who earned his

¹⁵*S.P.Dom.*, 1598-1601, pp. 484-485.

¹⁶*S.P.Dom.*, 1598-1601, p. 491.

bit of fame in Ireland, late in 1601.¹⁷ The balance of the letter indicates that Kendall was treated with confidence by Secretary Cecil and was carrying out his task well. The letter was apparently sent to England with the John Ellis mentioned in it, for two weeks later, on December 6, Cecil wrote back to Kendall:

I have received yours by John Ellis, who has been carefully watched since his arrival at Dover. As Weekes has already served his purpose, I think he will not return, but leave it to you to execute what you can do without him; only I must have sure proof of you [!], not so much for the money as because it is a scorn to be deceived. The bearer [John Ellis] seems too weak, and of not sound judgment enough to be trusted.¹⁸

Some months pass before we hear from Kendall again, but in the meantime a statement was taken from John Ellis regarding him — the same Ellis, Cecil intimates he could not trust. This statement is undated, but has been “assigned” to the year 1600.

Held intercourse in London with George Wickes [Weekes], a Kentish man, who persuaded me to accompany him to France, on promise of a livelihood. Capt. Smith cautioned Wickes not to go to Brussels, as there were accusations against him there. I went with him and Smith to Paris, Wickes having letters of commendation from Capt. [Francis?] Tresham to Mr. [Charles?] Paget in Paris. I met there George Kendal, a Scottish youth, who wondered at Wickes’ proceeding, and begged me to take him letters to England, and bring replies, advising me to show any letters sent by Smith to Mr. Secretary [Cecil] before delivering them. Kendal hoped Wickes might be removed, and that I might do him service in the Archduke’s country, where he was ordered to acquaint himself with Jaques and [Sir William] Stanley.

Key to the cypher for our correspondence. Particulars of my journey to England with the letters which I showed Mr. Secretary, and of my return to Calais, where Smith came for his letters, and said the Council should never draw him to England, on promise of safe conduct to thrust him out again. I waited for George Kendal’s letters, but hearing that he was gone into the Archduke’s court with his doublet turned inside out, I came for England.¹⁹

If the assumptions as to identity indicated by the square brackets above are correct, it is clear that George Kendall was in good Roman Catholic company in Paris, since Tresham became a fellow to the Gunpowder Plot — though he betrayed it — and Paget dared not return to England until after the death of Queen Elizabeth, because of treasonable Catholic plotting. (There seems to be good reason for the identification in any case.) As for

¹⁷Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (Glasgow, 1908), iii, 43 and 346. I have not made an exhaustive search, but no Captain Smith seems to be mentioned in Moryson’s account of the rebellion in Ireland before November 20, 1601.

¹⁸S.P.Dom., 1598-1601, p. 495.

¹⁹S.P.Dom., 1598-1601, p. 524.

George Kendall himself, the information that he was a young man in 1600 is to the point in connection with the George Kendall of Virginia. The statement that he was Scottish could be supported by either or both of two premises: As a relative of Lord Roos, whose title came from Yorkshire, Kendall may have had a markedly northern accent, which could have sounded "Scottish" to a southerner; and it may have been part of Kendall's attempts at a cover, while working for Cecil, to state that he was Scottish. The two kingdoms were still quite separate, and the Catholics had great hopes for changes in the church policies of England when James VI of Scotland or some other Stuart should fall heir to the throne.

As if in confirmation of most of Ellis' statement, we have a letter from Kendall to Cecil, certainly written in 1601, and tentatively assigned to April:

I went to Brussels with Capt. Smith, but the Duke refused our services, being advised by Moran Swart, Richardot, Jaques, Typing, and others, not to accept them, but to entertain us a month with hopes of pensions, to learn our true meaning, and then to expel us the country, as he treated Weeks. I have tried various ways to win their confidence, as by offering to deliver Sir Fras. Vere, with thousands of men, into their hands, &c. I feigned an intended journey to Hungary, to serve the Emperor; then went to Father Lewknor, an English priest, regent of the Shene, to say I was weary of soldier life, and wished to go to England to settle my affairs, and return to enter the Jesuit College. I went in disguise to Ruremond; was first taken for a spy, and put in irons, but obtained release and succeeded in surveying the place. After perils from freebooters, I reached the Hague. I told the plot to Sir Fras. Vere, and also to his Excellency, who approved, and six others will be brought into the town to forward the execution. I have leave to stay 15 days, to provide a dozen weapons for execution, which Mr. Honeyman has promised. Weeks was persuaded by Baldwin to write letters about Count Fuentes as coming from Savoy to besiege Ostend, how Count Maurice was to have seconded the Earl of Essex's proceeding, as was also the Duke of Bouillon, with great munition, &c., the King of Spain's making peace in Savoy with France, &c.

I was told by Father Lewknor that the ruin of England was sure; the government all in the hands of one man, a professed enemy to the Catholics; the State apt to rebel, as all policies condemn a government which does not participate with other foreign kingdoms; that Sir R. Cecil intends to be king, by marrying Arabella, and now lacks only the name; for he has the quarter mastership with the Admiral, and therefore strong at sea; has the Cinque Ports in the hands of his dearest friend; his brother has the kingdom of the north; Wales, now void, will be put into assured hands; his kindred and wealth are great; he has made Lord Thos. Howard governor of the Tower, and will force the city to make him king. Lord Shrewsbury, who can remove the blocks from the way of the marriage, is for him, thinking he cannot better establish his house; however Cecil will find that a third faction, which must be Catholic, will join the others; this should be the Infanta, as she has great spirit, and would reward any who should remove Cecil. As to

the King of Scots, it would be no mastery to wrest the sceptre out of his hands. I professed to wish to be the man to effect the Infanta's wishes.

John Tipping, late lieutenant to Capt. Stanley, a dangerous fellow, is coming over for your patronage. I caution you not to speak with any from abroad except in the company of good men; the proudest there can do no service for England if debauched in coming over; meanwhile there is not much fear, they are so ensconced that no man can come to them. [Endorsed by Cecil, "Kendall employed."]²⁰

The information contained in this letter is in itself worth reading. The plots and counterplots having to do with the succession to the English throne two years before the Queen's death are as fantastic as any recorded in history. Yet the letter is borne out to such an extent by facts known from other sources that we must acknowledge that George Kendall was anything but blind. Cecil's laconical endorsement shows his appreciation of this sharp-sightedness, and we are indebted to him for having filed the letter for posterity to read.

So far as the state papers are concerned, Kendall's record in Europe (and in England) is completed by an undated entry, ascribed to the year 1601:

Item 72. "Account of intelligencers employed abroad this year, and the sums they have respectively received, viz.: —

"George Kendall and George Weekes, in the archduke's dominions, 1611. [\$8,000 to \$12,000 now.] Mr. Fox in Venice, 201. . . ."²¹

Though we have good reason to suspect that Kendall's "Capt. Smith" was the same who was in Ireland in November 1601, we know nothing further about George Kendall the Intelligencer — until, perhaps, the Virginia adventure?²²

The Connecting Link

As mentioned before, George Kendall the Intelligencer claimed to be able to show a pedigree proving him "last sole heir" to the lands of Roos of Routh (Yorkshire) and a distinguishment or specification of the Roos lands of Inglethorpe (Rutlandshire). The wording is vague to modern readers,

²⁰*S.P.Dom.*, 1601-1603, pp. 37-38.

²¹*S.P.Dom.*, 1601-1603, p. 140.

²²There is an item in *S.P.Dom.*, 1598-1601, p. 537, under date of November 21, 1600, regarding the escape of one Geo. Kendall from Marshalsea Prison, which led Neill (*Virginia Vetusta*, p. 19) to believe it was the same George Kendall as the Intelligencer. The Kendall family name was not uncommon, however, and a George Kendall of Smithsby, Derbyshire, is recorded for the first half of the sixteenth century. He married twice, leaving progeny, and other George Kendalls are known. George the Intelligencer, however, was in Paris on November 21, 1600, and in Brussels in the spring of 1601. Neill is wrong in asserting this was the same Kendall, as he was wrong in the name of the prison ("the Chelsea," he says). The George Kendall who languished a while in Marshalsea, "where the graduates in sin resort," was probably some common malefactor.

but it is clear that George felt himself entitled to some of the property belonging to Lord Roos — along with lawyer Peter Roos.

The Lord Roos (or Ros) in question was the son of Elizabeth Manners, Lady Ros by birth, and her husband, William Cecil (Earl of Exeter and nephew of Sir Robert Cecil). The full name of this only son was William Cecil, Lord Ros. His age in 1600 was ten years. (Parenthetically, it should be added that on Lord Ros's death, childless, in 1618, the title went to his mother's first cousin, Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland.)

The details of the life and genealogy of Lord Ros would have no bearing on George Kendall the Mutineer were it not for the fact that this Kendall is persistently rumored to be a cousin, among others, of the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Pembroke was a first cousin of the sixth Earl of Rutland's sister-in-law. Furthermore, the suspicion that something is to be found here, despite the seeming remoteness of the relationship, is strengthened by another rumor, even more persistent, that George the Mutineer was also a cousin of one Sir Edwin Sandys, who might be either the son of the Archbishop of York (who was later important in the Virginia Company), or the Archbishop's nephew of like name, whose estate was at Latimers, Buckinghamshire. The latter gentleman, curiously, married a daughter of a grandson of the first Earl of Rutland's sister, but even more curiously it is through the Manners family (with its inherited title of Lord Ros in each generation) that the Sandys family can most reasonably be tied with the Earls of Pembroke. In other words, George the Mutineer claimed kinship, it is said, with two houses which can reasonably be brought together only through a third house, and that house is specifically the one with which George the Intelligencer claimed relationship.²³

In support of George the Mutineer's ties, Alexander Brown voiced this suggestion: "I believe that he [George Kendall of Virginia] was a cousin to Sir Edwin Sandys."²⁴ John S. Kendall, in a study of the Kendall family, adds further details: George Kendall of Virginia "is described as 'a cousin of the Earl of Pembroke' and in a letter printed in the Virginia records, addressed to Sir Edwin Sandys, describes himself as 'your cousin'."²⁵ But

²³Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, was a third cousin of Sir Edwin Sandys' wife; he married a first cousin of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. Another tie between Sandys and Pembroke, without reference to Manners, is this: Sir Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company, first cousin of the other Sir Edwin mentioned, was a brother-in-law of a nephew of Sir Robert Wroth, who had married a first cousin of William Herbert. For reasons which appear later in the text, this tie was far slimmer and less likely to be remembered than the other. See also, note 28.

²⁴Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston, 1890), II, 934.

²⁵Kendall, *Notes*, p. 9.

while these statements are the smoke that bears witness to a fire, it must be admitted that much is lacking here by way of firm fact.

Neither Alexander Brown nor John S. Kendall gives any source for their remarks. Indeed, the only letter which has been found and printed as from a Kendall to Sir Edwin Sandys, so far as the present writer is aware, is from a Miles Kendall, and is signed "Your powre kynnes man" — which has unremittingly been read "cousin."²⁶ On the other hand, Miles, and an Edwin Kendall, presumably his brother, have been mentioned as brothers or cousins of George the Mutineer, and as "somehow related" to Sir Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company. Miles and Edwin were adventurers in Bermuda, where they caused trouble.²⁷ Finally, in support of all this suppositioning, it is certain that there must be some significance in the fact that while we have a George, a Miles, and an Edwin Kendall, we have among the Sandys brothers and cousins at least four Edwins, four named Miles, and two Georges — all in the early seventeenth century. Such a coincidence in names is striking.

In brief, the weight of tradition coupled with such onomastic preferences must, despite the absence of records, be taken as presumptive evidence of some sort of kinship between the Kendalls of Virginia and Bermuda and the prolific Sandys family.²⁸ To this may be added, for what it is worth, the known fact of the marriages of a sister and a daughter of Sir Edwin Sandys of Latimers with Kendalls of, unfortunately, unknown Christian names.

As for the rumored relationship between George Kendall of Virginia and young William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, that is at best very uncertain. Its source is unknown, and it need not carry any weight in the identification of George the Mutineer with the George who served as a spy for Cecil. The important link is the one between the Sandys family and the Manners family — with one George Kendall "known" to be related to the former, and the other, by his own statement to Queen Elizabeth's Principal Secretary of State, an heir to part of the Manners lands, through Lord Roos.

The tie between the Sandys line and that of the Manners can be sketched

²⁶*The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury (Washington, 1906-1933), iv, 119-122.

²⁷H. Wilkinson, *The Adventurers of Bermuda* (Oxford, 1933), p. 45, n. 2.

²⁸This conclusion is reached also by T. Rabb, of Princeton University, who has been at work on a biography of Sir Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company for more than a year. I am indebted to Mr. Rabb for the reference to Wilkinson, note 27, for the information on the tie between Sandys and William Herbert through the Wroth family (note 23), and for further broad background on the Sandys family. It should perhaps be added, in connection with George Kendall, that Sir Edwin's father was earlier associated with a Christopher Kendall in certain offices of the King's Bench. (*S.P.Dom.*, 1595-1597, pp. 257 and 461.)

briefly, for its significance in connection with the identity of George Kendall of Virginia, herein postulated. It was both close and memorable.²⁹

Back in the fifteenth century the scion of an ancient but non-noble house named Robert Manners married Eleanor, Baroness Ros [or Roos]. Eleanor was co-heir with her brother to all the lands of Ros. When the brother died, apparently childless, Eleanor inherited all the property. Thus, when she and her husband in turn went to join their ancestors, their son George came into possession of the estates of both the Manners and Ros families, along with the title Lord Ros. Then George took a fateful step forward. He married Ann St. Leger, whose mother was a sister of the King of England, Edward IV. They had a son named Thomas, who was suitably knighted one day, and then eventually created first Earl of Rutland of the Manners line — on the grounds that Ann St. Leger's grandfather had once upon a time pretended to that title, among others. In addition to Thomas, the family had a daughter named Elizabeth. Elizabeth and Thomas were second cousins of King Henry VIII through Ann St. Leger.

Elizabeth Manners married one Thomas Lord Sands, who was no relation to the Sandys family. Lord and Lady Sands had a son Henry (third cousin to Queen Elizabeth!) who was of course a first cousin of the heir of Elizabeth Manners' brother, Henry Manners, second Earl of Rutland. Neither branch, Sands or Manners, was likely to forget a mutual relationship that included the blood royal.

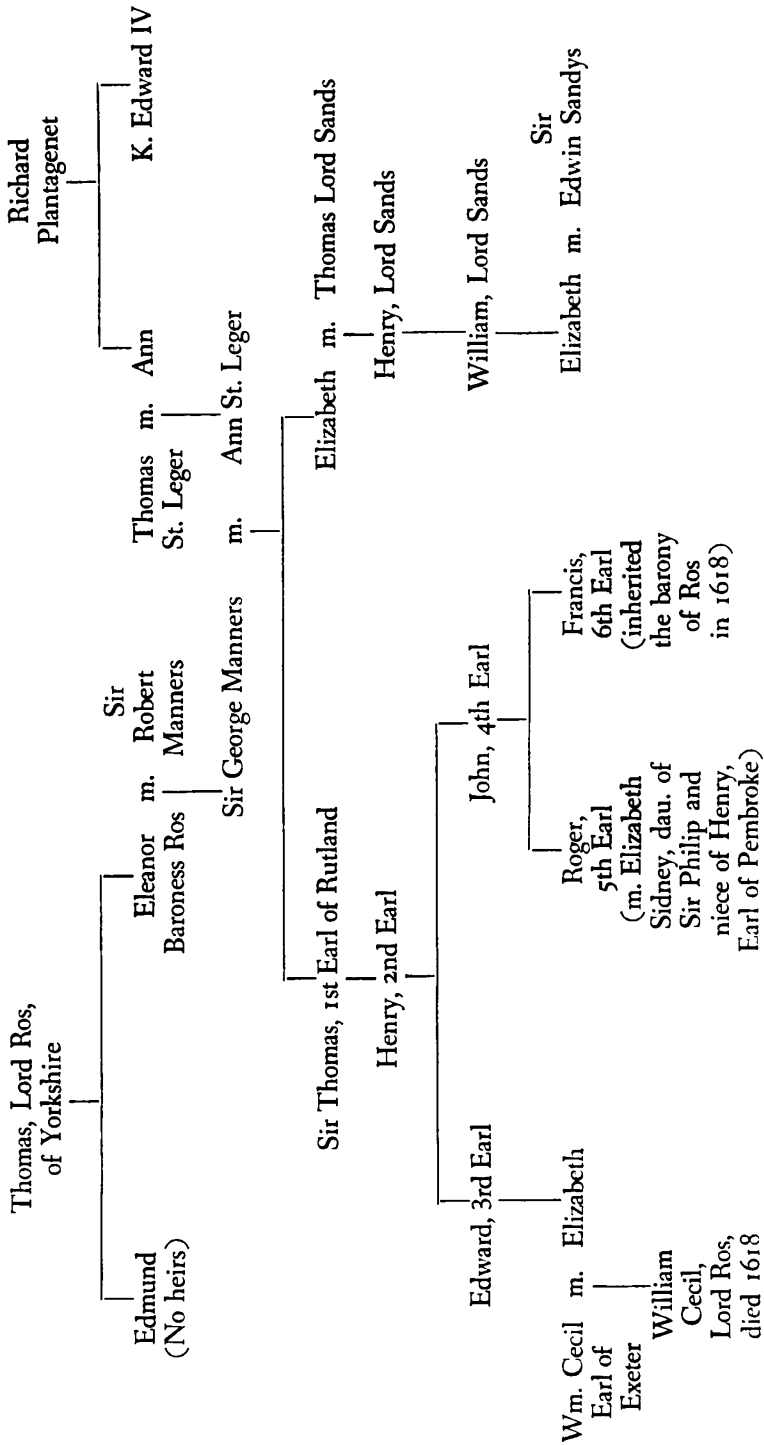
Two generations later, an Elizabeth of the Sands side of the house married Sir Edwin Sandys of Latimers, nephew of the Archbishop. On the Manners side, another Elizabeth married William Cecil, Earl of Exeter. This Elizabeth was the mother of the "young Lord Roos" to some of whose lands George Kendall the Intelligencer claimed rights.

It is unfortunate that the details of George's claim have not been preserved, for these would have shown just how he was related to the Manners family. It is also unfortunate that no complete Manners genealogy appears to exist. That too would supply us with the evidence we need. But failing concrete facts in both cases, we have to rely on possibilities, and these, it is proper to add, by no means exclude George's claims.

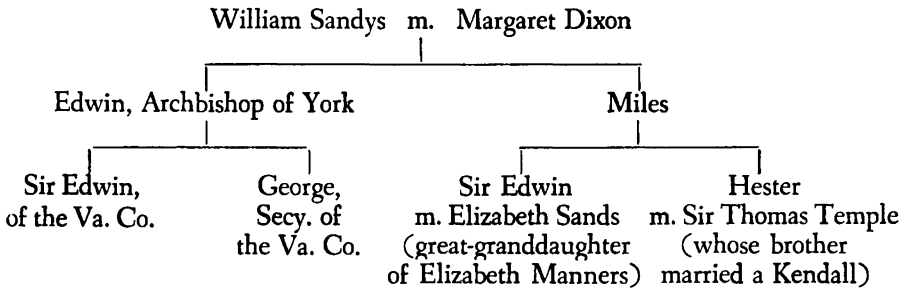
George Manners and Ann St. Leger had five sons and five daughters, of whom we have mentioned only Thomas and Elizabeth. Both Thomas and one other son are known to have left progeny, as did all five daughters.

²⁹Genealogies of the Manners family are to be found in many works. I have used the detailed tables in Marquis Massue of Ruvigny and Raineval's huge work, *The Blood Royal of Britain, The Anne of Exeter Volume* (London, 1907), Tables i to lxix. Despite the ocean of information therein, these tables are not complete!

CONDENSED GENEALOGICAL TABLE "A"



CONDENSED GENEALOGICAL TABLE "B"



Four of the latter, taken all together, had thirty-two known children, while the fifth married twice and left descendants who married into seventeen different families — testified to by the records. In short, even allowing for the high death-rate that obtained in those days, Elizabeth Countess of Exeter and Elizabeth Lady Sandys must have had a hundred or more mutual cousins in the third degree. Somewhere in this vast array of offspring of George Lord Ros and his royally descended wife it seems that a Kendall found a spouse, and this Kendall was ancestor, direct or collateral, of the George Kendall who worked for Robert Cecil (a cousin, too!).

This George Kendall, who was "a young man" in 1600, had begun his soldiering-and-spying career seven years before that. We may hazard a guess, then, that he was born in the 1570's, somewhat after Captain Bartholomew Gosnold (1571?) and somewhat before Captain John Smith (1580). This George Kendall also had experience in the Low Countries, where Wingfield and Smith and possibly Ratcliffe had fought, and where he might have got the (honorary?) title of Captain himself. [Where did George of Virginia get his?] This George Kendall had courage and resourcefulness, but of discipline he had little personal knowledge after he quit soldiering. He was a well-paid spy, subject to no control but his own judgment. For months he associated without noticeable danger to himself with turn-coats, traitors and anti-Protestant followers of Archduke ex-Cardinal Albert and his wife Isabel, claimant to the crown of England — an experience which would almost force a man to consider what was best for himself rather than his Queen. In brief, this George Kendall had the connections, the proud family background, the experience and all else that was needed for a "good" councillor for Virginia. His qualifications were as great as anybody's, and certainly superior on the face of it to John Smith's.

Let us turn now to George Kendall of Virginia once more. When Alexander Brown was digging for Spanish documents pertinent to his forth-

coming *Genesis of the United States* (completed in 1890), he unearthed a document whose significance he missed, but which throws further light on George Kendall. This document, as translated for Brown, was endorsed on the outside: "July 1, 1610. Report on Virginia to the [Spanish] Council of State." Inside, it bore the heading: "Report of What Francisco Maguel, an Irishman, learned/*knew* in the State of Virginia, during the eight months he was there." And in what follows we read at some length that Francis Maguel (or Miguel, or Maguer) sailed with Kendall (and Newport, Wingfield, Smith, et al.), remained a year (not eight months) and sailed back to England on April 10, 1608.

Maguel's name does not appear in any of the lists or accounts previously known, but there can be little doubt that he did go to Virginia when he said he did. His account of the voyage both ways, and of life in the colony, is too conformable to known facts to have been made up from hearsay, or from Smith's account, which was the only one conceivably available to him in manuscript or in print. From it we learn that Maguel wrote or dictated it in English, and that it was translated into Spanish and sworn to and subscribed by Maguel in the presence of the illustrious expatriate Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam (Ireland), in Madrid, on July 1, 1610. In addition, we learn what Maguel saw and heard on the way over and in the colony, and finally we come to the pertinent part.

"The English in that country," Maguel testified, "have tried [sat in judgment] in that Fort of theirs at Jamestown an English Captain, a Catholic, called *Captain Tindol*, because they learned that he had tried to get to Spain, in order to reveal to His Majesty all about this country and many plans of the English, which he knew, but which the Narrator [Maguel] does not know."³⁰

Brown thought that the reference was to Robert Tindall, who was obviously not a Captain, and most likely not a Roman Catholic — he was Prince Henry's *Gunner*. But that Tindol was George Kendall emerges, beyond the slightest doubt, from the following:

1. *Tindol* is not surprising for Kendall, in view of the disuse of "K" in Spanish, the possibility of confusing a hand-written "K" with a "T" in the signature, and great similarity in sound. (Note the recorded spelling *Tin-nelmarsh* for *Kinwellmarsh* in W. A. Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk* . . . [privately printed (London?), 1905-1911], II, 284.)

³⁰Brown, *Genesis*, I, 398-399. (It should be remembered that Florence is a man's name in Spain [operatic tenor Florencio Constantino] and Ireland ["Flurry" Knox] to this day; it is occasionally found elsewhere, I believe.)

2. Tindol was tried for some offense. So was George Kendall (of Virginia).
3. Tindol was a Captain. So was Kendall of Virginia.
4. Tindol was a Catholic. Kendall of Virginia could have been, and Kendall the Intelligencer associated intimately with Catholics.
5. Tindol tried to get to Spain to reveal the colony's plans. (This, and perhaps only this, could have been the cause of so drastic a step as the execution, and the real reason why it was hushed up.) Kendall the Intelligencer was just the type to go to Virginia as a double-spy.

As if this were not conclusive enough, however, we have one final touch to add. On December 16 of the same year, there was an "examination" in London of Francis Maguer, "sailor of Ratcliffe" near London. The sketchy details are: "His meeting with Father Patrick, who tried to persuade him to join some troops to be sent by the King of Spain, to persuade the Irish to rebel. Plots to seize Dublin Castle and to send the Irish regiment from Flanders to Ireland. Met the Earl of Tyrone [the famous Hugh O'Neill] and Sir William Stanley at the Spanish court."³¹

With Sir William Stanley we have rounded out our story. Stanley, adventurer and traitor, was the man Kendall the Intelligencer said he was instructed to meet. Stanley was the man with fingers reaching for news that might overthrow England. Stanley knew Maguel. And Maguel knew why Kendall of Virginia was executed.

Here, then, we have an unusual array of indications pointing to the identity of George Kendall of Virginia. Social standing, military knowledge, independence of thought, and in the end acceptance of fate not without an indomitable sense of propriety — these were the characteristics of George Kendall of Virginia; but for the finale, they were those of Kendall the Intelligencer, too. The Kendall who was caught seeking to flee Virginia with intelligence for Madrid was serving James I and Philip III alike, just as was the other Kendall. But an Irish sailor (or was he?), Roman Catholic and agent of Spain, pulls the picture into focus.

Many blurred outlines still people the background — Lord Ros and Sir William Stanley, the brave Captain Smith of Irish fame and James Read the blacksmith in Virginia, Edward Maria Wingfield and Father Patrick. But that the "two" George Kendalls were but one man seems hardly possible, now, to doubt.

³¹Brown, *Genesis*, II, 940.